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## Development of Press Freedom in South Korea since Japanese Colonial Rule

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### Abstract

The history of press freedom in South Korea (hereafter Korea) has been characterized by periods of chaos. The major media companies in Korea have written a history of shame. Since Japanese colonial rule, freedom of the press has been more often restricted than protected by the laws and policies. There have been four main features of press freedom since 1910: severe restriction during the Japanese colonial rule; experiencing freedom with unstable democracy under the American military rule and the First and Second republics; oppression of the military regimes; and the struggle with capital power since the advent of civilian government. Several decades of Japanese colonial rule, American military rule, and military dictators have influenced the Korean society and the media politically, economically, socially and culturally.

**Keywords:** Press freedom, Press history, Colonial rule, Restriction, Media laws and policies, Media control, Capital power, Clientelism

### Introduction

The history of press freedom in Korea has been characterized by periods of chaos, and because of this governments have tried to control the media. Youm (1985, p. 3) argues, "Press freedom has continued to undergo the concomitant ups and downs of Korea's chaotic changes both socially and geopolitically." It is in this historical context that this study of press freedom takes place. Throughout several decades of Japanese colonial rule and military dictatorship, and the severe poverty and famine caused by the Korean War, press freedom was consistently viewed by the government as a potentially disruptive influence that the insecure nation could not support. With no historical tradition of democratic principles in Korea until 1987 the press did not have the opportunity to flourish according to the principles of freedom.

Press freedom is an essential element in democracy because it checks the working of a healthy society by providing essential information about the political workings of the community. However, the media, especially major conservative newspapers, do not play this role properly in Korea (Sa, 2009a). O-J. Kim (2004) argues, historically the media have shared political power in Korea. Many proprietors of large media companies or some journalists working for news outlets have colluded with the government of the day to produce news that reflects the needs and opinions of the political party in power. Therefore, many Korean people do not have much faith in the media. One of the reasons for the lack of media credibility for the Korean people perhaps goes back to the fact that major media companies played roles supporting the Japanese colonial rule and helping the dictators. Media academic Yung-Ho Im (2002, p. 191) argues that the major media companies in Korea have written a history of shame. Some media still continue to do this. The media have been in danger of losing credibility but they do not realize it because they have become player in political power (Kim, Y-H. 2004c). This kind of close relationship between political power and the media is named 'Kwonunyoohak (political power-press complex)' in Korean.

This politically aligned media cartel was threatened for a while under the liberal Dae-Jung Kim and Moo-Hyun Roh governments, which tried to change the relations (Kwonunyoohak) between the state (political power) and the media. Actually, it started in the post 1980s, after a new daily, the *Hankyoreh* was founded in 1988. However, this attempt faced significant opposition from the major conservative newspapers, which did not want to lose their hold on power. Some major newspapers without ever saying 'sorry' about their past behavior in relation to Japanese colonialism and

dictatorships still dominate the Korean society. Their conservative voice is stronger than liberal groups.

This paper explores how freedom of the press has developed in Korea since Japanese colonial rule. It discusses the chaotic and diverse history of the media in Korea, analyzing the influence of this history on the current situation of press freedom. It was structured around two issues that develop press freedom: concepts of press freedom and the history of the media since Japanese colonial rule. This paper is a literature review (Note 1). The data is comprised of secondary data such as books, journals and current news from online services in Korea.

### 1. Concepts of press freedom

The concept of press freedom is too complex to sum up simply. However, freedom of the press should be characterized by independence from internal or external factors and all other elements, which might make journalists hesitant in carrying out their media work. According to classical liberal approaches, “A truly free press would be free not just of state intervention but also of market forces and ownership ties and a host of other material bonds” (Berry et al., 1995, p. 22). Press freedom is freedom from all compulsions throughout the processes of press activities. The overall meaning of freedom in the media is that all processes of press activities should be conducted freely. This includes establishing a press company, gathering news, writing articles, editing news, publishing and distributing. However, in practice the media cannot be free from governmental, political or economic control (LaMay, 2007, p. 26). LaMay argues, “The press must be dependent on something for its viability; the press cannot be free, but is locked into a cycle of interdependence.”

It is easy to see media control in authoritarian societies because “governments employ strict censorship to control the flow of information to the general public, and journalists exist as mouthpieces for the government” (LaMay, 2007, p. 26). Authoritarian regimes regularly censor or control the media before or after media production (Baker, 2007, p. 5). However, there are many complex elements in this interrelationship in democratic societies because “in part theory is less important to democracy than how freedom is lived and perpetuated” (LaMay, 2007, p. 26). Freedom of the press helps maintain the health of democracies (Baker, 2007, p. 5). These two different systems, authoritarian and democratic can be seen in Korea.

Ostensibly, Korea is a democratic country, however, in practice the society has been strongly controlled by clientelism, which refers to a form of social organization characterized by personal relationships such as blood ties, regions and institutes. In Korean society, an authoritarian style still exists in practice to different degrees because of the long history of authoritarian rule. It ranges from authoritarian rule to civilian governments, depending on the ruling style of political leaders such as the president. Therefore, Korea has a mixture of authoritarian and democratic features. In the media, if freedom of the press is to be maintained it is important to be independent not just from government interference but also from other factors like capital and ownership ties.

Freedom of the press in Korea is similar to other basic rights; this means press freedom is not at a superior level to other basic rights. According to law academic J-H. Cho (2005, p. 277), the No.1 of Article 21 of the Korean *Constitution* sets out freedom of the press and freedom of publication in Korea. Freedom of the press and publication mean ‘freedom of expression and delivery,’ ‘freedom of publication,’ and ‘freedom of broadcast.’ The media can upgrade the values and functions of press freedom, which should be guaranteed by the *Constitution*. Members of society need to be able to participate in social and political decision-making in order to maintain democracy. Article 21 of the *Constitution* guarantees freedom of individual expression and freedom of the press. Cho describes how the Korean media laws combine the Anglo-American free press model and the European model, especially Germany (Cho, 2005, p. 275). In terms of press freedom, the Anglo-American laws guarantee the right of press freedom to media owners (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 74). However, the European laws put the stress on the rights of readers or audiences and the public good (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 74). Article 21 of the *Constitution* in Korea assures freedom of the press drawing on both models (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 74). According to Cho (2005, p. 275), the Korean laws are similar to the *First Amendment of the American Constitution*, though the *First Amendment* does not include details of the media law, instead it only was the terms ‘press’ and ‘publication.’ Cho (2005, p. 275) argues, in terms of form, the Korean laws are similar to the German law, which was the concept of the press and publication as well. For example, the No.2 of Article 21 outlines a licensing system allowing for freedom of the press and publication. Also, the No.4 of Article 21 has restrictions including that the media cannot defame other people, and cannot abuse public morals and social ethics (Cho, 2005, p. 275).

#### 1.1 Problems of applying Western concepts to Korea

There are some problems in applying Western concepts of press freedom to Korea. Since the 1980s, Korean media scholars have continuously discussed which concepts and theories in developed Western context are appropriate for Korea (Park, Kim, and Sohn, 2000, p. 111). Some attempts have been made to overcome the problems in the application of Western theories but they have mostly failed to produce satisfactory results (Park et al., 2000, p. 111). I suggest that three main differences can be noted: the legal systems, the political systems, and the practical situation.

Firstly, there are different legal systems in Korea and the West, especially America. In most developed countries

freedom of the press is a symbol of democracy. Therefore, many developed countries do not have media laws (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 127). According to O-J. Kim, some countries do have media laws but they are not restrictions on media content but protections of media functions. Many countries try to set up a legal frame in order to boost public faith in the media and media diversity (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 127). However, the media laws in Korea are very different. For instance, the Korean media laws contain details on how the media must practice fair trade and fair competition (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 127). Korean media laws under the Moo-Hyun Roh government, the *Law Governing the Guarantee of Freedom and Functions of Newspapers* (also known as the *Newspaper Law*), and the *Law Governing Press Arbitration and Damage Relief* (also known as the *Press Arbitration Law*), include details that emphasize social responsibility and encourage newspaper companies to set up readers' rights committees and extended editorial committees (Ministry of Culture and Tourism Republic of Korea, 2005). When someone has been victimized by newspaper articles, he/she can file compensation petitions against pertinent newspapers through the Arbitration Commission.

According to lawyer H-S. Park (2004) many Korean academics quote the research of the Commission of Hutchins of America to support their argument about freedom of the press. Some owners and managers of media companies in Korea have argued that Hutchins' research be used to solve problems. For example, they quote Hutchins idea on the need to avoid the government interference (Park, 2004). However, the *First Amendment of the Constitution* in America is a 'closed system' that is it 'makes no law to restrict the freedom of the press' (Park, 2004). On the other hand, the No.3 of Article 21 of the *Constitution* in Korea has a different system. It is an 'open system,' which means it is possible 'to make law guaranteeing for functions of newspapers' (Park, 2004). Cho argues, No.4 of Article 21 places conditions on freedom including that the media cannot defame other people, and cannot abuse public morals and social ethics that are similar to the German law (2005, p. 275). However, many academics and media owners desire the *First Amendment of the Constitution* in America and ignore the No.4 of Article 21 of the *Constitution* in Korea (Park, 2004). Park also explains regarding misunderstanding of the *Fair Trade law*: "The Korean media laws do not apply strong restrictions in the case of bad effects or an abuse. However, the American media laws do apply strong restrictions in the case of bad effects or an abuse." The *Fair Trade law* (the antimonopoly law and the competition law) is general order itself as standard of law either America or Germany (Park, 2004).

Secondly, regarding the political systems, Park (2004) argues, academics in Korea quote many ideas from the West, mostly America and Germany, as the models for Korea without considering the Korean situation. According to Park, these two countries are federal states whereas Korea is traditionally a centralized government. Therefore, it is not suitable to compare the media laws of such different political systems. Park et al. (2000, p. 115) argue, "The political system of Korea has a Western appearance, but its operation has been more dependent on informal and pre-modern methods than official and reasonable procedures." For example, the Presidential system of Korea has too much power focused on the president because past military dictators sought to control everything. Park et al. argue,

The state-press relationship wears the features of the liberal system of Western countries on the surface, but it has strong characteristics of clientelism on the inside. Clientelism is based on the feudalistic feature of Korean society, which depends on regional networking (Park et al., 2000, p. 115).

The state has led the media, which has become powerful politically in its own right (Sa, 2009a). It can affect the outcome of presidential elections (Park et al., 2000, p. 115). Woo and Joo argue that this is a feature of military dictatorial regimes (2002, p. 198). This relationship between the state and the media is very different from the situation in many Western countries, where the media support certain parties based on their political leanings (Park et al., 2000, pp. 115-116). In Korea, the relationship is based more on private and informal networks than on formal ones. "Therefore, Korean media support the state more in unofficial ways than in official ones. This relationship has caused a dysfunction in the media system in general" (Park et al., 2000, pp. 115-116).

Thirdly, the practices of the media industry are very different from the West. The Korean media structure was based upon Western models and theories but journalistic practice and content are far from Western rationalism (Park et al., 2000, p. 121). As a result, the Western theories and models do not work properly in the Korean media industry. According to Park et al. (2000, p. 121), "Political power and various premodern elements" still strongly and effectively dominate media management and practice. Park et al. point out practical problems in the media industry: "The clientelistic networking based on school and regional ties still exists inside and outside media organizations. Conservative ideologies, which are the product of the Cold War era, still dominate the mainstream media in Korea." The media both officially and unofficially have been controlled by the state. However, informal mechanisms such as clientelism have had a stronger influence through collusive relations between the state power and the media (Park et al., 2000, p. 115). Media scholar M-K. Kang points out the need to break the traditional cozy relations between politics and the media. Journalists are candidates of politicians because it is not easy to distinguish journalists from salesman who collect data for press owners (Kang, 2004). The traditional relations between politics and the media are unusual compared to developed countries (Kang, 2004). Kang stresses that journalists must stop their old habits such as having a meal and alcohol at a restaurant or a pub with politicians and lawyers as an excuse for gathering news. Shin and

Cameron (2003) say informal relations influence the news and newsgathering, which directly or indirectly involves journalists being unethical in Korea.

Furthermore, in the newspaper market generally media practice is distorted because newspaper companies engage in unfair competition and trade. The biggest influence is made by major newspapers (Sa, 2009a). The major general Seoul-based dailies dominate in most of the provincial areas. The Korean people are skeptical about a self-regulated media. The new media laws of 2005 tried to solve these problems. It must be noted that even after the application of these laws, the newspaper market is still in disorder and engages in unfair practice (Sa, 2009a).

## 2. History of the media since Japanese colonial rule

The history of the media since Japanese colonial rule in Korea reflects the chaotic history of political power in the twentieth century state. The *Hansung sunbo*, the first Korean newspaper was published in 1883, and was followed by the *Tongnip sinmun* (*Independent News* in English title), the first private newspaper under the editorship of Jae-Pil Soe (Philip Jaisohn) (Youn, 1996, p. 8). The *Tongnip sinmun* was first published on 7th April 1896 three times a week, with three of its four pages in Korean and the other in English (Youn, 1996, p. 8). The *Maeil sinmun* was the first daily newspaper in 1898, and was followed by the *Hwangsung sinmun* and others (Youn, 1996, p. 9). According to media academic Ho-Soon Chang, these newspapers functioned as educators of the people, as spiritual guides for national sovereignty and as critics of incompetent and corrupt government (2004, p. 29). Vipin Chandra assesses the role of one newspaper, the *Tongnip sinmun* as follows:

The *Tongnip sinmun* committed itself to fostering several specific political and educational objectives. It promised its readers nationalism without chauvinism, loyalty to the throne without subservience to the king's officials, a crusade for reforming the government with a view to making it serve *all* Koreans, and support for modern learning. The paper was thus a multidimensional organ – an investigative and editorial ally of the public interest as well as a plainly reportorial one (Chandra, 1988, p. 107).

At this time Korean newspapers had an opportunity to play the role of social leader. However, this opportunity did not have a long life because of the forced Japanese annexation of Korea in 1905. Since Japanese colonial rule, freedom of the press has been more often been restricted than protected by laws and policies. This restriction focused on the media because they had a significant level of influence on the people. There have been many different periods and forms of restriction since 1910 (see Table 1).

There have been four main features of press freedom since 1910: severe restriction during the Japanese colonial rule; experiencing freedom with unstable democracy under the American military rule and the First and Second republics; oppression of the military regimes; and the struggle with capital power since the advent of civilian government.

### 2.1 Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945)

There was severe restriction in the Korean press during the Japanese colonial rule. According to Francis Rey, the 1905 Japanese-Korean Protectorate Treaty was illegally signed under the physical threat of Japanese imperialistic power and therefore null (Francis Rey, as cited in Choi, 2005, p. 21). After this forced annexation the Korean media were not free. They were restricted severely and forced to serve like slaves through the media related laws and policies. In 1907, the Japanese Resident General took lawmaking power from the Korean government (Youn, 1996, p. 31). Choi argues, “Unfortunately, Japanese imperialism seized power over Korea and some parts of China. During Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945, self-identity of Korean law was endangered due to the lack of political sovereignty” (2005, p. 3). The newspaper law was promulgated in 1907 by the Japanese controlled cabinet of Wan-Yong Lee (Chang, 2004, p. 30). It required that citizens obtained permission from the Minister of Home Affairs and paid a deposit before they could publish a newspaper (Chang, 2004, p. 30). Youm describes the experience:

The press policy of the Japanese colonialists in Korea between 1910 and 1919 was draconian. Explanations can be cited for such harsh Japanese measures against the Korean press. First, the Japanese considered the Korean press as an impediment to their quick colonization of Korea and viewed it as no more than a harmful entity to Japan's intent to make Korea its docile colony. Second, the factor of the Japanese colonial government personnel contributed to the repressive policy of Japan against the Korean press (Youn, 1996, p. 33).

Most newspapers in Seoul were closed by the Japanese colonial rule except the Korean-language *Maeil sinbo* and the English-language *Seoul press* (Chang, 2004, p. 30). According to Chang, it was through the “Independence Movement of the Koreans against the Japanese colonialists, [that] anti-colonial ideas spread nationwide through informal (non-licensed) newspapers like the *Chosuntongnip sinmun* and the *Tongnipjayoo minbo*,” which played key roles as communication mechanisms (2004, p. 30).

After the Independence Movement on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1919, the Japanese rule tried to appease rather than suppress the Korean people. In 1920, the policy of the Japanese colonial rulers changed and they permitted three Korean newspapers the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the *Chosun Ilbo* and the *Shisa Shinmun* to publish (Chang, 2004, p. 30). The Japanese rulers did not



allow comment on issues about the nation's independence from the Japanese colonial rule or for the papers to be communicating mechanisms for Koreans (Chang, 2004, p. 30). The newspapers tended to be 'mouthpieces' for the Japanese colonizers. Today, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* are major conservative newspapers but many Korean people have criticized their pro-Japanese colonial rule stance during the Japanese occupation period (Ko, 2006, p. 29). The legacies of Japanese colonial rule, the American military rule and later dictators' regimes have influenced Korean society and the media politically, economically, socially, and culturally. Dennis Hart (2001, p. 163) argues, "For many Koreans, their history has only slightly more immediate significance and relevance than does Japanese or American history." There are Japanese vestiges in Korean society: two examples are Kijasil and Kijadan systems in the media industry (Note 2).

## 2.2 The American Military rule, the First and Second republics (1945~1961)

The Korean media were experiencing freedom with unstable democracy under the American military rule and the First and Second republics. After the liberation of Korea from thirty six years of Japanese colonial rule, South Korea was temporarily ruled by the United States Army Military Government (USAMGIK) (1945~1948) while the Soviet Union occupied North Korea. At this time the South Korean people generally experienced freedom, including in the media (Youm, 1996, p. 10). Youm says, "The libertarian press policy of the USAMGIK precipitated an explosive increase in the number of newspapers and magazines" (1996, p. 38). However, in May 1946, the American rulers promulgated licensing laws *Ordinance No. 88*, which required acquiring licenses for all newspapers and periodicals (Chang, 2004, p. 30). From the liberation of Korea in 1945 to the April Students Uprising in 1960, a licensing system existed for the publishing of newspapers (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 9). The USAMGIK, which was very anti-communist, was followed by a pro-Japanese governing group in Korea (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008).

According to Hart, there were three main different groups after the liberation of Korea in 1945: firstly, the anti-Japanese group who had been put in jail because of their affiliation to the Independence Movement under Japanese colonial rule; secondly, the majority of citizens; thirdly, the pro-Japanese group who had accumulated private property and power as result of supporting Japanese colonial rule (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). Initially under USAMGIK, the pro-Japanese group were worried they would lose their property and power so they became as one voice - right wing (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). Whereas the anti-Japanese group was more left wing.

From 1945 to 1950, the left wing and the right wing political parties disputed a series of issues including: anti- or pro-trusteeship rule, whether to eliminate the pro-Japanese colonial rule group or not, and the difference between communism and democracy as forms of government (Lee, 2003). While the left and right wing political groups were disputing these ideas, a war broke out in 1950 between South and North - the Korean War (Chang, 2004, p. 30). From 1950, the left was wiped out in Korea. Even though Korea had been liberated from Japanese colonial rule vestiges of Japanese imperialism including leader groups were not eradicated during the USAMGIK and the later Syng-Man Rhee government, nor have they been eradicated today (Lee, 2003). After the liberation of Korea, the right wing regained power within one year under USAMGIK and was transformed from pro-Japanese to pro-American (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). Since then they have remained the leading conservative group.

During the Cold War, the Soviets directly threatened Japan and North Korea threatened South Korea. America considered these threats as a challenge to its hegemony so it "extended deterrence commitments to Tokyo and Seoul" (Tow, 2003). America's bilateral security alliances with Korea and Japan are pivotal to American policies in East Asia (Tow, 2003). Korea's alliance with America became a bit strained when Bush took office. However, liberal Korean governments Dae-Jung Kim and Moo-Hyun Roh concentrated more on their 'local' dimensions of the North Korean threat while America focused on others. As Tow argues,

Washington has concentrated increasingly on North Korean nuclear and other WMD capabilities as integral to a larger global security problem. President Bush's meetings with his South Korean counterparts, Dae-Jung Kim (March 2001 and February 2002) and Moo-Hyun Roh (May 2003), yielded significant differences between the hard-line American position toward the North and a growing South Korean tendency to project more cautious postures toward Pyongyang (Tow, 2003, pp. 15-16).

In late May 2003, new 'force enhancement initiatives' was announced by America upgrading its alliance with Korea. This has included upgrading intelligence collection systems, increasing the numbers of precision-guided weapons and anti-ballistic missile systems (Tow, 2003). Since 2008, when the conservative Lee government took office in Korea, alliance between Korea and America has further been strengthened. However, the tension of Korean peninsula is growing because the Lee government has not kept the agreements, which were made by both Korean submits between South and North during the liberal rule of Kim and Roh.

According to N-S. Kim (1994), under the First and Second republics, the worsening economic situation aggravated problems within Korean society generally. On 17<sup>th</sup> July 1948, under the First Republic of President Syng-Man Rhee the constitution was first promulgated. Since then it has been revised nine times (Choi, 2005, p. 325). It pursued an

America-oriented Presidential system (Choi, 2005, p. 325), and stated that all Korean people shall have no restrictions on freedom of the press, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly and freedom of association except by Law (Chang, 2004, p. 31). However, the Korean government prohibited newspapers from supporting some issues such as “promoting communist-inspired terrorism and subversive activities” (Youn, 1996, p. 45). According to O-J. Kim (2005, p. 9), the first constitution prescribed the freedom of the expression subject to the general law. During the First Republic, the Korean media had two main difficulties (Youn, 1996, p. 11). First, they struggled with financial difficulties. Second, the media were controlled by the state’s policy. The economic problems were the greatest threat to press freedom (Youn, 1996, p. 11). A commercial newspaper, *Hankook Ilbo* started on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1954. According to Youm (1996, p. 48), under the Syng-Man Rhee government using the USAMGIK *Ordinance No. 88* rather than the new law of the First Republic, the most important opposition paper, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* was closed by the government in 1959. The reason given was that the paper had published “a misleading article on President Rhee’s news conference.”

N-S. Kim argues that in the 1950s the media industry was very weak in the market both as producer and seller (provider). In the newspaper industry, profit was mostly from subscriptions (Kim, 1994). During the Korean War (1950-1953), there was severe censorship of the Korean media, especially on sensitive political issues. Youm (1996, p. 11) notes, “During the war period, the Korean press was subject to strict military censorship, and the Korean press consequently lacked diversity in its content.” After the armistice in 1953, the Syng-Man Rhee government continued to restrict the media in various ways such as prohibiting certain stories being published by issuing guidelines (Youn, 1996, p. 11). The Rhee government collapsed after the April Students Uprising in 1960.

Under the Second Republic freedom of the press was guaranteed by the *Constitution* under Premier Myon Chang. This law was valued by many academics as the closest law to the *First Amendment of the American Constitution* at that time (Kim, O-J. 2005, pp. 9-10). The media had the opportunity to play the role of social leader and for press freedom to grow into full bloom. There were no conditions placed on the freedom of the people and rights of the people except for the public good and order (Kim, O-J. 2005, pp. 9-10). According to Youm, “The Korean press enjoyed the greatest freedom in Korean history. The Koreans in Chang’s day were exposed to a freedom bordering on laissez faire” (1996, p. 49). Every day the number of newspapers increased (Kim, Y-H. 2004a, p. 306). However, their mixed quality was to jeopardize Korean society because many unqualified or disreputable people in media companies exploited the freedom and made easy money as journalists (Kim, Y-H. 2004a, p. 307). This almost unlimited press freedom created problems such as the abuse of power by media owners and journalists (Kim, Y-H. 2004a, p. 305). However, this freedom did not last long. It was ended by the military coup d’état led by General Chung-Hee Park on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1961.

### 2.3 The military regimes (1961~1987)

Generally, there were severe restrictions to freedom of the press in practice under the military regimes those of Chung-Hee Park and Doo-Hwan Chun. However, at that time, the Korean media enjoyed freedom of the press regarding non-political and non-sensitive social issues leading to “a trend of sensationalism and an emphasis on soft-news items” (Youn, 1996, p. 13). In the beginning, it ordered “prior censorship of all newspapers, magazine feature articles, comics, cartoons, editorials, photographs, and foreign news” (*Decree No.1*, 1961, as cited in Youm, 1996, p. 50); subsequently prior censorship resulted in media self-censorship. During these two regimes the media were severely restricted and functioned largely as tamed media. There were approximately twenty different laws covering the media (Ko, 2006, p. 29). Dong-Whang Joo argues that in the 1960s press industry was driven into the enterprising process, in the 1970s it passed through a phase of large press enterprise, and formed a monopoly structure in the 1980s (1993).

In 1963, the *Constitution* of the Third Republic set out the range of new limits and responsibilities on freedom of expression. In 1963, the law of newspaper communication and registration and the broadcast law were established after the law for the registration of newspapers and communication (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 10). “It cancelled the license of the media, which were found to fall short of its production machinery and facility” (Park et al., 2000, p. 113). Basically, this system still exists to different degrees in practice, from the authoritarian rule to the civilian governments, depending on the ruling style of political leaders. As LaMay (2007, p. 26) pointed out, “theory is less important to democracy than how freedom is lived and perpetuated.”

According to N-S. Kim (1994), during the 3<sup>rd</sup> republic the economic crisis was a serious situation because of global economic downturn. During this time capitalist groups were encouraged by the state (Kim, 1994). Kim argues, because of the government’s economic stimulus conditions in newspaper production improved in the 1960s. For example, the sales subscription market was quite developed because of urbanization and the effect of economic development despite the fact that subscription market of provincial newspapers was decreasing (Kim, 1994).

Joo (1993) argues, because of the state’s crisis in the 1970s the state’s policy tended to control the media. From the end of the 1960s, the government was faced with the external economic crisis and internally, there were problems of political crisis such as the Revitalizing Reforms Constitution in 1969; the Declaration of the State of National Emergency in 1971; and the initiation of the *Siwol Yushin* in 1972 (Joo, 1993). During the same time the state merged and closed down news agencies and provincial newspapers (Joo, 1993).

After 1970, the authoritarian Park regime imposed harsh media restrictions through the *Declaration of the State of National Emergency*, and the *Martial Law Decree*, which banned “all indoor and outdoor assemblies and demonstrations for the purpose of political activities and speeches, publications, press and broadcasts” (Youm, 1996, p. 55). The *Yushin Constitution* was proclaimed in 1972. According to Choi,

The *Yushin Constitution* omitted the natural-law languages of the chapter on basic rights and duties of the citizen, and simply stated that legal restrictions on the rights and freedoms of citizens should be imposed ‘only when necessary.’ Other parts of this *Constitution* gave the president broad and unlimited power to rule (Choi, 2005, p. 380).

Freedom of expression became a core control issue for the state. Furthermore, in 1974, the Park junta outlawed the National Federation of Democratic Youths and Students, which was characterized by the authorities as an “unlawful underground organization manipulated by the North Korean communists” (Youm, 1996, p. 56). Park restricted press freedom relating to the Federation and its members through the *Emergency Measure*, which banned “any act to publish, produce, process, distribute, exhibit, and sell papers, books, disks, and other presentations” (Youm, 1996, p. 56).

Under the 4<sup>th</sup> republic, the economic crisis lessened and the capitalist groups consolidated (Kim, 1994). The control of the media industry was shown in the case of *Dong-A Ilbo* in 1975. The Park regime tried to pressure business firms into cancelling advertising so as to weaken the financial bases of *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters, who were fighting for freedom of the press and other issues. Park et al. (2000, p. 113) argue, “In 1974, one hundred thirty four journalists had to leave the *Dong-A Ilbo* and thirty three journalists had to leave the *Chosun Ilbo*, both of which were leading newspapers at the time.”

Although there was severe media control, the media industry in the 1970s continues to grow as big businesses. The situation in newspaper production and the sales market was gradually improving not only in subscription but also in advertising revenue (Kim, 1994). Newspaper companies were competitive with other media such as broadcasting but their management was quite stable due to cross-ownership of the newspaper and the broadcasting industry (Joo, 1993).

During the Doohwan Chun junta, the Korean media were again controlled by harsh media policies and laws similar to those of the Park military regime. In 1980, the *Constitution* of the Fifth Republic prescribed in No.1 of Article 20 that every person shall enjoy freedom of the press, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly and freedom of association. However, in practice this did not occur. There were conditions in No.1 of Article 20 as follows: the press and a publication could not violate others’ reputation or rights; Also, they could not violate public morals or social ethics; If the press or a publication damaged someone’s reputation or rights, the person could sue for damages (Kim, O-J. 2005, p. 10). These conditions were used and abused generally as a means to restrict the media’s ability to criticize the government or powerful people and to maintain the dictatorial regime, which used daily ‘press guidelines’ regulated the media coverage of news events.

Furthermore, the Chun junta proclaimed the notorious *Basic Press Act* in 1980. Youm (1996, p. 59) explains this law as follows: “One of the most restrictive and comprehensive laws in capitalistic societies, providing specifically for the rights and restrictions of the press.” In relating to its registration the Minister of Culture and Information (MOCI) had the power to cancel publications and to suspend them for various reasons, one of which was “When they repeatedly and flagrantly violate the law in encouraging or praising violence or other illegal acts disrupting public order” (Youm, 1996, p. 60).

During the 5<sup>th</sup> republic, the social crisis steadily decreased because of the economic recovery, and the capitalist groups became even more powerful in society (Kim, 1994). N-S. Kim argues, in the 1980s, the newspaper industry grew in excess of the newspaper market. Also, during this period, newspaper industry management was restricted in regard to its business profit (Kim, 1994). Kim stresses, policy had less influence on the newspaper industry, then the economy and the political activity of citizens. A major power group within the newspaper industry was established (Kim, 1994). Major dailies dominated the subscription market.

Curran (2002, p. 221) argues, “Many privately owned media organizations supported right wing military coups.” Curran’s view is confirmed in Korea. The bulk of the Korean media helped the politically powerful and their right wing regimes (Chang, 2004, p. 3). By helping these unjust regimes, these media companies have reaped various benefits such as interest free loans or tax favors and have become big businesses (Chang, 2004, p. 3). Journalists also have been given positions such as political office, bureaucrats, presidential secretaries or assistants and spokesmen (Kim, Y-H. 2004c). Moreover, they have had various benefits through access to public funding for training overseas or better welfare such as tax favors, loans for housing, funds for their children’s education and cash or gifts (Woo & Joo, 2002, p. 168). As a result, journalists who belonged to big media companies have become high-income earners (Chang, 2004, p. 3). This culture of nepotism continues in parts of the media today.

According to Herman and Chomsky (1988, p. 29), ‘anticommunism’ is one of the filters through which news is fed to produce propaganda: “Communism as the ultimate evil has always been the specter haunting property owners, as it threatens the very root of their class position and superior status.” Also, Herman and Chomsky state, this

'anticommunism' idea helps motivate the people against an enemy:

And because the concept is fuzzy it can be used against anybody advocating policies that threaten property interests or support accommodation with Communist states and radicalism. It therefore helps fragment the left and labor movements and serves as a political-control mechanism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 29).

Herman and Chomsky's view is well demonstrated in Korea. Two military regimes abused the *National Security Act* by applying pro-North (anti-communist) control by accusing opposition groups, the media and intellectuals of anti-dictator beliefs. This provided convenient means that enabled them to control citizens. This was because of the special situation in the Korean peninsula such as experiencing Korean War and political propaganda "Anti-Communist policy." Freedom House (2004) states the abuse of the *National Security Act* in Korea, "under the authoritarian government the law was used to restrict the propagation of ideas considered Communist or pro-North Korean." Unfortunately, because of the antagonism between South and North Korea this anticommunism approach has been very effective. Also, this pro- or anti- communist issue has been used by the conservative groups to justify their position in criticizing people who have different opinions to theirs. This allows them to deflect attention from the fact that their power derives from their historic support of Japanese colonial and dictators' rule.

Dennis Hart describes the Korean conservative leader groups as supporting political power without an ethical base, depending on which one benefits them most, they ostensibly argue in favor of nationalism but in reality are in favor of imperialism demonstrated by their support of either America or Japan (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). Hart stresses that this group easily colludes with other countries and being without ethical principles they betray Koreans. According to Hart, America is an imperialist country so it is good to justify their behaviors as manufacturing 'good America.' However, their behavior makes them dependent on the power of America (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). This behavior prioritizes benefits for America over Korea's welfare while subordinating Korea's benefit (*Ohmynews*, 22/8/2008). A case in point was the beef deal between Korea and America in 2008 (Sa, 2009b).

Coming back to the issue of military rules Park and Chun, these two regimes directly controlled the media through censorship and manipulation, and then indirectly by other means (Park et al., 2000, p. 113). They focused strongly on media control as a means of maintaining their unjust power (Chang, 2004, p. 76). Firstly, they forcefully reorganized the media. Many media companies were merged or closed. Publications including highly acclaimed opinion journals were banned or merged in 1961, 1972 and 1980 (Ko, 2006, p. 29). One example of harsh media policy under the Chun regime was the merging of three news agencies into one - *Yonhap News Agency*. This monopoly system has restricted sources for the news for newspapers even today (Im, 2005, p. 192).

The two regimes limited freedom of publishing through control mechanisms such as 'the standard of printing facilities' (Chang, 2004, pp. 76, 78-79). As a result of this harsh media policy, there were only thirty-two daily newspapers in July 1987 (Youm, 1996, p. 14). These remaining media companies enjoyed an oligopoly and became big businesses during the dictators' rule (Chang, 2004, pp. 78-81). Further, many journalists were put in jail by the state or dismissed by their companies in 1972, 1975, and 1980 because they fought for issues such as freedom of the press, unionization and others (Ko, 2006, p. 29-31). The two regimes forced journalists who were critical of its rule to leave their companies. About seven hundred journalists were dismissed and one hundred seventy two publications were banned by Chun's press purification campaign in 1980 (Kim, Y-H. 2004b, p. 303). "A total of nine hundred thirty three journalists were forced to quit by 1980" (Park et al., 2000, p. 113). As a result, it was difficult to criticize political or social issues under the military dictators Park and Chun. The journalists, who were dismissed during the military regimes, have still not recovered their jobs or honor from their former employers (Sa, 2009b).

Chang (2004, p. 3) argues, acknowledgement of these abuses in modern Korean history puts pressure on media companies and the government to honor freedom of the press but there were not many large social movements supporting the democratization of the press until 1987. Before this time only a few free media movements existed such as 'a free press movement,' which aggressively supported the practice of press freedom demanded by *Dong-A Ilbo's* reporters, in October 1974 (Youm, 1996, p. 58). Press freedom was established in Korea after a series of protests for democratization in June 1987.

#### 2.4 Civilian governments (1988-present)

Most of the Korean media have enjoyed freedom of the press under the civilian governments. However, there has been the struggle with capital power (Sa, 2009b). Both conservative and liberal political leaders such as presidents have had a rhetorical image of 'Globalization' or 'Free Trade Agreement' (FTA). Since the 1990s Korean newspapers have faced a new environment - politically the media is being democratized, economically it is a competitive liberal market, and technically it is a multi-media era (Im, 2002, p. 20). Freedom House (2006) described the way that the Korean government boosted diversity in the media industry, and as a result more than one hundred daily newspapers are published across the country today. The cartel of existing media was not guaranteed anymore. According to Y-H. Kim (2004c), major conservative newspapers do not want social changes because they want to keep their power and property.

Therefore, the attempts at reform in the political, economic, and social areas have failed every time (Kim, Y-H. 2004c). Some civilian governments indirectly control the media.

Under the Tae-Woo Roh government (1988-1992), "Freedom of the press slowly but steadily became institutionalized as democratization continued in Korea, and there was a strong indication that it was being accepted by the government as an important element of Korean democracy" (Youm, 1996, p. 76). The government prohibited censorship and revoked registration of publications. This was a significant development compared to the Chun's regime. Another noticeable change in the media industry was the founding on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1988 of the liberal daily newspaper, *Hankyoreh*. In general as Heuvel and Dennis (1993, p. 10) wrote in 1993, the Korean media during the past seven years have been freer than ever to criticize the government, address formerly taboo issues, and expand with virtually no restraint. However, Chang (2004, p. 3) points out the slow speed of the democratization of the media compared to other sections of society. Chang stresses, past groups with excessive power were not cleaned up within the press industry and so power groups within the media have not changed. These media people have changed their position from being the group helping dictators and distorting people's rights to know, to pretending to be the group promoting rights and democratization (Chang, 2004, p. 3). During the Roh government, the free market was introduced in the newspaper industry.

Under the Young-Sam Kim government (1993-1997) the media were nominally free (Youm, 1996, p. 14). However, it indirectly controlled the media by using tax investigations. It investigated the tax records of the daily newspapers in 1994 (Woo & Joo, 2002, p. 192). However, it did not report the results to the people rather it used the process to control the media indirectly (Woo & Joo, 2002, p. 192). As a result of this pressure even though the government's policies were not coherent, the media still supported them (Woo & Joo, 2002, p. 192). This support was continuous until the International Monetary Fund intervention Asian economic crisis (hereafter IMF crisis) in 1997. Until this time the Korean media had only reiterated the government's line: "The fundamentals of the Korean economy are strong" (Woo & Joo, 2002, pp. 192-193). Im argues that this economic crisis came faster in Korea because the newspapers misled the public by downplaying the seriousness of the crisis (2005, p. 161).

During the Dae-Jung Kim government (1998-2002), the Korean media were free and they freely criticized the government. According to M-K. Cho, under the Kim government there was a noticeable issue in Korean media history was the necessity for media reform (Cho, 2003). Public criteria for media reform were firstly, the guarantee of media diversity; secondly, the increase of media watchdog role; and thirdly, the guarantee of independent media (Cho, 2003). However, although the Kim government also agree on the need for media reform there were differences between the public's criteria and that of the government's implementation (Cho, 2003). For example, the government undertook the harsh tax investigation from February 2001 to 2002 and sanctions against media companies (Reporters Without Borders, 2003). The harsh method by which these investigations were carried out did not have support from many citizen groups, even though there were in favor of media reform (Cho, 2003). Interestingly, the investigations also created differences in views between International Press Institute and World Association of Newspapers, who responded negatively to them and International Federation of Journalists, who responded positively (Cho, 2003).

Under the Moo-Hyun Roh (2003-2007) government, the Korean media were free and they aggressively criticized the government. In 2003, Freedom House (2003) stated, "Newspapers are privately owned and report fairly aggressively on governmental policies and alleged official wrongdoing." The Roh government tried to re-distribute media power and encourage media diversity. Also, the Roh government opened pressrooms to more Korean journalists (It needs to be noted that they have now returned to their pre-Roh state). The media related laws and policies have focused on limiting media ownership concentration and boosting media diversity. For example, the parliament passed the two media reform laws the *Newspaper Law* and the *Press Arbitration Law* in January 2005. These laws emphasize the social responsibilities of the media to the general public and respect pluralism. They aim to stop the major newspapers engaging in unfair competition in the newspaper market (Sa, 2009a). Also, Reporters Without Borders (2006) stated that the laws impose "a duty of 'social responsibility' on the media," and by introducing them it showed the government respected pluralism. The *Newspaper Law* is a revision of the old law on the *Registration of Periodicals*. The *Press Arbitration Law* combines features of the old law with the *Registration of Periodicals* and the *Broadcast Law* into a single law dealing with press arbitration and damage relief.

President Roh struggled to deal with the major conservative newspapers. During his government the major conservative newspapers criticized most his policies. So there was great tension between these media and the Roh government. Major conservative newspapers abused freedom of the press. According to one survey conducted in April 2003, seventy percent of the journalists answered that criticism about Roh government was not criticism by the media as watchdogs but for the purpose of finding fault with the Roh government (Lee, 2003). In another survey by the Journalists Association of Korea in August 2003 again seventy percent of the journalists said some media irrationally criticized the Roh government (Lee, 2003).

Moreover, major conservative newspapers have not published information on dissenting groups within society,

especially the weaker groups. For example, according to Y-H. Kim (2004c), major conservative newspapers criticized, as selfish, the legal strike of labour groups and the resistance of farmers to the FTA. Im (2005, p. 165) points out that the conservative voice of the Korean media except a few such as *Hankyoreh* is a problem. Especially, when they are reporting on conflict between labour and owner groups. They only partially report the facts, protecting the owner's interest in the name of economic development (Im, 2005, p. 165). Major conservative newspapers served the power groups and not the weaker groups and so interrupted social harmony (Kim, Y-H. 2004c). They still do not serve citizens (Ko, 2006, p. 29). Moreover, some media companies play roles as power makers. The 2007 presidential election was no exception (Sa, 2009a). These companies, especially major conservative newspapers, aim to keep their power and property for a long time (Kim, Y-H. 2004c). The Roh government introduced the Free Trade Agreement with America but this caused a backlash amongst many of its supporters however, other existing power groups such as the opposition party were amenable to this idea.

Korea has had a long history of authoritarian rule and authoritarian vestiges still exist. Regarding the vestiges of authoritarian culture in practice, Hallin and Mancini argue as follows:

Certain remnants of authoritarian culture that are reflected in restricted access to public information and official pressures against critical reporting; and the tendency toward instrumentalization of the media, both by political elites and by commercial owners (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 140) [still exist in Korea].

Their view is evidenced from the past to the current time in Korea. During authoritarian rule some critical media were pressured or shut down. Moreover, some ethical journalists, who were anti-dictator, anti-American or critical of media owners, were sacked by their media owners or put in jail by the state (Kim, S-S. 2005). One example, Yong-Soo Cho was the owner of the *Minjok Ilbo* was killed by the state under the dictator Chung-Hee Park (Kim, S-S. 2005).

Since 2008 political power has returned to the conservative group, the Korean grassroots democracy and press freedom that developed during the liberal rule have been threatened by the dictatorial style of leading groups such as the president, the Grand National Party and major conservative newspapers. For example, the Myung-Bak Lee government has forced existing directors to resign and replaced directors in the public sector. This is in breach of the law, which guarantees their positions for certain periods (*Hankyoreh*, 19/9/2008). Public gatherings in places such as Seoul Plaza have been banned and demonstrators harshly treated and detained (Korea Times, 2/6/2009b). Police also tore down the memorial alter to the late former President Moo-Hyun Roh installed in central Seoul, a move which drew immense public criticism (Korea Times, 2/6/2009b).

It has been suggested by some public opinion that there is a connection between the death of former President Roh and the fact that he was targeted for investigation by the Supreme Prosecutors Office regarding his family affairs. Roh's wife received financial support from a political supporter Yeon-Cha Park (former CEO of shoemaker Taekwang) during his presidency without his knowledge. There was collusion between the Prosecutors and the media in the reporting of the process of the investigation with unconfirmed evidence being revealed to the public. This public disclosure of his affairs had a negative impact on his reputation as a reformer of clientelism in the government and culture of society. After his death there was major outpouring of support for him as expressed in his memorial service. Under the Roh government Korea was assessed by the Reporters Without Borders as one of the Asian continent's best performers in press freedom in 2006. Korean print journalists confirmed this view in the 2006 journalists' survey for my PhD thesis (Note 3).

Amnesty International reported, "Korea has been backpedaling on human rights regarding expression of opinion, assembly and association under the Lee Myung-bak administration" (Korea Times, 2/6/2009a). Furthermore, the Citizen's Coalition for Democratic Media (CCDM, 2009), a media social movement in Korea, has expressed grave concern over the increasing use of force by police in cracking down on demonstrators. In recent rallies, police recklessly assaulted and detained non-violent demonstrators and even innocent civilians, injuring some (CCDM, 2009). However, *Chosun*, *JoongAng* and *Dong-A* (ChoJoongDong) have supported the Lee government's assault on human rights with one voice (CCDM, 2009). Additionally, Grand National Party are trying to pass seven media-related bills that include restricting freedom of assembly and association, which are guaranteed by the *Constitution*. ChoJoongDong have criticized public assembly as witness in the Candlit demonstration and have supported the seven media-related bills (CCDM, 2009). These issues are ongoing. Furthermore, these days, nationally there are increasing numbers of university professors, religious leaders and opinion leaders who are vocal in demanding no rollback on democracy, a cessation of the dictatorial style of the Lee administration, an official apology from Lee and his party for former President Roh's suicide, and other issues.

Freedom of the press has been a danger under the Lee government. The government oppresses the electronic media especially, the broadcast and internet media. The directors of media related organizations and broadcasting companies such as YTN and KBS have been replaced forcefully with Myung-Bak Lee sympathizers. As a result, the labor unions of YTN and KBS have fought against Myung-Bak Lee's followers. However, the appointed directors have abused their personnel rights. On 16<sup>th</sup> January 2009, Byung-Soon Lee, the director of KBS, harshly punished eight media workers

including sacking producers (*Hankyoreh*, 18/1/2009). On 6<sup>th</sup> October 2008, Bon-Hong Koo, the director of YTN punished thirty three journalists including sacking six journalists, one of whom was the chairman of labor union, Jong-Myun Roh (*Ohmynews*, 7/10/2008). The labor union of YTN has been desperately fighting for fair reporting since 18<sup>th</sup> July 2008 when Bon-Hong Koo, who was the Special Media Secretary for Myung-Bak Lee during the 2007 presidential campaign, was appointed director of the company (*Hankyoreh*, 18/9/2008). On 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2009, their fight was stopped with the agreement of the labor union and the managerial group.

Electronic media practitioners face harsh treatment including the wanton arrest of television journalists and producers such as Jong-Myun Roh of YTN, 'PD Notepad' producers at MBC and the detention of internet blogger during investigation such as Minerva. They were arrested and released. Moreover, according to media academic Young-Mook Choi, under the Lee government internet sites have been subject to intensive tax investigations. By August 2008, about twenty-four netizens (internet activists) were punished by the law because they campaigned to dissuade companies from advertising in three major dailies ChoJoongDong, which are publishing distorting reports (*Ohmynews*, 7/9/2008).

The Lee government has initiated laws, which have attempted to control internet activists from criticizing the government. These laws can also be used to protect power groups. Also, they can abuse these through legal proceedings of libel or complaints (Sa, 2009b). On 7<sup>th</sup> January 2009, this was demonstrated by the arrest of the financial blogger, Dae-Sung Park 'Minerva,' who wrote negative comments on Korea's ailing economy policy (He released on 20<sup>th</sup> April 2009). According to the *Financial Times*,

Minerva has become a celebrated online guru in South Korea during the crisis. He gained instant kudos for what were seen as uncannily accurate utterances on the fall of Lehman Brothers and the crash of the Korean won, which plunged twenty six percent against the dollar last year (*Financial Times*, 2009).

Furthermore, in June 2009, a critic who had been using an internet site to condemn the Lee government and existing power groups was banned by the internet site from writing commentary.

The Lee government has tried to reorganize the Korean media industry by allowing cross media ownership and creating ChoJoongDong's benefit in order to prolong the power of conservative groups (*Ohmynews*, 7/9/2008). The president, the government and the Grand National Party are trying to privatize the existing public broadcasting companies. The Grand National Party is trying to pass seven media-related bills that include allowing newspapers and big business to buy major stakes in terrestrial broadcasting stations. These issues are ongoing. Young-Mook Choi argued that the government uses the above-mentioned forms of oppression to encourage privatization of public broadcasting media and weaken the internet news providers in order to benefit ChoJoongDong (*Ohmynews*, 7/9/2008). The ChoJoongDong newspapers are the major conservative newspapers in Korea and are aligned with the conservative political power group to try to restructure the media industry (*Ohmynews*, 7/9/2008). Choi's arguments have proved accurate: in December 2008 the Grand National Party tried to introduce seven media-related laws. These attempts have however provoked the National labor unions of the media, which staged protests and strikes against the attempts to enact these new laws, resulting in an ongoing media war between the electronic media and the current Lee government.

## Conclusion

This paper explored how freedom of the press has developed in Korea since Japanese colonial rule. The history of press freedom in Korea has been characterized by periods of chaos. Since Japanese colonial rule, freedom of the press has been more often restricted than protected by the laws and policies. There have been four main features and forms of restriction since 1910: firstly, severe restriction during the Japanese colonial rule; secondly, experiencing freedom with unstable democracy under the American military rule and the First and Second republics; thirdly, oppression of the military regimes; and lastly, the struggle with capital power since the advent of civilian government. Several decades of Japanese colonial rule, American military rule, and military dictators have influenced the Korean society and the media politically, economically, socially and culturally.

Many Korean media companies especially major conservative newspapers do not perceive their roles as agents of communication but as political power players. However, the media need to be responsible to the general public by playing their roles fairly and by serving citizens. The theory and practice of press freedom in Korea has been at times chaotic and changeable. The problems of Korean society should be solved with Korean laws and solutions. Basically, some laws and policies have been still existed from the authoritarian rule to the civilian governments. However, in practice, such laws vary in degree, depending on the ruling style of political leaders such as the president. This means that theory is not a core issue to democracy but how freedom lives and perpetuates in practice.

Since 2008 political power has returned to the conservative group, the Korean grassroots democracy and press freedom that developed during the liberal rule have been threatened by the dictatorial style of leading groups such as the president, the Grand National Party and major conservative newspapers. These leading groups do not look out for the majority of Korean people and socially weaker groups but look out for the small percentage of dominant groups (ongoing). Freedom of the press greatly influences, for better or worse, democracy. Press freedom without social

responsibility by major conservative newspapers has led to a conflicted society and a threat to grassroots democracy in Korea today.

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### Notes

Note 1. This paper is drawn from the Korean literature review of my doctoral thesis at the University of Sydney entitled, "Freedom of the press in South Korea: Perception and Practice - A survey of print journalists' opinions."

Note 2. The systems of Kijasil and Kijadan are developed more fully in Chapter 7 of my doctoral thesis.

Note 3. One chapter (7) of my doctoral thesis more deeply discusses the degree of press freedom in South Korea.

Note 4. Material drawn from: Chang, H-S. (2004). *Freedom and Responsibilities of the Press in Korea*. Seoul Korea: Hanul Publishing Company, p34; Youm, K-H. (1996). *Press Law in South Korea* (1st ed). Iowa U.S.A.:Iowa State University Press, pp.27-77.

### Tables

Table 1. Politics, media control and press freedom since Japanese colonial rule (Note 4)

GOVERNMENT / PERIOD / PRESIDENT	METHODS OF MEDIA CONTROL	DEGREE OF CONTROL
Japanese Colonial Rule <b>1910-1945</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Draconian policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Employed press laws actively to make the Korean press serve as its 'forced slave'</li> <li>· During the first 10 years, there was not a single private newspaper in Korea.</li> </ul>	<b>Not free</b> Severe restriction
American Military Government <b>1945-1948</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Liberal policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Anti-Communist policy</li> <li>· Koreans had their real experience with freedom of the press.</li> <li>· Promulgated <i>Ordinance No.88</i>, which provided for registration and licensing of publications, including newspapers</li> </ul>	<b>Free</b> Some restriction
First Republic <b>1948-1960</b> <b>Syng-Man Rhee</b> (Korean war 1950-1953)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Anti-Communist policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Prohibited newspapers from promoting communist-inspired terrorism and subversive activities</li> <li>· A commercial newspaper, <i>Hankook Ilbo</i> started on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1954.</li> <li>· Closed the leading opposition paper, <i>Kyunghyang Shinmun</i> in 1959</li> </ul>	<b>Partly Free</b>
Second Republic <b>1960-1961</b> <b>Premier Myon Chang (President Bo-Sun Yoon)</b> A parliamentary system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Guarantee of press freedom</li> <li>· No conditions on freedom at all</li> <li>· A good occasion for press freedom to grow into full bloom</li> <li>· Almost unlimited press freedom created problems such as the abuse of power by media owners and journalists.</li> </ul>	<b>Free</b>

The military regime (Third Republic) <b>1962-1972</b> <b>Chung-Hee Park</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Oppressive policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Ordered prior censorship of all newspapers, magazine feature articles, comics, cartoons, editorials, photographs, and foreign news in the beginning</li> <li>· Media companies were merged in 1961 and 1972.</li> </ul>	<b>Not free</b> Severe restriction
The military regime (Fourth Republic) <b>1973-1979</b> <b>Chung-Hee Park</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Oppressive policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Proclaimed Emergency Measure No. 4 in 1974, it prohibited “any act to publish, produce, process, distribute, exhibit, and sell papers, books, disks, and other presentations” relating to the Federation and its members</li> <li>· Dismissed large number of journalists</li> </ul>	<b>Not free</b> Severe restriction
The military regime (Fifth Republic) <b>1980-1987</b> <b>Doo-Hwan Chun</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Oppressive policy / licensing of publications</li> <li>· Used daily “press guidelines” to regulate the media coverage of news events</li> <li>· Enacted the <i>Basic Press Act</i> in December 1980, which was one of the most restrictive laws</li> <li>· Media companies were merged in 1980.</li> <li>· Dismissed large number of journalists</li> </ul>	<b>Not free</b> Severe restriction
Sixth Republic (The Civilian Government) <b>1988-1992</b> <b>Tae-Woo Roh</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Prohibitions against censorship / revoke registration of publications</li> <li>· Visible and invisible restrictions imposed on the press had been abolished in favor of a greater freedom of information and the right of the people to know, which was guaranteed</li> <li>· The new daily newspaper, <i>Hankyoreh</i> started on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1988.</li> <li>· Free market was introduced in newspaper industry.</li> </ul>	<b>Freedom spreads</b>
The Civilian Government <b>1993-1997</b> <b>Young-Sam Kim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Liberal policy / registration of publications</li> <li>· Although tax investigations were carried out, the outcome was not made public, but rather used to control the media indirectly.</li> </ul>	<b>Free</b> Indirect control
The Government of the People <b>1998-2002</b> <b>Dae-Jung Kim</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Liberal policy / registration of publications</li> <li>· Tax investigations were carried out the result was reported to the people.</li> <li>· Free to criticize the government, address formerly taboo issues, and expand with virtually no restraint</li> </ul>	<b>Free</b>
The Participatory Government <b>2003-2007</b> <b>Moo-Hyun Roh</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Liberal policy / registration of publications</li> <li>· Reformed the newspaper law and the press arbitration law in 2005, which emphasized the responsibilities of newspapers to the general public</li> <li>· Tried to distribute media power to encourage media diversity</li> <li>· Opened pressrooms to more Korean journalists</li> <li>· Introduced the Free Trade Agreement with the U.S.</li> </ul>	<b>Free</b>
The Pragmatic Government <b>2008-Present</b> <b>Myung-Bak Lee</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· Liberal policy / registration of publications</li> <li>· Returned pressrooms to their pre-Roh state</li> <li>· The Grand National Party tries to introduce seven media related laws (ongoing).</li> <li>· Attempts to adopt cross media ownership and to reform media industry (ongoing)</li> <li>· Attempts to privatize public broadcasting companies (ongoing)</li> <li>· Attempts to make laws to control internet activists (ongoing)</li> </ul>	<b>Freedom is being threatened</b> Partial control



## The Development of Chinese Piano Music

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### Abstract

Many Chinese pianists, Lang Lang and Yun-di Li for example, received international recognition in recent years. When study the history of piano study and composing in China, it is not surprising that the history of Chinese piano music has gone through specific periods which strongly influenced compositional activities. This article is aimed to display cultural and political aspects that are behind historical period and analyses representative work in compositional style and characteristics.

**Keywords:** Piano music, Chinese music, Development, History

### 1. Introduction

Historically, piano music has belonged to the West, especially the European piano pieces that have for years been considered standard piano repertoire. However, as the piano and its music have become popularized all over the world, piano repertoire has expanded to include not only European works, but also pieces by American, Latin American, and Asian composers. After the piano was introduced in China in the seventeenth century, quite a few pieces were composed specifically for the new instrument. Although this Chinese piano music is performed widely in China, it remains foreign to Westerners and their concept of “standard repertoire.” Few pianists, even Chinese pianists, perform Chinese piano music outside of China. As communication and economic exchange between the East and West become more developed, people from both hemispheres want to learn more about each other. Despite the aspirations of both cultures to learn from one another, there is at times a lack of understanding and appreciation for cultural differences. This research aims to introduce some aspects of Chinese culture through the development of its piano music and to share the beauty of Chinese music.

Even though the history of the piano in China does not begin until the early twentieth century, the introduction of the keyboard instrument to China can be traced back to the 1600s. This paper discusses development of Chinese piano music in four major periods:

1. Before the People's Republic of China (Qing Dynasty to 1949)
2. New China Period (1949-1966)
3. Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)
4. Post Revolutionary (1976 to Present)

### 2. Before the People's Republic of China (Qing Dynasty to 1949)

In the seventeenth century, China was under the power of the Qing Dynasty. During the years of Emperor Kang Xi, commercial and religious contacts between the West and China developed quickly. The Emperor was interested in new things, especially poetry and music. In 1601, Father Matteo Ricci (1552-1601) brought the first Western instrument—a harpsichord—to China as a gift to the Emperor. This was the first Western instrument ever introduced to China.

Although Western music was well received in the Chinese court, it did not influence the ordinary people, who did not have access to the court. Also, because of wars between China and Western powers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, everything related to the West was rejected in Chinese society. As a result, the harpsichord remained only as part of the Emperor's collection; eventually, it was damaged and lost during the war years of the nineteenth century.

In 1840, China was defeated by England in the Opium War and was forced to open the coastal cities to Western powers.

After the defeat, the West increased its influence over the Chinese economy and political landscape. In 1850, a British man opened the first piano shop in Shanghai. (Note 1) During this time, Western missionaries became more active in Chinese society as well. The missionaries brought not only medical and educational services to China, but also Western piano music. Many churches were established, and harmoniums were widely used in religious services. Church-sponsored schools offered elementary music study as well as piano lessons. Later on, the American-manufactured reed organ became a popular instrument because of its portability and economy. (Note 2)

The revolution of 1911, led by Sun, Yi-xian, ended the Qing Dynasty. As a physician educated in Japan and the United States, Dr. Sun, who established the Republic of China, tried to replicate the democracy and modernization that he had experienced in the West. As a result, Western political ideas, including science, education, literature and arts, were introduced to China at astonishing rates. In the first decade of the twentieth century, a great number of Chinese students went abroad to study. Japan became the first choice for many Chinese students, because of its close proximity. It was also in Japan where Chinese students encountered Western music and instruments. First-hand knowledge of Western music, harmonium and piano was brought back to China, as the students returned. Thousands of harmonium pieces such as *Pieces for Harmonium* (1908) and *A Method of Harmonium Playing* (1911) were published in the first two decades of the twentieth century in China. (Note 3)

During the twentieth century the piano gradually gained more popularity and became a major musical instrument in China. Some of the schools that offered piano lessons at that time included: McTyeire School for Girls, Shanghai, established in 1883; Hu Jun School for Girls, Hu-zhou, established in 1909; Jing hai Girls' School, Su-zhou, established in 1917; and Hui Wen Middle School, Nanjin, established in 1922. (Note 4)

As the popularity of the piano increased, traditional Chinese social values began to shift. During this time, girls were sent to study piano and were not considered educated if they could not play. (Note 5) Moreover, it was easier for musically educated girls to be accepted into high class society.

As the influence of Western musical culture continued to develop in China, the United States and European countries became popular destinations for study. Many Chinese people who looked to enhance their studies went to Europe and the United States between the years 1900 and 1924. Although most of them chose science as their major, a few studied Western music. Most students majoring in piano went to music schools in the Eastern part of the United States (such as New England Conservatory). Among this first generation of musicians who studied abroad, one student stood out in Chinese music history: Dr. Xiao, Yong-mei (1884-1940), who was also known as the "father of modern music education in China." (Note 6) Dr. Xiao studied piano, voice and music education in Japan from 1910 to 1919. He also studied music theory at Leipzig University and piano and composition at the Leipzig Conservatory of Music, Germany. Dr. Xiao was the first Chinese musician to earn a Ph.D. (1916) from the West. While studying in the West, Dr. Xiao observed the development and importance of keyboard instruments in the Western process. (Note 7) He felt that Western music and its educational system were more advanced, so he decided to devote himself to improving music education in China.

After establishing music departments in several universities in Beijing, Dr. Xiao finally got a permit from the government that allowed him to establish a national music institute. This institute, called the National Conservatory of Music, was founded in Shanghai on November 27, 1927 and became the first institute in China to provide professional music education at the collegiate level. Instrumental study was limited to piano, violin, cello, and traditional Chinese instruments. Performance on all instruments was highly emphasized. Other courses offered included Western music history, theory, harmony, counterpoint, orchestration, musical forms, music literature, and appreciation. (Note 8)

During the late 1920s and 1930s, the rapidly growing economy in the coastal cities made Shanghai a center of trade, banking, and industry in the Far East. Many Westerners moved to Shanghai, including outstanding Russian musicians trying to escape from the Russian Revolution and Jewish musicians trying to escape from Nazi persecution in Europe. (Note 9) This provided Dr. Xiao, who was the Dean of the National Conservatory at that time, an opportunity to recruit the best musicians available for faculty positions. By the early 1930s, eight out of a total of forty-one faculty members in the Conservatory were Europeans. The rest were Chinese who had studied in the West. (Note 10) Many musicians who served on the piano faculty were Russian pianists from the St. Petersburg Conservatory and the Moscow Conservatory, including Mrs. E. Levitin, Z. Pribitkova, B. Lazareff, and Alexander Tcherepnin. The most influential member of the piano faculty was Boris Zakharoff (from the St. Petersburg Conservatory), who headed the department. As a student of Leopold Godowsky in Berlin, Zakharoff was an excellent pianist who concertized during the Russian revolution and eventually settled in Shanghai. From 1929 until he died in 1942, he devoted his life to training Chinese pianists.

Other Western musicians who worked at the Conservatory included pianist Ada Bronstein of Germany; famous Jewish violinist and piano pedagogue Alfred Wittenburg; and conductor of the Shanghai Municipal Orchestra Mario Paci from Italy. (Note 11) With the establishment of the National Conservatory and the training available from the excellent faculty, Western piano repertoire flourished in China. Many Chinese pianists who graduated from the Conservatory

either became concert performers or distinguished teachers at the Conservatory. Thus, these teachers established a tradition of their own in piano pedagogy, a heritage that has continued to this day. With this system, the faculty was appointed to teach different levels of students from primary school to college, with well designed repertoire for each level based on technique and musicianship training. For these reasons, the National Conservatory could be considered "the cradle of Chinese piano music." (Note 12)

Even though many Chinese people were educated in the West, piano music was not as widely known in China as it was in the West. After studying in the West, Chinese musicians felt it was important to introduce piano music to the Chinese people. In order to attract an appreciation from Chinese audiences, musicians began to experiment with new compositional techniques that combined Western harmony, counterpoint, and structures with distinguished Chinese characters. (Note 13) Traditional Chinese compositions were usually written on the pentatonic scale, the seven-tone scale, or the twelve-note scale. Among these, pentatonic modes were the most popular. Five essential modes were used in the pentatonic system (See example 1 on page 9). The scale consisted of whole tones, a minor third and a major third, avoiding half steps. (Note 14) Harmonic writing was not found in traditional Chinese music; thus, combining Western harmony with Chinese modes challenged Chinese composers.

#### **Insert Example 1 about here**

Composers such as Xiao, You-mei (1884-1940), Zhao, Yuan-ren (1892-1982) and Huang, Zi (1904-1938), became pioneers of these compositional experiments. Music such as Xiao's piano suite *Xin Ni Shang Yu Yi Qu*, Op. 39, composed in the 1920s, resulted from these experiments. Inspired by an ancient court dance of the Tang Dynasty described by Poet Po, Chu-i (772-846 A.D.), the piano suite consists of an introduction, twelve dances and a coda. (Note 15) The piece uses a pentatonic scale as the melodic line, accompanied by Western style major and minor triads, octaves, and fifths.

Dr. Zhao, Yuan-ren, who also experimented with Chinese piano music around the same time, pointed out in his article in 1928 the importance of using counterpoint along with the pentatonic scale. He suggested, "It is better to use all twelve tones and occasionally use pentatonic chords to achieve Chinese flavor." (Note 16) This laid a foundation for Chinese composers who wanted to create piano music with both Western harmony and Chinese character.

Another composer who largely influenced Chinese piano composition was Huang, Zi. After graduating from Yale in 1929, Huang, Zi became chair of the composition department at the National Conservatory. He taught almost every course in the department and encouraged students to understand Chinese tradition and spirit. By doing so, they could create Chinese music with both Western compositional techniques and traditional elements, instead of simply copying the Western music pattern. (Note 17)

There were also some Westerners who supported the creation of new Chinese music. In 1934, Russian composer and pianist Alexander Tcherepnin came to Shanghai from Paris as a consultant to the Ministry of Education. In order to encourage the development of new Chinese music, Tcherepnin organized a competition for piano compositions that used both Western and Chinese styles.

First-prize winner of the first Tcherepnin competition was He, Lu-ding, born in 1903 in Shao Yang, Hu-nan province. In his youth, he studied bamboo flute and other Chinese instruments, harmonium, music theory, and piano on his own. In 1931, he enrolled in the National Conservatory in Shanghai and studied with Professor Huang, Zi. In 1949, He, Lu-ding was appointed president of the Shanghai Conservatory, a position which he held until his retirement in the 1980s. During the 1930s and 40s, He, Lu-ding wrote film music, patriotic and popular songs, piano music and works for orchestra. Two of his piano pieces submitted to the Tcherepnin competition, *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy* and *Berceuse*, won top prizes. Chinese-flavored melodies were always found in He, Lu-ding's music. For instance, *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy*, was simple and pastoral, with tunes reminiscent of the bamboo flute. The inspiration for this piece was a picture of a shepherd boy playing the bamboo flute on the back of a water buffalo on a sunny day. The music was light and relaxing, full of joy and peace just like the picture that inspired it (See appendix A).

This piece is written in simple ternary form and the pentatonic mode of Zhi (tonic in G) is used with Western counterpoint in the first section, in which the left hand supports and responds to the melody (See example 2 on page 12).

#### **Insert Example 2 about here**

Mode Zhi (see Example 1 on p.9) shifts to mode Gong (tonic in G) in the B section with F-sharp as a passing tone. Mordents are used to imitate the double-tonguing techniques of the bamboo flute, while the left hand plays a dance rhythm in 2/4 (See example 3).

#### **Insert Example 3 about here**

A typical device of ornamentation popularly used in Cantonese music of South China called "JiaHua" is adopted in the A' section. The direct translation of "JiaHua" in English is "adding fancy," indicating the addition of notes as

ornamentation or decoration to the melodic line while keeping the original shape (See example 4a, 4b). (Note 18)

**Insert Example 4a about here**

**Insert Example 4b about here**

*Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy* shows He, Lu-ding's talent for combining Western compositional technique with Chinese folk tunes. It was premiered by He, Lu-ding himself on the seventh anniversary of the founding of the National Conservatory and was the first Chinese piano piece to be recorded on a gramophone. He, Lu-ding believed that "only when music is written in the nationalistic style, can it be appreciated and recognized by the people of the world." (Note 19) This was an important concept, because it led the way for Chinese music to be presented and recognized by the world. The success of *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy* increased the popularity of piano music in China, and it became a monument in the development of Chinese piano music, providing a model for Chinese composers to create piano music that belonged to their own culture.

### 3. New China Period (1949-1966)

After the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, new conservatories were established in addition to the National Conservatory. Faculty in those conservatories included Western-educated musicians from the Soviet Union, Europe, and China. In order to promote education, the government also sent some composers to study in the Soviet Union, because of the strong relationship between the Russian and Chinese Communist Parties. (Note 20) Compared to the turbulent years of the early twentieth century, this was a peaceful period for living and producing music. Composers were allowed to express themselves freely, which resulted in compositions of various styles of piano works, such as *Three Preludes* (1954) by Sang, Tong and *Etudes* (1955) by Du, Ming-xin. It was the first time that Chinese composers expanded upon Western music styles by incorporating Chinese musical language.

Another experimental period came in 1957, when Chairman Mao released his new policy for music and art. He indicated that China should "make the past serve the present and Western things serve China." (Note 21) Chinese composers tried even harder to adapt Western harmonies, forms, and genres, while preserving Chinese musical language. An example is the *Mermaid Suite* by Du, Ming-xin and Wu, Zu-qiang. Both Du, Ming-xin (1928-) and Wu, Zu-qiang (1927-) had studied composition and theory in the Tchaikovsky Conservatory between 1952 and 1957. Du was appointed Chair of the composition department of the Central Conservatory in Beijing, and Wu was appointed as President of the Central Conservatory, a position he held until 1989. Du, Ming-xin's compositions included three symphonies, two ballets and some piano music. (Note 22) Wu, Zu-qiang's compositions included solo piano music, cantatas and concerto for traditional Chinese string instruments, *erhu* and *pipa*. (Note 23)

The *Mermaid Suite* is a piano arrangement from 1959 that was influenced by impressionism. It was originally composed for a ballet based on a love story between a mermaid and a young hunter.

There are eight pieces in the piano arrangement, the most popular of which is *Seaweed Dance* (movement three). The introduction of this three-part piece makes use of impressionistic harmonic progressions that describe the calm surface of the sea (See example 5).

**Insert Example 5 about here**

Two traditional Chinese pentatonic scales are used in this piece. The main theme appears in section A and is based on Chinese folk-song style, in Gong mode (tonic on B). The main theme appears four times with variants and dynamic changes each time. The key modulates from B major in the first appearance of theme to G major in its second appearance. (Note 24) This harmonic color change, not used in traditional Chinese music, is primarily adopted from the West.

The mode changes from Gong (Example 1) to mode Yu in section B, tonic on b (minor) with quasi-canonic texture (Example 6).

**Insert Example 6 about here**

This device may be influenced by *pipa* technique. The *pipa* is a four-stringed plucked instrument originally plucked by thumb and second finger to alternate playing on a single string or different strings. (Note 25) The *Mermaid Suite* was considered the first mature piano piece to combine Western harmonic progressions and Chinese musical language. (Note 26)

### 4. The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), all forms of art related to Western culture were forbidden by the government. At this time the political environment changed in China. The government, shifting away from Western ideas and values, stated that no Chinese would be allowed to teach or learn Western music or instruments. Training institutes were closed and the Ministry of Culture was disbanded. Everything related to the West was considered bourgeois and was punishable in China. All pianos were either sealed or destroyed by the Red Guards. During the ten

years of the Cultural Revolution, only eight Revolutionary Model Works were approved to be performed. (Note 27) Six of the eight works were modified Beijing operas, and the other two were ballets. All of these works contained strong political content designed to praise Chairman Mao, the Communist Party, or the Chinese army and the victory of civil revolution. Other musical activities were also stopped at this time, and new musical compositions were not allowed to be created, unless they served a political purpose. Only piano music commissioned by the Chinese government was allowed. In compliance with government restrictions, and so they could continue to work, Chinese composers created piano arrangements from traditional Chinese music instead of creating new compositions.

One of the most important piano arrangements of this period was the piano concerto *Yellow River* (1969), arranged from a Chinese cantata by Xian, Xin-hai. The cantata describes the heroism and indomitable spirit of the Chinese nation during the War of Resistance against Japan, which was led by Chairman Mao. As a result, the piano concerto was widely accepted by the Communist party, even though Western classicism and romanticism were added in sections of the concerto. The premiere of *Yellow River* in 1970 was a huge success, creating a new model for making foreign things serve China. Still today, the *Yellow River* concerto is among the most important works of Chinese piano music.

With the success of this piano concerto, other piano music transposed from traditional instrumental music appeared during this period. *Twin Butterflies* by Chen, Pei-xun and *Xiao Gu at Sunset* by Li, Ying-hai, were among the most famous piano arrangements from this time. *Twin Butterfly* was originally Cantonese instrumental music and *Xiao Gu at Sunset* was from string and bamboo music.

Chinese music can be divided into three categories: Cantonese instrumental music (Guangdong province), String and Bamboo music (South Yangzi River), and Gong and Drum percussion ensemble (Chao Shan area). Cantonese music began in the Pearl River area, which includes Guangdong and Guangxi provinces, where Cantonese is the native dialect. This genre of music first appeared at the end of the Qing Dynasty, and at that time most of the music was inspired by Cantonese folk tunes and instrumental preludes. Even though Cantonese music started in the provinces, it soon spread to other big cities in China, including Shanghai, Tianjin and Beijing. Cantonese people were open to new things in general, and in their music. They honored folk tunes from all over China and included Western musical instruments to make up new ensemble arrangements. As a result, by adapting and combining all these elements, Cantonese music became a unique and distinct music style. Most Cantonese music was written with a seven-tone scale. Early orchestrations usually called for five instruments: *erxuan*, *tiqing*, *san-xuan*, *yue-qing*, and *heng-xiao*; such ensembles were called *Wu Jia Tou* (five-instrument group). In 1926, musician Lu, Wen-cheng extracted the *erhu* from Shanghai's String and Bamboo music, *qin-qing* from Chao Shan music and *yang-qing* from Cantonese music, shifting the ensemble group from five instruments to just three. He called the new ensemble *San Jian Tou* (three-instrument group). Later, Lu, Wen-cheng added the *dong-xiao* and the *ye-hu* to the ensemble, bringing the total back to five again. These two ensemble orchestrations are still used in Cantonese music today. Cantonese music is lively and energetic. Contrary to popular belief, with the exception of a few pieces, most of the music is lyrical and focuses on expressing the natural beauty of flowers, birds and landscapes.

String and Bamboo music became popular in the Jiang Su and Zhe Jiang provinces, especially around Shanghai. To distinguish String and Bamboo music from this region, it was also called River-South String and Bamboo music. The ensemble consisted of at least one *erhu* and one *di-zi* (Chinese flute) and usually had three to five players, with a maximum of eight. String instruments included the *pipa*, *yang-qing*, *erhu*, and *san-xuan*. Bamboo instruments included the *di-zi*, *xiao*, and *sheng*. Percussion instruments included the *drum*, *wooden fish*, *ban* and others. Most of the String and Bamboo music was mostly pentatonic and arranged from various instrumental folk tunes. Performance styles varied, depending on locations. For performances outside, the style would be bold and unconstrained; for inside performances, it would be delicate, tasteful, and beautiful.

Chen, Pei-xun, composer of *Twin Butterflies*, was born in Hong Kong in 1921. He began studying piano and composition during his teenage years, and was accepted by the Shanghai National Conservatory to study composition and orchestration in 1939. After the establishment of New China in 1949, he served as chair of the composition department at the Central Conservatory. Chen, Pei-xun arranged five piano pieces based on Cantonese and folk music. Four out of the five were published in 1959, and the last one came out in 1978.

The arrangement of *Twin Butterflies* has two main themes. One is from a Cantonese folk tune of the same title, and the other, which appears in the second part of the arrangement, is from *The Narcissus*, another folk tune from the Jiangsu province. As shown below in example 7b, the tune of *The Narcissus* is used in the second part of the piece as theme and variations. It is titled "Twin," as the repetition of each few bars produces a "pair of" or "twin" phrases (See example 7a).

**Insert Example 7a about here**

**Insert Example 7b about here**

Li, Ying-hai, composer of *Xiao Gu at Sunset*, was born in 1927 in Sichuan. He began professional education in composition, piano, and harmony at Chong-qing National Conservatory of Music at the age of sixteen. Li admired



Kodaly and Bartok for their nationalistic cause and decided to commit himself to the study of Chinese folk music while teaching at the Conservatory. (Note 28) Li, Ying-hai was the first Chinese musician to publish a book about Chinese music theory, *Han Modes and Their Harmonization* (1959), which described the system and theory of Chinese modal harmony. Another publication, *Pentatonic Finger Exercises for Piano*, was designed for systematic exercises of pentatonic scales for pianists. (Note 29) As he explained, the purpose of this work was “to help students to develop a habit of playing minor thirds in pentatonic scale, so that they can familiarize with the different patterns of Chinese pentatonic scales, modulations and some unusual patterns.” (Note 30)

*Xiao Gu at Sunset* was originally a solo piece for *pipa*, date and composer unknown. *Xiao Gu* is an ancient musical genre from the Han Dynasty (140 B.C.) that features *pipas* and *drums* and is usually played outside. “Xiao” refers to a kind of *Pipa*, and “Gu” means *drum*. Examples of titles given to the original *pipa* solo piece were “*Xun Yang Pipa*” and “*Moon night of Xun Yang*.” Scholars point out that “*Xun Yang Pipa*” may refer to the famous poem “*Pipa Xing*,” by poet Bai, Juyi (Tang Dynasty). The poem describes meeting a *pipa* player whose sad fate reminded Bai of his own sad fate while on a boat in the Xun Yang River. The title “*The Flowery Moon Night of Spring River*” was given to the arrangement of this piece for the Chinese instrumental ensemble in 1925. The music describes a picture of boats sailing on the Yangzi River at sunset with a clear moon and a beautiful night scene along the river.

The piano arrangement calls for the piano to imitate different Chinese instruments that were used in the ensemble version. It consists of eleven sections, made up of free variations on a single theme. Different subtitles were given in the ancient score and subtitles written by Zheng, Jianwen were most commonly used for the piano arrangement. (Note 31) (See Appendix B)

Unlike *Twin Butterflies* which repeats each melodic line, phrases in this piece were connected by single notes (See example 8).

#### **Insert Example 8 about here**

The subtitle in each section presents a particular “picture.” The *Introduction* starts in free tempo from a Chinese folk rhythm called *San Ban*. Here, the piano is used to imitate Chinese instruments used in the ensemble: the *pipa* and *gu-zheng* (See example 9 on p.25). The whole introduction illustrates a picture of boats returning on the Xun Yang River at sunset, while the sound of *drum* and *Zhong* drift from the shore.

#### **Insert Example 9 about here**

The *Andante Moderato* portrays a rising moon on the Xun Yang River, its reflection broken by paddling. The main theme in this section reflects an ancient Chinese poetic structure, *Starting (beginning)*, *Following (transforming)*, *Turning (developing)* and *Combining (combination)*.

This theme re-appears in the *Moderato*, where thirty-second notes in the left hand imitate a picture of the shining reflection of water flowing with the breeze. Similarly, the *Animando* suggests a forest at the riverside, flowers reflected in the water. This beautiful section uses free rhythm and changes tempo from longer note durations to shorter ones (half note, quarter note, eighth note, sixteenths, thirty-seconds).

The following section, *Ad lib. Dolce-Piu-mosso-Sostenuto*, recalls the timbre of the *Guzheng* by using a higher register in the piano to imitate overtones of string instruments. It represents a picture of floating cloud layers reflecting on the shining water. In the *Lento-Moderato*, seconds and thirds are used to imitate the *Wooden Fish*, an instrument that is used both for music and as a tool for reading Buddhist scripture. Both the *Lento-Moderato* and the following *Allegretto* describe a picture of singing fishermen on their boats during sunset. The last part of the section attempts to imitate the plucking of the *guzheng*.

“*Sostenuto-Moderato*,” the title of the following part, indicates a changing tempo in this section. Tempo changes are used to portray the images of boats drifting closer and closer while fishermen are singing. The gestures of singing and boating are combined to begin the next section, *Piu mosso-Stretto-Moderato*. This section expresses the bravery and happiness of fishermen with fully loaded boats after a busy day. In these forty-eight measures, the tempo changes three times, leading to the climax (See example 10).

#### **Insert Example 10a about here**

#### **Insert Example 10b about here**

#### **Insert Example 10c about here**

#### **Insert Example 11 about here**

The coda, echoing the beginning, portrays the image of disappearing boats, as sounds of peace and calm return to the Xun Yang River.

The beauty of this piano arrangement and the successful use of the piano to imitate Chinese instruments make *Xiao Gu at Sunset* one of the most famous and popular pieces in the Chinese piano repertoire. It is also an excellent example of

combining folk music with Western compositional techniques.

### 5. Post Revolution (1976 to Present)

The Cultural Revolution ended with the death of Chairman Mao, Ze-dong in 1976. Many of the restrictions on art and music that were instituted during the Cultural Revolution were eased, and the political tension between China and the West decreased. During this time composers regained the freedom to compose their own work without fear of punishment from the government. Unfortunately, the far-reaching effects of the Cultural Revolution continued to influence the creation of new piano arrangements. Many compositions from 1976 continued to use Revolutionary movie music, Chinese instrumental music, and ancient court music as inspiration.

The real change started in 1978, when Deng, Xiao-ping became the Chairman of China. Having studied in France, Deng was open to Western ideas, which he thought should be useful to China. Indeed, he brought huge political and economic development to the country. His announcement of an “open door” policy was the foundation for modern China, which welcomed the exchange between Chinese and Western culture. This policy provided a free atmosphere for composers. (Note 32) After 1978, many young composers went to the United States and Europe for further study, and a number won international competitions and became famous figures. These included Tan, Dun; Zhou, Long; Chen, Yi; and Ye, Xiao-gang, who also became well-known in the West. Modern compositional techniques were used in their works, in combination with Chinese cultural or folk elements, to reflect characteristics of China and Chinese life. A large number of compositions in various styles were published from 1978 to the present. In 1987, the first “Shanghai International Music Competition for Compositions and Performances in Chinese Style” was held in Shanghai and included competitors from twelve countries and areas. All twelve winners displayed different compositional styles, including impressionism, twelve-tone, and virtuosity. One of these works was *Combination of Long & Short*, by Quan, Ji Hao.

As professor of composition at the Central Conservatory, Quan has won many awards for his works. One of his frequently performed piano works, *Combination of Long & Short*, was inspired by drum rhythms from the Chao Xian nation, one of the minorities in northernmost China, populated by people of Korean descent and sharing a heritage with North Korea. The people speak Korean and wear traditional Korean dress in their festivals.

*Combination of Long & Short* is an original work based on a typical Chao Xian folk drum (long drum) rhythm. The typical basic rhythm, shown below, combines long and short values.

This is a contemporary work that combines folk rhythm with modern technique to create an atmosphere of happy festivity. In Chao Xian dance, the long drum is often featured in instrumental ensembles. It is hung in front of the chest; the right hand holds a bamboo stick, and the left hand is attached to the drum edge, while the thumb and the remaining four fingers tap on it.

The suite consists of three movements, each featuring a particular rhythm combined with modern pitches and harmonies to bring a “new sound” to the original rhythm. The central “grape chord,” consisting of three minor seconds and a tritone, appears throughout the suite (Example 12). (Note 33)

#### Insert Example 12 about here

The first Movement, Deng De Kong, features a light “Long, Short,” used at holiday and festival parties. This rhythm in the right hand, as shown above, rings with the major seventh to minor ninth of the “grape chord,” to represent happiness at the festival.

The second movement, Jin Yang Zhao, is a free and slow “Long, Short” from ancient China. In recitative style, it expresses deep, calm emotion. Again, the “grape chord” is found in the melody, now varied and extended with an ostinato in the left hand (See example 13).

#### Insert Example 13 about here

The last movement, En Mao Li, is a vivid and warm “Long, Short” in 5/8 with shifting accents, creating a vertical complex rhythm to represent the exciting dance scene of the festival.

Composers have continued writing throughout the 1990s and 2000s. Two important works from this time included *Tai Ji*, by Zhao, Xiao-sheng, and *Tang Ren Shi Yi*, by Xu, Zhen-min. The former was inspired by Tai Chi, in which the composer, Zhao, Xiao-sheng, created a tai chi compositional system based on the sixty-four divine symbols in Tai Chi. The latter was commissioned by Barry Snyder at the Eastman School of Music in 1998, and was inspired by two ancient poems from the Tang Dynasty.

### 6. Conclusion

For a country with more than five thousand years of history, China has a record of piano music that is relatively short and largely influenced by political phenomena. Musical creativity was controlled by political oppression and later freed by open policies. After many years of trying, Chinese composers have finally moved on from simply imitating Western musical language and creating folk arrangements. Now, they have found their own way of making original

compositions by using Western compositional techniques coupled with Chinese folk tunes and rhythms. In this way, they are creating pure Chinese piano pieces that express the beauty of Chinese music from ancient times to the present, while preserving cultural heritage through music. Although there is no unique style or direction, this change has already opened a door to future compositional creativity in China.

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- Note 2. Wang, Rong-shen, "A Study of Five Chinese Piano Piece with a Review of the Introduction and Development of The Piano in China." (DMA diss., Ball State University, 1995), 23.
- Note 3. Ibid., 24.
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Appendix A. A picture of *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy*



Appendix B. Subtitles in *Xiao Gu in Sunset*

Xiao Gu in Sunset		
Measures	Tempo Marking	Title
1-7 (introduction)	Tempo a piacere	Intro: Xiao Gu at Sunset
8-20(theme)	Andante Moderato	Petals in the Breeze
21-34 (var.I)	Moderato	Mountains Withholding the Moon
35-56 (var.II)	Animando	Setting Sun Over the Waters
57-70 (var.III)	Ad lib. Dolce-Piu Mosso-Sostenuto	Rustle of Autumn Maples
71-99(var.IV)	Lento-Moderato	Towering Gorges
100-134(var.V)	Allegretto	A Strain Flows Through Reddening Leaves
135-154(var.VI)	Sostenuto-Moderato	Banks in the Twilight
155-192(var.VII)	Piu mosso-Stretto-Moderato	Music From a Fishing Boat
193-253(var.VIII)	Sostenuto-Moderato-Presto -Largamente-Moderato	Home-bound Boat Under Setting Sun
254-end (Coda)	Lento Ad lib. Tranquillo	Coda



Example 1. Five pentatonic scale modes



Example 2. Main theme and counter melody of *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy*



Example 3. B section of *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy*



Example 4a. Original theme in *Short Flute of the Shepherd Boy*





Example 4b. "JiaHua" on the theme in A section

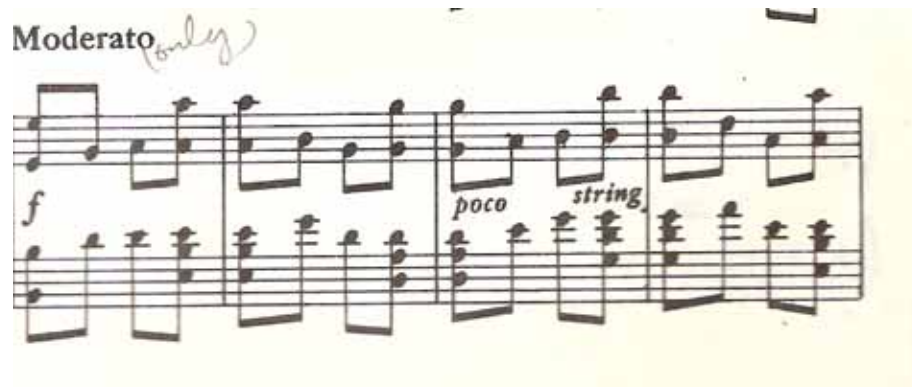
Example 5. Introduction of *Seaweed Dance*Example 6. B section of *Seaweed Dance*Example 7a. First theme of *Twin Butterfly*, from Cantonese folk tune with repetition of phrase.



Example 7b. Second theme of *Twin Butterfly*, from *The Narcissus*Example 8. Main theme of *Xiao Gu at Sunset*Example 9. Introduction. Imitation of *Pipa* and *Guzheng*



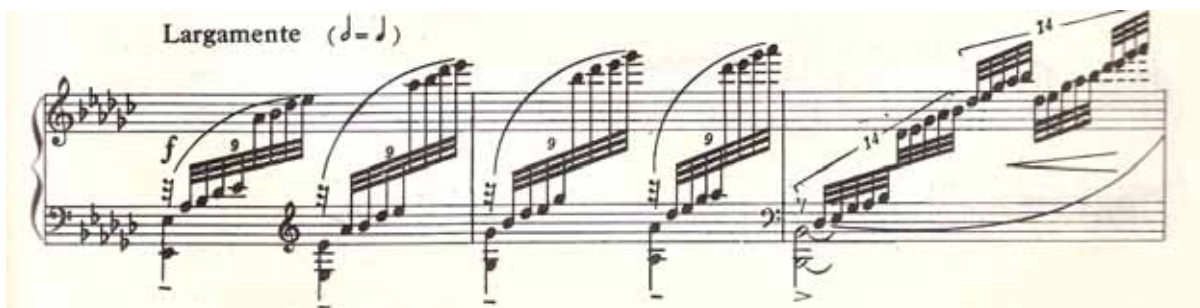
Example 10a. Tempo changes in *Piu mosso-Stretto-Moderato*, mm.135-148, slow-fast



Example 10b. Tempo changes in *Piu mosso-Stretto-Moderato*, mm.149-157, Moderato



Example 10c. Tempo changes in *Piu mosso-Stretto-Moderato*, mm. 163-178 Presto





Example 11. Climax.



Example 12. "Grape chord"



Example 13. "Grape chord" in Ostinato in bass



## Intercultural Interpretative Difficulties of Modern Chinese Intellectual Development: A Hermeneutical View

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### Abstract

This study is constituted by three components. The first will examine how Chinese scholars and Western sinologists have characterized modern Chinese intellectual history and what directions they have proposed for future intellectual development in China. The second section will construct a hermeneutic model of intercultural understanding and discuss its implications for the evaluation of modern Chinese intellectual development. I will show that an understanding of modern Chinese intellectual development in hermeneutical terms can circumventing many of the entrenched and misleading dichotomies in the field. In the third section, I will investigate three intercultural difficulties that modern and contemporary Chinese intellectuals face in the study of their own society and tradition. The recognition of these intercultural difficulties — which is made possible by re-conceptualizing local intellectual development in hermeneutical terms — put into relief the plight and possibilities of local intellectual development in non-Western localities.

**Keywords:** Hermeneutics, Translation, Intercultural understanding, Chinese intellectual history, Postcolonial, Cultural asymmetry

### 1. Introduction

This study is constituted by three components. The first will examine how Chinese scholars and Western sinologists have characterized modern Chinese intellectual history and what directions they have proposed for future intellectual development in China. The second section will construct a hermeneutic model of intercultural understanding and discuss its implications for the evaluation of modern Chinese intellectual development. I will show that an understanding of modern Chinese intellectual development in hermeneutical terms can circumventing many of the entrenched and misleading dichotomies in the field (Note 1). In the third section, I will investigate three intercultural difficulties that modern and contemporary Chinese intellectuals face in the study of their own society and tradition. The recognition of these intercultural difficulties — which is made possible by re-conceptualizing local intellectual development in hermeneutical terms — put into relief the plight and possibilities of local intellectual development in non-Western localities.

I have chosen to investigate Chinese intellectual development because this case shows lucidly how the intellectual development can be greatly influenced by intercultural interaction. The intellectual enterprise in modern and contemporary China resembles many non-Western ones in their marginal positions within the global intellectual world. But unlike many smaller non-Western cultures, China had a powerful and sophisticated indigenous intellectual tradition in the pre-modern era. A small number of non-Western culture aside from China, including India, Japan, and the Middle East, share this property. While these cultures demonstrate significant differences — such as modern Japan's ability to isolate itself to a certain degree from global intellectual influences and India's employment of English instead of an indigenous language in its academia — the modern intellectual enterprises of these cultures share a lot of common problems. The weaknesses of their intellectual development cannot be explained simply by a lack of indigenous talent, a lack of financial resources, the constraint of political pressure, or the stranglehold of an obsolete indigenous tradition. I will explicate their modern intellectual enterprises' underdevelopment in terms of structural problems in intercultural understanding.

## 2. Problems in modern Chinese intellectual development

The course of modern Chinese intellectual development is puzzling. The Chinese literati had remained a well-established and powerful group throughout pre-modern periods. China has resourceful traditions of art, literature, philosophy, and history. Moreover, Chinese intellectuals had a relatively early start to import modern Western ideas. In short, Chinese intellectuals enjoy significant advantages over many other non-Western cultures in developing a modern indigenous academy. However, Chinese scholars are still marginal in the global academic world, and both modern and traditional Chinese thought seldom enters into dialogue with Western traditions (except among Western sinologists). Modern Chinese intellectual development was filled with intellectual capriciousness and vagaries, phenomena that have become an investigative focus of modern Chinese intellectual historians. For example, there have been three main waves of confrontation in modern Chinese thought between 'traditionalist' and 'Westernizer' intellectuals. In every case, the most prominent cultural conservatives and the leading thinkers of the 'traditional' camp have been found to advocate radically progressive and modern ideas, whereas the most vigorous proponents of Westernization and anti-traditionalism have renounced Westernization and turn around to praise the Chinese tradition in later points of their career. In this section, I will map out previous studies of these 'traditionalists' and 'anti-traditionalist' paradoxes in modern Chinese intellectual thought and more recent proposals of Chinese intellectual development.

### 2.1 Attempts to make sense of intellectual history

The most influential early study of the anti-traditionalistic elements of Chinese traditionalists is Joseph Levenson's *Confucianism and its Modern Fate*. He explains that while Confucians of the late Qing and early Republican years wanted to be faithful to tradition, they were not willing to ignore the practical concerns of nation-rebuilding and cultural reinvigoration, which in turn brought in Western values and ideas to these Confucians' thoughts. Levenson portrays Chinese intellectuals as being only 'emotionally' faithful to tradition. They 'intellectually' betrayed tradition by introducing modern Western visions to promote the national well-being of China. He characterizes them as 'traditionalistic' figures in order to distinguish them from real 'traditionalists' and 'progressives'. However, he qualifies that he "does not suggest that some [emotional] Chinese minds were attached purely to history, as against some [intellectual] minds attached purely to value: traditionalists with the first attachment, iconoclasts with the second" (Levenson 1965: xii). Hence, although Levenson could be rightly accused of implying that Chinese and Western traditions are largely incompatible, he does not fail to sensitize us to the fact that Chinese and Western elements of thoughts were combined in early modern Chinese intellectuals.

In refutation of the incompatibility thesis (ie. that between Chinese and Western cultures), Chang Hao (1989) describes the situation that modern Chinese intellectuals faced as "a crisis of meaning" brought about by modernization as well as by competing belief and philosophical systems. In this crisis, 'traditionalists' and 'anti-traditionalists' alike drew ideas from both Western and Chinese traditions. Chang specifically demonstrates how Liang Qichao, who seems to fit into Levenson's portrait of 'traditionalistic' figures, had indeed placed certain traditional Confucian elements at the center of his thought. Wang Fansen investigates the roots of anti-traditionalism in allegedly 'traditional' movements and 'traditionalist' figures. He illustrates how the Ancient History Movement belied the original aims of its leaders and "quickly joined forces with the Anti-Tradition Movement" (Wang, 1987: 49). He discovers that the leader of the National Essence School, Zhang Taiyan, and many others in the 1890s proposed to "completely destroy the traditional Chinese social structure" long before the iconoclastic May Fourth generation did (Wang, 1987: 54). Even Thomas Metzger, who goes the furthest in claiming that modern conservative Chinese thoughts were a continuation of indigenous tradition rather than a reaction to the West, is no exception in analyzing them as a result of a mixing of Chinese and Western intellectual elements. Metzger and Ramon Myers (1980: 19) think that to both 'traditional' and 'anti-traditional' Chinese intellectuals, "Western thoughts are the essential new means" that "promise a breakthrough in the [...] struggle to reach traditional goals."

The paradoxical nature of Chinese Westernizers and their intellectual thought are no less attended to. Benjamin Schwartz (1964) establishes through the case of Yen Fu that the way Chinese Westernizers received Western thoughts is very much shaped by their exigent Chinese concerns. Lin Yusheng argues that it was "relatively easy" for "totalistic iconoclasts to change many elements in the content of their thought on the basis of the adoption of Western ideas and values" and they were still "dominated by their conception of the continuity of political and cultural orders and by a traditionally derived, intellectualistic-holistic mode of thinking" (Lin, 1979: 156). And as I mentioned earlier, Li Zehou (1987) explains that Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and many other anti-traditionalists have turned gradually from the idealistic concern of "enlightening the Chinese masses" to the more mundane one of "national survival." Pang Pu, another contemporary Chinese philosopher, complements Levenson's discussion of 'traditionalistic' figures and thinks that the early Westernizers were fueled on one hand by "the spirit of their particular time — the pursuit of rationalism" and on the other hand by "the spirit of their culture — emotional longing for tradition" (Pang, 1988: 134). It was such a combination of tradition and modernity which led them to their peculiar strand of extremist thought. Yu Yingshi argues that the thought and practices of Mao Zetung were to a significant extent shaped by traditional Legalist thinking and



Zhu Yuanzhang, the founder of Ming dynasty (Yu, 1981). A host of scholars including Guy Alitto (1979) study the similarity between Maoist thoughts and Neo-Confucianism, traditional Militarist and Moist thinking.

There is wide consensus among Chinese intellectual historians that elements of both Chinese tradition and modern Western thought are present in modern Chinese intellectuals of all stripes. The surprising part is that there is not much effort to extend analysis beyond on this recognition. Scholars keep on deconstructing old dichotomies, such as those of traditionalism versus Westernization or progressive versus reactionary, without reconstructing a more adequate perspective to characterize modern Chinese intellectuals and thought.

## 2.2 *Proposals for future intellectual development*

The majority of proposals for future Chinese intellectual developments concur that China's intellectual future ought to be composed of both Chinese and Western elements. However, different proposals prefer different principles and means through which Chinese, Western, traditional, and modern elements combine. While many emphasize the themes of democracy and science, the more cautious among them — such as Wei Zhengtong and Lin Yusheng — exhort Chinese intellectuals to attain a more sophisticated level of understanding of these Western values before incorporating them into intellectual thought. Neo-Confucians such as Mu Zhongsan and Cai Renhou advocated approaching Chinese and Western elements via “opening up from within Confucianism.” The more empirically minded, such as Yu Yingshi and Li Zehou, demand accumulation of detailed intellectual and historical knowledge as the prerequisite for reconstructing a new Chinese thought. Theoretically oriented figures such as Chang Hao and Tang Yijie identify specific elements of Western cultures which are worth adopting and parts of Chinese tradition to be downplayed. Among all these proposals, Lin Yusheng's notion of ‘creative transformation’ is the most systematically argued for and one of the most influential (Pang, 1988: 132; Tang, 1988: 54).

One of the reasons of this notion's success is its skilful articulation of a principle which virtually all other Chinese cultural transformation proposals implicitly rely on: intellectual openness. Lin states that in order “to understand pluralistically the Chinese tradition and the West, to treat them with an open attitude, [one should] concretely and carefully comprehend individual elements and developments in both the Chinese and Western traditions” (Lin, 1988: 369-70). Note that openness to all traditions is also a tenet of hermeneutical understanding. Lin's definition of creative transformation and the way in which he pictures the transformation of current cultural as a remaking of tradition is in line with Gadamerian hermeneutics. However, the problem is that he treats the pooling of resources across two cultures in a rather simplistic way.

Creative transformation is the use of a pluralistic mode of thought to reformulate and/or modify some (but not all) symbols, thoughts, values and models of practice, [...] so that they can become a valuable resource of transformation and at the same time, they can preserve our cultural identity (Lin, 1988: 388).

He admits that cultural “reformulation and/or modification could be influenced by — but not rigidly transplanted from — the West” (Lin, 1988: 388). His whole project rests on an ambiguous definition of ‘rigidity’ and the dubious principle of being ‘valuable.’ How rigid is rigid? To whom and in what ways should culture be valuable? He also seems to sense the vacuity in such a formulation and re-define it on the practical level:

The pluralistic mode of creative transformation involves two steps. 1) The application of Max Weber's ideal typical analysis to elements of tradition in order to ‘define’ them. 2) The elements thus defined are then ‘located’ within the modern life. If we discover that some cannot locate themselves in modern life — in other words, they ought not and cannot occupy a position in modern life — then we should abandon them. Whereas, if the central meaning of a particular traditional element is still meaningful to modern life, [...] then should we abandon it (Lin, 1988: 389)?

Such an extension provides a more practically identifiable principle of transformation, but at the price of contradicting many of Lin's insights. If he still holds that “the West embodies [...] contents that harmonize with one another as well as contents that contradict one another to various degrees” (Lin, 1988: 369), it is meaningless to relegate the final verdict of cultural transformation to the monolithic entity ‘modern life.’ Lin may be taking a pragmatist attitude and tentatively designating modernity as the relatively coherent picture of the West. Even though the difficult project of cultural transformation may afford such a pragmatic manoeuvre, another problem immediately surfaces. Yu Yingshi has warned us against using the term ‘modern life’ in an out-of-context way because

‘modern life’ in general is an ideal type. The description of concrete modern societies [in terms of such concepts] results in empty forms devoid of historical experience” (Yu, 1984: 15).

In other words, even if we grant that the Western cultures can be taken as a coherent whole, we cannot rely entirely on the historically specific standards of the West as the guide for China's own historically specific cultural transformation. Hence we have come full circle: to find out how to transform Chinese culture in an appropriate way, we need to know what is appropriate and practicable in China. The goal of cultural transformation is generally agreed upon, but the criteria and guidelines for achieving it have still not been clarified. The interpretation and evaluation of modern Chinese

intellectual development is in need of a new paradigm. In the next section, I propose to construct one that emphasizes hermeneutical intercultural understanding.

### 3. Towards a hermeneutical interpretation of modern Chinese intellectual development (8452)

Charles Taylor (1985) provides a useful characterization of intercultural understanding. He perceives it as a process of hermeneutical enrichment of language, the product of which he calls the language of perspicuous contrast.

It will almost always be the case that the adequate language in which we can understand another society is not our language of understanding, or theirs, but rather what one would call a language of perspicuous contrast (Taylor, 1985: 125).

More specifically the language of perspicuous contrast is defined as

a language in which we could formulate both their way of life and ours as alternative possibilities in relation to some human constant at work in both. It would be a language in which the possible human variations would be so formulated that both our form of life and theirs could be perspicuously described as alternatives of such variations (Taylor, 1985: 125).

Taylor illustrates the actual generation of a language of perspicuous contrast with an example. He first criticizes the inadequate understanding Western anthropologists had of magic practices of primitive societies. He objects to the Frazerian theory that magic is a type of proto-technology, but he also refutes the argument against Frazer held by Peter Winch and others, that magic should be understood as fulfilling a 'symbolic' or 'expressive' function. He argues that both "share an ethnocentric assumption that the tribe's practice must be either proto-science/technology or the integration of meaning through symbolism" (Taylor, 1985: 128). The segregation of the two is a modern Western characteristic. "Identifying the two possibilities — fusion and segregation [...] amounts to finding a language of perspicuous contrast" (Taylor, 1985: 129). It is clear from the example that what Taylor means by language includes concepts, theories and methods. Note also the way he moves hermeneutically from theory to cultural text, then to an alternative theory and again to text, and finally reaches his own theory. A more systematic theoretical account of such hermeneutic enrichment can be found in the works of Hans-Georg Gadamer.

Taylor acknowledges that his "notion of a language of perspicuous contrast owes a great deal to Gadamer's conception of the fusion of horizons" (Taylor, 1985: 126). In his major work, *Truth and Method*, Gadamer deals with the difficulties of the modern interpreter of historical texts. The gap of understanding in question is that between history and the present, or tradition and modern culture. In Gadamer's context, a horizon is simply defined as a set of "criteria and prejudices" and "a range of vision from a particular vantage point" (Gadamer, 1982: 302) (Note 2). Methodological discussions following the phenomenological sociological tradition of Alfred Schutz have demarcated the horizon of the scientist from that of the layman and that of certain designated groups from others. We may cautiously presume the existence of a Chinese horizon and a Western horizon, and some demarcation or non-overlapping area between the two for our theoretical purpose of problematizing intercultural understanding. As Gadamer warns us, the overlapping between horizons and the incoherency within individual horizons always render it difficult to demarcate between different horizons in practice.

For a person equipped with a certain horizon to achieve a better understanding of the Other who has a different horizon, there has to be a fusion of horizons. The person must "transpose himself into the other's situation" and "onto it must he bring himself" with his criteria and prejudices (Gadamer, 1982: 305). The process of transposing oneself

consists neither in the empathy of one individual for another nor in subordinating another person to our own standards; rather, it always involves rising to a higher universality that overcomes not only our own particularity but also that of the other (Gadamer, 1982: 305).

In hermeneutics, there is certainly no absolute universal which rises above all particularities. We can imagine a continual advancement of understanding through the works of consecutive generations of scholars, each producing a new language of contrast perspicuous to varying degrees. In this light, what Gadamer's scheme means for understanding the cultural Other is that one starts with a minimal level of commonality between cultures. Then one identifies one's particularities, brackets them, allows the Other's particularities into one's horizon, and interprets the Other with the broadened and fused horizon. If the understanding is not profound or adequate enough for one's purpose, then one may proceed again through starting a new hermeneutic circle. One has to more forcefully bracketing one's own particular horizon in this new circle than in the last attempt. In this sense, the language(s) of perspicuous contrast is in the plural rather than singular.

It is possible to evaluate a diverse range of schools of thought in modern Chinese intellectual history in terms of the advancement of languages of perspicuous contrast. Even the most culturally conservative Confucians had in early modern times contributed to a new language perspicuous contrast; they were involved with similar projects that anti-traditionalists are working on. Even the sinocentric formulation of the 'Chinese essence, Western utilities' principle

(in which it is asserted that Chinese culture grasps the universe's moral essence and Western cultures are merely good at instrumental skills) is at least attempting to make comparisons between cultures. We can certainly criticize them on the basis that they have neither bracketed their horizon well nor transposed into the Other's horizon sufficiently, and hence have not produced a sufficiently perspicuous language of contrast. At the same time, one must not forget that such criticisms are made possible only with reference to the relatively more perspicuous languages, ones that are partly built upon the languages generated by previous hermeneutic efforts. To evaluate contemporary Chinese thought, we can similarly consider how systems of intellectual thought, as languages of perspicuous contrast, surpass the particularities of modern discourses. Utility to an enlightened cultural transformation, faithfulness to Chinese classics, and deep understanding of the original meanings of Western values are integral and necessary parts of — though not the sufficient conditions — of advancing better intercultural understanding.

#### 4. The intercultural difficulties of intellectual development in the modern Chinese context

In spite of its merits as an embracing scheme of evaluation, the concepts 'fusion of horizon' and 'language of perspicuous contrast' provide an overly idealized picture of the reality of modern Chinese intellectual development. Jürgen Habermas justly criticizes that Gadamerian hermeneutics

gives the interpretive model of *Verstehen* a peculiarly one-sided twist. [He] only admits the possibility that the interpretandum may be exemplary for us, that we may learn something from it; [but not] the possibility that the author could learn from us. In opposition to this stands the anthropologist's experience that the interpreter by no means always assumes the position of a subordinate in relation to a tradition (Habermas, 1984: 134-5).

This weakness is inherited by Taylor. Taylor's scheme cannot accommodate the indigenous observer-translator who learns from the West and use that knowledge in a hermeneutic project of understanding indigenous tradition. Indigenous tradition is a cultural Other to Western observer-translators but not to indigenous observer-translators. In order to understand these 'indigenous observer-translators,' I will analyze three fundamental difficulties of intercultural understanding that they have to face in addition to those typically faced by Western observer-translators. They are the asymmetry of translation, the conflicting objectives of understanding indigenous and Western traditions, and the lack of 'real confrontations.'

##### 4.1 The asymmetry of languages

When earlier generations of Chinese intellectuals began to study the West, employ Western concepts for China, and compare the two different cultures, they were equipped with fewer Western theories, concepts, models, and methods than contemporary Chinese intellectuals. Previous generations of Chinese intellectuals had to translate Western academic languages from scratch with new formulations. Alasdair MacIntyre argues that we have to be concerned with the asymmetry of this representation relation. From the fact that we in modern English or some other modern language, with our academic resources, can accurately represent the belief system or part of the belief system of another culture, it does not follow that the corresponding part of our belief system can be represented in the language-in-use of that other culture (MacIntyre, 1989: 194-5).

Generations of modern Chinese intellectuals and especially anti-traditionalist ones have experienced this asymmetry. They were dazzled by the great diversity of Western scholarship and were at pain to translate them. Some commentators including Arthur Wright argue that there are inherent difficulties using the Chinese language to do translations. But the argument that Chinese language is inherently less capable of translation is controversial. Perhaps traditional Chinese intellectual vocabulary is too much dominated by Confucianism, but the long history of debates among Confucians have also generated a rich and varied vocabulary. Perhaps China was more geo-politically unified for most of the time than Europe, but regional intellectual differences among different parts of China was also substantial. So the question of asymmetry has to be explained with something other than the characteristics of (non-Western) languages.

##### 4.1.1 The relative desirability of cultures

Talad Asad's discussion of the inequality of languages between the West and the third world gives some clues to answering the question.

Western languages produce and deploy desired knowledge more readily than third world languages do. (The knowledge that third world languages deploy more easily is not sought by Western societies in quite the same way, or for the same reasons) (Asad, 1985: 159).

Asad thinks that while non-Western intellectuals cannot afford to ignore Western culture even if it is difficult to access, Western intellectuals has much more discretion to neglect to translate non-Western culture when they find it difficult to do so. He argues that there are a host of Western models, theories, and vocabulary that non-Western intellectuals want to imitate and reproduce (Asad, 1985: 159). They are essential to non-Western intellectuals because the "knowledge of these models is the pre-condition for the production of more knowledge" and translation of Western culture is itself "a mimetic gesture of power, an expression of desire for transformation" (Asad, 1985: 159).



The Western observer-translator is not particularly motivated to translate non-Western cultures in non-Western cultural terms. The social science and humanities in Western academia does not accord much significance to Chinese and other non-Western traditions. In the modern Chinese scholarly community, however, there are numerous intellectual who fit Asad's description of third world intellectuals. That is, non-Western academics care much more about Western culture and knowledge than the Western academy care about any non-Western tradition of knowledge. As a result, Chinese language-in-use has to carry a much heavier translation load than the Western languages. This in turn results in a much larger amount of mistranslation in Chinese translation efforts. Interpreted in this light, the asymmetry of translation is ultimately caused by an asymmetry in global intellectual and cultural power.

#### 4.1.2 Contextuality of the translation principles of 'charity' and 'humanity'

A critical analysis of translation theories in the philosophy of language can also shed light on the problem of translating Western culture into the Chinese language. One of the tenets of translation theory —advocated initially by Willard Quine and then by Donald Davidson — is the principle of charity:

Until we have successfully established a systematic correlation of sentences held true (in the other language) with sentences held true (in our language), there are no mistakes to be made. Charity is forced on us; whether we like it or not, if we want to understand others, we must count them right in most matters (Davidson, 1982: 78).

Davidson's main concern is the very possibility of translation. A translator who merely emphasizes the incommensurability of foreign terms eventually defies the goal of translation. The translator has no way of knowing that the foreign term is inaccessible in the first place, because "the more absurd or exotic the beliefs imputed to a people, the more suspicious is entitled to be of the translations" (Quine, 1960: 69). Furthermore, a translation which contains extreme oddity as interpretation is, strictly speaking, not a translation at all, and will be of little value to anyone save obscurantists. If such a translation of a certain foreign practice is accepted, then subsequent efforts to re-interpret the practice will be discouraged.

Another tenet of translation, the principle of humanity, similarly concerns the possibility of translation. Richard Grandy proposes to translate in a way that "the imputed pattern of relationships among beliefs, desires and the world be as similar to our own as possible" (Grandy, 1973: 107). The justification for humanity is that portraying the Other as an absolutely incommensurable entity endangers the legitimate status of the Other as a group of human beings. There is in addition a pragmatic concern: if the rationality structure of the Other cannot be assumed to be roughly identical to that of Us, then the pioneer translator would not have found a basis for translation (Note 3).

Useful as they are to Western observer-translators, 'charity' and 'humanity' assume a different form and generate different implications for non-Western observer-translators. When a Western observer-translator accepts certain exotic practices as 'right,' she is less immediately obliged to count herself as wrong. Smooth bracketing and un-bracketing of values in one's horizon is easier when the Other's horizon poses less universalistic beliefs than one's own. An example will illustrate this point. When a Western social scientist interprets the Indian taboo against eating ox meat as 'right,' she practices 'charity' by regarding the act as a particular incident that is suspended from further investigation. Such charity might represent a Eurocentric and condescending attitude. But it could also yield anti-Eurocentric arguments such as explanation of the taboo in terms of rational economic and ecological factors (Harris, 1979). The indigenous Indian observer does not usually go through a parallel process. Instead, she will find it much more convenient and sensible to first make a universal claim and then verify the particular incident as the Western observer-translator does. In doing this, she brackets her own beliefs and accepts the Western horizon for the sake of proceeding to challenge her own (bracketed) one. As long as the modern Western scientific enterprise produces more universal claims than the belief systems of less developed societies, the asymmetry of language is sustained. Charity practiced by a powerful culture does not generate identical intellectual consequences than that practiced by a marginalized culture.

A similar situation problem can be found with the principle of humanity. The indigenous observer-translator demonstrates, in line with Grandy's formulation, an identification of the rationality structure of the translator and the translated. However, because Western rationality structure has stronger claims to universality, both indigenous and Western observer-translators are likely to take modern Western rationality as the basis of common rationality.

#### 4.1.3 Implications of intellectual multiplicity for translation

The asymmetry of translation is also reinforced by the multiplicity of intellectual positions in Western culture. By pluralism, I am referring specifically to the clearly demarcated, systematically organized, and differentiated positions in any field of Western knowledge. Multiplicity and pluralism are definitely not detrimental to Chinese intellectual development. The problem to be identified here is not that the Chinese language is insufficiently rich to translate these multiple positions, but that a Chinese observer-translator has to choose among many interpretations of the same term made by different Western schools. For example, the ubiquitous concept 'social structure' carries different connotations

for orthodox Marxist, structural-functionalists, and critical theorists, just to name a few. Western intellectuals sometimes look

“scornfully at other academic professions [for] the multiplicity of mutually irreconcilable standpoints. But from within one’s own profession, one characteristically views and describes the situation only from the specific point of view of one’s own commitments” (MacIntyre, 1989: 197).

The Chinese observer-translator is less ready to adopt such an ‘insider’ point of view that eliminates the confusion of multiple interpretations. Scrupulous Chinese observer-translators confront Western thought as a whole rather than being gradually socialized into a specific school. When Western observer-translators approach Chinese tradition, they can proceed through hermeneutic enrichment more smoothly. It is because she can try to come up with a set of differentiated and precise vocabulary at the end of that process instead of dealing with them in the beginning. Even though clear demarcated standpoints can be a bonus in some ways, their short run effect on translation is disorienting.

What adds to this disorientation is the multiplicity of Chinese translations on any Western intellectual subject. Chinese intellectuals through the past century have translated many foreign concepts, and not all such translations are used consistently. Additionally, many of these Chinese translations are systematically different from Western ones. By ‘systematic,’ I am referring to differences that show an identifiable indigenous pattern of divergence. For instance, Thomas Metzger (1988: 78-95) demonstrates that contemporary Chinese intellectuals’ conceptions of liberalism are heavily colored by an optimism not found in modern and classical Western discussions of liberalism. Andrew Nathan points to an “identification that had dominated the Chinese vision of democracy since Liang Qichao[:] [...] the facile identification of peoples’ interest with the state’s” (Nathan, 1981: 225-6). These systematic divergences may stem from various sources such as local political and economic contexts. Whether such divergences are taken as mis-translations or praised as innovative cultural contributions, subsequent generations of indigenous observer-translators carry a more onerous burden in their translation efforts.

#### *4.2 The conflictual goals of translating the West and understanding China*

The previous section reveals some of the difficulties a Chinese observer-translator faces in interpreting the West. One may question the relevance of these difficulties, since the majority of Chinese intellectuals in social sciences and the humanities take China and not the West as their object of inquiry. This section focuses on the issue of Chinese intellectuals studying China instead of the West and its implications for intellectual development.

The crucial point to bear in mind is that Chinese intellectuals are scrambling to utilize Western concepts, theories, problematics, and methods to understand China. The use of Western methodology in turn requires prior understanding of Western societies, history, culture, and thought. Comprehensive background knowledge of the West is often the prerequisite for clear understanding of the Western theories and methods one wants to apply to studying China. For instance, the use of a single concept such as feudalism already involves an interpretation of Western history. Despite the lack of explicit discussion among Chinese intellectuals’ on intercultural understanding, any application of Western methodologies by them inevitably involves a fusion of horizons. The balancing of efforts invested in understanding China versus those in the West hence becomes a problem for Chinese intellectuals.

Because of language proficiency, familiarity with local cultural tradition, and proximity to local data, it is logical to expect Western intellectuals to understand Western methodology more readily and Chinese ones to handle primary Chinese materials with more ease. A contrast between the two major groups of intellectuals in China Studies substantiates such an expectation. On the one hand, Metzger and Myers urged Western sinologists to place “a new emphasis on linguistic competence and on that careful emphatic analysis of Chinese thought patterns for which linguistic competence is indispensable” (Metzger and Myers, 1980: 50). On the other hand, Perry Link and Su Wei notice that in cultural discourses in China in the 1980s, there “was the hasty snatching of ideas from the West”, and the “whole scene was as stimulating as it was superficial” (Link and Su, 1990: 17). And if translation across the two cultures are indeed asymmetric (as I argued in section 4.1), then problems identified by Link are inherently more insurmountable than those problematized by Metzger.

There is another factor that makes the balancing act more stressful for Chinese intellectuals. Since the vocation of Western sinologists is the understanding of China, linguistic competence in the Chinese language and knowledge of Chinese tradition are a logical extension of their central intellectual efforts. But for Chinese intellectuals, the understanding of Western intellectual history and tradition is only one of the prerequisites to a better translation of Western theories. And this translation is in turn only one of the prerequisites for a more adequate and profound understanding of China. Despite their zeal of adopting Western theories and methods, many Chinese intellectuals do not consider the thorough understanding of Western societies one as of their central intellectual concerns. Ye Qizheng describes the reluctance of investing serious effort in understanding the West in the case of Taiwan sociologists:

They stay at the level of collecting and describing primary data [of Taiwan's social phenomena], and the better ones borrow established Western theories to re-examine old propositions. Those few studies on [Western] methodology and analytical strategies are crude (Ye, 1982: 136).

Ye is referring to sociology, which is a modern Western invention. Dependency on Western methodology in the discipline is expected to be heavy. The humanities, which have had a long tradition in China, could be somewhat different. Humanities fields such as philology enjoy an indigenous heritage of methodologies. In this sense, the humanities require less Western methodology and hence less understanding of the West. But in practice, even scholars in the humanities are under heavy pressure to learn Western paradigms.

#### 4.3 *The dominance of 'real confrontations'*

Circumstances of knowledge consumption shape intellectual development. Intellectuals depend on the state and business for financial and institutional support; intellectuals also depend on the opinions of the educated public and media for rewards such as prestige. I identify the peculiar characteristics of the Chinese intellectual consumption context in terms of Bernard Williams' distinction between 'notational confrontations' and 'real confrontations.' Williams argues that

a real confrontation between two divergent outlooks occurs at a given time if there is a group of people for whom each of the outlooks is a real option. A notational confrontation [...] occurs when [...] at least one of those outlooks does not present a real option (Williams, 1985: 160).

William is referring to the terms 'outlook' and 'confrontation' in the context of different ethical values between two cultures, but we can generalize and apply this distinction of real and notational confrontation to any kind of intercultural understanding. Both Chinese intellectuals and Western sinologists are involved in certain forms of cultural confrontation triggered by their knowledge of the differences between China and the West. However, they experience the reality of the confrontation differently. While Western sinologists find China to be an intriguing subject of study, they seldom find China a model on which the West should urgently reform itself. In contrast, many Chinese intellectuals perceive the ethical, technical, and economic outlooks of the West as real options, or even the best and only option, for future China. They think they could readily "go over to them, live inside them in their actual historical circumstances and retain their hold on reality, not engaged in extensive self-deception, and so on" (Williams, 1985: 160-1). Certain options Chinese intellectuals desire to accept may be misconceptions or utilitarian considerations motivated by the political and economic power of the West. These may eventually be recognized by Chinese intellectuals as notational options. But in general, Chinese intellectuals and society at large may be said to engage in real confrontations much more than their Western counterparts. To the extent that real confrontations proliferate, intellectuals, their audience, and their sponsors are less able to afford a 'relativism of distance' — the ability to appreciate foreign values but at the same time not accept them as an alternative to one's own values. They are more eager to demand an absolute and clear, albeit over-simplifying, choice between the two cultural outlooks.

The mechanism through which the reality of confrontation affects knowledge consumption takes the form of two demands. The first is reflected in the continuous and unbridled fashion in which intellectual development is milked for immediate social, political and economic utility. The pragmatic nature of the intellectual community of modern China is widely recognized. Zhao Fusan argues that the pioneer introducers of Western social sciences, including Yen Fu and Liang Qichao, directed social sciences "at the aim of the salvation of the country" (Zhao, 1985: 223). Yu Yingshi describes one of the two main schools of Chinese historiography as 'interpretationists', whose projects "are dictated exclusively by the demands of political reality" because what they did was to "seek historical justification for political activities" (Yu, 1984: 12). Ye Qizheng examines the historical development of sociology in China from the 1920s to the 1980s and concludes that

either from the point of view of the entire intellectual enterprise or from sociology alone, China's social order is the impetus [of the development of the discipline]. [...] Because of this practical concern for survival, Chinese sociologists developed in a low profile way with heavy emphasis on the pragmatic (Ye, 1982: 122).

One of the deleterious results of this practical orientation is the shortage of basic research and methodological development and an oversupply of applicatory exercises.

The governments of Greater China were not particularly good at tolerating intellectual freedom. In the most recent two decades, these governments have relaxed some of their earlier constraints on intellectual thought. Nevertheless, Ye still thinks that their "legitimation of certain values and outlooks" does not genuinely help "the holistic reconstruction of concepts, methods, research agendas and theories" (Ye, 1985: 260). In order to achieve 'holistic reconstruction,' intellectual independence from practical political concern as well as strong financial support is required. However, because of the eagerness for practical impact, much funding is granted to "intellectual development focus[ing] on technological and applicatory aspects," while theoretical intellectual pursuits are marginalized as they "can only benefit society in the long run" (Ye, 1985: 259).

## 5. Conclusion

The previous analyses illustrate that current characterization of modern Chinese development and proposals for future intellectual development in China have not adequately attended to problems of intercultural understanding. Borrowing from the hermeneutics of Taylor and Gadamer, I have shown the utility of applying a hermeneutical model to understanding Chinese intellectual history and future development. Apart from providing an alternative perspective to interpreting Chinese intellectual thought, it most importantly compels us to rethink the difficulties that have been obstructing intellectual development in China or other non-Western localities. By building upon philosophical theories of intercultural translation, I illustrate that there are three major intercultural interpretative obstacles that Chinese and non-Western intellectuals have to face when they utilize Western theories and methods to study their own societies and cultures.

These three obstacles — the asymmetry of translation, the rivalrous goals of translating the West and attending to indigenous tradition, and the dominance of real cultural confrontations — cannot be dealt with by the existing solutions supplied in proposals of Chinese intellectual development. For example, the influential principal of intellectual openness — proposed not just by anti-traditionalists but centrist such as Lin Yusheng — does not help to rectify asymmetries in the translation process, dissolve the dual and conflicting interpretative responsibility falling on the shoulders of indigenous observer-translators, or lower the number of real cultural confrontations. Intellectual openness can encourage charity in translation, but charity could be a dangerous principle to encourage in non-Western intellectual contexts, as I have argued. Another popular solution, one that is gaining more ground in the past decade in China with China's economic success and the emergence of cultural conservative movements, is the preservation of tradition and indigenous culture. This solution is favored by traditionalists and centrists. But neither does it directly deal with the three major problems of intercultural understanding. In principle, it could help by encouraging Chinese intellectual development to circumvent intercultural interpretation altogether and to focus largely on local culture and society. But it is questionable whether such an inward cultural turn is practically enforceable given the present reality of comprehensive cultural, intellectual, and academic globalization.

The nature of the three intercultural difficulties is interpretative, but their origins partly lie in global cultural asymmetry. As long as non-Western intellectual contents remain less 'desirable' than Western ones, the asymmetry of translation is likely to persist. As long as indigenous observer-translators have to bear the burden of understanding foreign culture before they can examine their own, they are disadvantaged in comparison to intellectuals from dominant global cultures. As long as domestic political, economic, and socio-cultural conditions call for utilitarian directions in intellectual development, real confrontations will remain dominant.

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## Notes

Note 1. Dichotomies such as anti-traditionalist versus traditionalist, progressives versus conservatives, fundamentalists versus radicals, are all heavily value-laden terms. But in the highly charged atmosphere of Chinese debates, these dichotomies have remained in use for almost a century.

Note 2. When the term ‘horizon’ was first by Edmund Husserl, within the framework of a philosophy of consciousness, its significance is accorded only to the individual. However after the ‘linguistic turn’ in philosophy, it becomes more common to speak of horizons of different communities.

Note 3. Robin Horton investigates the way a pioneer translator approaches the Other. He distinguishes between primary and secondary structures. A primary structure “does not differ very much from [...] culture to culture. It provides the intercultural voyager with an intellectual bridgehead. Primary theory gives the world a foreground filled with middle-sized, enduring, solid objects” (Horton, 1982: 228). He goes on to describe in abstract terms what those objects are: “They are related spatially in terms of five dichotomies: ‘left/right’; ‘above/below’, ‘in front of/behind’, ‘inside/outside’, ‘contiguous/separate’” (Horton, 1982: 227). But the bulk of the problem remains — it has only shifted to the question of which objects are primary and which are secondary.



# Contribution of “Abolishment of Serf System” in Tibet to Human Rights Campaign ---- In Memory of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Democratic Reform in Tibet

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## Abstract

In 1959, the Chinese government conducted a democratic reform in Tibet, and thoroughly abolished feudal serf system. Feudal serf system in Tibet before that time was dark and ferocious, vandalizing “human character, personality, human rights and humanity”, seriously obstructing overall progress of the Tibetan society, and isolating Tibet from the modern civilized world. The fact in Tibet that “millions of serfs acquired freedom and liberation, and thence became human in its actual meaning” was in line with the goal of human rights campaign without doubt. Therefore, the Chinese government and people made another great contribution to the human rights campaign and human civilized progress.

**Keywords:** Abolishment of serf system, Human rights campaign, Contribution of China

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly passed “Universal Declaration of Human Rights”. This historically meaningful declaration provided a reference to all countries for their reflection of human rights condition and human rights career.

On October 1, 1949 when the new China was founded, the Chinese people broke away from a fate of being oppressed and enslaved, acquired freedom and liberation, and possessed their rights to freely survive and develop. However, the old Tibet of China in the 1950s was still in a developmental stage of feudal serf system. The situation of the dark politics, depressed economics, out-dated culture, and hard livelihood in Tibet was ghastly. The huge number of serfs was regarded as “critters that could speak” and “tools that could speak”, and they had no “dignity and rights of humans”. The old Tibet was dissociated far away from the modern civilized society, so it was called “the last relict medieval solitary island” in the modern civilized world of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

In 1959, in compliance with will of all Tibetans, the Chinese government conducted a democratic reform in Tibet, and thoroughly abolished the inhuman feudal serf system which had reigned Tibet for several hundred years. Millions of serfs in Tibet acquired freedom and liberation in terms of politics, economics and spirit. Thence, they broke away from the ruling chain, owned “dignity and rights of human being”, became “human in its actual meaning” for the first time, and became a master of their own fate and the Tibetan society. The democratic reform of “abolishment of serf system” in Tibet was the most glorious and magnificent Psalms in the history of “abolishment of serf system”, and was another great contribution of Chinese government and Chinese people to the human rights campaign and human civilized progress.

The reason why the Chinese Central Government conducted the democratic reform in Tibet and abolished the serf system mainly contained the following two.

## 1. “Vandalization on people” of Tibetan feudal serf system

The first article in “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” stipulated as follows “Every one is born free, and is equal in dignity and rights without exception. They are endowed with rationality and conscience, and they treat each other like brothers.” The fourth article stipulated as follows “No one should be treated as a slave or be enslaved. Any form of slavery or slave transaction should be prohibited.” In consideration of the basic content of this declaration, we discover that the

old Tibet was worlds apart from the social reality. “Even if the jokul turned out to be ghee, it would be owned by the seigniors; even if the river turned out to be milk, we wouldn’t drink even a little. Although our lives are owing to our parents, our bodies are possessed by the feudal officials.” This Tibetan folk song gives a vivid and accurate description of expropriation of capital goods and labor achievements of serfs by Tibetan serfowners, and a description of infringement of their freedom and dignity.

Feudal land tenure and serfs were attached to personal occupations of serfowners, which was the ruling foundation of feudal serf system in Tibet. Before the democratic reform in 1959, the three major seigniors in Tibet, namely, feudal officials, lords and temple monks, occupied all Tibetan land, including arable land, pasture, forests, wasteland, mountain ranges, and rivers, etc. There was almost three million Tibetan Gram (15 Tibetan Gram equals to one hectare) of tilled land, among which feudal regimes occupied 30.9%, lords occupied 29.6%, and temples occupied 30.5%. There were a couple hundred of lords in Tibet, and more than 20 major serfowners, among which 7 or 8 serfowners were the superior, each occupying dozens of manors, and up to 10 thousand Tibetan Gram of land. Those feudal seigniors, who accounted for only about 5% of the population, not only possessed all land, but controlled the political power, army and all reigning machines for maintaining their class interests, while those serfs and slaves who accounted for 95% of the population had no land or personal freedom, and were attached to “the three major seigniors”. The latter had no rights to be human, and were not treated as independent humans. They had no choice but to work day and night for their serfowners like creatures, and were fed up with oppression and humiliation. The former Tibetan government stipulated that, serfs had to be fixed on the manor land of those seigniors they were attached to, they were not allowed to leave without permission and were absolutely prohibited to escape.

Tibetan serfs and slaves were classified into three hierarchies, namely, “Khral-pa”, “Dui-chun” and “Lang-sein”. “Lang-sein” referred to slaves, who had no capital goods, and worked for serfowners for nothing. They were private property of their owners because they were occupied by them all their life and were dominated by them at will. They might be resold, mortgaged, given as a present, and granted at will. If they fled and were caught, they would be beaten up, and some even were beaten to death. These “Lang-seins” accounted for approximately 5% of Tibetan population, and most of them were passed down from generation to generation. The total household of “Dui-chun” was almost one third of that of serfs, but their population was relatively small. They had no land, and a large majority of them lived their lives as a helper or by selling some handmade articles with an extremely difficult life. “Dui-chun” also had their seigniors. Even if they drifted to other foreign lands, they would have to contribute a poll tax to their seigniors, and even those mendicants would not be exempted. That is to say, each person has his “personal root”. Serfs were attached to serfowners together with land, each serf having his master, and shouldn’t break away from their serfowners all their generations. “Khral-pa”, namely serfs, had some production materials, while slaves hadn’t. Serfowners classified his land occupied into two types, one called “self-support land” and the other called “copy land”. “Self-support land” was possessed by serfowners, while “copy land” was allocated to their slaves for plough. With “copy land”, a slave then was a serf, who got the land on the condition that he provided definite objects, monetary and service. Labor services of Tibetan serfs had two types, of which was “external service”, a service for the nation and the government, such as use of grain by chancellors and yamun in Tibet, and magic flask lama service, etc. On one hand, seigniors and feudal officials ordered their serfs to send such definite objects as grain and ghee plundered everywhere back to their official locations station by station. On the other hand, they used definite objects captured outside for business trade, etc. Furthermore, whenever officials and armies receiving and seeing off each other, they would assign a labor service to serfs, so serfs had to accept over 20 external labor items each year, and many serfs suffered from unimaginable torture during their service, even toiled to death. The other type of labor service was called “internal service”, in which serfs had to plough “support land” for the three major seigniors, from sowing, hoeing, reaping to storing, which were completely undertaken by serfs with no obligation. There were also twenty or thirty types of internal labor items, such as “cutting grass”, “twisting wool”, “covering roofs”, and “pasturing cattle”, etc. Besides, there was also “conscript labor”, and “building penstock”, etc. Such various heavy labor services occupied two thirds or three quarters of annual time of serfs, and they had no choice but to suffer unspeakably. As for serfs who had no ability to accept a labor service, their owners enforced moneylending to them, or retook land, livestock and farm tools from them, which were then transferred to those serfs with the ability to accept a labor service. Therefore, quite a large number of “Khral-pas” either were in heavy debt, not able to pay off their serfowners for several decades, being their serfs for generations for repaying the debt, or were confiscated with land, soon reduced to “Dui-chun” or “Lang-sein”.

The particular authority of the Law in old Tibet to protect occupation of serfs by serfowners, and “13-Article Code” as well as “16-Article Code” which passed for several hundred years, clearly stipulated unequal status of people before the Law, “the three major seigniors are the superior, who enjoy an absolute authority in terms of politics and economy, etc. The medium social class includes general monks and officials, military officers of lower level and button men fed by the three major seigniors. The lowest social level includes the extensive serfs and slaves, such as women, blacksmiths, butchers, and tramps, etc, who are at the bottommost social level, without any right. Humans can be classified as gentle and simple. With different social hierarchies, one’s life value and price differs too. Life of humans is also different, the



top people with a gentle life, and the lower people with a simple life. The King of Tibet is the superior seignior, with a priceless life. Officials, monks and chiefs are at the top hierarchy, so 'price of their corpse can be measured by gold'. Price of the life of those at the lowest level merely equals to a length of hayband, including tramps, blacksmiths, and butchers, etc.

Under such a system, serfs didn't have the most fundamental right of equal survival. They had to endure all inhumane treatment, struggle in a painful life, and suffer from great torture. A serf named Laba denounced, "All my ancestors were patrimonial blacksmiths, which was the lowest social class at that time, and they were called 'black bones'. They said our blood and bones were black, and whoever talked to us or drank a little of our water would have bad luck. Therefore, in those days, we always drifted about with a shabby tent. We worked if there was any and we begged if there wasn't, driven around just like tykes. I have a brother with the name of A Gui, who was smart and quick-witted when young. He was taken away by a seignior, who asked my brother to play with his monkeys, and to jump up and down with the real monkey so as to tickle him. The seignior called my brother "man monkey". In the season near the lunar calendar in Tibet when was the coldest time during a year, just for pleasure, the seignior often threw my brother into a slot for washing "black bones". Drifting from the front gate of the manor to the back door, my brother was almost frozen to death when he was dragged out." This was the miserable experiences of serfs under the serf system, and this was the human right under the serf system.

Tibet is located on the roof the world, so there is little cultivatable land and pasturable grassland. Besides, it was seized by the three major seigniors, so material living conditions of Tibetan serfs were extremely primal, tousy and underprivileged. Under exploitation of serfowners, large quantities of serfs were frozen to death, starved to death, and even reduced to beggars. In 1951 when Tibet got liberated in a peaceful way and when the Liberation Army marched into Lhasa, thousands of beggars, prisoners, and cadavers and hordes of tykes were found everywhere. The south of Jokhang Temple was a beggar village called "Lu Bu Bang Cang", and surroundings of Ramoche Temple were assembly places of beggars. The number of beggars at that time almost reached over three to four thousand, which accounted for one tenth of population in the city. Thereby, the feudal serf system of Tibet was on the verge of collapse.

## **2. Obstruction of the political system of "Constantinism" on social progress**

The fifth Article of "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" stipulated, "Excruciation was prohibited to any one, and also any infliction of cruel, inhumane or contumelious treatment or punishment". The ninth Article stipulated, "Arbitrary arrest, constraint or exile was prohibited to any one". However, under the savage and dark political system of "Constantinism" in old Tibet, it was absolutely impossible to realize this ideal goal which stands for social progress.

Since the Yuan Dynasty, the feudal political system of "Constantinism" has been formulated in Tibet, and a religious chief was simultaneously a political leader. By the period of Qing Dynasty, this political system has been quite complete and strict. All officials in each Ji-qia (equivalent to the current "District") and Zong (equivalent to the current "County") in local government and its subsidiary organs in old Tibet were jointly constituted by the top monks and lords, and Dalai Lama was the Chief representative. The essence of "Constantinism" was to imprison and keep under control the extensive serfs under the cover of thearchy and under the velarium of religion, to maintain feudal ruling order of Tibet, and to completely support the reign of the decayed, downfallen and cruel serfowners. On one hand, the religious power reigned the great number of people by its administrative power. On the other hand, it inflicted spiritual threat to people by its religious doctrines and in the name of awarding and punishing their otherworld. It is in this way that religious power and political power got closely combined.

The theory of causation in Buddhism is a significant theoretical basis of "Constantinism". The highest symbol of a ruler was the living Buddha, and he was considered a temporal idolater, an otherworldly rescuer, and a dominator of Body and Soul. And a secular ruler merely belonged to a ruling hierarchy of lower class with his support and under his command. According to the Buddhism doctrine, if one resisted his ruler, he not only wouldn't enjoy the "otherworldly" happiness after death, but his soul would be thrown into "Jigoku", tortured by all kinds of excruciation. He would not be excused from death forever, and even if he were finally "reincarnated", he would only be "a creature", and even wouldn't get his human body. Due to historical and regional reasons, and especially enforcement of rulers, Tibetan people all believed in Buddhism. The three major seigniors occupied a commanding position, ordered their serfs about in name of the Buddhist, and required them to take things as they were, and to endure economic exploitation and political oppression of serfowners so as to go for an illusory eternity Reincarnation. Under anesthesia of such a religious doctrine, serfs were forcibly indoctrinated various religious doctrines. Therefore, they thoroughly lost the rights of free thinking in a spiritual world. They had to follow the living Buddha. Otherwise, they would be guilty.

The top class monks in Tibet were totally engaged in all levels of political activities, and all their religious activities were served for political and economic interests of "the three major seigniors". All temples owned their land and serfs. According to the Law, monks needn't work, and all labours were imposed on serfs. Furthermore, expenditure of all large-scale religious activities should be burdened by serfs. The living Buddha, Lama, and high-ranking monks lived an affluent and even luxurious living all without exception, while those extensive impoverished serfs had to suffer from

hardship and their suffering was unspeakable. Serfs were not allowed to resist this inhumane treatment, and all temples in Tibet had their loathsome instruments of torture. For instance, in Ganden Monastery, there were a great deal of handcuffs, fetters, clubs and instruments of torture for scooping out eyes, and drawing out tendons, etc. Monks and lords behaved their own way, such as feeding button men and hatchet men, personally setting up an illegal court and prison, undertaking all legal cases, abusing cruel punishment, arbitrarily arresting slaves and serfs, and arbitrarily beating and slaughtering them. However, all this wouldn't violate the law. The "Constantinism" enforced the extensive serfowners to endure unlimited cruel oppression and exploitation, which caused some serfs to go to the temple and join in the monks for alleviating burden of the corvee tax and for a way out as well as for depositum. However, even in the temple, they were still serfs, and the only difference was that they became serfs in cassock. At the same time, the old Tibetan local government forced serfs to be monks. For example, it was expressly stipulated that "One of them three men had to be a monk", which resulted in a large quantity of monks and nuns in Tibet. Before the democratic reform, 120 thousand were monks and nuns in approximately 1.2 million of population, which accounted for 10% of the entire population. They neither undertook material production, nor any population production. Therefore, the large quantity of labour force who should have created social wealth became parasites of the society, which seriously blocked development of the Tibetan social production capability, and caused economy of the feudal serf system to be overburdened.

By virtue of religious power, rulers of the old Tibet also brought about a relatively closed cultural environment, in which any new thought was prohibited. Any new thought or concept in violation with the religious doctrine, or in violation with interests and concepts of the three major seigniors would be regarded as heresy, and would be excluded and jugulated. Tibetan people had no choice but to accept religious thought, and they had no rights to accept any other education. This cultural absolutism seriously damaged a rational spirit, so the entire Tibetan society refused any progress or any modern civilization.

Serf system was a social system in place of the slavery in the history, and it had been followed for several hundred years. With development of the social production capability, this feudal serf system gradually became a shackle of social progress. Its imprisonment on personal freedom of laborers, its suppression and disparagement of human dignity of laborers, and its deprivation of survival rights of laborers were resenting, and caused the surging "abolishment of serf system" worldwide. By the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the serf system had been a history in most countries and regions in the world. By 1950s, the feudal serf system in old Tibet had been out of tune with the historical development. it was the root of the impoverished and backward Tibet. Therefore, the extensive monks and people would always be in extreme misery and Tibet wouldn't step towards a civilized and progressive path without thorough reform and abolishment of the serf system.

At the moment when Tibet was faced with a historically radical change, those monks and especially high-ranking monks with religious authority, played a primary role in interfering social progress. They were clearly aware that a modern reform of the Tibet would equal to a downcome of the golden ages of old Tibetan "System of mass monks", and would equal to destruction of the "Constantinisms". The new society wouldn't allow for continual existence of the parasitical hierarchy, for continual existence of the strongly fortified hierarchy, and for the continual existence of mutual oppression and enslaving. However, however they resisted, the step of social progress would be irresistible. The downfallen serf system hindered civilized progress of the society, so it would necessarily go extinct, which is an objective rule that can't be changed by any will. A social system that is more humanistic with humanism ideal would finally replace the dark, hideous, out-dated and inhuman society.

In 1959, when the Chinese government declared thorough abolishment of feudal serf system and a democratic reform in Tibet, millions of Tibetan serfs cheered at their liberation, singing and dancing. For the first time, they had their own land, and their own property. They finally became free, and had the rights of free labor and free living. They finally could enjoy their own labor fruit, and could dominate their destiny. Thence, the human rights condition in Tibet changed revolutionarily, and the human rights career in Tibet began its roaring development. And the new China thereby made a huge contribution to the human rights campaign in the world.

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## Taiwanese Skin, Chinese Masks: A Rhizomatic Study of the Identity Crisis in Taiwan

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Nowadays, a far graver mistake is made: race is confused with nation and a sovereignty analogous to that of really existing peoples is attributed to ethnographic or, rather linguistic groups.

Ernest Renan, "What is a nation?" (Note 1)

### Abstract

Viewed from some postcolonial/postmodern perspectives by employing mostly the micropolitics of Homi Bhabha's and Gilles Deleuze (and other theorists who hold similar conceptions), whose major common interest lies in dismantling the myth of establishing an imagined community by retrieving a shared national history/culture and assuming ethnic purity, this paper seeks to explore the paradoxical aspects of Taiwan's quest in her decolonizing progress for a "collective" national/cultural identity. Besides, this paper compares mostly Taiwan's decolonization process with South Korea's because of their similarity in territorial division due to some civil wars and the intervention of external powers (e.g., the former Soviet Union and U.S.A.). By so doing, this paper aims to propose some solution to Taiwanese's dilemma in constructing a "collective" national /cultural identity.

**Keywords:** Bhabha, Deleuze, Decolonization, Postcolonial, Postmodern, Taiwan, Cultural/national identity

### 1. Introduction: The Decolonization of Post-colonial Taiwan

In the process of decolonization, among the nations that are suffering from the turbulence caused by conflicts among different races, ethnicities, religions, or localities within their territories, no *state* is experiencing the identity crisis like Taiwan, who is not even recognized as a *nation* by most countries in the world. In the postcolonial era, most colonized areas have gained independence of their colonizers. Unlike most once-colonized countries, Taiwan's status in the international community is always disputed. Legally speaking, Taiwan is not recognized as an independent country, but in reality, it is treated as such (including the U.S., who explicitly declares in *Taiwan Relation Act* that Taiwan is not a sovereign state), for all the Taiwanese tourists and businessmen traveling around the world are holding the passports issued by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is very different from the situation of Tibet, Macau, or Hong Kong, which are currently under the Chinese rule. ***Above all, even South Korea (the only region or country that shares the most similar political situation with Taiwan) has gradually established their national/cultural identity after suffering for a long time from the colonization by different imperial powers (the U.S. included) and internal ethnic conflicts.*** Moreover, many well-known colonial/postcolonial discourses that are good for interpreting the situations of many Third World nations are mostly inadequate to analyze Taiwan's identity problems generated by the conflicts among different ethnic groups (e.g. Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* and Spivak's idea of the subaltern, though some of their conceptions are also valid for exploring Taiwan's colonial experience). For in the past decades (1945-present), Taiwan, though previously having been a *colony* under the rule of several foreign regimes for centuries, was not enslaved or colonized by a different race or troubled by a binary white/black opposition that many Third World nations have experienced. Rather, the last and, undoubtedly, the most influential among the *colonizers* of Taiwan—China—exactly has the population that is ethnically akin to most Taiwanese and thus is the hegemonic power that haunts and

interferes in/with Taiwan's formation of a *unified* (Note 2) national/cultural identity.

Besides, we usually assume that the colonizer comes from abroad and only oppresses the colonized natives while indulging their citizens to enslave the natives or exploit the natural resources or property of the colony. Nevertheless, given the KMT's authoritarian Leninist-type and oppressive rule over Taiwan by treating the Taiwanese as subjects of a colony for about 50 years, in this paper I intend to treat the émigrés from China (the latest and largest group of immigrants in Taiwan's history), namely, the ruling party of Taiwan (1945-1994/2000) (Note 3) —the Kuomintang (KMT, or Nationalist) party-state—as one of the colonizers in Taiwan's colonial history (ironically, they came from the same fatherland with most early Taiwanese settlers). The KMT's oppressive rule over Taiwan is a form of *interior colonization*, just like the Chinese rule over Hong Kong, or the British rule over the Pilgrims, the early settlers in New England in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. In this paper I intend to explore the impact on Taiwan's identity crisis by focusing on analyzing the KMT's oppressive rule over Taiwanese. Besides, viewed from both socio-political and cultural perspectives, I desire to propose some solution to Taiwan's national /cultural identity crises by employing mainly the micropolitics (or rhizomatics in Deleuzian terms) of Renan, Stuart Hall, Homi Bhabha and Deleuze, which aims to dismantle any racial/cultural fundamentalism for establishing an imagined community.

## 2. The Identity Crisis in Taiwan

### 2.1 Taiwan's colonial history—a land of hybrid cultures

Since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Taiwanese people had been colonized for about four hundred years, by several foreign regimes, such as the Dutch (17<sup>th</sup> century), the Spanish (late 17<sup>th</sup> century), and the Japanese (1895-45), until recently, in the 1940s the Nationalists fleeing from China after being defeated by the Chinese Communists. The foreign influence is always haunting in the formation of the cultural/national identity of Taiwanese people, especially the Chinese influence. Hence, Taiwanese culture is extremely polyglot and heterogeneous. Moreover, each major ethnic group in Taiwan seeks to gain hegemony over others by claiming themselves as the *orthodox* Taiwanese, while the KMT regime is trying hard to proclaim to the world that it is the *orthodox* regime that has sovereignty over the whole Chinese territory. As a result, Taiwanese people have much difficulty in the formation of a *unified* identity. More importantly, there is not a single *nation* that has long been divided and ruled by different regimes (e.g. Korea and the former Germany before reunification) facing the dilemma of Taiwan—whether choose to desperately declare independence or seek reunification with mainland China despite China's warning and threatening that such act would lead to war. Strangely enough, despite the poor performance of the Chen Shui-bian Administration, many Taiwanese voters under their strong fear for the Chinese Communists finally chose to vote for Chen as their President in 2000 and 2004.

### 2.2 Taiwan in comparison with South Korea and other postcolonial regions or nations

In addition, no nation having been divided and ruled by different regimes is like Taiwan, which has so many activists, domestic or abroad, trying so hard to seek to formally terminate their legitimate relationship with the fatherland. And this happens to be the paradoxical aspect of Taiwan's quest for identity—to search for a shared past while denying some elements within it. In Deleuzian terms, the revolt is Taiwanese people's lines of flight or deterritorialization of China's hegemonic rule and culture. In addition, besides the early settlers from China—Minnan, Hakka (the supposedly Han Chinese, the majority ethnic group)—there are natives of mainly nine aboriginal tribes in Taiwan's population. With the influx of the late immigrants—the KMT officials and their adherents—the conflicts among different ethnic groups are sharpening.

The above-mentioned paradoxical aspects of Taiwan's identity crisis happen to share many similarities with Korea when it comes to the territorial division and the problematic attitude toward history of the two nations. After World War II (1945), which also marked the end of Japanese colonial rule of Korea, the Korean peninsula was divided into two nations under the intervention of the former Soviet Union and U.S.A. —the North and South Koreas—each of which claimed to be the legitimate Korean regime in the of hope of fulfilling Korean reunification, just like the division of China and Taiwan after the Chinese civil war ending in 1949. Nevertheless, there are some distinctive differences between the two national divisions: For China and Taiwan, the former is much stronger in many aspects (e.g., military power and territory) than Taiwan except in democratization. As for the two Koreas, they are much closer in either territory or military power except in economic development. Moreover, both Taiwan and Korea had been under Japanese colonial rule. Strange to say, the Koreans seldom have the problem of national/cultural identity as Koreans, though each side has different political system and objectives. Nevertheless, Taiwanese people suffer greatly from internal conflicts among different ethnic groups (such as the early immigrants and new immigrants from China). What is worse, many Taiwanese citizens refuse to recognize themselves as Taiwanese while holding the passports issued by Taiwanese government. In other words, many native Taiwanese citizens who are born in Taiwan and have nothing to do with China tend to recognize themselves as Chinese. As a result, nowadays, as the interaction between China and Taiwan is accelerating, Taiwan is facing a crisis in both identity and economy.

Therefore, to solve the identity crises of Taiwan and re-position our relationship to China, I propose some tactics

respectively from the socio-political and cultural perspectives: (1) a proper definition of *nation* and, (2) a *repositioning* of cultural identity of Taiwan through the *reform* of cultural representation that transforms “historical identities” (Woodward, 1997, p.21) (Note 4); (3) to recognize, based on Deleuzian/Bhabha’s postcolonial conception of liminality (in-betweenness), the cultural/ethnic hybridity in the local people so that Taiwanese can escape the schizoid cultural/national identity or paranoia of ethnic purity and cultural orthodoxy while searching for Taiwanese cultural/national identity.

### 3. The haunting/hegemonic influence of the fatherland—China

Though another influential colonizer, Japan is not so dominant and haunting as the KMT in interfering with the formation of Taiwan’s identity, for most early Taiwanese settlers were from mainland China and thus their descendents form the majority of contemporary Taiwan’s population, whereas Japan is obviously a *foreign* regime with a *foreign* culture and language and had been expelled in 1945. Nowadays, many people in Taiwan still unconsciously utter expressions like “We Chinese are like this . . .” or “We are all Chinese . . . (when they mean the inhabitants in Taiwan as a whole)” without the awareness that some ethnic groups (i.e. the aboriginals or the offspring of the mixed marriage between aboriginals and Minnan/Hakka/mainlanders) have little to do with China proper.

On the other hand, nowadays, Japan’s influence over Taiwan now is mostly *economic*, just like that in many other regions of the world. Although many elderly citizens in Taiwan still have strong feeling toward Japanese culture or even identify themselves as *former Japanese citizens*, young people nowadays, unlike their grandparents or great-grandparents, do not understand Japanese (except those who take Japanese lessons) or identify themselves as Japanese. There are only many young fans of Japanese pop culture, just like those of the American pop culture around the world. Therefore, my focus of exploring Taiwan’s identity crisis is placed on the Chinese influence of the KMT’s Leninist party-state. Since its retreat to Taiwan, the KMT has been elaborately practicing Chinese-oriented cultural policies in education, mass media control or censorship of all publications; meanwhile, highly valuing the Chinese traditions and artistic works (labeling them as “national”—e.g. Mandarin as the national language; Pekingese opera, the national opera), while discouraging the development of the nativist literature and attacking those works (labeling them as “worker-peasant-soldier literature,” an allusion to the Communists’ literary history) (Gold, 1994, p. 61). Above all, the KMT even tried to rewrite/distort the recent history of China, especially the period of turbulence culminated in the 28 February 1947 massacre of the Taiwanese natives, the brutal suppression of a popular uprising in 1947 when many natives could no longer bear the discriminative policies of the mainlanders toward the natives, which was triggered by some corrupted KMT official’s confiscating a woman peddler’s supposedly “smuggled” cigarettes and beating her (Shih 219-224). Therefore, to restore the marginalized/distorted history of Taiwan is also essential to constructing Taiwan’s subjectivity.

### 4. What Is a Nation?

#### A schizoid national identity—Taiwanese skin, Chinese masks

Most Taiwanese people have a binary national identity (Chinese/Taiwanese) that is scarcely seen in the rest parts of the world. This is owing to the constant brainwashing propaganda that the KMT had been imposing on Taiwanese, wither at schools or on mass media. To solve this identity problem we’d better have a “proper” definition of “nation” and a review of the strategies of the KMT’s propaganda campaign.

Initially, the KMT party-state is an overwhelmingly dominant émigré regime “with little or no base in Taiwanese society, autonomous from social pressures, presided over economic development and social change and then had to come to terms with the socio-political consequences of its own success” (Gold, 1994, p.48). To justify its claim to the sovereignty of the whole China and to highlight itself as the legitimate regime, the KMT styled itself “Free China” in contrast to “Communist China” or “Red China” (a label imposed by the KMT on the Chinese Communist Party, CCP). Besides, the KMT party-state still insisted on using the old official name of *China*—“The Republic of China” (ROC)—after its flight to Taiwan, while the Communist China changed the nation’s name into “People’s Republic of China” (PRC) in 1949 after they successfully defeated the KMT and got the control of Mainland China, the real “orthodox” regime recognized by almost every member of the United Nations, and she replaced the KMT’s membership in the U.N. in 1971 and then became one the five members of the U. N.’s Standing Committee of Security. Therefore, Taiwan, under the KMT’s rule, is officially named “The Republic of China” (R.O.C.) that excludes the essential word—*Taiwan*, which used to be taken as a *base* of the “Free China” to recover Mainland China, both of the two national names are always so confusing to foreigners not familiar with Taiwan’s situation. Taiwanese people, therefore, have been forced to adopt this confusing binary national identity. What is worse, the CCP has been also doing the same propaganda with the KMT domestically and abroad in order to justify its claim to the sovereignty of Taiwan. They also declare that Taiwanese people are also Chinese people and that Taiwan is “an inseparable province/part of China” in order to deny Taiwan’s status as an independent country in the world.

However, if we re-examine the term “nation” we would find that both the CCP and the KMT happen to conspire in

fooling Taiwanese by implanting them with a wrong conception of *nation*. But, what is a nation, anyway? In the opening of this essay I intend to mark a quotation from Ernest Renan's "What is a nation?"—which happens to pinpoint the ridiculous definition of nation that Taiwanese people have had on their minds: "race is confused with nation and a sovereignty analogous to that of really existing peoples is a ethnographic or, rather linguistic groups." Ethnically speaking, we are all Chinese (except the aborigines), for our ancestors came from Mainland China. However, it is a common-sense talk when we ask about someone's nationality, which is always politically/legally implicated, we are referring to the legitimate membership/citizenship of a *nation* that one holds. There is no room for ambiguity or ambivalence (e.g. Nobody could be both/either Chinese and/or American if s/he is ethnically Chinese but actually American in nationality. Under this circumstance, s/he should always proclaim that s/he is American instead of Chinese). However, anyone having multiple nationalities (legally having more than one passport) is a different issue and should not be mixed up when defining nationality.

Some politics scholars argue that people who have the *will* to found a nation should share kinships in some principles of nationality, namely, the similarities in such traits as race, territory, language, and religion. This concept would be easily refuted as a faulty belief; that is, reviewing man's history, we could find they are not indispensable to the founding of a modern nation. Ethnographic or geographic factors that both the CCP and the KMT have been emphasizing in justifying the legitimacy of the reunification of Taiwan and Mainland China are no more than a myth that could be easily refuted even when we just take a look at some developed modern nations: America is a country of immigrants; Singapore has only a much more smaller territory than Taiwan's; Japan, an economic power, has no large territory. However, both the CCP and the KMT have been propagandizing that the reunification of China and Taiwan would definitely make a new strong China, well-developed in all aspects. Renan (1882) has an insightful observation that helps unveil this myth:

It was we who founded the principle of nationality. But what is a nation? Why is Holland a nation, when Hanover, or the Grand Duchy of Parma, are not? How is it that France continues to be a nation, when the principle which created it has disappeared? How is it that Switzerland, which has three languages, two religions, and three or four races, is a nation, when Tuscany, which is so homogeneous, is not one? Why is Australia, a state and not a nation? In what ways does the principle of nationality differ from that of races? (Note 5) (12)

This remark is very applicable to Taiwan's claim for sovereignty. Though we have kinships in race, custom, language and territory, we do not necessarily have to be united as a big *nation*, not to mention the *becoming* of cultural differences between the two *political entities* after being separated by wars for several decades and the fact that Taiwan had always been neglected by her fatherland since the Ching Dynasty: "... a poor periphery of the Chinese empire in 1895, a heavily exploited colony of Japan in 1935 (because of the Ching Dynasty gave her away to Japan as a tribute after being defeated in the war), a territory partly destroyed by war and partly pillaged by Nationalist mismanagement in the late 1940s" (Harrell and Huang, 1994, p. 1). As a matter of fact, in the early period of the Nationalist's rule they just took Taiwan as a base for "recovering mainland China." But, because of its strategic value in the Far East, postwar U.S. started to play an active role in maintaining its power against China's invasion. This makes Taiwan's status more complex and problematic. That is to say, in her quest for identity, Taiwan has to struggle against China's interference and, at the same time, avoid becoming a puppet regime of the U.S.

### 5. Ethnicity versus nationality

To brainwash the Taiwanese who do not accept the émigré regime, after they were in power the KMT party-state started to exercise the ideological-political education for all the students from elementary schools to colleges with the notion of "Chineseness" and thus most young people born in post-war Taiwan naturally identify themselves as "Chinese" instead of "Taiwanese" or as "both Chinese and Taiwanese." In addition, the KMT party-state made some propaganda such as, "Taiwan is so small, Mainland China is so big. So our future prospect lies in the mainland." Or "China is our fatherland. So, we are all Chinese and never should we ignore the fact that our fellowmen are still suffering enormously under the communist rule. They are all anxiously awaiting our help. It is our holy duty as Chinese descendants to save our fellowmen away from the torturing of the Communists."

Moreover, the KMT tried every effort to suppress all kinds of oppositional groups or campaigns. Strengthened by its Leninism as well as the traditional Chinese authoritarianism originated in Confucianism, which emphasizes one's loyalty to his/her family and the monarch of the state, the KMT built a paternal/hierarchic society to control its subjects. Even though there was an emergence of a bourgeoisie in Taiwan in the 1950s, "economic and political-military power were joined at the top of the mainlander elite; Taiwanese were virtually excluded" (Gold, 1994, p.52). This phenomenon led to Taiwanese's subordination to the mainlanders both ideologically and financially. Having long been intimidated or brainwashed, most Taiwanese people naturally get to identify themselves as the citizens of the ROC, which still has the *claim* to the sovereignty of the mainland, despite the fact that foreigners outside Taiwan always identify the inhabitants in Taiwan as "Taiwanese," citizens of a sovereignty that is completely different from those of PRC. Not until recently, in the 2000 Presidential campaign in Taiwan, did the former President Lee Teng-hui, long accused as "the national enemy" by both the CCP and the Taiwanese who advocate reunification with China, propose a counter-strategy in reaction to the

CCP's marginalization of Taiwan as a local government—"a special state-to-state relations with China"—which was also condemned by his opponents as a "separatist" discourse that is intended for Taiwan's independence, the same label they have been imposing on the Dalai Lama, the exiled spiritual/political leader of Tibet.

Actually the core factor that hinders Taiwanese from forming a *unified* national identity lies in the deep-rooted Chinese tradition that lays great emphasis on ancestry, family and emotional attachment to one's homeland. This tradition emphasizes that one should never forget his/her ancestry even when s/he is away from home or abroad. It is that notion that makes Chinese always recognize their overseas fellowmen who have been naturalized in a foreign state as "Chinese," no matter how long those people have got their citizenship of those foreign nations. That is to say, the adherence to one's ancestry is deeply rooted in every Chinese's psyche wherever s/he goes or settles down in a foreign land. But it would be a great danger if any of those naturalized Chinese descendants dares show in a foreign land their emotional attachment to his/her homeland, especially in some nations where the natives have a growing fear toward the growing/overwhelming economic influence of the ethnic Chinese immigrants (e.g. Indonesia, where many Chinese Indonesians were attacked in the riots in reaction to the overseas Chinese people's hegemonic economic power). According to Renan (1990), this kind of compulsive adherence to one's ancestry *enslaves* man and is not fundamental to the founding of a nation:

Man is a slave neither of his race nor his language, nor of his religion, nor of the course of rivers nor of the direction taken by mountain chains. A large aggregate of men, healthy in mind and warm of heart, creates the kind of moral conscience which we call a nation. (20)

That attitude toward the homeland and its culture well illustrates why Taiwanese nativist culture has been degraded as "local/folk" or "inferior" (a marginal culture in contrast to the *orthodox* Chinese culture, or, a hybrid culture *tainted* by Japanese influence), while Mandarin literature or songs are highly valued as "national." As a secondary culture, Taiwanese culture has never been valued side by side with Chinese culture, never equaled the juxtaposition of American culture with English culture. Moreover, the KMT echoed the CPP in claiming that Taiwan is always part of the territory of China and can never legitimately represent China as a whole (the ROC). Contradictorily, meanwhile, the KMT also declared that their regime in Taiwan is the *orthodox* government that had the claim to the territory of whole China. Stevan Harrell and Huang Chun-chien (1994, p.13) had an acute observation of this weird phenomenon:

there is no consensus, in state or society, over what Taiwan is—where it fits into an international scheme—or over what the constituent sub-units of the society ought to be. This problem is most acute in its political dimension, but the political dimension cannot be separated from the cultural, and the cultural sphere has both ethnic and literary aspects to it.

Therefore, to better solve this problem we also have turn to explore the complexities of Taiwanese nativist literature and languages, which had been marginalized and depreciated intentionally by the KMT.

## 6. Culture in Crisis: Identity and Representation

### 6.1 Reaction against cultural marginalization: Taiwan's quest for identity

In this section, I intend to apply Bhabha's conception of "counter-narrative" and Deleuze's "minor literature," both of which aim to deconstruct the hegemony of a dominant culture. And this micropolitics may offer some alternative for those Taiwanese who are seeking lines of flight from the Oedipalization of China/Chreinese culture and furthermore, to establish an cultural autonomy through a counter discourse (or minor writing) based on "creating a people who are missing," in Deleuzian terms.

To solidify "Chineseness" and to weaken "Taiwaneseness" in the inhabitants in Taiwan, the KMT proclaimed Mandarin the official language and at the same time, discouraged or suppressed the prevalence of Taiwanese dialects (Minnan, Hakka, and the aboriginal languages) in either education or mass media, along with the banning on the Japanese films/programs on TV. These cultural policies really weakened Taiwanese people's identification with the land and their past, and thus can hardly develop a sense of "Taiwaneseness," for their cultural identities can only be easily produced by those representational or signifying systems (e.g. mass media) in modern societies:

**Representation** includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and which position us as subjects. Representations produce meanings through which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are. We could go further and suggest that these symbolic systems create the possibilities of what we are and what we can become. Representation as a cultural process establishes individual and collective identities and symbolic systems provide possible answers to the questions: who am I?; what could I be? Discourses and systems of representation construct places from which individuals can position themselves and from which they can speak. (Woodward, 1997, p.14)

Nowadays, many Taiwanese intellectuals have already tried to develop the sense of "Taiwaneseness" politically and culturally. For example, the former DPP-ruled government once was considering adding the word "Taiwan" onto the

cover of Taiwanese passports in response to the protests from the holders who keep complaining about being mixed up with Chinese citizens at the customs abroad and thus being inflicted with some unnecessary misunderstanding and trouble. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education had made some reforms in editing the textbooks of elementary schools and high schools by laying more emphasis on the introduction and exploration of Taiwan's culture, geography, and history, which had been marginalized, distorted, or even excluded by the KMT. In terms of Stuart Hall's perspective on cultural identity, this is a strategy to bring about a "production" of identity: "which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity,' lays claim" (1990, p.392).

In Bhaba's and Deleuze's idea of counter/minor discursive strategies, they advocate the creation of a resistance literature, which is characteristic of postmodernism, for they "acknowledge late capitalism's play of simulacra, yet they find ample possibilities for creative transformations of social relations through political action in varying spheres of engagement. They reject all forms of foundationalism" (Bogue, 2002, p.103). Through minor writing, which is written in a minor language that is a deterritorialized form of a dominant language; namely, in Taiwan's case, to develop a *Taiwanese Chinese* that varies from the "**Standardized Chinese**" by adding some local Taiwanese colors in either diction or syntax without worrying about the minor language's linguistically being "impure" or "unorthodox"—"a minorization of this major language," just like what Kafka has done to German (1997, p.5). Deleuze and Guattari (1986) strongly advocate this form of "multiple deterritorialization with language" for immigrants like Taiwanese to embark on a nomad's quest for cultural identity:

How many people today live in a language that is not their own? Or no longer, or not yet, even know their own and know poorly the major language that they are forced to serve? This is the problem of immigrants, and especially of their children, the problem of minorities, the problem of a minor literature but also a problem for all of us: how to tear a minor literature away from its own language, allowing it to challenge the language and making it follow a sober revolutionary path? How to become a nomad and an immigrant and a gypsy in relation to one's own language? Kafka answers: steal the bay from its crib, walk the tight rope. (19)

Given the above-mentioned, Taiwanese have to set up a minor practice of the major language Chinese so that they can define their "national literature" or marginal literature and thus establish a cultural sovereignty that is also essential to founding their national sovereignty.

## 7. Rootedness in this place/Taiwaneseness versus sinologization

After retreating to Taiwan, the KMT controlled the cultural production and it

prevented the publication and dissemination of works by leftist modern Chinese writers, and most others who remained behind. This effectively sealed Taiwan off from most of modern, that is post-May Fourth, Chinese culture. The few works by Taiwanese written in Japanese during the occupation were neglected. Mainlanders produced most of the new culture, and it concerned life on the mainland, heavily romanticized; there was virtually nothing about Taiwan. (Gold, 1994, p.60)

What was worse, many Taiwanese developed a kind of "inferiority complex" that Chineseness was superior to Taiwaneseness. To cope with this situation, Taiwanese have to continue the nativist movement of our predecessors who began to write in the mid-1970s some "sympathetic stories about the hitherto untouched subject of daily life of farmers, workers, prostitutes, small businessmen and soon. Much of the dialogue was written in Taiwanese dialect, replete with earthy profanities" (Gold, 1994, p.61). (Note 6) That is to say, in order to construct Taiwan's cultural identity we have to develop our own literature and other cultural products (e.g. films, pop songs) whose main concerns are the land, its people and its history (preferred but not limited to the use of Taiwanese dialects or *employing a deterritorialized version of Chinese that is mixed up with Taiwanese dialects*), not trying hard to reclaim our excluded past but to reposition our relations to Taiwan by open-heartedly valuing and exploring her as our "being" in the transformation process of cultural "becoming." For as Hall (1990) indicates, we can never recover the *origin* of our identities, which have been transformed by a long period of *diasporas*:

Cultural identity, in another sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being.' It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. (394)

Hall's conception of diasporas happens to correspond to Bhabha and Deleuze's anti-foundationalism and minor/counter writing.

Hence, if we are to construct Taiwan's cultural identity we should just ignore the Chinese influence, not to discard the tradition, but to utilize it in artistic creation, if necessary, so that we can constitute our national identity/subjectivity in the cultural production. First, we have to get rid of the "inferiority complex" that Taiwaneseness belongs to the tastes of "worker-peasant-soldier" classes, and never feel ashamed that we cannot speak like the mainlanders when speaking



Mandarin. The Taiwanese ascent/flavor happens to be our particularity that leads to the formation of our national/cultural identity.

Over the past fifty years, Taiwanese had been brainwashed by the KMT 's *essentialist* (Note 7) view of history and identity that they have a shared history and ancestry with the mainlanders and thus should identify ourselves as Chinese. Actually, China's population also consists of a variety of ethnic groups and its modern population is the outcome of the continuous hybridity of the mixed marriage of those ethnic groups. The chief ethnic group *Han* people is actually the offspring of this kind of racial evolution, let alone Taiwan's population, which has long been separated from the fatherland for a long while (diaspora), fused or fusing with the local aboriginals, and thus has its historical/ethnic uniqueness. In addition, some ethnologists even proved that inhabitants in Southeast China (Guangdong and Fokian Province), where the ancestors of the majority of Taiwanese came from, are not *Han* people. The essentialist view of history and ideological education can only block our participation in the international community and even create an inferiority complex in our psyche. To form Taiwan's national/cultural identity, we should try our best to *deconstruct* this evolutionary myth that Taiwanese and the mainlanders have "the common historical experiences and shared cultural codes which provide us, as 'one people'" (Hall 392), and to ridicule it if we are to have any further developments in either economic or diplomatic relations with other members of the international community.

### 8. Conclusion

What is a nation? I would like to quote an insightful remark by Renan (1990) to conclude this essay, for it not only marks the function of founding a nation but foregrounds its impermanency, which underlies the law of Nature:

Man, with his desires and his needs. The secession, you will say to me, and, in the long term, the disintegration of nations will be the outcome of a system which places these old organisms at the mercy of wills which are often none too enlightened. It is clear that, in such matters, no principle must be pushed too far. . . . Human wills change, but what is there here below that does not change? The nations are not something eternal. They had their beginnings and they will end. (20)

The Chinese Empire had been flourishing for about two thousand years. Meanwhile, it had subjugated several small neighboring states and the minority ethnic groups within or outside its territory, which made it a big empire, just like other empires (e.g. the Roman Empire) in the history of world civilization. But nowadays, where are those empires? They had been divided or re-divided and had developed into different modern nations in the process of socio-political transformation. The postwar Taiwan is just one of those nations that evolved from the disruption or dissemination of the old empires. Most Chinese rulers from the ancient times to the Ching Dynasty had neglected it as a peripheral island off Chinese coast. Taiwan's *diaspora* experiences and identities are what I intend to define/map, "not by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Hall 397). Above all, since World War II, Taiwan has practically existed as an independent country, though not widely recognized as one, the population on this island, consequently, should have the claim to their national identity as Taiwanese (though always in the process of "becoming"), just like the citizens of any other modern nation in the world. For national identity is the most substantial and reliable shelter that man can take refuge in in the international community. Without it, Taiwanese are just like the miserable wandering Jews before they founded Israel.

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Sage.

### Notes

Note 1. This is a lecture delivered at the Sorbonne, 11 March 1882. “*Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?*”, *Oeuvres Completes* (Paris, 1947-61), vol. I, pp.887-907. It was translated and annotated by Martin Thom, and compiled in *Nation and Narration* (1990), edited by Homi K. Bhabha.

Note 2. In terms of Stuart Hall’s discourse on identity (1990), the identity is always in the process of *becoming*. However, here I am referring to the common definition of national identity that is legally/politically implicated, that is, the citizenship of a *nation*.

Note 3. Under the effort of the former President Lee Teng-Hui, Taiwanese citizens, for the very first time in history, chose their President through election in 1994. Formerly, only the members of the National Assembly had the right to vote in the Presidential campaign (there had been always ONE candidate under the special law added to Taiwan’s Constitution). So, some scholars tend to consider the year 1994 as the turning point of Taiwan’s quest for subjectivity/identity.

Note 4. Woodward argues that Hall’s of identity emphasizes “the fluidity of identity. In seeing identity as being concerned with ‘becoming,’ those laying claim to identity are not only positioned by identity, they are able to position themselves and are able to reconstruct and transform historical identities” (21).

Note 5. In Renan’s opinion, nations are “something fairly new in history. Antiquity was unfamiliar with them; Egypt, China and Chaldea were in no way nations. They were flocks led by a Son of the Sun or by a Son of Heaven. Neither in Egypt nor in China were there citizens as such” (9, 1882).

Note 6. Here Gold is referring to the use of Minnan, a dialect of Fokien, which is located on the southeast coast of China, the *homeland* of the majority of contemporary Taiwan’s population.

Note 7. Kathryn Woodward (1997, p.11) argues that there is a tension between essentialist and non-essentialist perspectives on identity; the former suggests that there is “one clear, authentic set of characteristic which *all* Serbians share and which do not alter across time. A non-essentialist definition would focus on differences, as well as common or shared characteristics”.



## Japan and Zhongdong Railway Incident

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### Abstract

It has been for quite some time the conspiracy that Japan invaded China and seized the Northeast. In the process of its implementation of the conspiracy, there had a vehement interest conflict between Japan and Soviet Russia. After the Japan-Russia War, Northeast China became a sphere of influence between Russia and Japan, but they fought against each other continually for Zhongdong Railway issue. After the September 18 Incident, situation of Zhongdong Railway was in depression, together with threat of Puppet Manchu, so in 1933, Soviet Union government transferred all its authority in Zhongdong Railway to "Manchuria Government" in a paid form. Japan eventually achieved its purpose.

**Keywords:** Japan, Zhongdong Railway, Soviet Union

After Japan-Russia War, according to "Treaty of Portsmouth" in 1905, Tsarist Russia ceded to Japan the section of Zhongdong Railway from Changchun to Dalian, and recalled it South Manchurian Railway. In addition, Tsarist Russia still took control over the section which was centered with Harbin, extended to Suifenhe (east line) in the east, to Manzhuli (west line) in the west and to Changchun (south line) in the south. Thence, the Northeast China was marked by the railway, with Changchun as the boundary, which respectively became the sphere of influences between Japan and Russia. The history told us that, once a country had a wild ambition towards a place and intended to embrace her under its control, it would try all its best to occupy her lifeline --- railway route --- as its power. Japan knew for sure that, it had to primarily control Zhongdong Railway in order to expand its power to North Manchuria. What's more, the economic transportation of Zhongdong Railway had a close connection with the operation of the railway in South Manchuria.

### 1. Role of Manchurian Railway

The history of Japanese imperialists' invasion in the Northeast China was not only a railway invasion history centered with Manchurian Railway, but also a fight history in which Zhongdong Railway and South Manchurian Railway absorbed their economic profits. In 1906 after Japan-Russia War, South Manchuria Railways Co. (SMR for short) was established, so a thorough railway invasion policy began which was centered with Manchurian Railway. On the surface, Manchurian Railway was an organization to operate south railway, but as a matter of fact, it was a great base camp for Japanese economic pillage and conspiracy on the Northeast China, and regarded "operation and development of Manchuria" as its own duty. As the representative of Japanese new national policy, the Chairman of Manchurian Railway had to be the primary character to realize the new World Policy of Japan. Furthermore, like the general manager of East India Company, he should be the go-getter who fought in the van for realization of the expansion policy of Japan. Either the first Chairman Goto Shinpei or the last Chairman Shanqiyuan had played a significant role in "operation and development of Manchuria". In 1927 when Japanese foreign affairs and army held a conference, they constituted the following policies, which was so-called "Great Manchurian Railwayism". (1) SMR was established upon close connection between foreign affairs and army and implemented their policies. Manchurian Railway Centrism made it easier to thoroughly implement their policies, which was aimed at expanding their rights and becoming "Great Manchurian Railwayism". (2) As for policies of the three provinces in Northeast China, it was the Army and Foreign Affairs to keep contact with so as to achieve stability of political situations. Japan also anticipated that political fights within China wouldn't spread to the three provinces at all, so that Japanese in Manchuria and Mongolia would lead a stable life. (3) A tariff agreement about Zhongdong Railway should be put forward immediately so as to anticipate perfect relations with Soviet Union. (4) Japan should set commercial land rent rights so as to negotiate actively with Chinese. (5) Japan would attempt to persuade China to set up a central bank in the three provinces as a presenting bank. Assets required could be contributed by Manchurian Railway by negotiation with China.

After Japan-Russia War, Japan gained a monopolized position in South Manchuria, and possessed Guandong Hall and SMR as its two great camps to invade China. The economic invasion was the primary and political invasion was secondary, and cultural invasion was tried. Those who intended to implement “Great Manchurian Railwayism” planned to diminish rights of Guandong Hall, and enlarge rights of SMR. Although “Great Manchurian Railwayism” hadn’t been involved in the issue of Zhongdong Railway, still it was without doubt that Zhongdong Railway was its target.

Since the end of WWI, taking back of Zhongdong Railway had been of great urgency. In the second half year of 1927, the Soviet Union Government was provoked by Japanese “Manchuria and Mongolia”, and awed by increasingly rising voice of Chinese to take back sovereignty of Zhongdong Railway, and it was difficult for the Soviet Union Government to deal with this situation. In order to maintain its interests in Zhongdong Railway and with planning of several parties, the Government took all its cost to transfer Zhongdong Railway to its enemy for centuries --- Japan. On September 8, 1927, the SMR Chairman Yamatoto Taro went to Harbin for “inspection” because he heard that China planned to take back Zhongdong Railway. On October 12, 1927, the Russian Deputy Director General of Zhongdong Railway went to Dalian and discussed specific conditions with SMR. The Soviet Union Government was willing to transfer the ownership of Zhongdong Railway to Japan, which was at the cost of borrowing 40 million Japanese yen. Zhongdong Railway manager and SMR Chairman Yamatoto Taro signed “Zhongdong Railway Protocol”, whose content was as follow. (1) Japanese Government ordered SMR to deal with Zhongdong Railway. (2) Japan and Russia were against China to take back Zhongdong Railway. (3) SMR allowed Russia to send soldiers to protect the north section of Zhongdong Railway, but the number of soldiers was limited to 5600. (4) Japanese goods transportation should be treated with priority in Zhongdong Railway and Wusuli Railway. (5) South Songhua River was firstly transferred to Japanese SMR in Zhongdong Railway, which was decided to be implemented within one year. (6) Japan laid railway in Inner Mongol and North Manchuria, and Russia should assist it, for which the Soviet Union Government should send engineers and plan all issues together with Japanese personnel. (7) Japan and Russia took advantage of Mongolia and the two countries negotiated with the principle of equalization. (8) Russia allowed Japan to exploit forests, coal, iron, and oilfields etc in Siberia and Heilongjiang, but with the precondition that Japan allowed Russia to transport any file by way of Japan to Europe and America, etc.

Soviet Union transferred Zhongdong Railway just like its private property and signed protocols privately with others, which violated spirit of Chinese and Russian agreement, and which was an action that extremely despised China and badly defied Chinese sovereignty. Japan’s ambition to invade North Manchuria and merger Zhongdong Railway was also obvious. Although they signed the protocol secretly, the news still spread like wildfire. It was America who got the news at first, and it paid special attention to that. After coming into knowledge, the Chinese Government was extremely surprised, and enquired Japan for that issue. Japan justified that, It was Russia’s right to transfer Zhongdong Railway, and those rights which were supposed to belong to China still existed, and wouldn’t be affected by transfer between Japan and Russia. Actually, it had been for quite some time since Japan tried to enlarge its power in North Manchuria and coveted Zhongdong Railway. When the October Revolution of Russia broke out, Japan seized the opportunity to attack Siberia, and it had intended to merger Zhongdong Railway. However, the railway was temporarily controlled by such seven countries as China, Soviet Union, Japan, America, England, France and Italy, Japan didn’t accomplish its purpose. During the Washington Conference, although those countries present negotiated that China should be responsible for all issues related with the railway, yet Japan made an excuse for joint venture investment and tried its best to interfere. It was not until 1929 that governments of the two countries admitted that the future of Zhongdong Railway could only rest with China and Russia, and that no other country should involve in that. Although Japan was disappointed, its ambition to invade the North Manchuria and take control over Zhongdong Railway was not be diminished anyhow since there was a close connection between Zhongdong Railway and Manchurian Railway. On the contrary, its ambition was on the increase. In compliance with decree order of Japanese Government, SMR was quite active and exhibited great ambition to be insatiable and swallow the Northeast China.

## 2. Countermeasures of Japan

Before the Zhongdong Railway Incident, Japan had held a general mobilization practice in Kyoto, Osaka and Hyogo. This practice was supervised by USAMI Resource director and former Osaka was the supervision department. And it was supposed that after breaking off from diplomatic relations, the practice of general mobilization would begin. That very day, not only airplanes were dispatched, but factories around the whole country tried their power in the three aspects, namely, “manufacture”, “confiscation” and “ammunition transportation”. Such an unprecedented practice in the peaceful period was enough to arouse any doubt. After the Zhongdong Railway Incident, Japan went from bad to worse in that they made long-term siege practice in Changchun and even regarded Shenyang as their target.

After the Zhongdong Railway Incident, Japanese were quite active in South Manchuria and in any international activities, and adopted a positive policy.

### 2.1 Sending more troops

On August 2, Nanjing received a telegraph from Shenyang that, in order to consolidate its power in South Manchuria,

Japan had sent approximately 5 thousand soldiers in South Manchurian Railway, and it was said that it would continue to send more troops there. Japanese Consulate in Changchun informed all sections of South Manchurian Railway and Guangdong Army headquarter built a large number of army barracks in Changchun, for which the construction expense should cost two million Yuan or so, and about 1,600 workers were required. The construction should be started in middle August. On August 29, the Communications Corporation made a telegraph to Tokyo, "Two squadrons of 1,800 artillerymen were sent respectively to Tieling and Anshan Station. So far, Japanese troops have already reached 13,000 soldiers."

## 2.2 Practice battle

At that time, Japanese garrisons in South Manchuria would launch a military practice in spring and autumn, but never in hot seasons when crops were frondent. That time was a period when relations between China and Russia were critical and will the people was unstable. Guandong Army headquarter suddenly ordered Japanese troops in Manchuria to launch a long-term siege practice from August 1 to September 10. The 38<sup>th</sup> regiment of Japanese army in Changchun marched out of the concession last night. They didn't notice our local authority, and after the event, they destroyed lots of crops. Not a single village they passed didn't suffer from a false alarm. Japanese commanding officer Matsui came from Dalian to Changchun in July 28<sup>th</sup> for inspection of the army. The 33<sup>th</sup> regiment of Japanese army in Shenyang surrounded Shenyang for military practice, and took dependencies of Japanese station as the major camp, which extended to Santaizi, Bajiazi, Wujiatun and Wangjiatun in the north, to Dengjiahuang, Xitutaizi and Shalingbao in the west, to Hunhe coast, Wangjiahe and Longwangmiao in the south and to Dongling etc in the east. Then they classified the following areas as sector of fire for soldiers: Lishanzi, Zhangjiatun, Yanjiapao and Deshengying. The whole army was divided into two squadrons of attack and defense for interactive practice. Japanese directly regarded Shenyang as their target. On August 18, it was reported that, "four thousand Japanese soldiers conducted military practices surrounding Shenyang which was aimed at holding a protest demonstration. Chinese people were quite angry with that and asked negotiation office to protest against Japan. However, without waiting for proposal of protest file, Japanese army again conducted artillery action outside Shenyuan, with endless firearm sound. This unscrupulous rampage of Japanese was no less than the first sign of weapon invasion."

## 2.3 Immigration

Immigration of Japanese towards the three provinces in Northeast China was one of their "three major national policies". In order to enlarge their power, Japanese seized each chance just like split quicksilver covering the whole ground. According to news about Japanese from Shenyang, South Manchurian Railway's operation of agricultural corporation stipulated that, from this autumn to next spring, immigration to South Manchuria will be carried out and those immigrants will undertake planting. The general methods are as follows: (1) Land that had been bought was to be assigned to farmers, and each household could take thirteen Shang of long-cultivated land (each Shang approximates to six Mu or ten Mu). The price of each Shang of land was worth a hundred of Japanese yen or so. (2) Japanese government subsidized farmers a total of eight hundred Japanese yen for their planting, boats, vehicles and houses. (3) Those earliest immigrants resided in Hedongtun, Xichengzi, Shaojiatun and Shaji atun etc within Yanzibo in Dalian, and twenty or thirty households could constitute a village.

## 2.4 Formulation of invasion plan

According to World News Agency in Jilin, "Recently, the head of Yanji negotiation office Zhang Shuhan listed four new plans of Japanese invasion in the three provinces of Northeast China. He reported this to Jilin Government and requested local authority to try to deal with the situation. His description was as follows. (1) Japanese excessively set up police force in Yanji, and it had been a long time since they had invaded Chinese administrative police power. Recently, Japanese people set up police wherever Japanese people yard up. They made an excuse that Chinese people resisted Japanese and that Japanese should be protected by Japanese police, so they were protected by Japanese police in places which Chinese local police couldn't control. (2) Japanese people pretended skillfully as Chinese businessmen or Korean farmers and visited all places for measuring the geographical condition and prying into the national situation. Chinese local authority arrested them, while Japanese took advantage of their consular jurisdiction for requirement of extradition and for immediate release. (3) In Yanji, Japanese attempted to support its economic power, and had already had the foundation of consolidation. Chinese people trusted Japanese currency, but didn't trust their own provincial currency. (4) Japanese people extensively set up educational institutions. They recruited children of Korean farmers to prevent them from being assimilated by China, and to invade Chinese culture.

## 2.5 Preventing Chinese military vehicles from passing through Changchun

After the incident, Soviet Union army sent mass troops to Chinese frontier, and for self-defense, China had to make necessary military preparations. "Japanese Manchurian army headquarter ordered South Manchurian Railway not to transport weapons urgently needed by Chinese army, and forbade Chinese soldiers passing through area of South Manchurian Railway. Those who allowed to be disarmed and who were allowed to pass by local Japanese headquarter

could be let go. On August 21, it was reported that, “Chinese trains which carried Chinese soldiers are obstructed by Japanese army in South Manchurian Railway, and cannot pass through Changchun Station. Chinese local authority is building a road to connect Jichang and Zhongdong Railway.” According to Wenhui News, there were several Japanese officers in Soviet Union army. It was said that, there was an agreement between Japan and Russia that Japan assisted Soviet Union, while the latter would transfer its fishery interests in Sakhalin Island to Japan. It was also reported that Japan was opposed to America’s proposal to interfere in relations between China and Soviet Union. Wasn’t it more obvious that Japanese were full of ambitions and aggressive?

### 2.6 Unilateral mediation

After Zhongdong Railway Incident, information of international conciliation was widely reported. According to <<Zhongdong Railway Protocol>>, this incident should be automatically resolved by China and Russia. However, some countries intended to take the opportunity to intervene so as to benefit from it. The situation of “unilateral Japanese conciliation” and “conciliation of four countries” appeared in succession. Especially, the intention of “unilateral Japanese conciliation” was inclement. After the incident, one hand, Japan spoke openly to reconcile, and advocated “Asian Major”. They said that European and American countries needn’t take pains to care about issues in Asia, so there was no need for them to reconcile. It seemed that only Japan could monopolize issues in Asia. On the other hand, Japan continued to send troops to South Manchurian Railway. Meanwhile, they made use of telecommunications offices to bring about rumors and create a martial atmosphere, so that Japan could again take the opportunity to send more troops and to benefit a lot. At that time, Japanese Government expressed to Russian ambassadors in Japan that issues between China and Russia couldn’t be resolved without Japanese conciliation, and that only Japan was allowed to reconcile, not others countries. It was obvious that they had ulterior motives.

However, other great countries were reluctant that Japan controlled the situation itself, and then action of “conciliation of four countries” was taken, which was firstly initiated by USA. According to KUMINSHA’s telegraph in Washington On 19<sup>th</sup>, “American Secretary of State Christensen is trying to persuade ambassadors of England, France and Japan so as to maintain justice together with those three countries, and to resolve disputes of Chinese and Russian Zhongdong Railway with a fair procedure.” England and France totally agreed with proposal of USA, but Japanese Government didn’t express definitely its opposite attitude. In order to cater for purpose of Japanese Government, Japanese public opinions affirmatively stated that they didn’t approve conciliation advocated by USA. They said that Japan was closely connected with the current situation, and any country should take careful consideration before any practical decision was made. It was obvious that the intention of Japan was to achieve unilateral conciliation, the precondition of which was to oppose USA and France, which, as a matter of fact, was so.

### 2.7 Road construction

Japan started construction in Jihui Railway which they had long been focusing on. “Involved in issues with Russia in South Manchurian Railway, we therefore send more ships to transport materials into Huining by way of Tiantu Railway. We start construction from Jihui Line and lay tracks in Fuzhen.” At the same time, Japanese Nippon Yusen Kaisha determined to add ships to sail through Yingkou, Dalian and Vladivostock. During negotiation on Zhongdong Railway, North Manchurian materials had to pass through Ang’angxi and taonan, and then transported to South Manchuria.

Action of Japan in Northeast China was far beyond what was previously stated. But that was enough for us to know clearly situations in South Manchuria and countermeasures of Japan. After the incident, Japan took active actions and the situation was indeed serious.

## 3. Japan benefited from Zhongdong Railway Incident.

The period after Zhongdong Railway Incident was, of course, a hard-won opportunity for Japan. This disordered situation was exactly what it had been dreaming of, because in such a situation, it could make an excuse of protecting China to fish in troubled waters. In addition, it could obtain economic interests in terms of railway transportation. Japan could benefit a lot from mutual conflicts of China and Soviet Union. Before Zhongdong Railway Incident, it had the tendency that Zhongdong Railway would overwhelm South Manchurian Railway, but after the incident, the situation was exactly the opposite. According to data, situations of the two railways before and after the incident can be analyzed and compared.

### 3.1 Situations of the two railways before Zhongdong Railway incident

According to World News Agency, “It was Japan that benefited the most from conflict between China and Soviet Union, so it ignored provocation from all parties to bring about fracture. As for its profits gained, it was only Manchurian Railway in terms of economic, and it had gained quite a lot. It was investigated that goods from Manchuria and Mongolia were exported by way of two railways. Ratio of export amount of these two railways had gradually approximated to equalization by the year 1922 to 1926. See the list as follows:

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Proportion of exportation from Weikou %	47	30	36	43	49
Proportion of exportation from Dalian %	53	61	64	57	51

If this situation doesn't change, then it might approach towards equalization several years later, or the ratio might be totally the opposite, or might be unknown.

### 3.2 Situations of the two railways after Zhongdong Railway incident

Since the Zhongdong Railway Incident, Wusuli Railway was blocked up, so goods were accumulated to 1,800 vehicles, altogether 1,810,000 Pute (Russian measurement unit). Meanwhile, situation of South Manchurian Railway was flourishing all of a sudden and freight income increased to over 10 million Japanese yen. In face of such an obvious comparison, Japanese people rejoiced in the calamity of others. Besides, entrusted by Japanese Ministry of Finance to investigate influences of Chinese and Russian issues on Japanese trade financing and other economic aspects, Korean Bank reported its investigation results to it. The general points were as follows. Uneasiness of North Manchuria was extended more than 60 days, which had perfect effect on Japanese economy. For instance, import amount of North Manchuria was 130 million Yuan or so each year, of which 85% passed through South Manchurian Railway and 15% passed through Wusuli Railway and Beikaer Railway. In addition, justified import income was 15 million Yuan and smuggler income was 4 million Yuan by way of Heilongjiang and Songhua Jiang. Excluding justified income, smuggler income was 4 million Yuan among North Manchurian import amount. And import amount of North Manchuria was approximately 180 million Yuan each year. Because the primary import item cotton couldn't go through Vladivostok, it had to pass South Manchurian Railway. Especially, products of Mongolia couldn't get through Weibu, and had to pass South Manchurian Railway, so the Railway levied an amount of at least over 8 million Yuan each year. What was more favorable to Japan, corniness, tea, lean meat, potherb and grease etc, purchased by Russia from China had to be changed into Japanese goods and had to be purchased from Japanese people. Besides, kerosene, wood, horns, and tobacco etc, had to be changed into Japanese goods and had to be purchased from Japanese people.

Meanwhile, Japanese found an excuse to cause disturbance in Northeast China with South Manchurian Railway (including all branch lines) and its dependencies as the base. Japanese Government also enlarged railways under its monopoly and control and "dependencies of Manchurian Railway" by means of constructing new railways and branch lines in Northeast. Furthermore, it increased its investment there and gained high amount of profits. According to all sorts of historical records, railways controlled by Japan in Northeast China was 1,344.5 kilometers in 1921 (including 235.4 kilometers which were controlled by means of loaning), and had already increased to 2,360.8 kilometers before September 18<sup>th</sup> Incident in 1931. Besides, according to relevant annual bulletins of "Manchurian Railway", "dependencies of Manchurian Railway" by Japan occupied an area of about 438,100 Mu in 1920, and increased to 623,520 Mu in 1930. Total assets of Manchurian Railway were 503,533,000 Yuan in 1919, and increased to 1,034,594,000 Yuan in 1929. Its transportation operation profit was 48,560,000 Japanese yen in 1920 and increased to 74,890,000 Japanese yen in 1920. It can be discovered that, Japan gained huge economic profits from Zhongdong Railway Incident. What's more, Japan took strict control over situation in Northeast China through this increasingly enlarged "state within a state", and caused serious threat to security in Northeast China.

Earlier in 1932, Japanese army occupied all the three provinces of Northeast China. Soviet Union Government expressed its condemn and sympathy respectively to Japanese invasion and Chinese anti-Japan war. Local authority of Soviet Union declared again and again that, they were absolutely opposed to the policy of military occupation, and they respected international protocols signed with China. In 1932, Soviet Union recovered diplomatic relation between China and Soviet Union that was interrupted by Zhongdong Railway Incident. However, it was a pity that the previous standpoints of Soviet Union didn't stand for long. In March 1932, "Manchuria" under control of Japan was established. Before long, under pressure of Japan and Manchuria, Soviet Union Government declared that they confirmed sovereignty of Manchurian Government on Zhongdong Railway, and it would operate Zhongdong Railway together with Manchurian Government. Thence, Zhongdong Railway was changed from co-control by China and Soviet Union to co-control by Soviet Union and "Manchuria", from which it was obvious that Soviet Union admitted existence of "Manchuria". After co-control on Zhongdong Railway by Soviet Union and Manchuria, because Japan constantly dispatched troops and weapons there, and Japan and Manchuria often made disturbance, revenue from Zhongdong Railway fell sharply. In face of such a stagnant prospect and together with threat of Japan and Manchuria, Soviet Union Government formally proposed Japan to sell Zhongdong Railway in May 1933. The behavior of giving away Chinese sovereignty immediately aroused opposition among Chinese people. However, Soviet Union eventually transferred all rights of Zhongdong Railway to "Manchurian Government" with a price of 140 million Japanese yen, and Japan finally

achieved its purpose.

After Zhongdong Railway Incident, Zhongdong Railway did have the danger to be transferred to Japan by Soviet Union, and together with other reasons, northeast authorities led by Zhang Xueliang sent troops to search Russian consulate in Harbin and took over Zhongdong Railway. The incident caused far-reaching influences to China, as a result of which China indirectly lost its power in Northeast China to contend against Japan, and which laid the path for Japan to launch its invasion in Northeast China. Rapid failure of the Northeast Army exposed actual situation of Northeast Army that they were an ass in a lion's skin, and also directly encouraged Japanese Kwantung Army's determination to take action.

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## Impact of Culture and Knowledge Acquisition to Organizational Success: Study on Chinese and Malay Small Firms

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### Abstract

Research generally concludes that small businesses contribute to economic development. In Malaysia, small firm's particularly Chinese small firms have played a very important role for economic growth in this country. Chinese firms have managed to survive, grow and succeed either in Malaysia or anywhere else in the world. Most prior research found that the success factor was related to their socio-cultural context. However, previous studies have found the similarities on the cultural values of the Malays and Chinese which derived from 'Budi Complex' and 'Confucianism' respectively. It was particularly on certain selected values related to self, time and epistemology. Therefore, this paper tries to identify other reasons behind the success factor of the Chinese as compared to the Malay small firms. Thus, looking at the perspective of Knowledge Base View theory, this paper proposed that cultural values are not a mere factor that affect the way Chinese small firms market their operation. The current study thus proposed that how Chinese and Malays acquire and share knowledge, have significant contribution to their success or their failures.

**Keywords:** Budi complex, Confucianism, Market orientation

### 1. Introduction

Small and medium enterprise (SME), or sometimes just simply being referred to as small business can make remarkable contribution to a nation's economic prosperity. In line with that, research findings (Siu, 2000) generally concluded that small business (SME) contribute to economic development. In Malaysia and many other countries, small firms have played an important role for economic development. In the US, 99% of business establishment are SMEs, in Holand 95%, in Philippines is 95% and in Malaysia, SME constituted about 80% (Kheng, 2003). These findings reflect the importance of SMEs to nearly all countries in the world.

So what is actually an SME? There are a number of ways of how a country defines an SME. Bank Negara Malaysia for example, categorized that businesses with paid up capital less than RM250,000 (about USD82500) or fixed assets less than RM500,000 ( about USD1650000) are small business. World Bank on the other hand identifies small business in terms of manpower between 5 to 49 people. Despite the importance of small firms in Malaysia's economy, there has been minimal research conducted to examine why most of the companies that survived, grew and succeeded were mostly Chinese owner-managers. Given also, the importance of the role and behavior of the entrepreneur in the development of marketing, it is particularly surprising that there has been no research into how Chinese owner-managers and Malay owner-managers made strategic marketing decisions and maintain competitiveness. One of the related researches found was of Siu and Kirby (1999). They suggested that the broad small firm's marketing principles generated from the western countries, may not be fully suitable for, and applicable to, some specific socio-cultural context of Malay and Chinese firms in Malaysia.

## 2. Motivation of the study

The works of many western researchers have triggered the growing body of research into the relationship between market orientation, marketing philosophies and business performance. Better performing firms seem to compete more on the basis of providing value to their customer (Cavanagh and Clifford, 1986). Hence, Hong and Chen, (1998), revealed that for Chinese small firms in Taiwan and Hong Kong, their market orientation was a critical determinant for their performance. However, in contrast to Siu and Kirby (1999), their research found that Chinese small firms in Hong Kong had no formal marketing planning skills and did not apply systematic marketing research and forecasting techniques. Siu (2000) on the other hand also found that the success of Chinese small businesses in Hong Kong was not solely influenced by the marketing philosophy, but by doing favors for others. For Malaysian Chinese owner manager, Wah (2002) revealed that they lacked in operating management systems, had unclear structure, lacked formal planning, "Bossed Centered" leadership style and they also lacked the use of professionals and formal training. No relationship was found between the adoption of marketing philosophies and their company performance. Therefore, the reasons of how Chinese small firms managed to survive, grow and succeed are still open for research. On the other hand, for Malay small firms, Chong (1973) revealed that Malays were prevail marketing philosophies from the west as the country was once upon a time a British colonial.

Thus, it can be concluded that, marketing philosophies and marketing orientation are not the influential factors for Chinese business success. The high context culture namely the elements of flexibility, hard work, familism and value on education contributed to the success of the Chinese entrepreneurship (Goldberg, 1985).

This paper therefore attempted to understand the cultural values and knowledge acquisition of the Chinese in comparison to Malay owner-managers in Malaysia. The role of knowledge that is manifested by Knowledge Based View theory (KBV) was examined for its contribution to their success while the role of culture as a determinant of management styles and functional area in decision-making was also examined. The authors were interested in the following questions: How does the cultural study and knowledge acquisition process lead to their success?; What are the differences between the Malay and the Chinese cultural values and knowledge acquisition that contributed into their business success?

The following section would provide a description on the cultural values of the Chinese and the Malays. The goal of this section is simply to introduce some important themes on the *Budi* Complex and Confucianism of the Malays and the Chinese respectively. The next section would attempt to deal with particular theory of knowledge and culture, and in the final section, the authors would take the position to propose the success factors of Chinese and Malay, related to the role of knowledge and culture.

## 3. Malaysian Cultural Values

Malaysia as a multicultural country which comprises the three major ethnic groups namely Malays, Chinese and Indians, has evolved into one economic key player in the South East Asia region. These three ethnic groups have been living together and cooperate harmoniously in their everyday lives and each of them maintains its own identity, practicing their own cultures, customs, behavior, language, norms, values and beliefs (Abdul Rashid and Ho, 2003). The Malaysian cultures are mainly influenced by the Malay social structure that overlaid by Islamic principles and leavened with British colonial management philosophies, and Chinese and Indians religious and cultural values (Kennedy, 2002). In general, all ethnic groups in Malaysia are motivated by their affiliation to group, families and individuals. Studies even indicate that Malay, Chinese and Indian Malaysian do not differ significantly in a number of factors. Lim (2001) for example, discovered that there is no significant difference between Malay and Chinese work related values. However, in term of cultural differences between ethnics in Malaysia, only religion was found to report different result (Asma and Lim, 2001). Overall, Malaysian seems to respond favorably to productivity increases whenever they see benefits ensuing not only to the organization but also to their family, community and nation (Asma, 1992).

This study however, will focus on the Malay and Chinese cultural values. The Malay cultural value is referred to as the *Budi* concept and the Chinese cultural value will focus on the Confucianism.

### 3.1 Malays and Budi complex

According to Storz (1999), in order to look at Malay culture, it is important to understand the *budi* concept. In general, its importance lies in understanding the behavior patterns of Malays in Malaysia and their business behavior in particular. *Budi* encompasses the Malay way of life. Tham (1970) views *budi* complex as the essence of Malay's social relationships. It formulates norms of individuals and social behavior. The way an individual should feel and think about himself or herself and others is guided by the *budi* complex. Dahlan (1991) on the other hand cited that *budi* embodies all the virtues ranked in the system of values in Malay society and it comprised the qualities of generosity, respect, sincerity, righteousness, discretion, feelings of shame at the collective level and feeling of shame at the individual level. These qualities, norms and expectations would produce a certain type of person. According to Dahlan (1991), it is a mental set that guides one's behavior. Alongside the *budi* complex is also the Islam religion. The spiritual and ethical

aspect of the *budi* complex and the Muslim belief that one's destiny lies ultimately with Allah. It is important to note that a treatment of Islam and its implications for business behavior are also of value and can be legitimately undertaken based on the conceptual analysis taken in this paper.

### 3.2 Chinese Confucianism

According to Smith, (1974) three Chinese beliefs – that is Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism became the value base of Chinese culture. In the case of Chinese Malaysia, Confucianism is the core value that influenced how the Malaysian views the human being and the social world (Storz, 1999). Confucius drew attention to five crucial areas in which human beings have to learn to perfect themselves. They are (1) aesthetic, (2) ritual, (3) sense of history, (4) authority and power and (5) learning. The core values of Confucianism are derived from the concept of *ren*. The concept of *ren* (goodness, humanity) originally introduced by Confucius is seen by Tu (1979) in Storz (1999), as the concept of personal morality because it described, "Highest human achievement ever reached through moral self cultivation". Family, neighborhood, community, society and the cosmos were seen as one by Confucius.

### 3.3 Values of Budi Complex and Confucianism

Hence, the similarities of *Budi* Complex and Confucianism can be viewed through one-self, epistemological area (how human being viewed social reality), and temporality (how time is viewed) (Storz, 1999). Self is seen as a totality encompassing the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. Both *Budi* Complex and Confucianism look at self as one that is socially constructed by others. The Malay and Chinese view of self is an 'eastern one' which differs from "western" concept of self and man (Nobels, 1973). Self is seen as a dualistic split between body and mind, the physical and the spiritual, the intellectual and the emotional.

Epistemology, in terms of how people viewed social reality is similar in both the Malay and Chinese system of values. For Malays, the *budi* complex points to knowing not simply a cerebral and intellectual but instead, it entails *rasa* (feelings) (Storz, 1999), which is related to experiential and intuitive knowing. For Chinese, in the process of how to be human, one knows through the 'heart-mind' – knowledge gained not only through the head but also through the heart. (Allinson, 1989). Chinese and Malays both share a view that knowledge is to do with the 'head' and the 'heart'. Therefore, value is placed on subjective knowing.

Temporality or time is crucial in the overall scheme in which people relate to their world. Thus, how people relate to time, how they view it and how they construct its reality have implications for the business relationships they form with others. For Chinese Confucian, the past, present and the future are dialectically connected. One cannot do without the other. For Malays, temporal dimension is very much related to social reality; therefore time for Malays is not only through his mind, but also through 'rasa', his feeling which means that time will always incorporate other social beings. For Both Malays and Chinese, concept for temporal is similar, and they view it as subjective and relative, not objective. It does not capture time in terms of 'clocktime'.

The cultural, social and religious backgrounds of each group influence their business strategies. For Chinese, this is demonstrated in their use of *feng shui* to increase their prosperity. In the case of Malays, resorting to fate or the will of Allah is a typical practice. For both Chinese and Malays, their cosmological vision intrinsic in the value systems also implies a co-operative and harmonious alliance with nature. Therefore, the Malays and Chinese may have a greater tendency to work with it, rather than against it.

## 4. Relationship between Malays and Chinese cultural values and business performance

### 4.1 Chinese business performance

Malaysian Chinese marketing activities are influenced by the growth and development of East Asian economies such as four Newly Industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan and even South Korea whose culture was under the influence of Confucianism (Wah, 2002).

How do Chinese business owned-managers achieve economic success? Some studies emphasized on the significance of their cultural values as a significant contribution especially when the political and economic factors failed to provide a complete explanation. Several studies have revealed that Confucian culture has a significant and positive correlation with economic success. These cultural values have significantly influenced the Chinese way of life and personality (Wah, 2002). Confucianism also has found to foster self-enhancement and work values of Chinese employees (Jaw, Ling, Wang and Chang, 2007).

From the sociological point of view, the family is a basic unit of society for Chinese. In the Chinese Confucianist society, the family is the center of all relationships. Being managed and owned by family members is one of the main characteristics of the Chinese organization. Business ownership and management are normally retained within the circle of family members. It is common to find that the Chinese businesses were normally started by the first generation of the family with the intention to be passed them down to the second generation or even third generation.

According to Wah (2002), one of the main strengths of Chinese management is the element of “trust” among family members. Therefore, they are committed to the family business. This is important particularly during difficult periods or an economic downturn when family members were willing to hold on and together pull through the difficult times. Moreover, it would be more difficult for competitors to “pinch” your own family member employees to work for them. Therefore long-term relationship will be developed.

Another success factor that leads to business success among Chinese is the moral values and responsibilities of Chinese leaders and their roles as guardian and provider of the employees’ welfare. To a certain extent, the Chinese enterprise also implements lifetime employment as long as the employees do not make any major mistakes. These values of moral responsibility and obligation are part of the Chinese cultural values, which are still observed in some professionally managed Chinese organizations. It is said that Chinese management is more relationship-oriented “*guanxi*” than performance-oriented. This relationship has the advantage of avoiding competitors “pinching” company staff, having social and personal networking with the staff and refraining them from cheating the social and family networks. All these have greatly enhanced the success rate of many Chinese businesses.

In many instances, Chinese businesses are controlled by a number of guilds and chambers of commerce. They are designed to minimize competition in a particular trade and to lessen the cost of overheads. In business being established is all-important for Chinese (Mahathir, 1970).

Another main strength of the Chinese leader is his remarkable high entrepreneurship or business sense. This extraordinary high business sense is very much shaped by the Chinese cultural values, emphasizing especially on the importance of glorifying the family name.

#### *4.2 Malays business performance*

The concentration of Malays in agriculture and their poor representation in commerce were plain. Malays only contributed 12 per cent (RM40 billion) to total country's GDP (Mahathir, 2003). Differences in cultural orientation towards capital accumulation were partly responsible to this contribution. Organizationally, Malays lacked institutions that could mobilize capital and pool economic resources effectively. Therefore; in 1953, the most politically visible programme to promote Malays’ commercial development was established. It was known as RIDA (the Rural and Industrial Development Authority). However in 1966 it failed to make a strong impact on Malay commercial development since it was suffering from poor funding, bad management and high losses (Jesudason, 1989).

At the time of independence, the level of Malay business development was weak. They were small and were concentrated in traditional cottage industries. The ratio of business units to the population was 1:623 for the Malays compared to 1: 40 for the Chinese (Goh, 1962). In the nineteenth century, it was actually the Chinese who were more successful economically. The Chinese have a salient role in the economy. In contrast to the Chinese, Malaysian Malays were only exposed to business environment after the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced. This new economic policy paved the way for a vastly expanded economic role for the state. It was officially promulgated in 1971 in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Malaysia Plan (1971-1975). The most salient aspect of the plan was the restructuring of wealth ownership Malays. The Malays’ interests were targeted to own at least 30% of the share capital of the corporate sector by 1990. Due to that, NEP had developed a Malay business class even though it comprised only 29.6% of the total the capital of corporate sector (Abdul Rahman, 1995).

### **5. The success of Chinese over the Malays**

#### *5.1 Role of Culture*

Culture can be defined as a beliefs system which is deeply embedded within the society and is reflected in the behaviors of its organizations and people (McDermott and O’Dell, 2001). The emphasis on cultural values and beliefs, as the determinant of Chinese success, was well documented in many literatures. One of the most prominent studies on cultural values is done by Hofstede (1993, 1980) whereas, four cultural dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism/collectivism, masculinity/femininity, were used to compare and contrast the similarities and differences between/among cultures. The results of the study revealed that Chinese respondents were found to have higher value of Confucian dynamism as compared to western respondents. Confucian dynamism seems to value the virtue of thrift and perseverance and also the respect for tradition and protecting one’s “face” (Hofstede, 1993). Despite these favorable findings, it is still questionable whether culture is the only determinant factor for their success. There are studies that found the cultural, social and religious backgrounds of each group either Malay or Chinese influenced their business strategies. For example, as stated by Crawford (2000), the success of Chinese capitalism is through their personal strategic alliances which are linked to their cultural values, whereby kinship and personal relationships were their basic network.

However, as a comparison, there was lack of studies on the success factor of the Malays related to their culture. Looking at the similarities between the cultural values of both Chinese and Malays, the authors however viewed that there are other factors besides culture that led to the success of the Chinese small firms in Malaysia. Based on that

assumption, the authors perceived that culture alone is not a mere factor for the Chinese success but how they acquire knowledge also contributes to their success. In relation to this, many studies reveal that a culture that promotes information sharing and employees' active participation can result in effective knowledge transfer which subsequently helps knowledge acquiring process among the employees (Gordon and Di'Tomaso, 1992; Lucas, 2006; Lucas and Ogilvie, 2006; Weiss, 1995). Thus, based on these findings, culture can be regarded as one important antecedent to knowledge acquisition level and process among employees, which will then influence the success rate of a firm. Pertaining to these findings, it is proposed that;

*Proposition 1a: Culture is positively related to knowledge acquisition process*

*Proposition 1b: Knowledge acquisition is positively related to organizational success*

*Proposition 1c: Chinese experiences a more effective knowledge acquisition process than the Malay*

*Proposition 1d: A more effective knowledge acquisition leads to higher organizational success*

## 5.2 Role of Knowledge

Study on the success of Chinese in terms of knowledge creation, acquisition and sharing is very lacking. Most of the success factors of Chinese in business and marketing activities were always associated to their cultural underpinnings. Limited study was found related to knowledge. Knowledge management, however, was also portrayed as a cultural accomplishment within the literature. When seen in this way, knowledge management centers on the development of a set of shared organizational values and identities, facilitating inter-personal interaction and collaboration (eg. Inkpen, 1996; Dixon, 2000). Therefore, the authors found that in spite of cultural values and beliefs, Chinese owner-managers are successful economically due to their strategy in knowledge acquisition.

According to Knowledge Base View theory (KBV), knowledge is divided into experiential knowledge and informational knowledge. Both types of knowledge are crucial for the success of the firm. KBV theory indicates that these two types of knowledge differ. The experiential knowledge tends to be tacit and generally difficult to codify and communicate while informational knowledge is generally explicit and easier to codify and communicate. Despite these differences, KBV theory also indicates that these two types of knowledge are interrelated.

Therefore, for this study the authors identify the common learning mechanism in organization (as being introduced by Forsgren, 2002) that might also be used by both Malays and Chinese, that is: (1) learning through experience (2) learning through business relationships, (3) learning by observing other firms with high legitimacy and acting in similar way, (4) acquiring other organization with specific knowledge and (5) hiring people with the necessary knowledge.

### Experiential knowledge

Experiential learning reflects the need for tacit (market) knowledge; such knowledge is difficult to acquire (Forsgren, 2002). The behavioral model of organization is based on the theory of the growth of the firm (Penrose, 1959) and asserts that the growth of a firm is an incremental process (Johanson and Vahlne, 1977). The model rests on the assumption that firms have imperfect access to information and the model explains business as a process of increasing experiential knowledge. It also posits that experiential knowledge of the market; the clients, the problems and the opportunities abroad, is acquired by operating in the market (Eriksson, Johanson and Majkgard, 1997).

According to Mahathir, (1970), the Chinese are established and have penetrated all the retail business and wholesale business locally and globally. Another main strength is the Chinese leaders have remarkably high entrepreneurship or business sense. This extraordinary high business sense is very much shaped by the Chinese cultural values especially the emphasis on the importance of glorifying the family name and their huge experience in the market. Therefore, it is proposed that:

*Proposition 2a: Chinese has higher experiential knowledge than the Malays*

*Proposition 2b: Higher experiential knowledge leads to higher organizational success.*

### Learning through incorporating other units

According to Huber (1991), besides learning through experience, market knowledge can also be acquired by acquiring local units that already possess the necessary market knowledge. The way knowledge is acquired will make business process faster (Forsgren, 2002). Thus, organizational behavior often seems to be characterized by a combination of learning through experience and learning through the incorporation of units which already have the knowledge. Chinese businesses are controlled by a number of guilds and chambers of commerce. They are designed to minimize competition in a particular trade and to lessen the cost of overheads. Therefore acquiring other units is a normal phenomenon for the Chinese. Thus, it is proposed that:

*Proposition 3a: Chinese utilize knowledge through incorporating other units*

*Proposition 3b: Learning through incorporating other units will leads to higher organizational success.*

### **Learning by Imitation**

According to the institutional theory, adopting mimetic behavior is a common way to reduce uncertainty, especially among competing firms (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983). In Uppsala Model, by imitating other organizations with a high degree of legitimacy, the firm can reduce its perceived uncertainty about the foreign market without having to wait until its own market-specific knowledge has reached the required level.

Malaysian Chinese small firm's business activities were influenced by the growth and development of East Asian economies such as four newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and even South Korea whose culture was under the influence of Confucianism. Thus, imitating their way of doing business is normal for the Malaysian Chinese entrepreneur. However for the Malays, it is assumed that their influence is more towards western countries. This may be due to their educational background that is more associated with the western. Therefore, it is proposed that:

*Proposition 4a: Chinese learn through imitating the East*

*Proposition 4b: Malays learn through imitating the West*

*Proposition 4c: Learning through imitating leads to higher organizational success.*

### **Learning through business relationship**

Many researchers agree that learning from other organizations or inter-organizational learning through network of existing business relationship can also create the opportunity to facilitate the assimilation of tacit knowledge from the different actor of other firms (Andersson, Forsgren and Pedersen, 2001). Interfirm relationship describes the personal relationships that people have developed with each other through history interactions (Granovetter, 1992). Corporate relationship with external channel members on the other hand can ensure motivation to engage in exchanges and ultimately contribute to the acquisition of knowledge from the relationship (Ling-Yee, 2004). Therefore, market-specific and tacit knowledge can be acquired through interaction with other organizations.

From the sociological point of view, the family is a basic unit of society for Chinese. In the Confucian Chinese society, the family is central for all relationships. Being managed and owned by family members is one of the main characteristics of the Chinese organization. Business ownership and management is normally retained within the circle of family members. It is common to find that the Chinese business is normally started by the first generation of the family with the intention to be passed down to the second generation or even third generation.

According to Wah (2002), one of the main strengths of Chinese management is the element of "trust" among family members. Therefore they are committed to the family business. This is important particularly during difficult periods or an economic downturn when family members are willing to hold on and together pull through the difficult times. Moreover, it is more difficult for competitors to "pinch" your own family member employees to work for them. Therefore long-term relationship will be developed.

Therefore the success of Chinese capitalism is related to their personal strategic alliances, which are linked to their cultural values, where kinship and personal relationships was their basic network (Crawford, 2000). It is proposed that:

*Proposition 5a: Chinese has greater personal relationships with other business than the Malays.*

*Proposition 5b: Higher personal relationship leads to higher organizational success.*

### **Learning through hiring people with specific knowledge**

Hiring people with special knowledge can be another mechanism to enquire knowledge, and the faster's one. Having quality managers may be one of the most critical resources of an organization's capability to compete globally. Therefore, developing an adequate supply of "transnational" managers, who can effectively manage across national and subsidiary boundaries, becomes paramount to global organizations (Gregersen et al., 1998). These sophisticated global managers must possess a broad set of competencies (Harvey et al., 1999) and market-specific knowledge needed by the organization to be shared with.

Due to the lack of market knowledge among the Malays and lack of historical and networking relationship, it is proposed that Malays acquire knowledge through hiring specific persons for a specific knowledge either locally or internationally. Therefore it is proposed that:

*Proposition 6a: Malays learn through hiring people with specific knowledge.*

*Proposition 6b: Hiring people with specific knowledge leads to higher organizational success.*

## **6. Conclusion**

Based on the previous research done by Storz (1999), particularly on the cultural values for both Malays and Chinese, and the work of Dahlan (1991) showed that both Malays and Chinese possessed the same cultural values, attitude and

behaviors although Swettenham looked at Malays with negative attitudes. Similarly, Muhammad and Lau (1988) and Habrizah (1996) in Shukor (2003), also discovered that, there were common values between the Chinese and the Malays. Their beliefs and values affect their business and marketing activities. Many studies found that western marketing philosophies were not adopted by the Chinese owner-manager, but they still managed to survive, grow and succeed either in Malaysia or anywhere else in the world. For Chinese, culture was an important element for their success specifically *guanxi* – that is “the old practice of continuously cultivating and valuing relationships”. Westerners however, seeking success with modern capitalism, disregarding any aspect of culture. Westerners didn't create and maintain networks of respect, trust and value-adding interdependence with customers, suppliers and distributors. To many Malays, the west provides the inspiration and a model to follow. However, what differentiates their level of success could be attributed by their cultural value and knowledge acquisition process that has taken place from one generation to another.

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## Different Communication Rules between the English and Chinese Greetings

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### Abstract

Communication is rule governed; so are greetings which serve as a polite way of communication. The rules vary depending on the cultural context or the cultural context helps to define the rules and so communication rules are culturally diverse. It is important for foreign language learners to learn that communication rules are both culturally and contextually bound to achieve effective and efficient communication.

**Keywords:** Greeting, Politeness maxim, Communication rule

Politeness has been a focus of interest in pragmatics for decades. A considerable amount of literature has been accumulating and there seems no sign of receding interest.

Greetings as a significant aspect of politeness phenomenon exist globally. As Brown and Levinson (1978) claim, greetings occur in all languages. They provide the means for opening conversations appropriately and for establishing and maintaining social relationships (Goffman, 1971). For example, such greetings as 'Hello!', 'How are you!', 'I am pleased to meet you.' frequently occur in English. Chinese on the other hand are quite used to greetings like 'Have you eaten?', 'Where are you going?' or 'What are you busy with?', etc. Obviously, people in English culture as well as in Chinese culture attach great importance to 'speaking politely'. Yet some people in English culture may find Chinese greetings unacceptable or even offensive for these greetings seem to be concerned about personal matters although they are quite appropriate and friendly in Chinese culture. Another example is that a Chinese can greet a longtime departed friend: 'You still remain the same and do not look older than before'. This will surely offend a native speaker of English by implicating that he/she is lack of change or should have been very old.

The above examples reflect the differing communication rules between the two cultures.

Communication rule, according to Samovar and Porter (1991:232), is 'a principle or regulation that governs conduct and procedure. In communication, rules act as a system of expected behavior patterns that organize interaction between individuals'. Communication rules include both verbal and nonverbal components. Hymes (1972) uses 'rules of speaking' (the patterns of sociolinguistic behavior of the target language) for verbal communication. Nessa Wolfson points out the characteristics of communication rules: communication is rule governed; the rules vary depending on the context or the context helps to define the rules and so rules are culturally diverse (quoted in Bi jiwan, 1999:347). It is important to remember that communication rules are both culturally and contextually bound. What is most difficult in intercultural communication is that communication rules are not only cultural specific but also largely unconscious. What is worse is that people may transfer the rules of their own culture to the intercultural context which may cause misunderstandings on both sides (Samovar et al., 1991:233). Some scholars claim that Leech's Politeness Principle cannot govern the communicative acts of all cultures including Chinese culture.

As far as Chinese politeness is concerned, Gu's two papers, one in English and the other in Chinese prove to be most cited both at home and abroad. He argues against Brown and Levinson's face approach. Based on modern Chinese data, he modifies some of Leech's assumptions and puts forward some maxims that are claimed to be unique features of Chinese politeness. For the sake of clarity, it is necessary to recapture these scholars' main findings here in order to make a comparison of these theories.

### 1. Leech's Politeness Principle in English Culture

Leech's view of politeness involves a set of politeness maxims. Among these are (Leech, 1983: 132):

Tact maxim: minimize cost to other, maximize benefit to other.

Generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self, maximize cost to self.

Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise of other, maximize praise of other.

Modesty maxim: minimize praise of self, maximize dispraise of self.

Obviously, 'modesty' is emphasized in English culture. We may find that in Chinese culture, modesty is even more important. The core of Chinese politeness is shown by denigrating self and respecting other. However, the cultural connotations of Chinese 'modesty' are different from that of Leech's 'modesty' in his 'Modesty Maxim' in many ways: Chinese is to put down self and to build up other whereas 'modesty' in the PP is avoiding self-praise; Chinese 'modesty' is a core of Chinese politeness while the 'Modesty Maxim' is not so important as the other maxims of Leech's PP; Chinese 'modesty' is a virtue of self-cultivation that is the foundation on which politeness is built whereas English modesty is a strategy of minimizing praise of self. That is why it tends to be hard for native speakers of English to understand many negative expressions in Chinese which are expressed out of modesty. For example, Chinese may respond to an English greeting 'You look so pretty today!' as 'No, I'm not pretty at all.' or to 'You speak English quite well!' as 'No, my English is poor.' In fact these comments are clear indications of sincere feelings of self-denigration in accordance with Chinese modesty.

For example, greetings in English such as 'A nice day, isn't it?', 'How do you do?' are used to maintain the hearer's positive face. In another English greeting 'Excuse me. Are you Professor Jones?', the expression 'excuse me' can be considered to be a greeting expression directed towards the hearer's negative face, i.e., the want to be free from intrusion. Similarly, 'How are you!' and 'Good morning!' as greeting expressions in Chinese seem to be directed towards the hearer's positive face. Another Chinese greeting 'Excuse me. What is your noble name?' is a greeting expression directed towards the hearer's negative face for 'excuse me' here is used by the speaker as an apology for the interruption of the hearer. However, unlike Brown and Levinson's theory of avoiding FTAs (avoiding intrusion on individual freedom), Chinese also attach great importance to mutual care, which is equally important as modesty. Chinese often greet others 'Have you eaten?' or 'What are you doing?' or 'Where are you going?' to show concern for others' welfare and at the same time maintain the hearer's positive face. So Chinese politeness has its own characteristics. Thus Gu's studies concerning politeness will be examined next.

## 2. Brown and Levinson's Face Theory

Within their everyday social interactions, people generally behave as if their expectations concerning their public self-image, or their face wants will be respected. Brown and Levinson (1978) analyze politeness as showing awareness of the need to preserve face(public self-image). The general idea of Brown and Levinson's model of politeness is to understand various strategies for interactional behavior to achieve satisfaction of certain wants. The wants related to politeness are the wants of face, 'something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, and enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction (Brown and Levinson, 1978:66)'. The concept is directly related to the folk-expression 'lose face', which is about being embarrassed or humiliated. If a speaker says something that represents a threat to another individual's expectations, it is described as a Face Threatening Act. Alternatively, given the possibilities that some action might be interpreted as a threat to another's face, the speaker can say something to lessen the possible threat. This is called a Face Saving Act. It is generally expected that each participant involved in interactions will attempt to respect the face wants of others and there are different ways of performing face saving acts. When we attempt to save another's face, we pay attention to their negative face wants or their positive face wants.

According to Brown and Levinson (1978), there are two aspects of face. One is 'negative face', or the right to territories, freedom of action and freedom from imposition; essentially the want that your actions are not impeded by others. The other is 'positive face', the positive consistent self-image that people have and want to be appreciated and approved of by at least some other people. In simple terms, negative face is the need to be independent and positive face is the need to be connected.

So, a face saving act which is oriented to the person's negative face will tend to show deference, emphasize the importance of the other's time or concerns, and even include an apology for the imposition or interruption. This is also called negative politeness. A face saving act which is concerned with the person's positive face will tend to show solidarity, emphasize that both speakers want the same thing, and that they have a common goal. This is also called positive politeness (Yule, 2000:61-62).

For example, greetings in English such as 'A nice day, isn't it?', 'How do you do?' are used to maintain the hearer's positive face. In another English greeting 'Excuse me. Are you Professor Jones?' the expression 'excuse me' can be considered to be a greeting expression directed towards the hearer's negative face, i.e., the want to be free from intrusion. Similarly, 'How are you?' and 'Good morning!' as greeting expressions in Chinese seem to be directed towards the hearer's positive face. Another Chinese greeting 'Excuse me. What is your noble name?' is a greeting expression directed towards the hearer's negative face for 'excuse me' here is used by the speaker as an apology for the interruption of the hearer. However, unlike Brown and Levinson's theory of avoiding FTAs (avoiding intrusion on

individual freedom), Chinese also attach great importance to mutual care, which is equally important as modesty. Chinese often greet others 'Have you eaten?' or 'What are you doing?' or 'Where are you going?' to show concern for others' welfare and at the same time maintain the hearer's positive face. So Chinese politeness has its own characteristics. Thus Gu's studies concerning politeness will be examined next.

### 3. Gu's Theory in Chinese Culture

According to Gu Yueguo (1990), there are basically four notions underlying the Chinese concept of politeness: respect for other(respectfulness), denigration of self(modesty), warmth toward other(attitudinal warmth) and refinement in language use. Respect for other is self's positive appreciation or admiration of other concerning the latter's face, social status, and so on. Denigration of self is self's way of showing modesty. Warmth toward other is self's demonstration of kindness, consideration, and hospitality to other. Refinement in language use refers to self's behavior to other which meets certain standards (Gu Yueguo, 1990: 239). On the basis of these four essential notions, Gu (1994) has formulated five politeness maxims, namely the self-denigration maxim, the address maxim, the refinement maxim, the agreement maxim, and the virtues-words-deeds maxim. Here the author will concentrate on two of them, i.e. the self-denigration maxim and the address maxim.

The self-denigration maxim consists of two clauses or submaxims: (a) denigrate self, and (b) elevate other. This maxim absorbs the notions of respectfulness and modesty.

As mentioned above, some negative responses like 'No. I'm not pretty at all.' and 'My English is poor.' are expressed out of modesty instead of being insincere or even hypocritical in the opinion of native speakers of English.

The address term maxim requires that one should address his/her interlocutor with an appropriate address term. This maxim is based on the notions of respectfulness and warmth toward other. This can be reflected through Chinese greeting expressions, such as 'Professor Wang, where are you going?' or 'Aunt Lee, what are you busy with?'. These greetings express the speaker's respect and care towards the hearer in Chinese culture yet may sound impolite in English culture.

The above discussion indicates that intercultural communication is rule governed. The essence lies in the cultural difference between these linguistic routines of politeness such as greetings. In this world with a diversity of cultures, no culture may necessarily be better or worse than another. By the same token, no culture may necessarily be superior or inferior to another. Yet there are real differences between groups and cultures. It can be learned to perceive those differences, appreciate them, and above of all to respect, value and prize the personhood of every human being, and meanwhile achieve successful communication.

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## Developing Professional Track towards Excellence in Academician's Career Path

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### Abstract

A career in academics entails far beyond teaching. Being an academician is a very good job. The freedom to think creatively and learn is priceless. In addition, an academician working towards a PhD goes through intellectually stimulating experience to be shared. Having a PhD is a must to all academics since the PhD experience is about much more than learning to do deep work in some technical area of expertise and being constructively critical. The key is to figure out ways of moving between the different facets of the job without becoming too crazy. In another aspect, an academician is most likely to encounter his role model in teaching, research and professional service environments which are the platforms in pursuit towards excellence. In fact, these are the three main areas within which a faculty member must demonstrate excellence and achievement in order to be promoted: research, teaching and professional service. Indeed, there may be an array of promotion tracks to fit such different career paths; these tracks may have different requirements for promotion. It is critically important that the junior faculty member be familiar with the requirements of their particular track early in the course of their career. He should find out the relevant requirements and expectations for promotion and be thinking about these matters from an early point in his career, rather than near the end when the promotion clock is ticking. This paper also focuses on the significance of getting a PhD, sharing good lessons and experiences during doctorate training, and giving practical job strategy description and academic solutions for a career roadmap towards excellence. The paper is written from the perspective of the authors, the former who has survived the fast track promotion process from a lecturer to a full professor at quite an early age of 39 years old and the latter having promoted to senior lecturer within five years of tenure. In the earlier section of this paper, it attempts to answer the questions: What is academic excellence and what defines "success" in academic excellence? What is required for promotion? The questions of where young and new academicians are heading to and how do they get there are also highlighted by laying out a general career roadmap academic excellence plan and importantly, present strategies to deal with the potential pitfalls and avoid some of the bumps in the road towards striving for academic excellence.

**Keywords:** Excellence, Academia, Career path development, Fast track, PhD

### 1. Introduction

Academicians' achievements in local universities can be enhanced progressively faster. Across our nation, in cities, suburbs and rural communities alike, far too many academicians or lecturers are still not meeting the standards that will prepare them for the challenges of today and tomorrow. Being Institut Teknologi MARA (ITM) a highly reputable teaching university of the country for a few decades, producing several top nation present and future leaders, the government did not expect enough of her academics achievement and excellence in the past. Nowadays, with ITM being labeled as Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM), clear and high standards of academic achievement and discipline

are essential to prepare them for the challenges of the global society and information age while taking the university to great heights of excellence. These standards of excellence are important to help instill the excitement, knowledge and basic values, such as hard work, that will set UiTM academics on the right track. The current formation is based on a vision of outstanding scholarship and academic excellence that is capable of providing leadership in all fields of internationally recognized professional study. This serves as catalyst for greater strides in the development of the university and the nation.

In lieu of the above, UiTM academics are capable of meeting higher standards and perhaps assist UiTM to achieve a Research University (RU) status within a few years to come, if they have the courage and the vision to set the standards. Every academic staff must establish meaningful academic standards of excellence for what they should master in their teaching, research and professional service. Only with a standard measure of academic excellence can they have a guide for charting their own progress and build UiTM to generate, disseminate and advance knowledge within the ever-changing multicultural and technological context of the world. It has been observed that local public universities that set high standards to their academia have shown a difference in their academic achievement. It is therefore the objective of this paper to highlight the importance of being excellent in academic matters and how best the current young, vibrant, dynamic and progressive new breed of academics, scholars, knowledge innovators and paradigm bashers of UiTM can achieve their excellence in transcending traditional boundaries between disciplines of research. The significance of having a PhD is also highlighted with some insights of sharing good experiences in doing a PhD. This paper also provides a series of pathways for achieving outcomes necessary for improving the academic prowess of UiTM toward excellence. The continued use of Academic Excellence Plan as one of the strategies to stretch one's imaginations, creativity and visionary thinking is recommended for forward thinking academics to excel and secure future promotions to Professors.

## 2. Definition of academic excellence

The definition and requirement of academic excellence is broad. In our humble opinion, the university environment in which academics are encouraged to think critically and creatively is a contributing factor in determining the academic excellence and the academia. By web definition, academia is a collective term for the scientific and cultural community engaged in higher education and research, taken as a whole while academic means someone who has a scholarly background. On the other hand, an academician is an educator who works at a higher institution of learning, college or university. The focus on university assessments through the Key Performance Index (KPI) and "SSM" in Malaysia as the one true measure of academic excellence is slowly but surely limiting our young people's chances of experiencing any semblance of the success in academic life that is expected of them and that they believe university will provide for them. The academic excellence of a particular academician or lecturer is interrelated and has many facets, including the quality and composition of faculty, the quality of postgraduate training, the quality of the academic programs and the quality of students' experience. To be a great lecturer, the prevailing culture must demand excellence in all endeavors (Kamaruzaman, 2007a). That excellence can only be achieved when all parts of the University administration, faculty and staff are committed to the highest standards of performance. In today's world, academic excellence requires elements and experiences beyond those traditionally associated with universities. For example, an excellent education today requires an understanding of diversity and how diversity can enrich our learning and our lives. It also requires an understanding of how theory and practice meet, an understanding that can be enhanced through a rich array of service, outreach, and partnership opportunities. Nevertheless, academic excellence also requires state-of-the-art infrastructure and a talented and highly motivated staff.

In addition to teaching, several other "visions" must fit into the definition of academic excellence. A lecturer working on his or her applied research should include the idea of creative activity and basic research (scholarly and creative activity). It is always believed and emphasized in good classroom teaching that undergraduates must be creative enough to be excellent for a First Class Honors degree. Similarly, one must be able to differentiate himself or herself from hundreds of other lecturers in his own university in order to be excellent. He must be unique in quality and in the nature of his research and his personality too. There is no question of being preeminent in both academic excellence and research at the same time if one wants to. Part of his work must be identified and prioritized to achieve academic excellence. Once achieved in the ways mentioned, it needs to be publicized because academic excellence is one way of prominence and has to be externally validated either within the university or beyond. Some indicators are necessary to measure whether a lecturer has achieved his or her aspirations in academic excellence, and these indicators should be comparable to other national institutions. This is evidence from the way of appointment as UiTM's External Professor Panel for a Professor's promotion exercise since 2004.

## 3. Why does UiTM need a great academia?

For centuries, civilization has depended upon universities for a rich flow of ideas, innovation and graduates from a wide diversity of disciplines - from the humanities and social sciences to physical sciences, technology, and the professionals.

These intellectual and human resources have long been vital to UiTM's social, economic and civic success. They remain so today, when the need for ideas, innovation, graduates and not forgetting the academic staff is greater than ever.

A top-tier university will be a centre of excellence for the very best academicians - providing a broad, diverse population of lecturers with access to a rich teaching and research experiences and offering lifelong learning opportunities to traditional and non-traditional undergraduates alike (Kamaruzaman, 2007c). It will also be a centre of excellence for postgraduate and professional education and research - creating knowledge and innovation that fundamentally improve learning and the way people live. It will excel in the arts and sciences, dynamically enhancing the way UiTM graduates understand and experience their world.

One very important role for UiTM is to spur the Malaysian Bumiputra's socio-economic growth. Increasingly, our nation's most dynamic economies - areas such as Shah Alam and its vicinity should be connected to great research universities. There was a saying in The New York Times that, "If there is one never-absent factor at work, it is the proximity of a research university shifting from ivory tower to revving economic engine" (Goldberg, 1999) UiTM needs such a "revving economic engine" to succeed in the 21st century Information Age economy as it is a university that spawns innovation, generates new technologies and ideas, and produces talented graduates for successful commercial enterprises.

#### **4. The making of an excellent academia**

##### *4.1 In research*

What constitutes research? Theoretically, it refers to the inquiry activities of the faculty member and this definition of research generally does not reflect its reality in most institutions of higher education. For academics in research, productivity as measured in terms of publications and grant support, may outweigh all other areas when the time comes for promotion and salary negotiation. At its most basic level, one's goals in research have to include discovering, telling the truth, publishing (or perishing) and secure local as well as international research funds or grants (Kamaruzaman, 2007b).

Still, not all research activities are considered equally significant. For instance, writing textbooks or review articles may also be considered as some form of intellectual inquiry. However, although these kinds of activities demand a considerable amount of time and energy, they are not given equal weight in the eyes of promotion committees looking for evidence of achievement based on original scholarly work. Again, it all depends on what kind of track you are in. For individuals whose career focus is teaching, reviews and textbooks may suffice as evidence of scholarly activity. Indeed, a well-written and thoughtful review can sometimes change the whole direction of a field. Nonetheless an objective scoring listed below serves to guide those aspiring academicians to attain the journey of excellence.

##### Excellent in Research

- SSM mark of more than 80% for lecturers and Associate Professors and above 90% for Professors
- Research grant
- Membership in research project
- Research impact on community and national development
- Research results in terms of number
- Number of post-graduate students
- Peer evaluation
- Research collaboration with local university, agency, and industry linkages
- Awards
- Miscellaneous as to conference/seminar/workshop/congress papers presented locally or internationally

##### *4.2 In teaching*

Teaching generally includes actual in-class time working with students, as well as time spent preparing for class. It would also include mentoring in this category, although in many Malaysian institutions of higher education, there is no official way of quantifying the time spent on this important activity. Depending on the specific institution, such time could also include office hours as well as time spent revising old or creating new courses, leadership roles in training programs and other academic consultative collaborations within and outside the university. Although teaching is looked upon as an important and valued role in a faculty, it is a relatively under-funded mandate, that is, teaching does not bring in much salary and promotion support. While negative or absent teaching evaluations may hinder one's promotion,

outstanding evaluations by themselves are usually insufficient to overcome deficiencies in research productivity. However, it is still a mandatory duty not to be compromised and the listed scoring should suffice to help academicians gauge his own teaching performance at the tertiary level.

#### Excellent in Teaching

- SSM mark of more than 80% for lecturers and Associate Professors and above 90% for Professors
- Student evaluation mark of above 4 out of 5
- Peer evaluation (within & outside faculty)
- Report from Head of Department
- Report from supporting faculty staff
- Teaching workload of a total of 6 credit hour per semester, number of BS/MS/PhD students
- Number and level of student's supervision
- Other contributions including as academic advisor, invited lecturer, award winner

#### *4.3 In providing professional service*

Professional service in the context of academia generally refers to service to the Faculty or University. What qualifies as professional service, again, varies greatly upon the specific institution. The degree of involvement expected of the faculty member usually varies according to the size of the institution. Hence, service refers to deliverables that are either tangibles or non-tangibles to the particular department of which the faculty is a member. Such duties might include participation at departmental, faculty or university-level committees. A university such as UiTM expects professional service also to include consultancies, leadership in community service activities, and the professional community. Another example from the first author's faculty in UPM includes meaningful participation in forest engineering related professional organizations, such as the International Union of Forestry Research Organization (IUFRO), Malaysian Remote Sensing Society (MRSS), Malaysian Institute of Foresters (IRIM) or non-academic bodies such as Parents-Teachers Association (*PIBG*), is not only gratifying to the individual, but also is favorably viewed by promotion committees. It is important to become known outside of one's university, local and international community, and participation in professional local and international society activities which can be a useful way of accomplishing this. To some, professional service may not be viewed as either creative or scholarly (Yeager, 1956). With different requirements in several institutions, the activity of professional service has led to the creation of parallel tracks within research-dominated institutions. However debatable this aspect can be, professional service has provided pertinent contributions that encompass both research and teaching activities at tertiary level. In Malaysian institutions of higher education, it is an important criterion towards academic excellence.

#### Excellent in Professional Services

- SSM mark of more than 80% for lecturers and Associate Professors and above 90% for Professors
- Consultancy services in terms of value, number of projects, client feedbacks
- Advisory services in terms of numbers, client feedbacks
- Extension services
- Student activities in terms of being a student advisor, residential college fellow, university committee member, international committee member
- Membership in professional and non-professional bodies such as Reserved Officer Training Unit (ROTU)
- Miscellaneous including letters of contribution to the university and country

### **5. A doctorate as an important component of an academia**

There are many definitions and views of a PhD. A PhD is a qualification which one can obtain after carrying out independent research for a period of at least three years. In order to start a PhD course, an academicians must have obtained a first degree at an accredited University and in most cases he should obtain a relatively high classification such as First or Second Class Upper equivalent. Several PhD courses consist almost entirely of independent research in a specialized area. There are a few lectures, but they are mainly aimed at teaching a candidate how to use specialized equipment. At the end, he submits a dissertation (thesis), a document up to 60,000 words in length, which is normally assessed by two Examiners. The Examiners decide whether or not the student deserves to become a "Doctor of



Philosophy". There is an Oral Examination, involving one External Examiner (a national or international authority in the specialized field of the thesis) and one Internal Examiner (usually someone in the department with at least some knowledge of the field). The latter cannot be the Supervisor, who is not involved in the examining process and is not permitted to attend the oral. Provided you pass, you can put "Dr." before your name and by that stage you hopefully will have a good idea of how to go about serious research.

There are many reasons people are trying to get a PhD. The author in his paper entitled "The Concept of Research", PhD research allows one to gain appreciation for the practical applications of knowledge, and to step outside his "own world" and learn about the theories, tools, resources, and ethical issues that scholars and professionals encounter on a daily basis. One will learn how to formulate questions, design plans to find answers, collect and analyze data, draw conclusions from that data, and share one's findings with a community. It gives the candidate an opportunity to connect with the best faculty or school at the universities he intends to pursue his PhD study. Doing a PhD research will also make an academician an informed consumer of the research that he encounters on a daily basis: he will be able to evaluate the information presented as a citizen of this complex society, and make informed decisions about all kinds of public policy issues that affect everyday life. And finally, research prepares the candidate for the world beyond the University, by honing his independent thinking and creativity, time-management and budget skills, and confidence in his academic and career goals.

Some of the more general things an academician would get include a sense of confidence in the power of rational thought and the range of its applicability. Everything in life is a problem of some sort of the other. How often do we think about it that way, and approach methodically the job of solving it? After a PhD one should have the inclination and ability to research anything under the sun, whether it is physics, chemistry or biology, and the expectation that one will understand it. A PhD candidate should get the confidence and inclination to question all that is around him and seek out new ways of doing it or seeing it. He should be more likely to ask why things are done a certain way, and how it could be made better.

A PhD should give the researcher the confidence that he can jump into a new area, pick it up quickly, and have something interesting to say about it, even if other people have looked at this area for a long time. More than depth in any one area it should give him the courage to jump from area to area. He might be able to increase his appreciation for creativity, in other people and in all areas of life. In addition, he might also view art differently, or think differently about music he hears, more appreciative of what it takes to do things and how it departs from the previous works. The researcher should learn to value creativity and seek it out. It will instill a sense of taste and a critical sense. It should make him unwilling to accept the common standards and norms, and to put them to the test of his own intellect and opinions. Further, the researcher should naturally find himself questioning things of which he is willing to contradict conventional wisdom. That does not mean being a rebel just for the sake of it; an academician is too mature for that. It just means being constructively critical.

## **6. The challenges to overcome in striving for academic excellence**

Majority of the young and new UiTM academicians are far from ideal in terms of teaching and academic excellence. However, today with the present UiTM's Vice Chancellor's great philosophy, vision and mission, UiTM is perceived as having great young staff and good, but not really outstanding research academics. UiTM may be viewed as big and perhaps a little bureaucratic but with a strong spirit, particularly among the young academics. Allowing for many exceptions to such a gross generalizations, that perception is fairly close to the mark, so where do you start?

Any review of the comparative data makes it clear that the focus must be on building academic excellence. For while UiTM needs to continuously improve in many areas, it will never be a truly great university without dramatically enhancing the reality and perception of the teaching, learning and research the academics are going to do - and without the research and service activities that flow from achieving excellence in their endeavors. Although much has been accomplished in recent years, your academic reputation has not appreciably improved compared to other local universities especially UPM. The great move by the Institute of Leadership and Quality Management (iLQaM) of UiTM to have such a module today, for instance one that is designed to move UiTM into the top-tier of Malaysia's public research universities (RU) by the year 2010, with some programs ranked in the top 10 in their respective disciplines. This is a bold objective and the essential starting point of an academician's plan. It is an important benchmark in reaching UiTM's ultimate goal. Without the support of truly great academicians, UiTM will not probably achieve her missions and goals towards a RU in the target time.

In addition, you will not achieve academic excellence without explicitly defining expectations for a strong support to improving the university research and teaching infrastructure, with particular attention to research funding assistance and availability. The university management must create a campus environment that contributes to and is consistent with academic excellence. Profiles of leading universities such as Yale or Harvard reflect academic strength that is broad and deep - not simply in a few disciplines but throughout the institution. They also offer market-competitive

compensation for their faculty and staff. Besides, they recruit and maintain the finest possible faculty and staff and provide faculty and staff members with competitive compensation.

## 7. Strategic and academic initiatives toward academic excellence

UiTM can become one of the world's truly great universities with undivided support from young energetic and dynamic inspiring ambitious people as the excellent team of academics. UiTM has the potential to achieve her goals and missions and can improve significantly with the consistent motivating modules given by the Institute of Leadership and Quality Management that helps to enhance quality and credibility of the faculty members. The Academic Plan of high achievers will be the first iteration of what should be an ongoing academic excellence planning process, designed to launch the academician towards his ambitious goals. In this section of the plan, he has to address the following questions, namely: (a) why do you need to be a truly great teaching and research academician? (b) how far are you from that ideal? (c) what are the challenges must you overcome to attain your goals? (d) what are the internal and external factors that will influence your journey towards academic excellence?, and (e) what are your core strengths? To create a plan that enables one become an academically excellent lecturer, he needs to assess where he stands today - comparing his current position with his peers, including a number of inspirational peers. The academician must have a benchmark for his general comparability in academic excellence. While some of these statements underscore the rigorous challenge, the path or roadmap to academic excellence must begin with a candid acknowledgement of one's current position (Kamaruzaman, 2007a). The Excellence Academic Plan of high achievers is a product not only of one's vision and aspirations, but also of the environment in which one operates. This environment includes broad economic and societal trends as well as the pressures, opportunities, and resource constraints that confront higher education today. In the preparation of a career roadmap toward an excellent academic plan, these three core elements were fundamental. These strategies are to:

### 7.1 Build a world-class research lab towards a world-class research of cutting edge sciences and technologies

Academic excellence begins with high-quality laboratory facilities. It is to be noted that excellent academic member will not only enhance the University's teaching and programmatic reputation but also attract the highest quality students at all levels. More than any other single factor, attracting and keeping exceptional faculty members will help UiTM become a great public university. It would be an advantage for UiTM to have a few excellent faculty members who have attained the highest honors. The ability to hire a dozen or so exceptional senior faculty member of international acclaim over the next five years will significantly enhance UiTM's reputation and complement her efforts to hire the very best faculty member at every level.

### 7.2 Develop postgraduate academic programs and research centers that define UiTM as one of the nation's leading public university

Academic excellence requires that the quality and reputation of the academic programs rival those of your benchmark local institutions. The newly developed postgraduate program must focus in areas of strategic importance. A very good example to demonstrate is when the first author developed a postgraduate program in Remote Sensing/GIS a year after his return from Cranfield with a PhD in Remote Sensing. He started with only three students in the first year and now the program is still alive with more than 15 students per intake every year. By continuing to "invest for success," one will create top-quality academic programs that will move one towards parity or better with the peer institutions. The academician must also make an attempt to invest in research space. In one quotable case, the author went all out to the Vice Chancellor's level to request for a remote sensing/GIS laboratory space for him to excel in his academic career path. It has been well remembered that his application for a little space in his Faculty to provide the infrastructure needed for his modern research was rejected three times despite giving all sorts of explanations to the Head of Department and the Dean at that particular time. This particular lab is still in active operation and has been commercialized since 2004 with contract research funding from both government and private agencies. It is greatly believed that with enhanced research facilities, one will be better able to produce excellent research products in addition to increase the volume of funded research.

Based on his recent EU's *Erasmus Mundus* Visiting Scholar in University of Lund, Sweden, University of Warsaw, Poland, University of Southampton, England and The International Institute for Geo-information & Earth Sciences (ITC), The Netherlands, such great research universities typically house a number of nationally prominent research centers that flourish outside traditional disciplinary boundaries (Kamaruzaman, 2007d). These centers initiate cutting-edge research and educational opportunities that are oriented around important "real world" problems rather than disciplines. Often, such world-class centres connect with the community and the industry through outreach and technology transfer. Strong multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary centers also help attract and retain exceptional faculty and attract and retain to graduation talented students. UiTM can be one of the many major research opportunities of the future, particularly in the international arena; which will require such multidisciplinary collaboration from excellent academicians of the future. Quality research space and equipment must be available to effectively recruit and retain excellent and outstanding faculty members and to develop multidisciplinary institutes and centers.

### 7.3 Help build UiTM's future and vice-versa

Before the faculty member can really assist the University build his future, his work environment must first be improved by UiTM top management. To be as productive as possible in his research, and perform at an outstanding level in the classroom, you first need a supportive environment and a minimum of impediments. To improve the faculty member work environment, UiTM should recognize work load efforts of faculty members who supervise large numbers of doctoral students. UiTM through IDRC has been encouraging faculty entrepreneurship through opportunities for seed grants and other small grants to faculty, particularly in areas where external funding sources are limited. Such golden opportunities must be taken up by the faculty member to scale up his research towards academic excellence. Young academic staff should tag on with senior faculty members either within or outside the university. For instance, a young faculty member from the Faculty of Engineering, UiTM managed to prepare two papers for journal publication out of her two short-term small grants from IDRC with the first author's assistance as a member of her research team. In short, wherever possible, try to identify and work closely with well established professors outside the University for research collaborations and high impact journal publications (Kamaruzaman, 2007d). By having papers published in high impact or citation indexed journals, the faculty member is actually helping to build UiTM's future as one of the Malaysian potential world-class universities.

### 8. Conclusion

Let us academicians face it. Academic excellence is a long haul but can be a fast track with carefully planned strategies and most critical, the forward thinking. The traditional three-year PhD program just barely manages to lay the foundation for an academic career. Often, young academicians today are expected to simply absorb the necessary PhD lessons and experiences to succeed in academics without these lessons ever being clearly spelled out. Without a clear understanding of the academic process, the demands placed upon a junior or even a senior faculty member can seem overwhelming. This informational roadmap is therefore designed as a guide; resource and checklist to help new UiTM academic staff makes the most of one's PhD and post doctorate years an enjoyable and beneficial one. The academic excellence plan is a must and the responsibility of those high academic achievers striving for excellence. Success depends on having a job that insures adequate protected time to perform those activities required for promotion. Given the complexities of the promotion process, it is imperative that an academician has a clear understanding of what his track is and the institutional requirements for promotion within that track. The specific answers and definitions in each area will differ from institution to institution. Hopefully, this manuscript provides basic understanding of these concepts and one will be armed with the information needed to begin discussing job description with the Head of Department and Dean who will be "standing up" for his ward at the higher committee levels. The views shared in this paper here are entirely personal. They do not reflect those of the university, the department, or other faculty. They are not only our views but also about personal academic experiences. From the first author, it is about the post PhD research in his area of specialization, post-doctoral and visiting scholar and professorial experiences overseas and finally, his true life fast track experiences in striving for full Professor Tenure in his University.

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## Changes of Intermarriage between Upper Classes of Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region since Ming and Qing Dynasty and the Causes

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### Abstract

After the ancestors of Yi Nationality stepped into the class society, their traditional marriage was characterized by hierarchical endogamy, national endogamy, and levirate, etc. However, with rapid reformation of Yi Nationality in Dian and Qian Region since Ming and Qing Dynasty, they had changed their original strict hierarchical system, social structure, national structure, economic structure and ideology, with increasing internal disparate development. The series of changes not only broke traditional marriage form, and challenged the hierarchical endogamy and national endogamy, but brought into emergence filiality and chastity of women in Yi Nationality due to living mode, customs and behavioral manners of inland immigrants.

**Keywords:** Dian & Qian region, Upper classes of Yi Nationality, Intermarriage, Changes, Causes

Marriage is product of human evolution, and changes with continual development of the society. After the ancestors of Yi Nationality stepped into the class society, their traditional marriage was characterized by hierarchical endogamy, national endogamy, and levirate, etc. After implementation of chieftain system, chieftains were conferred by the emperor, and became a particular social class with the highest social status. They disdained to have intermarriage relations with those with low social status, so the situation of “intermarriage between chieftains and different nationalities” within Yi Nationality. However, with rapid reformation of Yi Nationality in Dian and Qian Region since Ming and Qing Dynasty, they had changed their original strict hierarchical system, and their originally confirmed intermarriage relation was difficult to be maintained, because they had continually changed the traditional intermarriage concept. Meanwhile, social structure, national structure, economic structure and ideology within that region had also been changed to different extents. Internal disparate development was aggravated, which caused the traditional marriage to be gradually broken. Therefore, not only hierarchical endogamy and national endogamy were challenged, but filiality and chastity of women in Yi Nationality arose, which further stimulated changes of social reality in this region.

### 1. Changes of intermarriage between upper classes of Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region since Ming and Qing Dynasty

#### *1.1 Intermarriage between different social classes within Yi Nationality*

After territorial tribal chiefs were changed into officials in Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region, the Qing Government adopted the policy of supporting dirt farmers in order to recover its economy, so quite a large number of Yi people broke away from control of chieftains and become free farmers. Meanwhile, under attack of landowner economy, some remaining chieftains became impoverished as a consequence of improper operation, and some didn't have children,

while originally suppressed Black and White Yi people had an increasing social status because of proper operation, become newly born landowners and imitated chieftains. Originally strict hierarchical system was changed, and “differentiation of being gentle and simple by the black or white people” was replaced by economic status. Then, mutual intermarriage arose between different classes. For instance, Qiaojia Tuoche Tuqianhu Lu Tingying didn’t have any heir, but he had a daughter called Lu Xunzhen, who had an uxori-local marriage so as to succeed the family property. Long Sheng, the third son of Black Yi Long Yun, was married into Lu, changed with a name Lu Xunlin, and become the successor of Aduo Tuqianhu. During the times of chieftains, chieftains and Black Yi were not inter-nuptial. For example, Qiong Bu Xuanfu Chieftain Ling Rulong married Yi Mwa as his concubine, which caused refusal among Bamen Yi, and they rushed out to rob her. After overthrow by the Revolution of 1911 of Qing Dynasty’s reigning, chieftains lost their backer, so they sought for protection by changing their intermarriage style. In order to acquire support from Yunnan Warlord Long Yun, Adou Official An Shude married his distant niece Long Yinjing as his concubine. Furthermore, Black Yi also belonged to the exploiting class, while White Yi was an exploited class, so they didn’t establish intermarriage relationship with each other. However, after the reformation, part of White Yi became the newly born landowners through their diligent labor and changing their operation manner. As a consequence, there appeared mutual intermarriage between these two classes. Such as, Black Yi Long Yuqing, one of the four major landowners in Zhenxiong, established affinity relations with Luo Shaoxuan, a White Yi landowner.

### *1.2 Intermarriage between different nationalities*

Since Ming Dynasty, different degrees of changes had taken place in the social structure, national structure and economic structure in Yi Nationality with further reign of the central Dynasty upon Yi Nationality and with continual inburst of inland immigrants, and the internal developmental imbalance was aggravated. With proceeding of territorial tribal chiefs changed into officials, the Central Dynasty continued to send flexible officials, with an increasing reigning power. At the same time, traditional systems and culture of Yi Nationality suffered from strong attack. Original balance was broken, and the hierarchical system in those regions was further loosened in which the reformation was relatively thorough. The family concept became weak which was gradually replaced by the patriarchal clan system of Han Nationality and by the monogamous patrilineal small-family society. Lineage concept was gradually constituted by the economic status. Besides, different degrees of changes happened in activities of daily living in ideological field which was affected by Confucianism, so intermarriage between different nationalities increased gradually.

Since Ming and Qing Dynasty, there had had more records on intermarriage between upper classes in Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region. The county government officer in Wuding Fengshi and Lijiang Naxi Nationality chieftain Mushi got married, which was to get protection from Mushi. Shuixi Anshi and Bozhou Yangshi got married because they needed mutual assistance and compromise. In Weining, after Tu was reformed into Liu, although chieftains had the highest social status and greatest authority among all classes in Yi Nationality, and they didn’t want to have intermarriage relations with Black Yi and other reigned classes, they still had intermarriage relations with chieftains, and their social status descended. In order to maintain their power in terms of politics and economy, they began intermarriage with local powerful Han Nationality. As for such regions as Western Dian and Southern Dian which had developed economy, that was more common. For instance, Menghua Chieftain Zuoshi established intermarriage relationship with Fan, Yao, Chen, Liu & Li, etc who were local powerful officials sent by the central plains of China, and with local tyrannicals so as to consolidate and strengthen his reigning. Nalou Pushi established intermarriage relationship with Hani and Han Nationality. As for Han litterateurs and merchants, they were more favored by chieftains in Yi Nationality. For example, during Qing Dynasty, Chen Ding went to Dian with his youngest uncle at the age of ten. Just one year later, his uncle died, and his older brother fell ill, so he didn’t continue to hold the position. He was totally a stranger in a foreign land. Afterwards, his maternal uncle Qianshi made the acquaintance of the Chieftain Long in Yi Nationality during his trade of tobacco, so Chen Ding was left as a private tutor, and taught calligraphy. Then, his family circumstances took a turn for the better, and Chen Ding also got guide and support from his maternal uncle. He was sent from Qujing to Chieftain Long, who appreciated Chen Ding for his being literary and proficient in Seven Liberal Arts. So Long married his firstborn daughter of the first wife to Chen Ding. With his own experiences, Chen Ding introduced in detail his wedding ceremony and living customs, which offered specific historical records for us to have knowledge in intermarriage between upper classes of Yi Nationality under the circumstance of social reform at that time in Dian & Qian Region. Furthermore, Black Yi Long Yun got married with his cousin at an early age in the Republic Period, and also married one Yi Nationality woman in Ludian as his concubine. Later, he continued to get married with Li Peilian, daughter of Han traditional Chiense medicine doctor Li Canting in Binchuan County. When Long Yun was imprisoned by Hu Ruoyu, Li Peilian, regardless of poverty and ruin, contacted former subordinates of Long Yun to help Long Yun escape from danger. Her magic and wisdom was far beyond that of ordinary housewives. In 1932 when Li Peilian passed away, Long Yun again was married with Gu Yingqiu, the daughter of Dian Army commander Gu Xiaoqi’s daughter and who graduated from The Woman Normal University of National Beijing. Long Yun was accompanied by Gu Yingqiu in his later years. Long Yun’s cousin also got married with Han bureaucrat Zhang Banghan. In his quotation of <<Kuomintang Character Biography>>, Hu Er recorded, “As a politician, his (Zhang Banghan) huge property

enabled him to reestablish intermarriage relationship with Long Yun. Increasing intermarriage between Yi and Han Nationalities reinforced their mutual understanding. In his << Congratulations on Intermarriage between Yi Long Dekun & Han Miss Zhu Guihua>>, Zhenxiong Scholar Chang Qinye of later Qing Dynasty spoke highly of “no discrimination of boundary, intermarriage between Yi and Han Nationalities, and of the necessity of being prosperous after intermarriage”. This kind of intermarriage between different nationalities really reflected the mutual relations that no one can go along without each other in the process of Chinese development.

### *1.3 Continual emergence of filiality and chastity among women in Yi Nationality*

Filiality and chastity was a shackle to women for their ethics in Chinese feudal society. Both the family and the court attempted to mould the image of a woman in terms of her ethics, then conferred honors on her, which became a common ethical behavior advocated by the whole society. What's more, women at that time were also willing to accept this moulding, because on their part, to be able to go down to history and to receive reward in a society, in which they were looked down upon, was an extreme honor both for themselves and for their families. Therefore, there didn't lack records of women with filiality and chastity.

Before Yuan Dynasty, this cultural background hadn't been formed in Yi Nationality in Dian, Chuan and Qian Region. They were still engaged through moon dance with no surprise at all, and there wasn't any prohibition on communication between virgin men and widows. If her husband died after marriage, the wife would be levirated within the family-tree members so long as she was at an age of marriage and childbirth, so as to avoid flow out of their assets. Therefore, either the official history or local history records hardly had any record about filiality and chastity among women in Yi Nationality. They were quite different from women in the central plains of China who followed such ethics as the three obediences and four virtues, and the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues, etc.

However, since Ming and Qing Dynasties when Han people immigrated and there formed a mixed living among various nationalities, the Confucianism of Han culture got to Yi area. The exemplary role of Han immigrant women upon them made changes of different degrees happen in the living mode, customs, and behavioral patterns among Yi female, and they gradually accepted the concept of filiality and chastity. For instance, Long Yangshi, wife of the departed Chieftain Long Shengwu. She was good at Yi writing, and knew well the principle of right and wrong. Shengwu died at an early age, without any child. His wife was young, but according to the Yi custom that once the older brother died, his younger brother would marry his wife. So the younger brother threatened Long Yangshi and forced her to levirate, without any human rationality. However, Long Yangshi had no choice but to pledge not to levirate with the threat of death. In order to break away from smuttiness, she asked for help from the government. Then she adopted Long Chengzong as her son, who afterwards entered Wu School, and who was the grandson of Zheng Ruiqi. When she died at the age of 60, she was conferred the title of “aamjuw” by the inspection institution. A mere look at historical records of this period, we can find virtue, filiality, chastity and integrity, and especially chastity. As for Yi female, they underwent the most hard and devious journey in their life, because in traditional culture of Yi Nationality, there had been a custom of levirate between the young brother of a departed husband and his wife and even between different generations. That is, the son married his stepmother after the death of his father, and the young brother of a departed husband married his wife. Therefore, the virtue of female contradicted vehemently with the traditional culture of their nationality. For example, Yang shi, wife of Long Shengwu, was oppressed day by day, almost without any human justice. In order to remain unmarried, she defied death to defend and tried hard to follow the custom. Finally, she got support from the feudal government and realized her purpose of remaining unmarried, so she was conferred the title of “aamjuw” by the inspection institution. It is obvious that the government adopted the protection policy upon those upper class female of chastity, heaped praise upon them, conferred honors on them, and influenced other ordinary Yi female through them, so as to achieve the purpose of eliminate Yi customs and follow requirements of the feudal society for female. However, whether they were entitled with “aamjuw” or “noble character”, they had to achieve that at a heavy cost if they intended to break this traditional authority, although they had gained the so-called reputation under the social circumstance of that time. Also, they had to encounter more difficulties and hindrance than Han women. Although it was a fact, Yi female, especially upper class female had challenged the traditional culture. This, without doubt, was a great social progress which was a struggle against inherent customs in the historical conditions at that time. Originally, there were approximately a hundred sorts of Yi men and they never had any record in terms of chastity, and men and women and old and young sang and danced, rejoicing with wild excitement. Afterwards, wives died for chastity for their husbands, unmarried women kept their chastity, and female began to establish chastity concept for themselves.

## **2. Causes for changes of intermarriage between upper classes of Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian region since Ming and Qing Dynasty**

### *2.1 Prevalence of Confucianism*

After establishment, Ming Dynasty continued to carry out chieftain system on the basis of Yuan Dynasty. In order to enable chieftains to obey dynasticism and know about monarch-subject etiquette, in 28th Year Hongwu, Zhu Yuanzhang made an imperial order to Libu that, “Chieftains in remote and border areas are all traditionary, and they rarely know

about etiquette. If they are restricted too strictly, they might resist, and if not, they wouldn't follow centralized control. How to educate them? It should be like this: to set up Confucianism teaching among chieftains in Yunnan and Sichuan, and to teach those talented among chieftains' sons, grandsons younger brothers and nephews. They should be taught etiquette of father and son and monarch-subject etiquette, so that they wouldn't resist the court, which is also one way to stabilize border areas". As for those chieftains who succeeded, they were required to enter a school for reading and learning etiquette, and enjoyed special treatment, so as to change "undesirable customs" of Yi Nationality. Under long-term influences of feudal culture, Yi upper classes, especially children of chieftains had similar customs to those of the central plains of China. Just as in his <<Anshijiazhuang>>, Zhou Hongmo said, "An guan's living room, waref, clothes, food and drink, marriage, funeral, treatment of guests, and warding off calamity, etc, all followed etiquette of China. ... After death of An guan, his son An Guirong succeeded his title, and was good at reading all sorts of historical books. He set up a school to teach etiquette of minorities, so great changes took place to all sorts of old customs. The purpose of changing Yi with customs of China was attained.

During Qing Dynasty, the government not only required those succeeded officials above the age of 13 to learn etiquette in a school, and took over the succession starting from Confucianism. If any of younger generation of the nationality wanted to learn in the school, he had to pursue an official position together with Han people, so that he could benefit from the etiquette, while the Confucianism got increasingly popular and the violent custom was gradually changed. What was more important, on the basis of original Confucianism and academy in Yi area in Dian and Qian, the Qing government accepted lots of children of the nobility to learn Confucianism culture which was specially aimed at rise of charitable schools of such minorities as Yi Nationality, etc. That was an important approach for them to succeed and hold the official position. That was also aimed at influencing them through the Confucianism, making them recognize Han culture and gradually extending to such aspects as living style and behavioral habits, etc. At present, education on minorities in border area should attach great importance to their civilization education. Firstly, children of minorities close to Han Area should be taught. Once they get along with Han children for long, they can be taught emperor commandments. After they are familiar, then they can be taught Confucianism, with a time limit of six years. If they cannot learn well, they should be sent back, and other excellent children should be selected to teach. When they are successful in their school work, they should be sent to more distant areas to teach minorities, and after they accomplish their target, they are allowed to take part in imperial competitive examination. When children of nobility achieve their goals, they bring back this advanced culture to Yi Area, which in turn, promoted progress of Yi culture.

Influence of Confucianism caused changes of different degrees in endogamy, hierarchy, basic necessities of life, and gender differences of Yi upper classes. 9th year of Emperor Qianlong's reign (1744), Yunnan Xunfu Zhang Yun reported, "although minorities in Yunnan Province fall behind, they are relatively modest and indebted. In addition, they try to convince local people to follow rules and regulations of the central law. At present, women of all minorities also come to understand chastity. It is suggested that more than 370 schools should be established and teachers of Confucianism should be selected. So far, there have been quite lots of people among all minorities who are fond of reading.". That not only consolidated reign of the Qing Government, but also gradually became "a thinking motive for stimulating Yi upper young people to learn Confucianism". Affected by that, Yi upper class women also followed female virtues according to feudal ethics.

## *2.2 Changes of customs after tribal chiefs being changed into officials*

According to research, in the process of cultural transition, what was firstly changed was the material level, then system level, later custom level and finally thinking and value level. Since a custom is a generally accepted and conventionalized standard and model, and a human relationship method for a certain group, it has a relevant stability and even conservatism, so characteristics of all nationalities are displayed. Of course, the custom is not without any change, because during a specific historical period, especially when the social reform and integration of nationalities were quickened, the custom could also reveal certain corresponding changes, which indicated recognition and convergence of one nationality to another.

Before Yuan Dynasty, it was difficult for foreign officials and immigrants to enter Yi area in Dian and Qian. Even if a minority of them could get in, most of them were assimilated. Since Ming Dynasty, vigorous implementation of Tuntian among armies and the people and entrance of Han immigrants into Yi area for residence changed the original Yi ghetto into a mixed living area of Yi and Han nationalities, etc. Furthermore, the proportion of Han people was gradually on the increase, and there emerged a situation of smaller indigenous population and more immigrants. After Qing Dynasty, Yi Nationality was further pressed towards mountain area. For instance, extensive reform of Qing Dynasty in northeast Dian and southern Guizhou killed quite a large quantity of innocent Yi people without mercy, which caused sharp fall of Yi population in these areas. Meanwhile, the government built flood ponds in Yi ghetto and implemented reclamation of immigrants, which caused fast increase of Han population in Yi area. As a consequence, whether in a thoroughfare or a remote village, there must be one from Jiangxi who opened a store or dealt with trade. However, in relatively developed area, it was inland people who dealt with trade over the years as frequently as one tatted, while

Chu, Yue, Shu and Qian men took their wives and children to reside there all their life. They rented land of Yi people and earned a living who accounted for three or four out of ten or so.... Visitors did business there and took their families along with them who became more and more. What was more, those single men made an investment there, got married with Yi women, and could enter anywhere in villages there by depending on the identity of their wives. As a result, the original Han population in Yi ghetto increased sharply, which largely changed the demographic structure and social structure of local Yi society.

A boundary of Dian, Qian, Chu and Yue was formed, which was extended for five or six thousand Li. Great changes had happened to such ancient customs as tattooing and weapons. Differences of Yi Nationality from the central Plains of China were gradually diminished, and a peaceful scene appeared, which were unprecedented. Immigration of Han people not only brought in advanced inland production skills and labor tools, but had a significant effect upon customs of Yi Nationality, where there appeared the phenomena of "reclamation over the years, elimination of deserted land, assembly of businessmen, living together of Han and Yi people, and dense houses", which had no difference from inland situation.

Extensive immigration of inland Han people and the reform of tribal chiefs being changed into officials enabled Yi area which originally had the common practice of being rude to get rid of the former undesirable customs. Intellectuals were educated and reasonable and laboring people were diligent in ploughing. Deeply influenced by inland economy and culture, there was no difference in terms of dressing, food, marriage and funeral, and alternation of the four seasons among Han and Yi people. Change of upper classes of Yi Nationality would necessarily drive changes of customs of the people who were under their control. Such as, from Lydian to Republic of China, Hui population accounted for one third of Han population within the border, Yi population merely accounted for five percent, and Mongol people had vanished. Yi and Hui people were assimilated by Han people, only except that Hui people didn't eat pork as Han people did, and Yi people didn't sleep in the same bed with Han people, which were their own characteristics. Long-term living together with Han people, Yi people were affected by Han people in all aspects, and their living customs were gradually changed towards those of Han people.

### *2.3 Rapid reduction of Yi population and exemplary role of Han women*

Reform of Ming and Qing dynasties in chieftains in Dian and Qian Yi Nationality usually underwent rebellion, suppression and rebellion again. During Tianqi years in late Ming Dynasty, the Shuixi chieftain An Bangyan united Yingning Xuanfushi She Chengming in Chuannan to revolt against the court and were suppressed, which aggravated disunion between upper classes within Shuixi. Such chieftains as Wozhe and Huasha etc, fought against each other vehemently for succession of officials, and all offered their land for being changed into an official. Ankun War was a continuation of She'an War, but it was a spent bullet. It was suppressed within one year, and although An Shengzu held the position of a chieftain again afterwards, still his power was diminished to a great extent.

It was estimated that there were over 10,000 rebelling chiefs, parties and accomplices who died and killed themselves by drowning themselves in a river or rolled into precipices. Thousands of hunted and arrested people were beheaded and chopped their right hands. The number of minorities who were given to meritorious officers and soldiers as an award was also several thousands. There were almost ten thousand people who were approved to be emplaced again and who surrendered. There were hundreds of important criminals who were investigated and there were only tens of people who were not hunted down. After reform of chieftain areas in northeast Dian, original Wumeng chieftain Lu Wanzhong and Zhenxiong chieftain Long Qinghou were assigned to Jiangnan by Qing government. Altogether a couple hundred of tribal chiefs were sent to Dian to be interrogated by Anchashi Yi Xidao, among whom almost one hundred rebelling chiefs were killed, Mitie chief Lu Yongxiao was beheaded, and his wife Lu Shi and other chiefs were captured in succession or died in the prison. Besides, after the reform, cruelty and greed of officials aroused more rebellion from local people. Ertai maneuvered Han Tu soldiers in several southwest provinces for a sanguinary suppression and began large-scale destroy and thorough search. They either killed or dispatched those chiefs, leaving not a single consequence of sin.

Most chieftains were either killed or shifted inland, so quite a great many innocent Yi people were cruelly killed. Those survivals either fled into Liangshan area or were changed into Han Nationality or other nationalities under their protection, or moved to dense forests. As a consequence, the population of Yi Nationality was rapidly reduced. For example, Yi Nationality in Ludian only occupied five percent of Han population in the Republic Period. Weining was also an area in which Yi and Han people lived together and Yi population accounted for approximately 20%. Due to rapid reduction of upper Yi classes, the intermarriage phenomenon wasn't able to be as common as before tribal chiefs were changed into officials, so it had to be adjusted to a certain extent.

As mentioned above, Han immigrants from the central plains of China during Ming and Qing Dynasty entered Yi Area by different means. And after tribal chiefs were changed into officials, again a large batch of inland Han people entered Yi Area and strengthened their connection with Yi Nationality. Their daily living behaviors, especially the values of moral outlook of Han women did play an exemplary role in Yi women. According to the study, there were 2 women of



chastity during the dynasties of Han and Jin, 1 during the dynasties of Sui and Tang, 17 during Yuan Dynasty, 1295 during Ming Dynasty and 9645 during Qing Dynasty in Yunnan Province. There were so many women of chastity merely in Yunnan Province during dynasties of Ming and Qing, and the number was also great in Guizhou area. Since their names might be engraved in the memorial arch of chastity and go down to history because of their honors, that might be considered a realization of their self-value in which they took great pride. Lots of minority women also followed their steps as a result of their affection towards that. For instance, Zhu shi, the wife of Jin Yinglin, followed her mother to escape to Dianchi Lake from enemies, and drowned themselves after hearing that the enemy searched them in the sea. Tu people grieved for them, and buried them in the stilt. There were altogether eight women in Ren shi from Kunming, who escaped to Luomuwudao River from enemies during unrest of late Ming Dynasty. Afterwards, they were discovered by mutinous soldiers, and then drowned themselves one by one. Local Tu people engraved a stone tablet which said, "Place of death of the eight women from Ren shi." Local Tu people grieved for women of chastity in Han Nationality, and also engraved their stories, which indicated that local people had grown a kind of recognition to behaviors of Han women. Although this isn't a direct historical record to reflect Yi area, it can still be deduced that there may also exist similar situations in Yi area. Therefore, their behaviors had played an exemplary role in Yi women.

All in all, due to rapid social reform of Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region during Ming & Qing Dynasty, reinforcement of national communication, and changes of customs and ideological consciousness, official regime gradually took the place of tribal chief regime. Change of the social status of chieftains compelled them to adjust their traditional intermarriage pattern. Therefore, great changes happened to traditional marriage concepts, in which more and more upper classes in Yi Nationality established intermarriage relationship with those classes under their leadership and other nationalities, especially Han Nationality, and also played a demonstrative role for those people under their leadership. Meanwhile, elimination of Wei-so and flood ponds caused lots of Han soldiers and their families to live scattered in Yi Region. They lived together and got along well with Yi people, taught each other production skills and cultural knowledge, accepted mutual living customs and established intermarriage relationship with each other, which all promoted cultural progress and social development in Yi Nationality in Dian & Qian Region.

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## The Implications of Cold War on Malaysia State Building Process

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### Abstract

The Cold War has affected the communities around the world. Malaysia was no exception in being affected by the turmoil the international world, particularly after the World War 2, due to ideological conflicts. Based on the domino theory, the ups and downs of particular country in terms of its, strong ideology, brings about network impacts to each country in the world. Thus, a freedom of Malaya and the establishment of Malaysia came from the history of Cold War which influenced the international scene. The establishment of Malaysia is seen as a mechanism to stop the influence of communism. The involvement leaders from Malaya, Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak as well as Brunei Darussalam in the agenda to 'build' Malaysia with the approval from democratic countries showed a very strong cooperation that communism was a threat. This contributed to the creation of a new and bigger country. The wise Malaysian leaders in negotiating and being united in facing the global threats at that time, has shown that Malaysia's 'project' in stopping the communist theory which is also known domino theory, was successfully carried out and maintained till today. Therefore, Malaysia as a case study, on how a country was 'built' on the basis of stopping the spread of communism in saving the Southeast Asia from falling into the hands of communists, is unique and its effectiveness should be studied.

**Keywords:** Communism, Cold War, State Building

### 1. Introduction

Malaya achieved its independence on 31 August 1957 in a unique way. Through unity, compromise and tolerance between Malays and the ethnic Indians and Chinese, who worked together hand in hand for an independent Malaya, it created a success story for its future. Multiracial Malaya had arisen and adopted a united front in support of self-government. With its spirit of 'unity in diversity', Malaya and later Malaysia has remained relatively stable until the present, and this in itself makes a unique and interesting study. Malaysian nation building history is packed with several concepts and significant events, which reflect internal and external influences of the region, the most amazing being the compromise and tolerance by which Malaysia has come into existence. When the Federation of Malaysia came into being

on 16 September 1963, through diplomacy and compromise with the British, it marked the conclusion of a successful cooperative venture.

The 1950s to the 1970s, during Cold War, was a period of important transition for Malaysian national politics. A study this period will give a clear view of Malaysia's significant role in the region during the Cold War era. This paper will analyze the important elements in the 'clash of ideology' between the democratic and the communist movements. This paper will also emphasize the roles played by the United States of America and Britain in the Western front, in the fight against the emerging communists in Indonesia during Sukarno's presidency, which had a significant impact on Malaya and the new Federation of Malaysia at that time.

## **2. The Malay Archipelago and European Expansionism**

The British and Dutch, until World War II, were the dominant colonial powers in the Malay Archipelago, nowadays, includes Malaysia and Indonesia. The colonization of these two countries created several changes in politics and culture in the Archipelago. A Treaty made in the 19th century between the Dutch and the British underlined the borders of influence between these two colonial powers. The 1824 Anglo-Dutch Treaty had immense consequences for the national identity of the subject people. The Brunei and Sulu Sultanate in Borneo, together with several Malay Kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula, were placed under the influence of the British. Sumatra and Java, together with other parts of Nusantara (Malay- archipelago), were under the influence of the Dutch. (Mills, 1966). This division threw the indigenous politics of the entire archipelago into chaos, separated from the traditional sultanate influence, which formerly dominated the political and social system. For example, the Sultanate of Johor-Riau separated into two, Johor and Singapore under the British, and Riau-Lingga under the Dutch. Under the terms of the treaty, the Malay Archipelago was divided into two separate zones of influence between the two major powers.

Again, in 1909, The Anglo-Siamese Treaty significantly divided the Malay Kingdoms in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula under Siam and Britain with the British gaining control of the states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Terengganu, (Mills, 1966). As described by Turnbull in his chapter 'regionalism and nationalism', the expansionism of European colonialism had fundamentally affected the region where previously, 'no single empire had dominated the whole region' (Turnbull, 1999:258). European expansionism created frontiers of influence in the region, which have virtually continued until the era of the Cold War. Similar crisis situations were later demonstrated in the modern world and can be studied and evaluated in the Middle East, India-Pakistan, Korean Peninsula, Vietnam in 1970's, and presently in Iraq and Palestine-Israel. The Malay Archipelago was the first region to face the problem of interference by foreign superpowers, which left the region entirely in disarray.

### *2.1 Formation of the Southeast Asian Region*

Southeast Asia was first brought into conception by grouping the countries of the region together during World War II for military purposes. The idea was brought up by accident at the Quebec Conference in August 1943, when the Western Allies decided to introduce a regional zone of command that would make it easier to monitor during the war. South East Asia Command, (SEAC), first came into being, with the combination of Burma, Malaya, Sumatra and Thailand, which at that time were mostly under British influence. Later, at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, SEAC included the Netherlands East Indies and Indochina, south of the sixteenth parallel. Only the northern part of Vietnam, Laos and the Philippines were not included into this concept of SEAC (Turnbull, 1999:258).

During World War II, all of the Southeast Asian countries were under Japanese influence. This was the first time in history that a colonial power, Japan, was able to form a single entity of domination in the region. The Japanese defeat of the European empire in Southeast Asia at that time significantly raised the spirit of nationalism of most of the Southeast Asian leaders. After World War II, and the surrender of the Japanese, many of the countries in the region claimed independence from their former European colonizers. Most amazingly, 'within ten years of the Japanese withdrawal, all Southeast Asia countries achieved independence', except the Kingdom of Brunei Darussalam.

## **3. The Cold War**

### *3.1 The Malayan Emergency (1948-1960)*

Following World War II, a new problem emerged for Malaya. After the Japanese surrendered the Malayan People's Anti Japanese Army, (MPAJA), which was supported by the British to fight the Japanese invasion, was asked to withdraw their weapons and integrate in the society as civilians. Before the British reestablished their authority however, the Parti Komunis Malaya, (PKM), or Malayan Communist Party, (MCP), tried to force Malaya into anarchy, by attempting to gain control of the police stations in order to free Malaya from colonialism. In 1948, Chinese Communist guerrilla fighters, (who had been armed by the British during the war), emerged from the jungle and under the rule of Chin Peng (Secretary General of the MCP), began their terror campaign to take over the country by force. British Military Administration (BMA) had been established by then, and the communist MCP had aggressively turned their attention to the new slogan of anti-imperialism. This had a significant effect on Malayan ethnic groups with disputes erupting among Muslim Malays and Chinese Communists. The Malayan Government at that time, along with many others in the Western

bloc, was apprehensive about the spread of international communism. Thus, an intense jungle war began, fought by the Malay forces and British Commonwealth forces, against the MCP.

During the first period after the emergency was declared, there was not much coordination between security forces. This situation continued until Lt. Gen. Sir Harold Briggs was appointed by British Malaya as Director of Operations in March 1950. Under his strategic program, called the Rancangan Briggs (Briggs Plan), by taking over the land of the Malays, he, along with his war executive committees (including Sir Henry Gurney, later assassinated by communist loyalists), coordinated emergency operations, and created 500 “Kampung Bharu” (new villages) for Malayan populations who lived in remote areas beyond government protection (Miller, 1965: 177). Under the plan introduced by Briggs and Gurney, the foundation was laid for eventual victory and political progress, which came much sooner than anyone expected (Miller, 1965: 177). Briggs Plan by the British had given 400,000 Chinese a residence (*Utusan Malaysia*, 16 January 2009). According to Raja Muda of Perak (the Crown Prince of Perak) Raja Dr Nazrin Shah, the Briggs Plan was displeased the Malay Rulers as showed by the statement of the Conference of Malay Rulers which took place on 24 Mei 1950 (*Utusan Malaysia*, 16 January 2009).

Deprived of their crucial sources of supply and information, the Communist insurgents began to attack the “Kampung Bharu”. Nevertheless, the security forces, which were now fighting on their own ground, proved to be too strong for the Communists. Under the Briggs Plan, in 1950, the pre-Federation Police had been expanded to cope with communist terrorism. More than 25,000 regulars police and 42,000 Special Constables, of which the majority were Malays were employed by the British Malayan Administration (O’Ballance, 1966:107). These forces were able to concentrate on jungle operations, thereby destroying the Communists and their camps.

The Malayan Emergency lasted for twelve years and it was declared over on 31 July 1960. That meant, for the newly independent country, fighting communism was a major priority in bringing stability among its ethnic based society. During the peak of the Cold War, this victory significantly injected more confidence into democratic Malaya and the Western Allies, that the ‘domino theory’ of communist expansion could be thrust aside. Significantly it was the only war that the West had decisively won against Communism. Deery states that the ‘Malayan Emergency’ during this period between 1948 to 1957, reflected the strategy applied by the U.S in Vietnam (Deery, 2002:29). He mentions that Sir Robert Thompson, who served in Malaya throughout the Emergency and headed the British Advisory Mission in South Vietnam noted:-

*“Many Americans made studies of the British success during the Emergency in Malaya but these were largely superficial... it was never comprehended as a whole”* (Deery, 2002:30).

Most important for the success in fighting communism was the lack of support given to the communist forces by the Muslim Malays, who are the prominent majority in Malaya. Most of the communist fighters were Chinese, and were influenced by Maoist ideology.

### 3.2 Independence in Malaya (1957)

During the first election in 1955, the Perikatan or Alliance party won 51 seats out of 52 seats. A mandate was given to Perikatan, led by Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Hajj to negotiate with the British, the idea of an independent Malaya. On 31 August 1957, Malaya was granted independence from British colonial rule and Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Hajj became the first Prime Minister of Malaya, and later Malaysia, and remained in power until 1970. With independence, the country became a centralized Federation, with a constitutional monarchy. Kuala Lumpur became the capital city of the Federation. Each state has its own fully elected Dewan Undangan Negeri, (State Assembly), its government chosen from the party which has a majority of elected members in the Dewan (Assembly).

Since independence, the Alliance party, a coalition based on ethnic groups, has governed the Federation. It combines the United Malay Nation Organization (UMNO), Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and Malayan Indian Congress (MIC), which represent Malays, Chinese, and Indians respectively. This coalition was the manifestation of an excellent idea, which contributed to the stability of Malaysian politics until 1969. The evolution of the Alliance formula was an exercise in arriving at some sort of consensus among the principal ethnic groups in Malaya. This concept became the backbone of Malaysian politics until the present.

## 4. ‘Cold War’ and Political Turbulence Faced By Malaysia (1960s)

### 4.1 Communism and its threat

Tunku Abdul Rahman, the Prime Minister of Malaya, stated his position over a new Federation of Malaysia. This idea for Greater Malaysia was declared for the first time in public on 27 May 1961 in Singapore. With support from the British, Tunku planned to merge all five territories of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah. According to McKie (1963), the success of Tunku’s plan for merger, depended on support from Britain and the reaction of Indonesia. Tunku wanted to merge because he did not want the communists in Singapore to take over the island. McKie (1963) stressed his opinion that Lee Kuan Yew and Tunku knew that the British could give Singapore total independence without joining

Malaysia, however, it was feared that it would lead to a Communist 'take over' of Singapore. The MCP Central Committee then launched a campaign insisting that this merger of Greater Malaysia was a neo-colonialist conspiracy. The same slogan was used by, the communist influenced, Sukarno during the Indonesian confrontation with Malaysia.

If the communists were allowed to operate freely in Singapore, it would significantly jeopardize Malaya. Lee Kuan Yew, the Chief Minister of Singapore at the time, stressed that if the Malaya Government under Tunku did not react in a proper manner, the communists would take over Singapore and it would be just like having 'Cuba in the heart of Southeast Asia'. This can be observed in the statement made by Lee Kuan Yew:-

*'Once Singapore is independent, the Communists believe they could undermine the Federation, if necessary by force of arms' (Lee Kuan Yew, 1961:76).*

McKie stated that :-

*"Given independence before merger, and with control of the major unions, the Communists would be free of the security and defence restraints on the island... would be in a position to create a revolutionary situation and [Communist] take over Singapore." (McKie, 1963:239).*

Tunku, having before had to fight against the MCP, now seriously considered the situation in Singapore as a dangerous threat to independent Malaya, and stated that if Communists :-

*"take over [Singapore]... would force Tunku's Government to invade Singapore. Communist Singapore would call for aid. The result could easily be general war." (McKie, 1963:239).*

#### 4.2 Quarrel and Triumph for The Malaysian Federation Tunku's Idea for Federation

Malaya had settled down after the communist revolution and had managed to step into a new dimension in terms of unity between the ethnic groups. Meanwhile, Singapore who faced the threat of socialist and left front ideologies in the People Action Party (PAP), had to find an alternative to secure the PAP Government. Lee Kuan Yew had urged Tunku and the British to push for the creation of Malaysia, which would combine Malaya and Singapore. This proposition did not suit Tunku's government, if Singapore alone joined Malaya to create Malaysia, it would affect the ratio of ethnicity. Malays, who were in the majority at that time, would become a minority after incorporating the Singaporean Chinese into Malaysia (Smith and Bastin, 1967:76). This would shape a new circumstance in the political background of the Federation, that would make the Malay unhappy. Tunku came up with an idea of including British Borneo in the creation of the Federation of Malaysia in order to balance the ethnic population and make sure that Malay and bumiputera (son's of the soil) were still in the majority. In 1961, Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Hajj ideally brought the prospect of Malaysia into public discussion, by which he hoped to convince Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, North Borneo (Sabah), and Sarawak to join Malaya in a federal union.

Tunku was not the first to propose the union of Malay states. Before the plan for merger was idealised by Tunku in the 1960s, there were several nationalist movements in Malaya who wanted to merge all the Malay states into a single federation. In 1960s, Tunku's government again had to face certain groups that were more likely to integrate with Indonesia. This is argued by Guan who states that:-*"The Malay left, which was influenced strongly by Indonesian nationalism, also espoused the same pan-Malay nationalism that the Kesatuan Melayu Muda (KMM) did in late 1930's. That is, they envisioned the creation of Tanah Melayu (Malay Homeland) comprising of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei with strong links to Indonesia"* (Guan, 2001: 18).

Guan's view is supported by Professor Shamsul, which describes the position played by left wing Malay politicians during the lead up to an independent Malaya. He states that the concept of Melayu Raya, originated by left wing radical Malay politicians and promoted by radical groups, was intended to combine all the Malay Archipelago to form a Greater Malaya. Influenced by the Indonesian movement, Melayu Raya ambitiously proposed that :-

*"All Malays in one region should come together and see themselves as One Race, speaking One Language, and belonging to One Nation"* (Shamsul:1996: 337).

This concept was manifested later by Sukarno during the konfrantasi (confrontation) and the idea of 'MAPHILINDO,' (the integration of Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia). It seems that Tanah Melayu or Malaya was to be forced to consider Indonesia as a 'senior brother' in the region. On 16 September 1963, The Federation of Malaysia (Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo [Sabah] and Sarawak) came into existence. A new dimension in the political contest had occurred. Before the formation of Malaysia Federation, Malaya, Singapore and British colonies in Borneo had to fight communist insurgency to maintain their dominance in politics. After 1963 with the creation of Malaysia, they had to turn from dealing with domestic turbulence to the international deception fabricated by Indonesia under Sukarno and the Philippines under President Diosdado Macapagal.

#### 4.3 Malaysia: Sukarno's reaction

Afraid that the idea for Malaysia would interfere with his expansionist plans of Kesatuan Melayu Raya, Indonesia's President Sukarno launched attacks against Malaysia in Borneo and on the Malayan peninsula, all of which were unsuccessful. Sukarno's great plan to combine all Southeast Asian islander states had caught the attention of the United States of America. This can be observed in U.S President Kennedy's agreement of financial aid to the Sukarno government and the U.S sending advisers to Indonesia. Billington (2001) states that:-

*"Sukarno also initiated a process aimed at the integration of the three nations composed primarily of the Malay people—Malaysia, the Philippines, and Indonesia—to be called Maphilindo. Potentially included in the union were the three British colonies of northern Borneo: Sabah, Brunei, and Sarawak (the larger, southern portion of the island of Borneo is part of Indonesia). President Kennedy supported Sukarno's Maphilindo project, much to the consternation of the British."* (Billington, 2001:5).

Sukarno was not happy with the collaboration between Malaya and the British in order to form the Federation of Malaysia. Under the influence of Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), Sukarno engineered the propaganda to destroy Malaysia with the slogan "Ganyang Malaysia" (crush Malaysia). Later, a proclamation was made by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Subandrio, who said,

*"The President has decided that henceforth we shall pursue a policy of confrontation against Malaya... We have always been pursuing a confrontation policy against colonialism and imperialism... it is unfortunate that Malaya... become tools of colonialism and imperialism"* (Mackerras: 358).

Indonesia had voiced its strong opposition to the Malaysia plan and immediately severed all diplomatic ties with Kuala Lumpur, announcing that Indonesia would "ganyang" (crush) Malaysia. In January 1963, Indonesia announced a policy of "konfrantasi" or "confrontation" against Malaya and Malaysia (Tunku, 1969). Subsequently in Indonesia, the British Embassy, cricket club and countless British-owned businesses were vandalized or burnt to the ground. (Mackerras, 1995:358). Sukarno's foreign policy toward Malaysia pushed the Tunku's government closer towards a Western pact which would make Tunku feel more confident that Malaysian democracy would be able to solve problems and create a better opportunity for preserving Malaysian culture in the future.

The tension with Indonesia became worse than expected when the confrontation took the form of armed Indonesian invasions across the borders of Sarawak and Sabah from Indonesian Kalimantan (Mackerras, 1995; 358). Indonesian terrorists began landing on the coast of the Malay Peninsula but were quickly killed or captured by the security forces. British and Commonwealth forces were asked to give assistance to fight to defend the newly established Malaysia against confrontation by Indonesia. As well as the problems with Indonesia, Malaysia also faced a territorial dispute with the Philippine Government over Sabah. Their claims on Sabah as part of the Philippines stemmed from the argument that Sabah is part of the Sulu Sultanate Kingdom. Malaysia at this time faced difficult relationships with the neighboring states of Indonesia and the Philippines.

#### 4.4 Brunei: Sheikh Ahmad Mahmud Azahari Revolt

Adding to the tension with Indonesia, Sheikh Ahmad Mahmud Azahari (A.M Azahari) the President of Parti Rakyat Brunei (PKB) or Brunei People Party, revolted against Sultan Omar Shariffuddin, or famously described by the Bruneian people as the Sultan Seri Begawan, (Funston, 2001). Azahari was one of three Southeast Asian leaders, (Sukarno and Macapagal), who opposed British-Malaya concept over the creation of Malaysia. Azahari boasted that more than 100,000 Indonesian volunteers were ready to 'fight' in the Brunei Revolution (Means, 1970: 314). The Parti Rakyat Brunei was not in favour of the establishment of the Federation of Malaysia, wanting instead to form a 'Greater Brunei' or the 'North Borneo Federation', including Sarawak and Sabah.

According to Billington, Sheikh A.M Azahari who had a good relation with the Sultan was not revolting against the Sultanate, but revolting against British imperialism. Billington (2001:9) wrote Azahari

*"His (Azahari's) movement, and the December 1962 revolt, were not against the Sultan (whom they expected would support it), but against the British, against absorption into Malaysia, and for a unification of the North Borneo States. Azahari also had close ties to government leaders in the Philippines, and supported Sukarno's Maphilindo concept of close ties between and among all the Malay states."*

This statement can be accepted as true, because, a week after the Brunei Revolt, the Indonesian Parliament officially declared their support for A.M Azahari's movement (Means, 1970: 314). With help from British 'Gurka' forces, the revolt was easily controlled. A state of emergency was declared and the parliament was dissolved, the constitution was banned and rule was effectively based on the titah (royal decree) (Funston, 2001).

The crisis over creating Malaysia later attracted the attention of the United Nations which conducted a survey in the two states of Borneo, Sabah and Sarawak.

*"The British tried by various means to sabotage the process (Commonwealth Relations Secretary Duncan Sandys, said Jones, "had determined to make it as difficult as possible"), and then, just days before the survey was complete, the British brought the Malayan leader, the Tunku, to London, where they declared that Malaysia would be formed regardless of the results of 'U Thant's survey! Since it was generally acknowledged, even by Sukarno, that the survey would turn out in favor of Malaysia, the announcement had no purpose other than to insult Indonesia and the Philippines (which concurred with Indonesia in regard to the Malaysia question), making it impossible for Sukarno to concede with dignity to the results of U Thant's survey." (Billington, 2001: 7).*

Following the finding, the UN Secretary General U Thant, declared that both states voluntarily wished to join the Federation of Malaysia which was later declared on 16 September 1963. Due to the tension and other problems involved with the unpleasant conformity, the Sultan of Brunei Darussalam was no longer interested in joining the Malaysian Federation (Funston, 2001).

#### 4.5 Tunku's Foreign Policies

At that time, Tunku's foreign policy fundamentally relied on the support of the Western bloc, especially Britain and Commonwealth countries. This relationship had significantly helped Tunku's government through the Cold War situation which affected Malaysia through the 'Eastern bloc' expansionist agenda.

*"U.S. Ambassador Jones reviews the various theories proposed by Western sources as to Sukarno's "real" reason for launching the Konfrontasi" (Billington, 2001:6).*

One of the most popular western theories is that Indonesia and China had decided to create a 'zone of influence'. U.S. Ambassador Jones stated that at the Bandung, (Indonesia) Conference of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), in 1955, Sukarno and China's Zhou Enlai two great leader in the nationalist-communist world had come to an agreement to split-up their zone of influence between China and Indonesia 'with Sukarno getting the islands' (Billington,2001:6).

During the 1960s, the non-aligned forces were important on the global political scene, because they emphasized the diversification of power. The 1955 Bandung Conference was attended by representatives of 29 states. Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia hosted the next major conference in 1961, and major conferences of the NAM continued in following years. Major figures in the movement at that time included prominent leaders from Africa and Asia, such as Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, and Nasser of Egypt. Chinese communist leaders also played an important role in the early years of the movement. At that time, Malaya under Tunku was not interested in joining this 'Third World' movement. He instead maintained his position as a 'friend of the West' in the East. Tunku spoke his mind over his willingness to fight the communists and was not eager to remain neutral and join the Non Alignment Movement, whose motives he questioned:-

*"Those countries supported the Communists and called themselves neutrals, he said, I am at a loss to understand...in which direction their neutrality lies" (The Sunday Times, May 28, 1961).*

For him, Malaya must fight the communists, he would not tolerate their ideology, and become neutral in this sense. He said:-

*"Malaya had fought them [communist] and have beaten them in our country" (The Sunday Times, May 28, 1961).*

The Non-aligned Movement, as describe by the Encyclopedia of World History, had become a 'battle field' for the U.S and U.S.S.R to fight for popular support in the everlasting conflict of ideologies, between Soviet communism-socialism and American democracy-capitalism. The non-aligned forces were important on the global political scene at that time in steering the world towards multilateralism. The Soviet Union and the United States engaged in a major competition to win the support of the non-aligned nations, using military and economic aid to achieve their goal.

For the British, Malaya was very important in ensuring that a degree of 'British influence' remained credible. The British, who's Empire, had made them the supreme power of the world in the past, wished to show that the U.S was not the only dominant western power in the Cold War, but that Britain still remained in a very powerful position, especially in the Southeast Asian region. That is why the idea for the creation of Malaysian federation attracted the British to help Tunku, when at that time, the U.S, under President Kennedy, had decided to support Sukarno's idea for the formation of MAPHILINDO, the joining together of Malaya, Brunei, North Borneo states, Indonesia and the Philippines into one confederation. At that time, all the states in North Borneo were still under the British colonial administration. To create MAPHILINDO, the British must be invited to join in an agreement to bring Sukarno's idea into reality. However, the British were more enthusiastic toward Tunku's idea to federate the North Borneo states into Malaysia. Sukarno, as mentioned in the memoir written by the former U.S Ambassador to Indonesia, U.S. Ambassador Jones, who wrote that Sukarno:-

*"was sincerely and legitimately concerned about British colonialism: He was ready to fight for people's freedom anywhere, at any time; he was highly suspicious of British motivation." (Billington, 2001:6).*

The Cold War did not allow Sukarno's idea to survive and MAPHILINDO faded into history while Malaysia which was formally declared in 1963 still survives. Jones in his memoir, reports on a discussion held with the British Deputy High



Commissioner in Singapore in June 1963, on a 'konspirasi' or conspiracy to overthrow the Sukarno's 'guided democracy government'. The British Deputy High Commissioner in Singapore:-

*"wanted to know whether there was a possibility of a breakup of Indonesia owing to the antagonism between Sumatra and Java"* (Billington, 2001:7).

At the same time, he indicated that:-

*'the British had no plans to topple Sukarno'* (Billington, 2001:7).

Sukarno's 'zone of influence' theory, which was described by Ambassador Jones, strongly disagreed with Tunku's idea to coordinate North Borneo states into the new federation. Sukarno's attempted sabotage of the future Malaysia was based on this expansionist theory. Sukarno at that time was seen as a great leader by third world countries and used his image to influence many third world leaders to give their support in confronting 'Western neo-colonialism'. This neo-colonialism, according to Sukarno, was created by the 'clash of ideologies' during the Cold War period, and had to be rejected by every independent nationalist-socialist country in order to extinguish the 'remote influences of the west'.

The U.S Department of State had taken a serious view of this veiled threat of communist expansionism in Southeast Asia. Under Dean Rusk, as the Secretary of State, the U.S had responded:-

*'Security of SEA nations will depend on presence in area of sufficient Western power to contain Communist Bloc until such time as SEA nations are able provide their own defense, which still in remote future...until such time as British and Malaysians themselves freely determine that its presence no longer necessary'*

U.S Secretary of State Dean Rusk also stressed that the:-

*'Indonesian assaults on Malaysia in form guerrilla incursions and terrorist activities must be abandoned',*  
and the,

*'sovereignty and territorial integrity Malaysia must be preserved'.*

Despite the tension caused by Sukarno's aggression in order to 'ganyang' or 'crush Malaysia', Dean Rusk stated that the U.S President:-

*"could not make a determination to proceed with aid in the face of Indonesian guerrilla action against Malaysia. On the other hand to discontinue aid would lead to complete rupture with Indonesia, seizure by them of major US investments, and firm implantation of ChiCom[China Communist] influence in Indonesia through PKI"*

In 1966, President Sukarno was ousted from power and the new government under Suharto's 'New Order' was not keen on continuing the *konfrantasi*. Tun Adam Malik, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, at that time was strongly motivated to improve the bilateral relationship with Malaysia. Later, a signed peace agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia ended the *konfrantasi*. Under pressure from the US according to the Dean Rusk, the Philippines recognized Malaysia and entered into an, 'Agreement on method of disposing of the Philippines claim to Sabah once and for all'.

Malaysia, under Tunku, was in favor of joining the western bloc under its 'democratic umbrella'. This was a strategic political decision made in a period of transition from colonial British administration to the self-governance of Malaysia. Under the 'democratic umbrella', Malaysia, in order to form a democratic government, had decided to implement the British Westminster system as a basis to the Malaysian bicameral parliamentary system. This system directly replicated the British parliamentary system. Until today, this system is still in practice as "Demokrasi ala-Malaysia" or "Malaysian Democracy". In the fight against communist expansionism, Tunku has to be looked upon as an important actor in the 'clash of ideology' that had to be faced by Malaya and Malaysia in the first era of the Cold War, in the Southeast Asian region. Since Tunku's forming of the Alliance Coalition Party in the 1954 to 1970 he was an important figure and a key factor in the development of a democratic multiracial Malaysia. For his endeavours, Tunku became an icon for the Malaysian people.

#### 4.6 Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew

After the arduous struggle to bring Malaysia into existence, political differences and disagreements slowly built-up between Malaysia and Singapore. Lee Kuan Yew's People's Action Party (PAP), under the theme "Malaysian Malaysia," proposed to downgrade the bumiputera status, originated by Tunku and the Malaysian Federal Government's Alliance ruling party. The Malaysian Government, especially UMNO, became discontented with Singapore. According to Dr. Mahathir, the PAP's Government in Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew, hoped to be accepted as a part of the central government in Kuala Lumpur,

*"but the Alliance Government refused to share power with the PAP"* (Mahathir, 2000:1).

The refusal was due to PAP status as a non-member of the Alliance parties. PAP's disappointment was reflected in their campaigns over "Malaysian Malaysia" (Mahathir, 2000:1). On 9 August 1965, Singapore under Lee Kuan Yew was forced by Tunku to leave the Federation and it became an independent country. Tunku's decision to separate Singapore

from the Federation disappointed most of the Malay UMNO and Parti Islam se-Malaya, (PAS or PMIP), members. In Singapore, a year after the separation, Lee Kuan Yew's government was forced into chaos and ideological dispute. This happened in October 1966 when 13 oppositions MP's from the Barisan Sosialis (Socialist Front) boycotted the Parliament. However, despite the boycott it made Lee Kuan Yew's ruling PAP party the dominant party in the Parliament. In the 1968 general election, the PAP won all the 58 seats in the Parliament, and Lee Kuan Yew created an authoritarian Singapore state, ruled exclusively by the PAP government. The 100% PAP win in the general election lasted for four terms until 1984 with no opposition MPs in the Singapore Parliament for 15 years. (Funston, 2001). This achievement of Lee Kuan Yew had effectively disposed of Communist aggression in Singapore politics.

#### 4.7 The Malaysian Racial Dispute (1969)

In 1957, when Malaya achieved full independence, Tunku Abdul Rahman's Alliance Government ruled the country on the basic premise that the Malays should have the majority of the political power and the Chinese should be satisfied with their economic and commercial monopoly. On this foundation, an highly structured system of economic advantages was extended to the Malays. Under this scheme, Malays were provided with loans, scholarships and jobs in public sectors. However, this premise did not actually fit with the reality of the Malaya situation at that time. Malays actually still remained in poverty without much reorganization achieved by the Tunku's Government. After independence, Tunku had to face many criticisms as many Malays still remained illiterate, with a low average in educational participation, and most remained in rural areas without any public facilities. Dr. Mahathir in his book "Malays Dilemmas" reveals the reality of Malay dissatisfaction over Tunku's attitude 'to wait and see'.

Racial friction and tension escalated over the next decade because of the Tunku's lack of positive action in creating a multiracial economic balance in Malaya. This situation later brought political tension during the Federal election in 1969, which culminated in riots. On 13th May 1969, the day after the Federal election, riots broke out in Kuala Lumpur because of the simmering racial tension between Malays and Chinese. Essentially, the tension occurred because of the increased influence of communism in most of the opposition political parties at that time. Parti Buruh or Labour Party, which was a predominantly Chinese based, opposition party was strongly influenced by the MCP, and the Parti Progresif Rakyat, (PPP), together with the Malay Muslim opposition, Parti Islam se-Malaya, (PAS or PMIP), at that time gained strong momentum. This gave the Alliance Party a tough fight in the 'clash of ideology' of the 1969 election. After the opposition party won a momentous victory, riots swept through Kuala Lumpur and it was a painful moment in the newly independent nation that most Malaysians prefer to forget about.

In order to get support from the voters, Islam and ethnic sentiment had been manipulated, misused and misinterpreted into a more extreme form by PAS, rather than the moderate, pragmatic and progressive Islam implied by UMNO. Chinese, which before were loyal supporters of MCA, had turned to an opposition based on socialism and chauvinism, which was reflected in the Communist proposal to boycott the election (Tunku, 1969). As a result of the tension, the Alliance ruling party was defeated in Kelantan and Terengganu, won by PAS and Penang, won by the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, (GERAKAN), party. In Kedah, Perak and Selangor, PAS, PPP and Parti Buruh (Labour Party) narrowly defeated the Alliance's State Government. This meant that Alliance, the ethnic based coalition party, faced a humiliating defeat over its concept of consensus, compromise and cohesion.

Tunku emphasised the Communist influences by stating that the Chinese and Indonesian Communists were directly involved in the aggressions that occurred during his period of premiership. He also mentioned the role played by the Indonesian PKI in training and assisting the 'students' movement in Malaysia to overthrow Tunku's Alliance Government. Tunku himself stated in his memoirs that certain Chinese dominant opposition party also reflected Moist ideology. Tunku wrote:-

*"...Communist China is the force behind the disloyal Chinese elements in Malaysia. I know that they are helping too the Malay parties opposed to UMNO."* (Tunku, 1969: 195).

This clarified the incident of the May 13, violence, which killed hundreds of people and caused considerable property damage. Law and order was restored after 4 days, but for 2 months after the incident communal violence persisted, and ended only when the government threatened to take severe action against the militant Malay groups, especially those calling for the Tunku's resignation.

This domestic violence may be a result of Tunku's administrative difficulties in his struggle to solve certain issues at that time, which took so much of Tunku's time and concentration that it gave him very little time to analyse and resolve the racial tension. Firstly, for the creation of the Malaysian Federation for example, Tunku had to fight Communist subversion. Secondly, at the same time, the international turbulence of Cold War brought Sukarno's aggression to Malaysia during the 'konfrontasi' over 'neo-colonialism'. This put Tunku in a 'double period of strain'. Nevertheless, it is most important that the world should acknowledge Tunku's success and the fact that Tunku was one of the leaders who were really keen in fighting terrorism and communism that was set to dominate the Eastern world at that time. If Malaya and Malaysia had been defeated by the communists, then at that time, from the Soviet Union to China, and Indochina to

Indonesia would geographically make the communist bloc a great super power in the whole Pacific-Asian region, a disastrous situation for the democratic world at that time. With the defeat of communism in Malaya and Malaysia, Thailand and Malaysia became a 'bumper zone' that cut the geographical connection between a 'Greater Indonesian Communism' and a 'Greater China-Soviet Communism'.

#### *4.8 Political transition after 1969's conflict*

After the communist insurgency and political turbulence of the 1960s, a new dimension in politics and economic orientation took place. In order to stabilize the political scenario, martial law and a state of emergency were declared by the Yang Dipertuan Agong (the King). Following this, the parliament and the cabinet were dissolved. MAGERAN (Majlis Gerakan Negara or National Operation Council) was established to control the government. Tunku decided to leave his position after law and order was restored and the Deputy Prime Minister at that time, Dato' Abdul Razak Dato' Hussein was appointed to be in-charge of MAGERAN, in order to restore stability to the country. On September 1970, Tun Razak succeeded Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra as the second Prime Minister of Malaysia. The transition from Tunku to Tun Razak gave a new dimension to Malaysian politics. The country was placed in a state of emergency for two years. MAGERAN was later renamed the National Security Council which deals mainly with the security matters of the country. The military was strictly ordered to perform only in a military role. The National Security Council was in charge until 1989, to deal with communism insurgency. (Cheong, 1999:101). No more riots or emergencies occurred, based on ethnic discontent, after the incident of May 13, 1969. Only minor demonstrations were held occasionally, to show support for their political leaders, especially those who had been sacked from the government, and who were not competent in winning seats.

The new Prime Minister, and the "second generation" of Malay politicians, saw the need to tackle vigorously the economic and social disparities which had fuelled the racial antagonism. This new generation came with ideas to transform economic and social development programs. Firstly, under Tun Razak, the Malaysian Government launched the New Economic Policy (NEP) or Dasar Ekonomi Baru in 1971, as an affirmative action to balance the socio-economic inequalities among the ethnic groups. The NEP set two basic goals: to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty, and to reduce and eventually eradicate identification of economic functions with ethnic groups. Secondly, to ensure political stability, Tun Razak set up the Barisan Nasional (National Front) on June 1, 1973, to replace the ruling Alliance Party. He increased the membership of its parties and coalitions in an effort to establish 'Ketahanan Nasional' (National Resilient) through political stability.

The 1974 general election generated the strongest government ever witnessed in Malaysia, which saw most of the seats, won uncontested by Barisan Nasional candidates. The Malaysian Government today is based on this 'absolute national resilience' introduced by Tun Razak. Thirdly, Tun Razak had changed the principles of Malaysian foreign policy. During the period of the Cold War, Malaysia under Tun Razak had introduced multilateralism as a part of its relations towards the 'emergence of the ideology' in South East Asian region. Under this approach, the Commonwealth is still of great importance to ensure the security and sovereignty of the states. Despite the tension in Vietnam in 1971, Malaysia was still relied on by the Western pact to ensure a collaborative security. In this sense, Tun Razak's Government had joined the Five Power Defense Arrangement, (FPDA), involving Malaysia, Singapore, United Kingdom, New Zealand and Australia.

Fourthly, Tun Razak came up with an improved 'look east policy'. In 1974, after Tun Razak successfully stabilised the country, the Barisan Nasional's Government approached China to establish closer ties. This began in the early 1970s, when Beijing had introduced a new approach to the 'open door' policy. It became the 'cornerstone' for the process of normalisation of the relationship between Malaysia and China. Foreign policy initiated during the second paradigm under Tunku Razak remains as the greatest example of the Malaysian approach to world politics.

*"Malaysia was the first ASEAN country to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1974, followed by the Philippines and Thailand in 1975". (Mackerras, Taneja and Young, 1998: 222).*

The Barisan Nasional, which was set up by Tun Razak, is still in power and is still in an excellent position to give the best government, ruled by the same coalition-based philosophy manifested by Tunku and Tun Razak. Under the leadership of the fourth Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Dr. Mahathir, who succeeded Tun Hussein Onn in 1981, Malaysia is in her best performing era. Under Dr. Mahathir, Malaysia has acquired one of the most prosperous and dynamic economies in Southeast Asia, with a burgeoning manufacturing sector, an expanding middle class, rising literacy rates, and increased life expectancies.

#### **5. Conclusion**

As a conclusion, the Cold War was a great significance in the formation of the Federation of Malaysia and Malaysia has played an important role in South East Asia during the period. It fundamentally shaped the dimensions of Malaysian politics, from pre-independence Malaya through the Communist insurgency, to the new reorganization in the era of Tun

Abdul Razak. Fighting domestic and international Communism, during the crisis over the 'clash of the ideology' has significantly made Malaysia more mature in performing its role in the world arena.

The Cold War clearly had changed Malaysia's outlook by allowing it to play a strategic role in world politics. The achievement of winning over the Communists and the development of the new dynamic system of Tun Razak's 'absolute national resilient' allowed Malaysia to declare and reinforce its pro-western democratic principles. No matter how difficult the circumstances, in arriving at its present position were, Malaysia has achieved a significant accomplishment, and exists as a sovereign and respected country, accepted by the world. Malaysia has performed as a model for developing the concept of 'unity among diversity'.

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## Motives of Indirectness in Daily Communication

### -- An Asian Perspective

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#### Abstract

Indirectness is often used in our daily communication as a major communicative skill to keep a harmonious interpersonal relationship. From an Asian perspective, this paper is to discuss the various motives of indirectness, such as: politeness, self-protection, humor, rejection or denial, etc.

**Keywords:** Indirectness, Politeness, Self-protection

#### 1. Introduction

In our daily communication, we always want to form and keep good relationships with others, avoid embarrassment, misunderstanding or friction, and maintain interpersonal and social harmony. So, proper words (or behaviors) in proper places at the proper time to the right person is the highest rule in interpersonal communication. For this concern, we always draw on various communicative skills, of which, the use of indirectness is very much valued. Read the following examples please:

(1) "Frankly, I think you're boring."

(2) "I'm terribly sorry. I have to leave you alone now."

Why do we seldom hear people speak (1) so honestly? Unless you want to end a relationship, you do not tell another person what you think of her or him like this. In our daily communication, people do not always talk out what they really think about others, especially some unpleasant things. Usually they use some strategies to mitigate the force of their unpleasant words in order to avoid embarrassment, conflict, or friction so as to make the conversation go on smoothly, and also maintain a good, harmonious relationship.

#### 2. Definition of Indirectness and its types

Communication is studied as the means of transmitting ideas, and the main means of communication among people are those that involve the use of words—oral communication and written communication. There is, however, another form of communication, which we all use most of the time, usually without knowing it. It is sometimes called body language, or non-verbal communication. What we are going to discuss in this thesis is the indirectness in oral and non-verbal communication

Searle (1975) once gave a definition for indirectness as "those cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by ways of performing another" In my paper, the definition of indirectness is much broader. And I'd like to give my own definition of indirectness as follows: Indirectness is the means in which one meaning is conveyed indirectly through utterances or non-verbal behaviors in order to achieve certain goal, or the means in which one's intent is revealed in a roundabout way.

Indirectness can occur either between two parties (the speaker and the hearer), or between more than two participants through verbal or non-verbal means. What should be noted here is that the speaker can either convey his intention indirectly to his addressee or convey his intention through his addressee to the third party. In the latter case, the speaker can express his meaning either directly or indirectly. Any way, it is also a strategy of indirectness to show one's idea, and to achieve certain goal.

In his speech act theory, Searle (1975) took the line that there are basically two types of indirectness: conventional indirectness and non-conventional indirectness. Conventional indirectness refers to those utterances which are standardized to perform only those acts conventionally designated for certain functional purposes which are not assigned to them in their grammatical forms (Searle, 1975). In the case of "Can you pass the salt?" both the means, i.e., the kind of ability that is used as an indirect utterance, and the form, i.e., the exact wording (e.g., "can you" as opposed to "are you able to") are conventionalized to signal the illocutionary force.

The second type of indirectness, non-conventional indirectness, also referred to as "hints", comprises those utterances, which are ambiguous on either prepositional content or illocutionary force or both. For example, by replying "I have to study for an exam" to an invitation to a movie, the literal meaning of the utterance and the intended meaning, i.e., refusal, do not match. There is no systematic relation between the utterance and rejecting a proposal as there is between "can you pass the salt" and its directive illocution. Its meaning is very much context embedded. Non-conventional indirectness is pragmatically vague, heterogeneous in realization, high in deniability potential and infinite in number (Searle, 1975; Grice, 1975).

As a strategy in communication to achieve certain goal, indirectness is not only widespread in oral communication, but also in non-verbal communication. Indirectness is a broad term, which can have a variety of facets and can underlie phenomena such as irony, metaphor, and understatement. In a sense, all interpretation in context is indirect; consequently, 'a full understanding of conversational organization will have to await an adequate account of indirect communication' (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 217).

### 3. Motives of Indirectness

#### 3.1 Indirectness for politeness

If speakers always said what they meant, then there would be few problems for speech act theory of discourse analysis, and obviously fewer misunderstandings. There are, however, various reasons which lead interactants to express themselves indirectly, in some cultures perhaps more than in others. The motives for a speaker to employ indirectness in conversation have also been examined. One widely discussed motives is politeness, regard for face, and face management. Those scholars such as Leech, Lakoff, and Brown and Levinson, etc., have done a lot of research to investigate the use of indirectness in people's interaction. Their approaches are precisely those, which have shifted the identification of indirectness with politeness into the center of discussion on the basis of their interpretation of Seale (1975) and Grice (1975). They related indirectness to politeness, regarding it as a means to be polite. For example, Leech observed that the relationship between indirectness and politeness could be very complicated. The social distance between the speaker and the hearer, and the need to feel accepted by other people, can also have a significant effect on how we interpret the politeness of an utterance, and indeed how we structure our own utterance. A number of people, Searle in particular, have repeatedly stated that politeness is the chief motives behind indirect language use (Searle, 1975; Leech, 1983; Brown & Levinson, 1987). Disagreement exists and is supported by these studies of non-conventional indirectness, which maintain that it is not so much an issue of politeness, but high degree of deniability potential that underlies the use of indirectness. Anyway, in most cases, politeness is the most basic motives of indirectness. As for the relationship between indirectness and politeness, it is really complicated. We will make a further study in details in chapter3.

Besides the motives of politeness, indirectness is also used as a means of self-protection in language representative of particular culture and as a means of conveying denial, advice, humor, etc. There are still a lot of other reasons for which people decide to be indirect: teasing and joking, irony, lack of confidence, or even sarcasm and rudeness. Indirect speech acts are involved in too many different contexts to be accounted for by one i.e. politeness, or one main, motive force. Now, let us have a look at some factors beneath the use of indirectness.

#### 3.2 Indirectness for Self-protection

Goffman firstly raised the notion of "face" in the later 50s. According to Goffman, "face" is a sacred thing for every human being, an essential factor communicators all have to pay attention to; face wants are reciprocal, i.e. if one wants his face cared for, he should care for other people's face (Goffman, 1959). This calls to mind that concise comprehensive rule in Scripture: Do upon all men as you would they should do upon you. So all the people try to protect the face of others, and at the same time save their own. In fact, whether one can save his face or not is in the control of others. If one does not want to lose his face, the safest way is not to damage the face of others. Therefore, the ultimate goal of not offending others is for self-protection. Indirectness is a way to show politeness to others and it is

used in many speech acts, such as request, invitation, etc. in case the possible rejection or conflict occurs. For example:

*Could you possibly lend me your bike this afternoon?*

If one wants to borrow something from others, the conventional indirectness of a question form is usually used. The speaker is technically asking permission to make a request. By being indirect, the speaker is making it less obvious that he expects the hearer to comply. On the surface, at least, this provides greater freedom for the hearer to refuse. Even if the hearer refuses, he will use polite language so as not to cause embarrassment of the requester, such as “Sorry, I will use it this afternoon”. However, it is another case if the requester asks in a direct and usually rude manner, such as:

*Lend me your bike this afternoon.*

With the imperative form, the speaker actually issues an order. It sounds rather impolite, abrupt and even insolent. What is more, it may cause antipathy in the requestee towards to speaker. As a result, the requestee will not be friendly to the requester either by showing him an indifferent face, or just says: “No, I do not want to lend it to you.” On hearing this, the requester will certainly get embarrassed and feel his face lost. So, indirectness is very important for self-protection.

### 3.3 Indirectness for Humor

Misunderstanding can occur when the hearer has miscalculated the intended illocution. And the speaker sometimes deliberately flouts the Cooperative Principle to imply more than the literal meaning. These often form the basis of humor. Read the following examples:

(1) Customer: Waiter! There is a fly in my soup.

(2) Waiter: Do not worry; there is no extra charge.

In this rather awful joke, the customer’s illocutionary meaning is really a complaint. But as the word “fly” has another meaning, the waiter deliberately misunderstands it and flouts the Maxim of Relevance in the Cooperative Principle. He takes it as a praise in order to avoid mentioning the fact, turns away from the potential conflicts, thus creates a sense of humor.

Humor is a kind of civilization cultivated by people when facing the common predicament in their lives. It enables us to express our sincerity, generosity and kindness in a light way. The power of humor lies not only in making people laugh, but also in lubricating the interpersonal relationship, showing one’s friendliness and tolerance towards others; eliminating miseries and troubles so as to be optimistic and open-minded; promoting one’s self-restraint and creating a meaningful life. Read the following dialogue in Chinese:

*Gu ke: Wo de cai hai mei you hao ma?*

*Fuwuyuan: Nin ding le shen ma cai?*

*Gu ke: Zha wo niu.*

*Fu wu yuan: Ao, wo qu chu fang kan kan, qing nin shao deng pian ke.*

*Gu ke(sheng qi de shuo): Wo yi jing deng le ban xiao shi le.*

*Fu wu yuan: Zhe shi yin wei wo niu shi xing dong chi huan de dong wu.*

*Liang ren dou xiao le.*

( Zhai zi Peng Zeng’an, 1998)

**Customer:** Is my dish ready?

**Waiter:** What have you ordered?

**Customer:** Fried nails.

**Waiter:** Oh, I will go to the kitchen and have a look. Would you  
Please wait for a moment?

**Customer:** (in anger) I’ve already waited for half an hour.

**Waiter:** You know, Sir, snails are slow in movement...

The two laughed.

(Quoted in Peng Zeng’an, 1998)

This frequently occurs in restaurants where customers get impatient because their ordered dishes take too long a time. If the waiter says indifferently “Your dish hasn’t been ready yet. So what can I do”, on hearing this, the customer might fly into fury or even start a quarrel. It may damage the reputation of the restaurant. The waiter mentioned above carefully made use of the indirectness strategy in language, flouting the maxim of relevance, changing the topic delicately, thus creating a humorous atmosphere where the language is separated from reality. You see the indirectness can result in

humor, which in turn can maintain a harmonious interpersonal relationship and avoid potential conflict.

### 3.4 Indirectness for Rejection or Denial

When you refuse other people's requests, disagree with their points of view, or just want to state your own opinions, you should be very careful about your expressions, avoiding using direct forms of rejection, or showing disagreement openly. In this case, one common strategy of language use is not to give out any explicit expressions of rejection or denial, but to show the reasons for it. This is an indirect way to express one's meaning in order to save the face of both sides, and avoid embarrassment. Because you do not give direct refuse or rejection, you need not apologize; on the other hand, if you reject others directly, you need explain or apologize more or less, bring about unnecessary trouble in conversational communication. Sometimes people just express a sense of negative meaning in an indirect way, revealing one's wit and humor. For example,

(1) A: Let us go to the park this afternoon.

B: I have classes this afternoon.

(2) A: I've found a model for you. How do you think about her?

B: It'll be perfect if she was a bit taller.

In (1), B's answer is just to state a fact, that is, an assertive. But in the specific context, its illocutionary meaning is in fact a rejection: Since I have classes this afternoon, I will have no time to go to the park. His words explain the reason for the rejection and are much more acceptable to the inviter than a direct rejection "No, I won't", which sounds much rude, and unsuitable. In (2), B does not state his negative meaning directly, but gives a hope, but in fact, his illocutionary meaning is "She is too short. I am not satisfied." B's way of expression offers room for A to infer his meaning, and also mitigates the force of denial.

In everyday life, people often express their negative meaning indirectly. It will sound more witty and pleasant, and sometimes emphatic. Read the following examples:

(3) How could I do that?

(= It is impossible that I should do that.)

(4) Catch me doing that.

(= I shall not do that.)

(5) Was ever such nonsense written?

(= Never was such nonsense written.)

One point should be noted here, that is, the implied negative meaning of the three sentences can only be inferred in specific context. Example (3) can be found in such a context: The speaker was blamed for what he had nothing to do. He then used a wh-question to assure his innocence, which is in fact an assertive. Example (4) can be found in such a context: When the speaker was stealing some apples in an orchard, the owner caught him on the spot. In order to get out of trouble, he used an imperative sentence with the illocutionary meaning of a promise. In this way, he indirectly admitted his wrong doings and stated his promise. Example (5) can occur in such a context: The teacher was annoyed by the student's bad writing and then used the question form to express his dissatisfaction or blame indirectly.

## 4. Conclusion

Indirectness, as an effective communicative skill, is widely used to achieve certain goals. When people speak or behave indirectly, they must have various purposes or motives beneath, which need our attention to find out. And of course, there are still many more factors beneath the use of indirectness, which need further research.

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The Factors Contributing to the Success of Community  
Learning Centers Program in Rural Community Literacy  
Development in the Islamic Republic of Iran:  
Case Studies of Two Rural Communities

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**Abstract**

Literacy plays a significant role in community development. Without literacy, development goals cannot be achieved easily. Through literacy, the community does not face any challenge to improve their quality of life. For this reason, developed and developing countries nowadays are investing a lot on social and natural innovations, plus human capital in communities to increase their level of literacy. Iran is no exception. For this purpose, the government of Iran has formulated several community literacy development programs in the country. One of the major programs that has been implemented for this purpose is the Community Learning Centers Program (CLCP) (Mehdizadeh, 2003).

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, CLCP was implemented in early 2000. It has had very encouraging results in solving the problem of illiteracy in this country. All communities that have pioneered the program have experienced a remarkable increase in their literacy level (Ebrahimian, Bahirai, & Iranian National Commission for ISESCO, 2006). What are the reasons of such achievements? Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to investigate the factors that have contributed to the success of CLCP in community literacy development in the Islamic republic of Iran.

**Keywords:** Community Learning Centers Program, Rural Community, Literacy, Development, Community Development

## 1. Introduction

Literacy and community development have a strong connection whereby literacy is a tool for community development. The main goal of community development is to improve the quality of life among community members. To achieve this goal, the government of Iran has implemented several programs to improve the level of literacy to improve the quality of life.

Among the programs that have been launched for literacy development were the Public Program, Literacy Program for Employees and Laborers, Literacy Program for the Armed Forces, Conscript Teacher Program, The Program of Literacy Mobilization, The Program for Nomadic People, Person to Person Program, Miscellaneous Learners, Literacy Program for People on Dole, Literacy Program with the Help of Prayer Imams in Mosques and Literacy Program for Parents at School. Community Learning Centers Program (CLCP) is among these programs that has been implemented for literacy development in order to improve the quality of life (Abhami, 2002; Ebrahimian, 2002b; Mehdizadeh, 2003).

CLCP is the newest and most important literacy program in post revolution Iran that was introduced by the Third and Forth Literacy Development Plans from 2000 to 2009 (Abhami, 2002; Ebrahimian, 2002a; Mehdizadeh, 2003). It emerged as a result of shortcomings in previous literacy programs. Since the implementation of the program in the early 2000s, CLCP has had encouraging results to solve the problem of illiteracy in the country. Those people who had participated in the literacy classes at CLCP experienced much improvement in their literacy levels (Abedi, 1991; Ebrahimian, et al., 2006).

Some argue that the success of CLCP was due to the presence of its effective activities while others believe that the success of CLCP was due to a combination of several factors. Therefore, the goal of this study is to find out the factors which have contributed to the success of CLCP in community literacy development in the Islamic republic of Iran. For this purpose, two rural communities namely Golshan and Nasr Abad in two different states of Kerman and Yazd in Iran were selected as case studies. The selection was based on their literacy level. The community with the lowest literacy level and most privation each state was chosen.

## 2. Methodology

To achieve the purpose, data were collected from three types of respondents: educators, learners and executives data. Learners' data were collected from those who have participated in CLCP in these communities to learn the literacy skills. Educators' data were collected from people who have participated in CLCP in these communities to teach the illiterates. Executives' data were collected from people who have participated in CLCP in these communities to help both educators and learners in achieving their goals.

The respondents were selected because they were involved directly with the CLCP in these communities. A purposive sampling technique was used to select the respondents. Primary and the secondary data were collected in this study. The primary data were collected through both Face to Face and Focus Group Discussion (FGD), while the secondary data were collected through the printed and unprinted media, published and unpublished articles, journals, books and reports.

The results of this study were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively such as transcriptions of data gathered during the interview with the respondents. In this study, the qualitative aspects of the documents both published and unpublished had been summarized and classified according to the necessary data

## 3. Results of the Study

Based on the study, what made the CLCP famous is not merely because of the successful roles that the program has implemented, but what makes it more interesting is the fact that the success of CLCP depended more on its relationship with other factors. This argument is supported by the results of the study that were gathered from two selected communities which participated in the CLCP. The respondents of the study believed that the government, community participation, good educators, local leaders, international organizations had helped CLCP in community literacy development in these communities. In their opinion, all of these factors worked together to the success of CLCP. According to the respondents, each factor had its own advantages and strengths. Removing one factor will retard the process of achieving success. This was because every single factor is inter-connected to each other. One factor is no more or less important than the other. The details of the results of factors which contributed to the success of CLCP in community literacy development in two communities that have been studied are shown in Figure 1.

As shown in Figure 1, one of the factors that had played a significant role to the success of CLCP in community literacy development in Iran is local leaders. The respondents believed that local leaders could act as spokespersons and as bridges between the government and the local people. They noted that local leaders also forwarded the demands of the local people to the government. The respondents said that without this factor, it was very difficult to convey any message or information from the national authorizations to the local people. It was also very difficult to organize people when the local leaders are not effective. Thus, effective local leaders are needed to ensure the success of programs in community development process. The presence of effective local leaders is a very significant contributing factor to the

success of the CLCP.

Respondents of the study also expressed that community participation had also made contributions to the program's ability in contributing to the success of CLCP in community literacy development besides local leaders. According to them, community participation had allowed CLCP to perform its duties in a more efficient and effective way. Based on the respondents, the CLCP did not have to waste its time convincing the people in the community to get together and work hard. Instead, it could use its time to concentrate on other major issues. With strong support, effort and time from the local people, CLCP in these communities was able to achieve its objectives with much less difficulty.

From the viewpoint of respondents of the study, the presence of good educators in these communities cannot be ignored to the success of the program. There is not much CLCP can do without the presence of good educators, regardless of how effective, efficient and good the CLCP was. Respondents of the study expressed that, good educators had allowed CLCP to well implement its duties. Based on the study, the existence of good educators had made it possible to use materials in CLCP with less difficulty. The selection of the right programs was also another function of good educators that was important to the success of CLCP in these communities. The respondents believed that without the selection of the right programs, CLCP would be helpless to contribute to the success of community literacy development programs. The respondents also asserted that the behavior pattern of educators played a major role in contributing to the success of CLCP. Good educators could play an important role in encouraging learners, improving the curriculum and assessment of professionals. They can also play an important role in the development of attitudes in learners, not only through the information that they convey to the learners but also through the manner in which they communicate.

According to the study, in addition to the factors above, the government of Iran had also helped CLCP in improving the level of literacy among people in these communities. The government had supported CLCP by furnishing the literacy classes, preparing the textbooks, establishing the planning objectives and providing the guidelines, information, and plans and funding levels. The government had also allocated the remarkable budgets and facilities for CLCP in these communities to promote the level of literacy and decrease the level of illiteracy.

As many respondents of the study revealed, international organizations is another factor that had played a key role in promoting the level of literacy in these communities. In their opinion, CLCP and the international organizations cooperatively employed the results of the international educational conferences and seminars to improve the teaching methods and level of literacy. They had cooperatively set up several workshops and seminars to facilitate the exchange of experiences among the participating communities and countries and to develop the CLCP number. Overall, as respondents mentioned, CLCP had developed its relationships with the international agencies to use the successful experiences of the other countries.

From the viewpoints of the respondents of the study, all of these factors had played a very significant role to the success of CLCP. These factors had major impacts to help CLCP in community literacy development. Without the presence of these important factors, the CLCP alone was not able to achieve this success. This is, because all of them are inter-connected and inter-dependent on each other, working together towards the success of the CLCP.

#### 4. Discussion

The results of some studies show that, many factors contributed to the success of programs in community literacy development (Ahmadi, 2001; Bamberger, Economic Development, & Economic Development Institute Workshop in Community Participation, 1986; Fendley & Christenson, 1989; Mohseni, 1995; Reyahi, 1997; UNESCO, 2002; Werner, 1987). The most important factors are:

1. Local Leaders
2. Community Participation
3. Good Educators
4. Governments
5. International Agencies

Local leaders are being associated with the success of programs in community literacy development because they act as spokespersons and as bridges between the government and the local people. They forward the demands of the local people to the government. Without this factor, it is very difficult to convey any message or information from the national authorizations to the local people. It is very difficult to organize people when the leaders are not effective. Werner (Werner, 1987) believes that activities in communities are planned, started, organized, and controlled by the local leaders who are people in positions of authority, influence, or power. According to him, the local leaders have a major role in providing sources such as financial and material supports.

In addition to Werner, this argument has also been well supported by Ayres and Potter. Ayres and Potter (1989, p. 2) have noted that "the success or the failure of community development programs depended on the attitudes of leaders

towards change in the community". If the leaders have a positive attitude towards change in the community, they may have the courage, motivation and willingness to initiate some actions for the benefit of the whole community. If the leaders have negative attitudes, they may oppose to any change in the community.

Besides local leaders, community participation also makes contributions to the success of programs in community development. Community participation allows the programs to perform their duties in a more efficient and effective manner. Shatar Sabran(2003, p. 2)for example have illustrated that the participation of the local people is important in the process of community development. If local people have positive attitudes towards change, the rate of success of community development programs will be high. If there is a significant gap between the attitudes of leaders and community people, then it may be more difficult to initiate and implement any program successfully. The rate of success of any program will be higher if the gaps between attitudes of the leaders and the community people are minimized. Hence, it is better to close the gap completely.

The presence of good educators in communities is also another factor to the success of programs in community literacy development. The existence of good educators for example, makes it possible to use materials in programs with less difficulty. As UNESCO(2002) addressed, good educators are the main factors to help programs in community literacy development process. According to UNESCO(2002), the success of the programs largely hinges on the role of the good educators. Besides carrying out educational activities in programs, they are also supposed to work as a catalyst for change in communities. They also receive training in making use of locally available resources from different organizations like Agricultural Development Center and Health Center. They act as a bridge between learners and CLCP.

Apart from educators, governments also help programs improve the quality of life among people in communities. Governments support programs by preparing the resources, establishing the planning objectives and providing the guidelines, information and plans, and funding levels. They allocate the remarkable budgets and facilities for programs in communities. Ebrahimian, Bahirai and Iranian National Commission for ISESCO (2006) addressed the role of government in helping programs in community literacy development. In their list of criteria for the success of community literacy development programs, the government appears to be the first criteria on the list, followed by community participation, NGOs, educators, local leaders and international organizations.

International organizations are the next factors that help programs in promoting the quality of life. The results of the international educational conferences and seminars have been used by the local people to improve the teaching methods and to improve the level of literacy among people. International organizations implement several workshops and seminars to facilitate the exchange of experiences among the participating people and to develop the programs to solve the problems. International organizations exchange successful experiences of CLCPs among participating countries. The role of international organizations in the success of programs in community literacy development has been noted in the study conducted by Mirhosseini. Mirhosseini (1996, p. 91) has positively assessed the role of international organizations to help programs in the process of community literacy development. She adds that CLCP develops its relationships with international organizations to help them in teaching and educating the foreign emigrant illiterates. Indonesia has a good experience in this case. In the country, as mentioned by Simanjuntak and Bachtari (2004), international organizations support programs to provide a major section of the funding needs and to ensure the implementation, monitoring and evaluating of programs.

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Based on the study, what makes the CLCP famous is not merely because of the successful roles that the program has implemented, but what makes it more interesting is the fact that the success of CLCP depended on the presence of effective programs and activities, and their relationship with other factors such as local leaders, community participation, international organizations, good educators and government. All of the factors worked together for the success of CLCP. Each factor has its own advantages and strengths. Removing one factor will retard the process of achieving success. One factor is no more or less important than the others. Therefore, all of literacy programs and activities in CLCP at these communities have been implemented effectively with cooperation of these factors. To understand which factor was more or less important to help CLCP is very complex. So, without the presence of the important factors, CLCP alone was not able to achieve this success.

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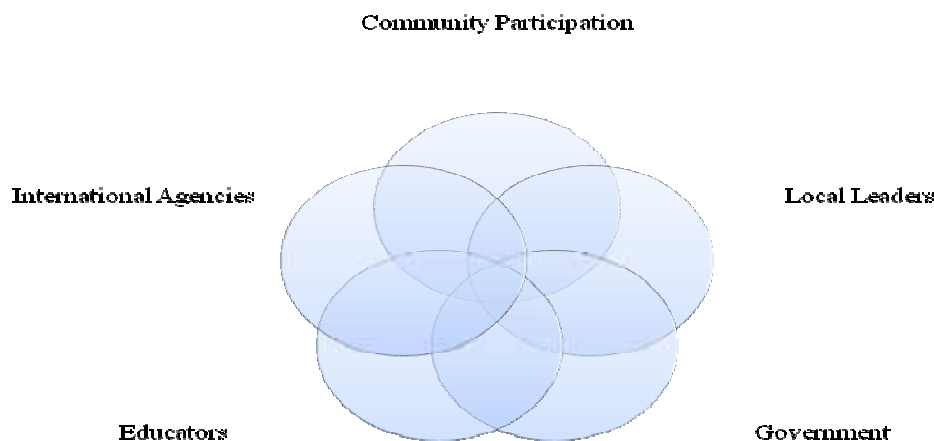


Figure 1. Factors Contributing to the Success of CLCP in Golshan and Nasr Abad

This figure shows the factors contributed to the success of CLCP in community literacy development in two selected communities namely Nasr Abad and Golshan.



## The Risk of Information Technology on Employment

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### Abstract

The investigation of whether or not the development of technology has become the enemy of employment is a boundless topic. There is no denying that technology plays an indispensable role in today's society. However, the changing status of employment shows that with the development of technologies, the requirements of employees are not longer merely based on the basic skills and traditional knowledge, which was required before. In fact, under the development of information technology, employees seem have to undergone more negative effects than positive effects. This paper aims to analyse the relationship between technology and employment, and in particular, the development of information technology.

**Keywords:** Information technology, Technological determinism, Employment

'The opinion, entertained by the labouring class, that the employment of machinery is frequently detrimental to their interests, is not founded on prejudice and error, but is conformable to the correct principles of political economy' (Ricardo, cited in Freeman and Soete 1994: 20).

'This is not technological determinism. Technologies are developed and diffused by human individuals and institutions; the processes of development, selection, shaping and application are social processes' (Freeman and Soete 1994: 52).

### 1. Introduction

The investigation of whether or not the development of technology has become the enemy of employment is a boundless topic. Especially in the case of the evolution of computer technology and information technology, according to Brooks, 'technology may not solve all of our problems, but our problems cannot possibly be solved without the information of new technology' (Stephen G. Pritchins 1983: 4). There is no denying that technology plays an indispensable role in today's society. It is an inevitable consequence of social development. However, the changing status of employment shows that with the development of technologies, the requirements of employees are not longer merely based on the basic skills and traditional knowledge, which was required before. Rather, it seems to employees that more and more professional capability is necessary in order to overcome the feeling of insecurity, and survive in an information society.

This paper aims to analyse the relationship between technology and employment, and in particular, the development of information technology. In general, this is a wide topic, especially in the area of information technology. Therefore, this paper will only focus on analysing the advantages and disadvantages of information technology with its effects on employment.

It will be divided into three major parts. First of all, it will introduce the term "information technology" by analysing its characteristics and potential. Meanwhile, the theme of knowledge and its relationship with information technology will be introduced. Secondly, the conflict between information technology and employment will be investigated. Following the interpretation of evolution from the case of employment, the term "industrialism" will be analysed in the third part of this paper. A conclusion will be provided in the last section of the paper.

### 2. Information Technology and Knowledge

Information technology plays a crucial role in today's society. The term "information society" is simply defined from there. According to Bennett et al.,

'Characteristically, conceptions of an information society embrace evolutionary themes, the term suggesting a higher stage of development than hitherto. In this way the information society retains something of the suggestion of a

higher-order state evident in the implication of an informed place. This is especially the case when the synonym “knowledge society” is adopted’ (2005: 188).

How to survive in an information society? In the case of China, there was a crucial change in the 1980s as the reformation of society was taking place and the institution of liberalism was set up. Under this social evolution, Chinese people could achieve a better life by hard work. Knowledge was not a major aspect for fulfilling an improved life. However, this situation was changed entirely by the new construction of economy and the invasion of information technology. In other words, ‘labour is no longer a commodity’ (Tapscott 1996: 47). Obviously, knowledge has become a compulsive element for survival under an information society.

Alan Webber questions the fact that ‘no one has asked the all important question ... what’s so new about the new economy?’ (cited in Tapscott 1996: 43). From Tapscott’s point of view ‘the new economy is a knowledge economy’ (Tapscott 1996: 44). In other words, knowledge has become the only one way to achieve better life and wealth.

Drucker divides human employment into two major categories: knowledge workers and service workers. The former category is based on the ‘intellectual, cultural, and business elite’; the latter category is based on the workers who are excluded from the former one (Robins 1997: 53). In addition, he explains the fundamental difference between knowledge worker and service workers. As he puts it,

‘Knowledge workers are the real generations of wealth. The income of these owners of intellectual and financial wealth will increase substantially, and they will be made welcome anywhere in the world’ (Robins 1997: 54).

‘Service workers will now be expected to add far more value to the company, unlike in the past where service work meant just turning up. Companies will be reducing the wages and staffing levels of services workers, and it is no accident that most Western companies are presently instigating major downsizing programmes’ (Robins 1997: 54).

In the relationship between information technology and knowledge, Tapscott continues, ‘information technology enables an economy based on knowledge. But notwithstanding the rise of artificial intelligence and other “knowledge technologies”’ (1996: 44). It seems to Drucker that ‘knowledge is not simply another resource along with the traditional factors of production such as labor, capital, and land; it is the only meaningful resource today. Consequently, the knowledge worker is any organization’s greatest single asset’ (1996: 47).

Generally speaking, both labour and knowledge play an important role in the process of social development. However, the argument of who plays a role of determinant may depend on a different situation and generation. Pichinis has an opposite point of view with Tapscott, as he stresses that ‘labour is the critical factor. Aside from its functional role in relation to land-related production processes, labour is the only factor that transmits knowledge and thereby perpetuates improvements in production processes’ (1983: 23). This theory simply coincides with the situation in the 1980s in China. However, a new social structure is formed by knowledge and information. As Castells considers, ‘knowledge and information seem indeed to be major sources of productivity and growth in advanced societies’ (1996: 204). Actually, Castells’ conception is not merely applicable in advanced societies, but is also suitable for every country. As he puts it,

‘What is most distinctive, in historical terms, between the economic structures of the first half and of the second half of the twentieth century is the revolution in information technologies, and its diffusion in all spheres of social and economic activity, including its contribution in providing the infrastructure for the formation of a global economy’ (1996: 204).

Today, the rapid development of information technology has spread to each corner of the world. Its effects have expanded to all trades and professions. For example, factories, offices, service organisations, etc. Castells points out that ‘the role of direct work has increased because information technology has empowered the direct worker at the shop floor level (be it the process of testing chips or underwriting insurance policies). Moreover, Castells explains that ‘information technology becomes the critical ingredient of the process of work’ as described because:

- It largely determines innovation capability;
- It makes possible the correction of errors and generation of feedback effects at the level of execution;
- It provides the infrastructure for flexibility and adaptability throughout the management of the production process (1996: 243).

### 3. Technology and Employment

‘Technology destroys work skills and creates work skills, reduces employment and creates employment’ (Pichinis 1983: 2). Every coin has its two sides. There is no denying that technology has been creating many opportunities in the category of employment, even though it would be arguable that technology may somehow cause unemployment. However, the reasons of unemployment are various: for instance, old work skills have been replaced by new ones; this is not destruction but a circulation of work. Generally speaking, nobody prefers using a work system, which is not

efficient. Simply as the development of information technology, people prefer using email to contact each other, rather than postal mail. This is because of the speed of delivery and personal preference. Phitchinis explains the major reason that causes decreasing employment. As he points out,

‘When some of the work functions of an occupation are removed from it, either because they are no longer needed in the production process, or because they are performed with equal efficiency and at lower cost by some other occupation, or because they have been embodied into mechanical or microelectronic instruments and processes, employment in the occupation will decrease’ (1983: 91).

His explanation clearly shows that in a circulation of work, it is reasonable to reduce certain positions or occupations. This is simply because these positions and occupations can be replaced by a machine. Giddens defines a machine as ‘an artifact that accomplishes set tasks by employing such power sources as the means of its operation’ (1990: 56). If a machine can do exactly what a human can do, it can even do better than a worker. From the employer’s position, for instance, to buy a mechanical instrument is one time of investment. Compared with employing a worker, who offers the same labour as a mechanical instrument, the cost of the worker will be higher. The status of a machine would be more stable than a worker; it works according to the way it is operated, until it expends its energy. However, a worker is not guaranteed to work in the same company or factory forever. A worker may change employment any time, or not be able to work suddenly due to illness, for example. Just as Freeman and Soete comment, ‘if a machine or computer can do a job more efficiently and cheaply than an employee, it is inevitable that it will be used’ (1994: 4).

Furthermore, Castells stresses that ‘every other activity, given the extraordinary rate of progress in information technology and its constant lowering in price per information unit, is potentially susceptible of automation, and thus the labor engaged in it is expendable’ (1996: 242). In the prediction of jobs reductions, according to Tapscott, ‘sales, real estate, life insurance, travel; wholesales, such as food, dry goods and clothing; primary and high school teachers; distributors, for example, postal workers and retail trade’ seem are the most risky occupations that are being reduced (1996: 290).

The prediction here is not an unfounded story, as Tapscott lists down the number of jobs in decline according to the information from the Bureau of Labor Statistics: ‘..between 1992 and 2005 a number of job types will decline by a significant percentage: computer operators (39%); billing, posting, and calculating machines operators (29%); telephone operators (28%); typists and word processing operators (16%); and bank tellers (4%)’ (1996: 290).

The numbers of jobs in decline show that most jobs here are low-skilled service jobs. In other words, these jobs do not require higher skills or any professional knowledge. Shaiken defines skill as ‘a creative response to uncertainty based on experience, ability, and the needs of the situation’ (1984: Preface xii). Under the new structure of society and economic institutions, unemployment, or replacements by mechanical instrument will certainly happen sooner or later. The theme of knowledge will be involved once again in the category of employment. The conception of knowledge can be understood through the changing fulfillment of workers. ‘In the old economy, workers tried to achieve fulfillment through leisure. In the new economy, fulfillment can be achieved through work and the means of production shifts to the brain of the producers’ (Tapscott 1996: 48).

It may be slightly general to prove that knowledge is the one major aspect of survival, or to assure the safety of occupation. However, this interpretation is developed according to the evolution of society and economy. In the case of information technology, Tapscott claims that ‘the knowledge content of products and services is growing significantly as consumer ideas and information and technology become part of products. On the other hand, Tapscott explains the relationship between technologies change and unemployment. As he explains,

‘In the past, job loss has always been more than compensated for by a parallel process of job creation in new industries, firms, and occupations. Technological change has led to higher real incomes and greater employment. But just as companies that don’t embrace the technology will become uncompetitive, any nation that dallies will also face competitive decline—facing the specter of massive structural unemployment’ (1996: 290).

Shaiken argues that ‘the technical potential is there for new systems to be designed in a way that both enriches life on the job and benefits society. But the potential to make work more creative and satisfying can be very far apart from the reality of the workplace’ (1984: Preface xi).

In the case of information computer technology (ICT), Shaiken questions that ‘when computerizations is counterposed to human skill, the issue is not simply a “better” method of production but often a choice that reflects certain values and purpose’ (1984: Preface xi). The theme of certain values and purpose can be understood as the reducing of price and cause of jobs decline. On the other hand, Freeman and Soete provide five advantages of using ICT:

1. Speed and accuracy of processing and transmitting information;
2. Storage capacity for large quantities of information;
3. Flexibility in organizing manufacturing, design, marketing and organisations;



4. Networking within and between firms and other individuals and organisations;
5. Display of information (1994: 47).

#### 4. Industrialism and Informationalism

According to Castells, the terms 'industrialism' and 'informationalism'

'use as the strongest empirical evidence for the change in historical course the coming into being of a new social structure, characterized by the shift from goods to services, by the rise of managerial and professional occupations, by the demise of agricultural and manufacturing jobs, and by the growing information content of work in the most advanced economics' (1996: 202).

In addition, Castells points out the three aspects on the theme of postindustrialism. First of all, he proposes 'to shift the analytical emphasis for *postindustrialism* (a relevant question of social forecasting still without an answer at the moment of its formulation) to informationalism'. Secondly, 'the criterion of postindustrialist theory by which to consider a society as postindustrial concerns the shift to service activities and the demise of manufacturing'. Finally, 'the third major prediction of the original theory of postindustrialism refers to the expansion of information-rich occupations, such as managerial, professional, and technical positions, as the core of the new occupational structure' (1996: 204-206).

It seems to Giddens that the characteristic of industrialism is 'the use of inanimate sources of material power in the production of goods, coupled to the central role of machinery in the production process' (1990: 55-56). Moreover, he continues explaining that 'the notion of industrialism is applied to high-technology settings where electricity is the only power source, and where electronic microcircuits are the only mechanized devices' (1990: 56). In other words, no matter how powerful the development of technology is, technology can be operated only through the support of electricity. Actually, the development of information technology not only influences the local status of employment, social processes, and construction of economy; but also plays a influential role in the processes of global information economy. As Carnoy, Castell et al. state,

The global information economy is 'based less on the location of natural resources, cheap and abundant labour, or even capital stock, and more and more on the capacity to create new knowledge and apply it rapidly, via information processing and telecommunications, to a wide range of human activities in ever-broadening space and time' (Robins 1997: 24).

Angell's view is that under the conditions of global information economy, the existence of the work place will not be necessary, as the networked places will take over the status of the work place (Robins 1997: 27). If Angell's idea is correct, the numbers of employees will decrease naturally. For example, on-line business is becoming more and more popular in the age of telecommunications and computer networks. Transactions will be processed through a virtual market. Traditionally, a successful transaction requires a place, where commodities are displayed; certain people to work there, such as sales; and a warehouse, to store the goods in stock. Today, this situation may not be necessary any more as consumers are able to glance at products through the Internet. In other words, the jobs decline will happen since there is no place or office, and so the positions of sales will disappear. Mitchell provides the process of how on-line business works, and its strategy:

'The necessary connection between buyers and sellers is established not through physical proximity but through logical linkage. It is all done with software and databases. Merchants get to potential customers by accessing lists of electronic addresses; the key to successful marketing is not being in the right neighbourhood with the right sorts of customers for whom to lay out wares, but ... having the right lists for sending out advertising' (Robins 1997: 25).

The success of telecommunications and computer networks also affects other occupations such as bank jobs. According to Ian [?], 'It is estimated that 150,000 UK bank jobs will eventually be lost because of automation. Millions of jobs will be lost if teleshopping takes off' (Robins 1997: 53). On the other hand, Giddens criticises the impact of industrialism, saying it is 'plainly not limited to the sphere of production, but affects many aspects of day-to-day life, as well as influencing the generic character of human interaction with material environment' (1990: 76).

#### 5. Conclusion

Under the development of information technology, employees seem have to undergone more negative effects than positive effects. There is no denying that technology creates more opportunities to employees. However, the term 'opportunities' here may refer to a higher education background, or more skills and professional knowledge. In the position of those employees who have no specific knowledge or valuable skills, they will belong to the unemployment category sooner or later.

In the positive effects on employee, Wilson stresses that 'where jobs are properly designed, information technology can greatly improve satisfaction with the job, afford greater variety and interest, and increase self-confidence' (Taylor et al. 1985: 63). From Briggs' point of view, 'the wide availability of high quality information will lead to the devolution of

decision making. Managers will be handling more information relating to more areas of interest' (Taylor et al. 1985: 63). This idea is only applied to the position of managers. In the long run, the numbers of managers only rank as few in a company. In other words, larger portions of employees are only workers.

As previous sections have mentioned about the importance of knowledge, it will become the only one way to achieve a better life and to survive in an information society. Even though the construction of a society will be changed or reformed after few decades, or over a century, the crucial status of knowledge can be considered as a life buoy.

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## Socio-Economic Issues among Felda Settlers in Perlis

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### Abstract

After almost fifty years of operation, government through a number of announcements declared that FELDA (Federal Land Development) schemes need to be revitalized so that it could play its role more effectively as a vehicle that would accelerate the country's economic growth. Having raised this point, the major aim of this study is to examine the major socio-economic issues and the current socio-economic status of FELDA settlers. Information was gathered through face-to-face interview with the Mata Air FELDA settlers and the Rimba Mas FELDA settlers in Perlis. Descriptive statistics such as mean, standard deviation and percentages were employed to describe the socio-economic problems and issues studied. The findings of the study indicate the implication of the ageing phenomenon of the FELDA settlers in Perlis to some extent affect the settlers' ability to work effectively on their plantation. It is also found that the second generation issue has become the most significant factor contributing to the productivity and income increment of the FELDA settlers in Perlis as compared to other selected socio-economic variables. The result also suggested that, the

ageing phenomenon, second generation issue and entrepreneurship problem must be seriously taken into consideration in order to accelerate the FELDA's growth specifically and the country's growth generally.

**Keywords:** Socio-economic issues, FELDA settlers, FELDA schemes, Rejuvenated FELDA schemes, Economic growth

## 1. Introduction

Rejuvenated FELDA schemes? Yes, FELDA schemes (and hence FELDA community) will be reengineered; they will be modernized; they will be rejuvenated to become 'new' land development and settlement schemes. After nearly two decades they have been neglected, the government announced that development revolution would be brought to FELDA schemes. Today, after five decades of its creation and operations, FELDA's image is not just as a Government agency responsible for large scale land development and settlement schemes but it has also ventured into manufacturing and commercial activities.

The activities and achievements of FELDA during the first two decades of its foundation are detailed in Tengku Shamsul Baharin et al. (1977). FELDA also has instituted further changes and expanded into new directions during its third decade, and these are examined by Tengku Shamsul Baharin et al. (1988). Fee (1976) has the view that FELDA was established in 1956 in respond to the priority given to land development for the Malay smallholder settlement and the failure of a Government agency known as RIDA (Rural Industrial Development Authority). It was established to undertake large scale land development and settlement. As Perumal (1991) puts it, conceptually, the FELDA program aims at bringing together techno-economic strengths of the plantation sector and the socio-economic needs of the smallholding sector. Practically, this concept takes the form of clearing virgin jungle, establishing economically viable crops, providing a settlement area with a comprehensive range of infrastructure, and the emplacement of economically handicapped rural families to participate in the package of activities so created.

According to Tengku Shamsul Baharin et al. (1977: 55), "The settlers are the nucleus of FELDA land development and settlement program. They become not only the reason for development but also the means of development." Actually, in recent years, the success story of FELDA schemes has been questioned. Several issues concerning FELDA schemes have been raised in the literature. In his study, Fee (1976) identified two major issues facing FELDA settlers. First, there are second generation unemployment as the settlers' dependents enter the labor market and secondly, the problem of unequal distribution of income among settlers from different types of FELDA schemes.

In recent years, the socio-economic problems faced by FELDA schemes are numerous. Some of the intriguing ones are as follows:

a) Relative poverty. If some twenty or thirty years ago FELDA was lauded for being successful in transferring the landless and poor farmers from their 'vicious cycle of poverty' into modern settlements of FELDA schemes, today FELDA settlers are claimed to be relatively poor. FELDA settlers are believed not to have enjoyed much improvement in their income levels and quality of life as compared to their counterparts in the secondary or the tertiary sector of the national economy. Depending on the movements in the prices of oil palm or rubber, the income of FELDA settlers has been unstable through time.

b) Ageing phenomenon. It has been nearly fifty years since the first FELDA scheme was implemented. Today it is believed that the majority of the first generation of FELDA settlers has been above fifty years old. This ageing phenomenon is believed, to some extent, to have affected settlers' ability work and hence, productivity. Are their children interested enough to replace them working on their plantations?

c) Farmer-manager phenomenon: That is, settlers as farmers, act as managers: They just manage their plantations; they just depend on paid workers – most of them are foreign workers – to work on their plantations. This phenomenon could perhaps be attributed to a number of factors: First, ageing problem. Second, the sizes of their plantations are too large for them to work alone (that is, in the case of rubber schemes, they cannot finish tapping their rubber trees within a day if they work alone). Thirdly, complacent attitude: That is, since their standard of living as settlers has become much better as compared to the situation before joining FELDA, then they do not feel any pressure to work harder. Lastly, easy to get cheap workers.

We believe that this farmer-manager phenomenon is a challenging issue for FELDA authority because one of the strategies followed by FELDA in developing its schemes was to provide economic size piece of land (plantation) for each family. Through time, has this 'economic size' become 'diseconomy of size plot of land'? Another related issue is that most foreign workers have no experience in tapping rubber and thus they might cause damage to the rubber trees.

d) Land underutilization and badly managed settlement areas: If one visits any FELDA settlement area, we believe that he (she) would find plenty of areas which are filled with bushes. Plots of land which are meant for fruit production or for planting vegetables are left idle. FELDA settlement areas today do not appear to be attractive and beautiful. Indeed,

their *kampung*s are similar to any traditional Malay *kampung* outside FELDA schemes. Is this then, a reflection of FELDA's failure in creating modern and well-organized settlement areas which could be proud of?

e) Land ownership issue: To some extent land ownership still appears to be an unsettled issue among settlers (Nurwati Badarulzaman & Fatimah Hassan, 2005).

In closing, the issues pertaining to FELDA schemes discussed appear to be challenging problems for the FELDA authority and the Government as well. Correspondingly, if we were to see the Government's move to revitalize FELDA schemes to be a successful one, then these issues need to be properly and seriously addressed and managed. Due to the above scenario, the researchers planned to meet the following objectives:

1. To closely (and critically) examine the current socio-economic status of settlers in Perlis.
2. To identify some socio-economic issues and examine the roots behind the issues.
3. To come up with some recommendations that could be benefited by FELDA management in managing the issues.

## 2. Methods

To meet the purpose of the study, information was gathered through face-to-face interview and recorded in the prepared questionnaire. The total number of settlers in the Mata Air FELDA Scheme and the Rimba Mas FELDA Scheme is 249 and 161 respectively. Since the population size was quite small, the researchers have decided that our data collection should be based on a census rather than sampling. Accordingly, the total number of respondents in this study was 410 settlers.

Our data collection process was implemented in three stages: First, the collection of general information pertaining to the two FELDA schemes (and their settlers), involving a series of discussions with FELDA managers. This was followed by a pilot study through interviews with ten settlers using a structured questionnaire. The feedbacks from these interviews provided us insights into refining and improving our questionnaire. Our experience from this pilot study has then led us into a decision that the appropriate method in gathering the required information from the settlers would be face-to-face interview. Thus, the role of the questionnaire designed was to facilitate the questioning and recording process of the interview.

The questionnaire was designed in such a way to enable us to gather, inter alia, the following information:

(i) Basic personal information of settlers. This personal information section aims at gathering background information of settlers such as age, marital status, levels of education, occupation and income before joining FELDA scheme, number of household (family size) and even number of wives.

(ii) Information on the dependency of children. The purpose of this section was to collect information pertaining to 'population pressure' and the nature of future generation of 'settlers'. Among the questions posed were: the number of (schooling) children and levels of their study, number of children that cannot further their study (at least) to upper secondary level, number of children who are working (outside FELDA scheme), number of children who are interested to become settlers (farmers?).

(iii) Information on rubber production and income. In this section, our interests are, among others, in knowing settlers' weekly income as well as their net income, their tapping activities and types of rubber produced, and the issue of selling rubber (scrap) to 'outside' buyers (rather than to FELDA agency).

(iv) Information on working spirit and interest in entrepreneurship. While lately the Government has shown its interest the aspiration to turn (some?) of the settlers into entrepreneurs, are settlers really interested in this issue? Are there settlers in Perlis that are interested and have really participated in entrepreneurship activities? How about their attitude and interest towards their 'original' occupation as FELDA farmers? Do they themselves manage their plantation? How many hours daily do they spend working in their plantation? Have they 'fully' utilized the land that they have, for instance, for planting fruit trees, vegetables and/or other agricultural activities? How about their economic activities outside FELDA scheme and (side) income from these activities? It is hoped that answers to these questions could be provided through the present survey research.

(v) General socio-economic information. Among the information sought from settlers was the type and value of dwelling, other assets, their ownership status of FELDA land, the participation of settlers in organizational activities and other (non farming) activities. Lastly, settlers were asked about their views concerning the FELDA management (for each scheme); they were also asked to contribute their ideas on how to improve the management and welfare of settlers for each FELDA scheme under study.

This study was descriptive in nature. Being a descriptive study, the data was analyzed from the perspectives of descriptive statistics. Accordingly, statistical measures such as mean, standard deviation and percentages were employed to describe the socio-economic facts and phenomena studied.

Notwithstanding the simplicity of the present study, we believe that it could provide some useful information on the current socio-economic status of FELDA settlers in Perlis. Given the uniqueness of FELDA schemes in Perlis in terms of its geographical location as well as climatic elements (and the related socio-cultural phenomena), it is hoped that findings of the study could provide some insights for the FELDA authority and management in planning program, approaches and strategies towards the successfully rejuvenated FELDA schemes in Perlis.

### 3. Results and Discussion

The results were derived by examining and identifying basic demographic features and socio-economic background of settlers. The variables of our interest in this case were age, level of education, number of household, number of wife, number of children, state of origin, job before joining FELDA scheme, previous monthly income and year joining FELDA scheme. Attempts were also made to identify settlers' actual reason(s) for joining FELDA scheme and hence, to some extent, their attitude towards life as settlers.

In terms of demographic profile as given in Table 1, the mean ages of the settlers were 51.1 years with a standard deviation of 5.4 and majority of them had only elementary school education. The mean number of household was 5.39 with a standard deviation of 1.9.

#### Insert Table 1 here

This finding is consistent with the finding of the previous researchers. The implication of this is that of the ageing phenomenon and the second generation issue which to some extent has affected the settlers' ability to work effectively on their plantation and hence affecting their productivity.

Before joining FELDA the settlers had a mean monthly income of RM425.71 with a standard deviation of RM397.45. About 50% of the settlers had monthly income of less than RM350.00 per month which is well below the poverty line. The study has found that their mean monthly income as settlers is RM1373.28 with standard deviation of RM711.12 (Refer to Table 2). The mean and standard deviation monthly income of FELDA Mata Air and FELDA Rimba Mas settlers is RM1563.11 and RM1244.27 with standard deviation of RM 830.94 and RM584.17 respectively.

#### Insert Table 2 here

However this reported figure does not tally with mean monthly income recorded by the FELDA management of both schemes. Further investigation revealed that the settlers did not include deductions on loan settlement made by the managements as part of their income.

Another unique finding from the study is that nearly 50% of the respondents were found to have part time jobs such as taxi driving, paddy farming, small trading and working as laborers. This is especially so during the 'rest season' or drought seasons for the months of January, February and March each year. During this time latex production is relatively very low while the production of 'scrap rubber' is almost that of the normal season as highlighted in the previous findings. The facts that scrap rubber production relatively stable through the year have indicated that it is a popular source of income for the settlers.

The farmer-manager phenomenon secured to be an issue in the study. Some of the settlers managed their farm by depending on paid workers. The size of the plantation which is too large for the settlers to work alone coupled with the old age has led to the farmer-manager phenomenon. This again has the implication on productivity.

Apart from the farmer-manager phenomenon, dependency issue has also been explored. The mean number of children per settler family is 4.39%.

The study revealed that majority of the settlers has children either in the primary school or secondary school while only 12.7% has children studying at institutions of higher learning. Some of the elder children are working in the government and private sectors with only 1.4% of them work as professionals. However a very worrying trend is that most of the settler's children were NOT interested to work on the FELDA Land schemes. Most of them prefer to seek employment elsewhere. If this trend persists the future of FELDA scheme looks bleak unless remedial measures are taken to ensure they stay on not just as farmer settlers. The study has found that most of the settlers are living in renovated houses. However the cost of renovation is rather moderate with a mean of RM17211 and standard deviation of RM16383.67.

Ownership of other assets show that only 8 % of the respondents owned computers. As for car ownership, majority of the settlers has cars with value less than RM20000 with a mean value of RM12107.61.

Motorcycle ownership is very important in the FELDA settlement with 70% of the settlers owning motorcycles. The mean value of motorcycle is RM3393.44 with a standard deviation of RM2425.46. A summary of value of assets worth by the settlers excluding their house showed a mean of RM10161.12 with a standard deviation of RM15529.82.

Realizing that the settlers cannot rely on agriculture alone for sustainable income and improvement in their standard of living, the government has introduced the SAWARI programmed to induce the settlers to be involved in entrepreneurial

activities. However, only 48% of the settlers were aware of such programs while a small minority of 6% was involved in various activities like sewing and handicraft. Obviously there is a big gap between awareness and involvement in the SAWARI programmed.

Another issue relating to awareness is that of the loan benefits available to the settlers. Although there are many credit facilities as highlighted in the findings there is still a big gap between awareness and participating in the loan schemes for their social and economic development.

#### 4. Conclusions

The researchers have concluded that although there has been a significant increase in the income of the settlers, this income increment is still relatively small compared to their counterparts in the other modern sectors.

It is recommended that FELDA settlers in Perlis cultivate the cashew plant and on the vacant plot meant for the orchards near their home on a commercial basis. The cashew plant is recommended based on several reasons namely, the low cost of production and the low management cost.

Another plant recommended is the jungle bamboo plant a group of woody perennial evergreen plants. The bamboo plant has a high economic and cultural significance in Asia where they are used extensively in gardens as building materials and a food source. Considering bamboo plant is a multipurpose plant providing timber, food, medicinal and industrial products, it is recommended as a commercial cash crop in the FELDA schemes.

The next recommended plant is *Jatropha Curcas*. The plant produces many useful products especially the seed from the oil can be abstracted and used in the place of the kerosene and diesel as a substitute for fuel wood and for the soap making. More research is required before the potential of *Jatropha Curcas* in the biodiesel industry can be realized.

Lastly, the researchers recommended that the government should develop more Felda entrepreneurs among the settlers and should play more dominant role as production and marketing agents. For instance, the government can help the settlers by encouraging them to involve in some of the entrepreneurial activities and upgrading the present entrepreneurs through constant training and counseling.

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Table 1. Demographic profile

	Mean	Standard deviation
Age (years)	51.1	5.4
Number of household	5.39	1.9

Table 2. Monthly income of settlers

	Before joining FELDA	After joining FELDA
Mean	425.71	1373.28
Standard deviation	397.45	711.12



## The Introduction and Dissemination of the Behaviorism in Modern China —— The Historical Investigation Centered by Kuo, Z, Y

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### Abstract

The behaviorism was the most influential school during the former half of the 20<sup>th</sup>.C. In the early years of the century, the oversea students introduced it into China, among whom Dr. Kuo, Z, Y, a faithful behaviorist, was the most typical example, who, after returned home, set about to this project, which made the great contributions to the early Chinese psychology.

**Keywords:** Behaviorism, Modern China, Kuo, Z, Y, Introduction, Dissemination

The behaviorism, founded by American psychologist John B. Watson, was the most influential school during the former half of the 20<sup>th</sup>.C. Watson claimed that psychology was not concerned with the mind or with human consciousness. Instead, psychology would be concerned only with behavior. In this way, men could be studied objectively, like rats and apes. In the 1920's-30's, the Chinese intellectuals began to introduce the western scientific knowledge into China in order to establish the Chinese own academic culture. Under such condition, the western behaviorism was brought in. The oversea students made great contribution in the process of this cultural dissemination, among whom Dr. Kuo, Z, Y was the best example. Therefore this paper intends to comb the contribution Dr. Kuo, Z, Y made to the spread of the western behaviorism in modern China.

### 1. The formation of Kuo, Z, Y's psychological system

Kuo ,Z, Y (1898-1970),born in Shantou, Guangdong, graduated from Fudan University and then went to America in 1918 for the further education in California University. In 1923, he was awarded the psychology doctoral degree and at the same year he was invited by Zhangyi, the principal of Fudan University to come back to teach here. From 1924 to 1926, Kuo, Z, Y was appointed the vice principal of Fudan University, and during his term he established the psychology department and psychology institute. From 1927 to 1936, he taught in Central University and Zhejiang University successively and he was appointed principal of Zhejiang University from 1933 to 1936. In 1946, Kuo, Z, Y moved to Hang Kong till death.

During his study in America, Kuo, Z, Y began to show interest in behaviorism and meanwhile he began to question its researching content and researching method. In his opinion, although the behaviorists were not concerned with the mind or with human consciousness any more, they did not pay much attention to the behaviors. For example, instinct and learning should belong to the category of the old psychology, but the behaviorists did not dare to neglect these issues, on the contrary they regarded them as their main researching content. What's more, the behaviorists had no specific method to study the behavior. Although the behaviorists showed sympathy for mechanism, they did not lose contact with the traditional psychological teleology. Therefore Kuo, Z, Y thought(1933)that the most contribution of the behaviorism was negative because its researching method and content was still traditional. At the same time the behaviorism also lacked the constructive plan. So Kuo, Z, Y began to build his extreme behaviorism, and this project began with the Instinct Debate of 1920's.

Before the evolutionism became popular, the concept of instinct did not cause the psychologists' attention. Later Darwin and Spencer explained the problems of instinct and mood from the angle of heredity and meanwhile pointed out the



importance the heredity had in the process of living and competition. Influenced by Darwin, some psychologists began to focus on instinct. Later encouraged by the James, the founder of psychology, the theory of instinct became very popular. Until the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as described by Kuo, Z, Y (1924), instinct had become a very important psychology issue. McDougall, Thorndike and other people who studied abnormal psychology all regarded instinct as the foundation of their own studying field. Even Watson the revolutionist of the psychology admitted the importance of instinct and heredity. So along with the popularity of instinct, this concept ran rampant. In order to control this situation, an anti-instinct movement was initiated from the year 1919 to 1920 in the psychological circle and Kuo, Z, Y was one of the main advocates. Later when Kuo, Z, Y recalled the whole course of this event, he said that this movement was fermented between the year 1919 and 1920, but I myself began to question instinct in the fall of 1919, when I was in grade three in University of California. I made a term report the next fall in the seminary in education psychology and this was the article *Giving up Instincts in Psychology* published later in Journal of Philosophy. After several revises, this article was sent to Journal of Philosophy in the winter of 1920, and until 12, 1921 it was published finally. However, during this year several articles which opposed and criticized instinct were published successively (1929, p.234). Although these articles were published at the different time, I daresay each author did not know what others did in advance (Kuo, Z, Y, 1924). So although the launch of anti-instinct movement could not owe to Kuo, Z, Y himself totally, yet undoubtedly he was the one of the important advocates.

Kuo, Z, Y's attitude towards heredity and instinct was in constant change in the process of anti-instinct movement, which witnessed the formation of his academic system, that's, during this period Kuo, Z, Y completed his disintegration from a common behaviorist to an extreme behaviorist. The formation of Kuo, Z, Y's academic system can be divided into three stages as a whole: The publishment of *Giving up Instincts in Psychology* is the first stage; the publishment of *How Are Our Instincts Acquired* is the second stage and the publishment of *Psychology without heredity* is the third stage. During the first stage, Kuo, Z, Y still admitted the existence of heredity. In the second stage, he began to question whether the innate behavior could prove the existence of instinct. At this moment he still admitted the differences between the acquired behaviors and the innate behaviors were right. Until the third stage, Kuo, Z, Y's attitude changed completely and he insisted the psychology without heredity totally. He thought that all the so called innate behaviors not only could not be proved by experiment, but also prevented the experimental psychology from developing. So all the innate behaviors should be abandoned by psychology. Owing to his firm attitude towards instinct, Kuo, Z, Y was called Super Watson by McDougall.

For the action of anti-instinct, Kuo, Z, Y's did not try to please the public, but intended to found his own theory of behaviorism, that's, the extreme behaviorism. For this, Kuo, Z, Y ever made such expression (1928, p.75): we oppose instinct not to gain a well used psychology term, this is not our goal at all. If so, what we have done is most stupid. In fact, if we can not arouse the experimental study on the behaviors, if we fail to establish a pure genetic psychology, and if the non-instinct movement has no any effect, we are sure that what the professor Gento said will come true: the prospect of this movement is very disappointing, and meanwhile we will make the same mistakes that the instinct believers did. After initiating anti-instinct movement successfully, Kuo, Z, Y put forward his basic views of the extreme behaviorism, as follows: The behaviors not only can be regarded the researching goal, but also the research on behaviors can also be treated as a specific science like physiology, zoology and botany etc. The extreme behaviorists as well as the behaviorists neglect the existence of mind, and always regard the spiritual phenomenon as one sort of behaviors, which can be studied by the method of material science. The extreme behaviorists do not admit the issues on the traditional behaviors. The fundamental issue on behaviors lies in two aspects: growth of behaviors and physiology of the behaviors. The stand of the extreme behaviorism is in accordance with that of material science like physics and chemistry. All the concepts which can show material phenomenon can show behavior and the behavior is a kind of mechanical phenomenon, which can be explained by the principles of physics and chemistry (Kuo, Z, Y, 1933). All the opinions mentioned above were called the compendium of extreme behaviorism, which, compared with the traditional behaviorism, are much more radical and much more revolutionary.

Through the brief analysis on Kuo, Z, Y's academic system, we can see that Kuo, Z, Y, as a mechanist, went to another extreme in building his praxiology, so his theory was partial inevitably. In fact, Kuo, Z, Y had been conscious of his theoretical defect. By doing so, Kuo, Z, Y had his own far-reaching purpose: whether he advocated the extreme behaviorism and opposed instinct and heredity or he attacked all kinds of mysterious concepts in psychology, he tried to repelled the anti-scientific psychology in a word. At the same time, Kuo, Z, Y compared himself to a street cleaner who managed to put psychology into the palace of natural science—bioscience (Kuo, Z, Y, 1928).

## 2. Kuo, Z, Y and the introduction and dissemination of behaviorism

After he got the doctor degree in 1923, Kuo, Z, Y was invited home and taught in Fudan University, where he devoted himself to the introduction and dissemination of behaviorism and meanwhile he tried to establish the Chinese own psychology.

### 2.1 Introducing behaviorism and causing instinct debate in China

On returning home, Kuo, Z, Y began to publish the related articles in some magazines to publicize his own academic views. For example only in *Journal of the Orient* he published more than 6 articles in a short time such as *The Process of Anti-instinct and My Recent Position* (Volume 21, Memorial), *The Confession of a Psychological Revolutionist* (5, Volume 24), *Abnormal Psychology* (23, Volume 24), *The Study on Behaviors in Recent 30 Years* (1, Volume 31) etc. What's more, Kuo, Z, Y also published 10 books, as follows: *Human's Behavior* (Shang wu Publishing House, 1923), *Psychology ABC* (World Publishing House, 1928), *Psychology Symposium* (Shanghai Kaiming Bookstore, 1928), *Handout of Behaviorism* (Shang wu Publishing House, 1928), *Psychology and Heredity* (Shang wu Publishing House, 1929), *The Basis of Praxiology* (Shangwu Publishing House, 1929), *Behaviorism* (Shang wu Publishing House, 1933), *The Principle of Behavior* (Shangwu Publishing House, 1935), *The Domain of Praxiology* (Shangwu Publishing House, 1935). The publishing of these articles and books played an important role in the introduction and dissemination of behaviorism in modern China, and later more and more people knew about and accepted the basic views of behaviorism, as Gao juefu, a Chinese famous psychologist said (1991, p.17), at that time many psychologists were inclined to behaviorism even though they were not the extreme behaviorist like Kuo, Z, Y.

The propaganda about behaviorism Kuo, Z, Y made at home also caused a debate on instinct, which was held between the psychological circle centered by Kuo, Z, Y and philosophical circle. The opposition side published articles on *Journal of Minduo* to express their different opinions about instinct, such as *The Criticism of Non-instinct* by Yan jicheng (No.1, Volume 4, 1923), *Instinct* by Zhou jianren (No.2, Volume 5, 1924), *On Instinct* by Wang rui (No.2, Volume 5, 1924), *The Discussion on Instinct* by Liu ruzhen (No.3, Volume 5, 1924) and so on. The two sides held their own views respectively and disagreed with each other. Kuo, Z, Y once made some comments on such debate. He said (1935) that each person held one's view and the constant conflicts were inevitable after a big revolution in the circle of psychology. As long as there existed the differences, true could be gained; as long as there existed conflicts, progress could be made. We had to base on the facts and true and this was the correct academic attitude. Anyone who had prejudice against others had no right to speak. Objectively speaking, this debate on instinct in modern China activated the tedious academic atmosphere to some extent and popularized the psychological knowledge among the people.

### 2.2 Establishment of the Psychology School

As soon as he entered Fudan University, Kuo, Z, Y set about to found the department of psychology. In the beginning, only four courses were established, for example Primary Human Behavior, Experimental Psychology, Comparative Psychology and Psychology and Translation, and meanwhile many kinds of psychology magazines and experimental instruments were ordered from U.S.A. The establishment of the psychology department offered a wider platform for the dissemination of psychology knowledge and also made this new subject possess its own position in this Chinese famous university. In the spring of 1924, Kuo, Z, Y began to found the institute of psychology ambitiously. Until 1926, the institute of psychology, Zibin Building, was completed. The whole institute was divided into eight departments such as the department of physiologic psychology, the department of social psychology, the department of abnormal psychology, and the department of applied psychology etc. Several oversea psychology doctors such as Dr. Caiqiao, Dr. Tangyue were invited to teach here. At that time, no any large scaled institute of psychology were founded in other universities, save Pavlov Institute of Psychology and the institute of psychology in Princeton University, therefore the Institute of psychology founded by Kuo, Z, Y was called the first institute of Far East. This can be proved by a report made by Shenbao on July 25, 1924: Psychology is the newly invented natural science, which is the most developed in U.S.A. The most American universities possess the department of psychology, however, the institute of psychology is rare (1924). The establishment of Institute of Psychology of Fudan University caused the attention of the Board of the Chinese Cultural and Educational Fund. Owing to his excellent work, the board determined to finance it. In a word, the found of this institute of psychology not only won the attention and support from the all sections of society, but also offered a good humanistic and material environment for the dissemination of the western behaviorism in modern China.

### 2.3 Popularity of the Psychological Knowledge

In the early years of 20<sup>th</sup> century, psychology was very strange for the most Chinese people, so there existed lots of misunderstandings about it. The word psychology was a very mysterious concept, instead of a scientific none in the eyes of common people. They thought of the psychologist as the magician or hypnotist. Undoubtedly, this condition the western psychology met with slowed the speed of its spread in modern China seriously. Therefore, Kuo, Z, Y found that if we meant to encourage the science, meant to cause the interest of the common in the science and meant to promote the development of the science, we must let the common people know about the scientific knowledge and know about its relationship with human's daily life (1928, p.1). According to such thought, the propaganda and popularity for the psychological knowledge became one of Kuo, Z, Y's routine tasks, for example (1) Holding lecture. Except his normal work, Kuo, Z, Y held lectures every Wednesday and Friday. Those who were interested in psychology were welcomed to listen. Every time, not only the students in Fudan University took part in it actively, but also the many citizens far away from the campus came to listen to his lecture. (2) Publishing the popular articles on the magazines. Kuo, Z, Y took

Shenbao as the communicating platform, and wrote many popular articles about psychology on it, such as *True Meaning of Psychology*, *Ghost in Psychology* etc.(3)Publishing the scientific pamphlet. For example, Kuo, Z, Y published a book named *Psychology ABC* in August, 1928, which was divided eight chapters. These articles and pamphlets were popular with the people for their popular language and intelligible content. Through these forms mentioned above, Kuo, Z, Y hoped to popularize all kinds of academic knowledge in order to make everyone acquire all kinds of academic opportunities and find the way to science. He thought that all kinds of science could be liberated from the class of intellectuals and then should be distributed around the whole citizens (Kuo, Z, Y,1928.)

### 3. Summary

As a faithful disciple of behaviorism, Kuo, Z, Y devoted all his life to the dissemination of his conviction. As the spokesman of behaviorism in modern China, Kuo, Z, Y made contributions to the establishment of Chinese Modern psychology. After his death, American famous psychology magazine *Comparative and Physiologic Psychology* carried a monograph in 1980 *Kuo, Z, Y—the Radical Philosopher and Innovative Experimenter* in memory of his contribution in this field.

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## Chinese Cultural Taboos That Affect Their Language & Behavior Choices

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### Abstract

Every culture has its own taboos. Communication works better when the participants share more assumptions and knowledge about each other (Scollon & Scollon, 2000). However, in many cases, participants realize the existence of the rules associated with taboos only after they have violated them. Those who do not observe these social “rules” might face serious results, such as total embarrassment or, as Saville-Troike (1989) puts it, they may be accused of immorality and face social ostracism. This paper reports that certain verbal and non-verbal taboos among Chinese people centuries ago still affect their language and behavior choices. Two types of Chinese possible taboos in language and behavior are introduced and compared with cultures of the Koreans and Americans: (1) gift-giving taboos which are phonologically linked to the “separation” and “death” in Chinese society, and (2) verbal expressions which are linked to the twelve zodiac-animals in Chinese traditional metaphors. This research paper also tries to answer two questions related to Asian culture and history: (1) whether Koreans share more of these phonologically-linked taboos than Americans do because Korean language has very similar sounds to Chinese; and (2) whether Koreans share with Chinese people more of the zodiac-animal-linked metaphors (i.e., the rat, the bull/cow, the tiger, the rabbit, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep/lamb, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, and the pig) than Americans do because Korean people also use the same animals as a cycle of every twelve years. Data were collected in two ways: questionnaires and interviews.

**Keywords:** Taboo, Verbal and non-verbal communication, Intercultural communication, Stereotype, Zodiac cycle

### 1. Introduction

According to Kumaravadivelu (2003), culture is such a complicated concept that there is no single definition or a simple description for it. It brings to mind different images to different people. In a broad sense, it includes a wide variety of constructs such as the mental habits, personal prejudices, moral values, social customs, artistic achievements, and aesthetic preferences of particular societies. It is a relatively societal construct referring to the general view of culture as creative endeavors such as theater, dance, music, literature, and art. Here, in a narrow sense of culture, this paper looks at a relatively personal construct referring to the patterns of behavior, values, and beliefs that guide the everyday life of an individual or a group of individuals within a cultural community.

Communication works better the more the participants share assumptions and knowledge about the culture of the world. Scollon & Scollon (2000) state that “Where two people have very similar histories, backgrounds, and experiences, their communication works fairly easily because the inferences each makes about what the other means will be based on common experience and knowledge (p. 21).” In the same light, the more the participants pay attention to the features of the other’s culture, the better their intentions go across. Therefore, culture teaching and learning should play a role in most L2 education. That is, the components (namely, cognition, affection, and behaviors) of culture should be introduced in a language classroom.

In this paper, two types of Chinese possible taboos in language and behavior are introduced and compared with cultures of the Koreans and Americans: (1) gift-giving taboos which are phonologically linked to the “separation” and “death” in Chinese society and (2) verbal expressions which are linked to the twelve zodiac-animals in Chinese traditional

metaphors. This research paper tries to answer two questions related to Asian culture and history: (1) whether Koreans share more of these phonologically-linked taboos than Americans do because Korean language has very similar sounds to Chinese; and (2) whether Koreans share with Chinese people more of the zodiac-animal-linked metaphors than Americans do because Korean people also use the same animals as a cycle of every twelve years. Data were collected in two ways: questionnaires and interviews.

## 2. Literature Review

According to a review by H. H. Stern (1992), culture teaching and learning has generally included a cognitive component, an affective component, and a behavioral component. The cognitive component relates to various forms of knowledge—geographical knowledge, knowledge about the contributions of the target culture to world civilization, and knowledge about differences in the way of life as well as an understanding of values and attitudes in the L2 community. The affective component relates to L2 learners' curiosity about and empathy for the target culture. The behavioral component relates to learners' ability to interpret culturally relevant behavior, and to conduct themselves in culturally appropriate ways.

Bonny Norton (2000), a Canadian scholar, posits that cultural identity is likely to diverge based not only on learners' national and linguistic background but also on their ethnic heritage, religious beliefs, class, age, gender, and sexual orientation. Given such a perspective, raising cultural consciousness becomes an issue not only in ESL classes where students from different nationalities come together to learn a common second language, but also in EFL classes where students may share the same national and linguistic background (Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Also, Claire Kramsch (2001), a professor of German and Foreign Language Department of UC Berkeley, states that if speakers of different language do not understand one another, it is not because their language cannot be mutually translated into one another. It is because they don't share the same way of viewing and interpreting events; and they don't agree on the meaning and the value of the concepts underlying the words. In short, they don't cut up reality or categorize experience in the same manner. Understanding across languages does not depend on structural equivalences but on common conceptual system, born from the larger context of our experience. Thus, appropriate communication requires not only the sociolinguistic knowledge of the host or shared language but also knowledge of the cultural rules to contribute to the content and the process of meaningful social interaction.

People with different culture make more mistakes in drawing inferences about what the other means than people from same culture. In big cities like New York, Paris, Vancouver, Shanghai, Taipei, etc., intercultural communication and stereotyping can occur in each unique setting. In order to show certain good will or avoid misunderstanding with people of different cultures, most participants would tend to adjust their language and behavior in expressing attitudes toward others. Knowledge of prominent features of the other's culture like non-verbal and verbal taboos, seldom discussed in language textbooks or in classrooms as part of cultural instruction, is probably essential to successful communicative interaction (Shen, 1993).

### 2.1 What is a Taboo?

Captain James Cook, a British navigator and explorer, not only made many territorial discoveries in the islands of the South Pacific Ocean (cf. a lesson plan "It's bad luck", 2004, August 13). He also made a linguistic discovery: the term *taboo*. Captain Cook recorded this word in his journal of 1777 while he was in the Friendly Islands (now Tonga). The word *taboo*, which we have borrowed, comes from the Tongan *tabu*. The Tongans used *tabu* as an adjective that refers to persons or things "under prohibition, forbidden or set apart." Captain Cook, however, made it into a noun referring to the prohibition itself and a verb meaning "to make someone or something taboo."

In early contexts it was primarily used to evoke a breach of good manners. Today the word evokes either attitudes that are outdated and irrational or topics that were deemed unmentionable in the past but are now being openly discussed (Thody, 1997). To most people, it refers to "forbidden" or "to be avoided" behaviors, both verbal and non-verbal. A taboo is also an expression of disapproved behaviors in a society.

Taboos are established because people believe that such inappropriateness will bring harmful consequences to them either because this non-verbal or verbal behavior violates a code based on supernatural beliefs or it violates the moral code of the society (Wardhaugh, 1992). Once taboos are formed in a country, references to them become taboo, too (Shen, 1993). We may find that taboos occur in all kinds of environments, from ancient to modern society, and at all levels of civilization. Members of each community are psychologically and physically trained and shaped by the community to observe the "rules" closely. For example, Westerners wear black for a funeral and white for a wedding. But in the ancient Chinese weddings, a white dress was not allowed to be worn because white was for a funeral. Therefore, all individuals involved had to wear black formal costumes. Later, the color changed to red. Now under Western influence, white is the customary formal color for brides and sometimes for bridegrooms, too (Shen, 1993).

Such prohibition can be completely arbitrary with no rational explanation to back it up or it can be directly based upon commonly accepted principles. The authority behind this prohibition is often attributed to supernatural power and in the

danger inherent in the behavior itself. Thus, violating a taboo can bring bad luck and misfortune to us and our families. There are many areas of life that have taboos: food, speech, actions, numbers, colors, gifts and holidays are just a few. What may be taboo in one culture could be acceptable in another. Many cultures have food taboos. For example, the majority of Westerners abhor the idea of eating horses, dogs, or insects, whereas some Cantonese in China used to have dog meat in the winter. Some foods are prohibited for religious reasons and because they are considered “dirty,” “unnatural” or “unhealthy.” For example, Moslems will not eat pork; Hindus will not consume beef.

The reason people give for their taboos are as varied as the prohibited foods. They may cause sickness or skin disease and their consumption may be offensive to supernatural beings in various ways. Although the Chinese people have no taboo on food, they have taboos on some actions related to food. For instance, it is taboo to cut a pear among friends and relatives as the words for “cutting pear” in Chinese have the same sound as being separated. Also, one must never let two chopsticks stand in a bowl of rice, since such action looks just like standing incense sticks up in sand, which is done only as an offering to a dead person.

There are also many taboos associated with gift giving. A clock is a very nice gift in some cultures, but the Chinese have a prohibition against giving clocks as gifts, because the word clock in Mandarin has a similar sound as death. When giving gifts to a friend or associate from another culture, it’s a good idea to find out if there are any gifts to avoid so you don’t violate a taboo.

Most modern people would dismiss these taboos as “old superstitions.” Yet, these prohibitions persist because people keep passing their beliefs on to their children and grandchildren. Perhaps, the reason why taboos continue to persist is that most people are basically afraid of bad luck and bad omens. Thus, whether one believes in any taboo or not, it might be best to avoid any proscribed person, thing, or event that can bring bad luck and unhappiness to one’s life.

## 2.2 *Non-Verbal and Verbal Taboos*

### 2.2.1 Non-Verbal Taboos

Some non-verbal taboos may seem funny, but severe punishment might have come to those who failed to observe the rules in an earlier time and today as well. Accidents may also result from taboo non-verbal cues (e.g., an inappropriate gesture). For example, in 1988, in Los Angeles, an entertainer from Thailand was reported to have been convicted of the murder of a young Laotian. The entertainer was singing in an after-hours Thai cabaret when the Laotian, a patron, put his foot on a chair with the sole directed at the entertainer. When the cabaret closed, the entertainer followed the man and shot him. The reason was that among Southeast Asians, showing or directing the sole of the shoe to another person is considered a grievous insult (Axtell, 1991).

An incident also took place in Hong Kong a few years ago because of a hand signal miscommunication. A television station there took an annual picture of all the contracted entertainers before the Chinese New Year. As a joke, famous Kung-fu actor who held his fist with his middle finger stuck out on top of the head of an actress who stood in front of him. When his photo appeared in the newspapers, the station received dozens of calls from Westerners living in Hong Kong complaining about the indecent gesture. To them, when the middle finger is used, there is only one interpretation – indecency. When he applied this gesture, according to his explanation, he meant to suggest that his friend had grown horns on her head for fun. The actor refused to apologize because his gesture was not intended to be an insult as the gesture is not considered indecent in Chinese society.

As for gift-giving taboos, we need to keep in mind that in Muslim countries gifts should be presented with the right hand only because the left is considered unclean. While a bottle of wine would be a welcome gift in many countries, such a gift should be avoided in Muslim countries, which have strict religious prohibitions against alcohol. If we are invited to someone’s home, flowers for the host are usually appreciated the world over. However, in much of Europe and China, chrysanthemums are associated with funerals, and red flowers have a strong romantic connotation. These should be avoided.

Several times, when my Korean informant, Ms. Park, talked about classic words or terms used in Korean, I could figure out the exact Chinese counterparts merely from her pronunciation. This is not surprising because the cultural influences of China upon Korea over the centuries have left an indelible mark upon both the written and spoken Korean language. It is possible to trace many aspects of Korean language and culture back to ancient China. But not long ago, when Ms. Park gave me a fan as a gift, I was a little shocked.

To many Chinese people, a fan is a forbidden present because it has the identical sound as “separation.” If a person gives a fan to his or her friend, their friendship will stop or diminish from that time. Therefore, it has become a phonologically linked taboo to give friends a fan in Chinese society. Whether or not do Korean people have similar phonologically-linked taboos as the Chinese do? The first part of the questionnaire elicits data to see if there are any similarities between Chinese and Korean people on this point because of the similar language sounds.

### 2.2.2 Verbal taboos

In every language there seem to be certain “unmentionables” – words of such strong affective connotation that they cannot be used in polite discourse. Two verbal taboos are probably universal. The first of these are words that deal with excretion and sex. For example, when a woman needs to go to the toilet because “nature calls,” she will ask people where the “rest room” or “powder room” is, although she has no intention of resting or putting powder on her face. Second, in both Western and Asian cultures the fear of death carries over into fear of the words having to do with death. Many people, therefore, substitute words, such as “died” or “death” with expressions such as “passed away,” “went to his reward,” or “departed” (Hayakawa, 1982).

People generally like to hear words that bless one’s good health and long life or metaphors that generate positive descriptions of one’s personality and appearance. However, because of different cultural backgrounds, an expression in one country can cause a quite different effect in another. For example, Chinese people would feel horrified or upset if they were told before a performance to “break a leg,” an English expression used to wish one good luck.

In this paper, Chinese animal-linked taboos are compared with those of Korea because both countries have the same twelve animals (i.e., the rat, the ox, the tiger, the rabbit, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, and the pig) as part of the zodiac cycle representing a unit of time. At the same time, these verbal animal-linked metaphors are also compared with the verbal expressions of American to see if there are any significant differences.

### 2.2.3 Hypotheses

As mentioned, many Chinese people are relatively superstitious to the extent that they will avoid doing anything that they believe can bring bad luck. Chinese non-verbal phonologically linked taboos are products of ancient days. They were generated from an identical sound or groups of sounds which represent evil objects, death, disasters, and other negative occurrences (Shen, 1993). Since a large portion of Korean vocabulary comes from Chinese culture, especially Confucian classics, my first hypothesis is that Korean people have most of the phonologically linked taboos Chinese people do.

A special zodiac cycle, consisting of the twelve animals (i.e., the rat, the bull/cow, the tiger, the rabbit, the dragon, the snake, the horse, the sheep/lamb, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, and the pig), has been shared by both Chinese and Korean people for hundreds of years. One animal represents one year, and twelve years is a complete cycle. In ancient Chinese culture, most of these animals were good symbols. They were quite welcomed and respected. Nevertheless, in modern Chinese culture negative connotations are given to some of the animals. It means some of the animals have become verbal taboos in describing a person’s character or appearance.

Koreans, being so historically and geographically related to the Chinese, probably at some time in the past associated the same meanings to the twelve animals as Chinese people did. Furthermore, it seems likely that meanings would have evolved over the years as they have for the Chinese, but not necessarily in the same direction. The second part of the questionnaire is designed to examine if Chinese and Korean people still come to a consensus on which animal-linked vocabulary words are forbidden and which are acceptable to use in reference to a friend. Regarding verbal taboos, my second hypothesis is that Chinese and Koreans will share more animal-linked taboos than either shares with Americans.

## 3. Methods

### 3.1 Respondents

The sample for this study consisted of thirty people from different countries. Ethnicity was determined through questionnaires in which respondents provided their own label for their background. In all, there were ten Chinese people (seven from Taiwan, one from Mainland China, one from Hong Kong, and one from the US), ten Koreans (all from South Korea), and sixteen Americans (six Mexican-Americans, three German-Americans, one Italian-American, one African-American, and five Anglo-Americans). Among the ten Chinese people, aged from 25 – 38, were two males and eight females. Among the ten Koreans, aged from 28 - 40, were six males and four females. Among the sixteen Americans, aged from 20 – 58, were eight males and eight females.

### 3.2 Data collection

Data were collected in two ways: informal interviews and the questionnaire. The questionnaire was culturally determined. To focus on the characteristics of Chinese taboos, questions basically fell into two categories: (1) non-verbal phonologically linked examples of inappropriate usage, such as homonyms or expressions forbidden to certain groups within Chinese culture, and (2) verbal animal-linked metaphors and inappropriate language choices from the Chinese and Korean zodiac.

In the questionnaire, Questions one through six are non-verbal phonologically-linked taboos that Chinese people have been aware of for hundreds of years. In Questions seven through nineteen are designed to elicit what animal-linked vocabulary words would be verbal taboos among the Chinese, Korean, and American peoples (See Appendix A).

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Non-verbal phonologically-linked taboos

Because Chinese people yearn to reach or be close to a state of “being blessed” and to stay away from “evil” or “bad luck” as much as possible, they create taboo situations. The phonological parts of taboos mentioned in the first six questions in the Questionnaire are examples of evil-related things: death and separation; thus, they became representative of the Chinese taboo system.

#### 4.1.1 Sounds related to “separation”

**(1) Chinese:** The fan (*shan*) and the umbrella (*san*) have very similar sounds to the word “*san*”, which means “separation” or “scattered.”

**Korean:** The fan (*son*) and the umbrella (*san*) do not sound similar to the word “*zhok*”, which also means “separation” or “scattered.”

Therefore, the Chinese and Koreans did not share this taboo.

**Insert Question 1 about here**

**Insert Question 2 about here**

The Chinese sound *san* means “to break up, to dismiss, and to dissolve.” It is a “forbidden” word among Chinese performers because their professional survival depends on a continuous succession of contracts; therefore, for them, the very notion of “breaking up” infers the destruction of their career. This tradition is carried to the extent of preventing a performer not only from voicing this particular word, but even from mentioning any term that includes the similar or identical sounds, such as “*shan*” which means fan, or “*san*” which means umbrella. Therefore, 60% of the Chinese respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly about giving a friend a fan or an umbrella as a gift. The others 40% or less had no objection to such a gift. The reason was that a beautifully painted fan can decorate the wall and an umbrella is very useful in our daily life. It is also interesting to note that, in ancient China, a fan could be given as a parting present in the hope that the traveler could use it to keep himself cool. So opinions varied here.

One hundred percent of Koreans agreed or agreed strongly to the first two questions. To Korean people, a fan (*son*) or an umbrella (*san*) is traditionally regarded as a common gift, and neither of them has similar sound to “separation” (*zhok*) as the Chinese words do, so there is no negative meaning to them.

To Americans, they would give their friend a fan as a souvenir type gift or an umbrella as a practical gift if she or he needs one. More than 80% Americans agreed or agreed strongly to the first two questions. Those who disagreed said a fan or umbrella was not a gift they would like.

**(2) Chinese:** “Cutting a pear in two halves” (*feng li*) can be another forbidden action among Chinese because it sounds exactly like *feng li*, which means “separation”.

**Korean:** “Cutting a pear in two halves” (*bun yi*) does not sound like (*bul li*), which means “separation”.

Therefore, the Chinese and Koreans did not share this taboo.

**Insert Question 6 about here**

In one Chinese opera, a fruit merchant claims that his pears will make a marriage happy. But lovers should never cut up or divide pears since the word for “pear” (*li*) is phonologically identical with the word for “separation” (*li*). For the same reasons, relatives or friends will avoid dividing pears among themselves. Therefore, 50% of the Chinese respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly with doing this action. In Korea, since “cutting a pear in two halves” (*bun yi*) does not sound like (*bul li*) which means “separation”, 100% of the Koreans agreed or agreed strongly. They and the American respondents thought there was no problem with this action and that it would be seen as a gesture of friendship and generosity. Sharing is considered a good thing as it shows that one cares for another. Cutting a pear is the same as cutting any other fruit.

#### 4.1.2 Sounds related to “death”

**(1) Chinese:** The term “giving a clock” (*song zhong*) is pronounced the same as *song zhong*, which is related to “death”.

**Korean:** “giving a clock” (*song zhong*) sounds differently from the term *song young*, which is related to “death”.

Therefore, the Chinese and Koreans did not share this taboo.

**Insert Question 3 about here**

The Chinese sound for clock is *zhong*. For most Chinese, one should never give it as a present because the pronunciation of “giving a clock” (*song zhong*) to a person is the same as *song zhong*, which means to bid farewell to a dying person on his or her deathbed. That is why 70% of the Chinese respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly with giving a friend a clock as a gift. The ones who agreed said they would only give it to a person their age.



One hundred percent of Koreans and Americans all agreed or agreed strongly with giving a clock to a friend. To Korean people, a clock is a traditional and popular gift for a friend when he or she starts a business. The Korean sound for “giving a clock” is “*song zhong*,” and the sound for “bidding farewell to a dying person on his or her deathbed” is “*song young*.” They sound quite different.

To Americans, clocks or watches make lovely gifts and they are long lasting. Certain brands and styles would be more acceptable. One American responded that the fancier, the more appropriate. And one even said, “Can never have too many.”

**(2) Chinese:** The number 4 (*si*) and “*si*,” which means “death,” are pronounced the same.

**Korean:** The number 4 (*sa*) and “*sa*,” which means “death,” are pronounced the same.

Therefore, the Chinese and Koreans **do share** this taboo but Americans do not.

#### Insert Question 5 about here

The number “4” is considered a word associated with “death” to 80% of the Chinese and 90% of the Korean respondents as it has the same sound as “*si*” or “*sa*” for “death.” In most elevators or in hospitals, Chinese and Koreans would avoid using “4” to get rid of this bad connotation.

To Americans, the number 4 is perfectly all right to use in an elevator or hospital; therefore, 100% of the respondents agreed. Only the number “13” is considered bad luck in American culture. Therefore, a Chinese or Korean patient would react far more strongly to being assigned to a room or a floor in a hospital with the number four than would an American patient assigned to a “Room 13” or “floor 13.” This is the only phonologically-linked taboo that I found shared by the Chinese and Koreans.

#### 4.1.3 Sounds related to “disaster” or “accident”

**(3) Chinese:** “Turning over (*fan*) a fish” can be a forbidden action on a boat to avoid the disastrous outcome of a ship being overturned (*fan*) in the ocean.

**Korean:** “Turning over (*zhokban*) a fish” is not a forbidden action on a boat to avoid bad luck.

Therefore, the Chinese and Koreans did not share this taboo.

#### Insert Question 4 about here

Fifty percent of the Chinese respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly with doing it. In Southern China, seamen’s families generally avoid voicing “*fan*” (a Chinese sound for “turn over”). They associate the disastrous outcome of a ship being overturned in the ocean with the action word for the concept. If fearing what one says might bring the unwanted consequence into reality, the taboo situation is established. To these families, it is also a taboo behavior to turn fish topside down after one finishes the meat on that side. They envision the fish as the ship that carries their loved ones, so turning the fish over on the dish would symbolize that the ship has capsized in the ocean.

Ninety percent of the Koreans agreed with the action because they thought it would be a way to finish a fish neatly or to see if there is more to eat. They do not associate the sound for “turn over” with the disastrous outcome of a ship being overturned in the ocean through the action word for that concept.

More than seventy percent of the Americans agreed because they thought it makes sense and would probably be easier that way, especially if the fish has a lot of bones in the middle. The rest who disagreed (less than 30%) did not understand why they would need to turn the fish over if the bones had been removed before they bought the fish in an American supermarket.

#### 4.2 Verbal animal-linked taboos

As mentioned above, Chinese and Koreans have the same twelve animals in the zodiac cycle to represent a unit of time. They are used to convey positive values in both cultures. Since Asian people have become more and more westernized in the last thirty years, some animal-linked vocabulary words in modern Chinese society have different connotations from what they did in old Chinese culture. These animals were also compared among the Chinese, Koreans and American respondents to find if there are significant differences between the East and the West. Which are verbal taboos and which are not? Data were collected in two ways: the questionnaire and interviews.

##### (1) The rat

The rat is the first creature in the old Chinese zodiac. It was associated with money. When people hear a rat scrabbling around for food at night, it is said to be “counting money”. The term “money-rat” is a disparaging way of referring to a miser. In some old legends, rats can turn into demons—male demons usually, in contrast with the fox that turns into a female demon.

#### Insert Question 7 about here

Fifty percent of the Chinese respondents agreed that it is fine to say to a person's face that he or she is like a rat, but they claim that it must depend on the tone of voice, the hearer's age, and the context. The other 50% disagreed or disagreed strongly and said that rats are dirty and ugly, so it would be rude to say so.

One hundred percent of Korean respondents disagreed or disagreed strongly. Koreans think it would be rude or humiliating to say so under any circumstances because rats are mean and cunning, and they always steal rice and run away.

Ninety percent of the Americans disagreed or disagreed strongly. They think that rats are dirty, ugly and sneaky, and they carry disease. It would be an insult. However, they might say, "You look like a drowned rat" to someone caught in the rain or someone who deserves it.

## **(2) The bull/cow**

The bull/cow is the second animal in the Chinese zodiac and follows the rat. The sound *niu* is used in Chinese as a generic term covering the animals distinguished in English as ox, cow, bull, etc. To Chinese, the *niu* is the animal that draws the plough and acts as a beast of burden. Even today, many Chinese will not eat beef, believing it to be immoral to kill and eat the creature which helps them with the harvest and which therefore deserves their thanks.

### **Insert Question 8 about here**

Eighty percent of the Chinese respondents agreed with saying to a person that he or she is like a bull or cow. To them, the bull/cow (*niu*) is the best hardworking animal. Bulls are strong, and cows are cute and they offer milk. Twenty percent disagreed because they think the bull/cow is slow and very stupid.

Twenty percent of the Koreans agreed that the *niu* could be used to describe a strong man. It could be a compliment to some Koreans to imply hard work without a rest. Eighty percent of them disagreed or disagreed strongly. It refers to a person who acts very slowly or stupidly.

Thirty percent of the American respondents agreed if "bull" is used to imply 'strong', but 70% of them disagreed or disagreed strongly. To them, bulls are stubborn and might mean the person is aggressive. Likewise, cows are fat and sloppy. It would be an insult to describe women.

## **(3) The tiger**

The tiger is the third sign in the Chinese zodiac. The tiger is a symbol of courage and bravery. Nevertheless, the tiger was so much feared that its very name was taboo, and people referred to it as *da chong*, meaning "big insect" or "king of the mountains".

### **Insert Question 9 about here**

### **Insert Question 10 about here**

To Question 9, 80% of the Chinese respondents agreed with using the term "tiger" to describe a man with strength and power. Twenty percent of them disagreed because it also indicates a person's bad temper. To Question 10, 60% of the Chinese disagreed with describing a woman as a tiger because it is over exaggerating. Forty percent of them agreed with using it negatively for a woman if she is really hot-tempered.

To Question 9, 50% of the Koreans respondents agreed or agreed strongly with using the term "tiger" to describe a man being aggressive or powerful. Fifty percent disagreed or disagreed strongly because it refers to one's bad temper. On Question 10, it is interesting to note that 100% of them disagreed with using "tiger" to describe a woman even if she were disgraceful or very hot-tempered.

Seventy-five percent of the Americans agreed or agreed strongly with using it for a man as it implies strong, clever, fast, assertive, initiative, successful, or sexually powerful. It can also be an encouragement to kids as in "Go get'em, tiger." At the same time, about 80% of them agreed with using it to a woman as it implies graceful, fast, and sleek.

## **(4) The rabbit**

The rabbit/hare is the fourth creature in the Chinese zodiac. It was said to be a resident of the moon, just as a raven is of the sun. It is a symbol of longevity.

### **Insert Question 11 about here**

It seems that in this modern society, Chinese people have forgotten the implication of longevity. Nevertheless, 80% of the Chinese agreed because the rabbit is a cute animal. They are smart and fast. Twenty percent disagreed because the rabbit is too timid and too dependent.

Fifty percent of the Koreans who agreed also think the rabbit is cute, so it is appropriate to describe a person as a rabbit. The other 50% disagreed because it is only appropriate to use it to the children, not to adults.

Sixty-five percent of the Americans agreed as it means cute, soft, lovable, and fast. Sometimes people who eat little are said to “eat like a rabbit.” This is not negative in this era where thinness is “in”. The other 35% disagreed as it indicates small, weak, and timid, not very intelligent, or it could be an insult to mean the person has had too many children.

#### **(5) The dragon**

The dragon is the fifth creature in the Chinese zodiac. It is one of China’s most complex and multi-tiered symbols. It is said that, like a magic animal, it could fill the space between heaven and earth.

#### **Insert Question 12 about here**

Sixty percent of the Chinese respondents agreed but they did not know why and 40% disagreed because they think it implies mean and unfriendly or sexually active.

Fifty percent of Koreans agreed as it implies “supernatural power”, or the mystery of a divine animal, or it could be a compliment to mean the person is in a good shape. The fifty percent who disagreed did not know why.

More than forty percent Americans, who agreed, expressed that it has a mysterious touch. However, it implies a person’s being too aggressive and a little thoughtless of others. Or it is used for women when it implies someone nasty, as in the term a “dragon lady.” The sixty percent who disagreed or disagreed strongly think dragons are like snakes, evil monsters that harm people. Nevertheless, Americans seldom use the term.

#### **(6) The snake**

The snake is the sixth creature in the Chinese zodiac. It is regarded as clever but wicked and treacherous, and treacherous people are said to have a “snake-heart”. Formerly, snakes were objects of worship in certain religions in ancient China. Dreams about snakes are interpreted in various ways. It is lucky to dream that a snake is chasing you. In Taiwan, dreaming about a snake also means you are going to lose wealth. Some aborigines there identified the snake symbolically with the penis.

#### **Insert Question 13 about here**

The thirty percent of the Chinese respondents who agreed think that Chinese people are more tolerant of hearing this kind of comment. It depends on the context mostly. Seventy percent of the Chinese disagreed because they think the snake is evil, devious, ugly, and cold.

One hundred percent of the Koreans disagreed or disagreed strongly with this language choice because they think the snake is vicious, shrewd, creepy and cold. The snake has the worst connotation in every way in Korea.

Seventy-five percent of the Americans disagreed or disagreed strongly. The term implies that the person is sneaky, evil, dangerous, cheating, deceitful, backstabbing, and untrustworthy. The 25% who agreed strongly think the snake implies a person’s being double-faced/tongued.

#### **(7) The horse**

The horse is the seventh creature in the Chinese zodiac. In Old Chinese, there were many words denoting the different sizes and colors of the horse. The fact that these words have all died out is an indicator of the declining role of the horse in recent history. In old texts, horses stood for success, speed, and loyalty.

#### **Insert Question 14 about here**

Sixty percent of the Chinese agreed if it implies hard work without a rest. Forty percent disagreed because the horse has a very long face. When the Chinese say to a person “the horse does not know its long face,” it means that the person does not know his or her own shortcomings.

One hundred percent of the Korean disagreed or disagreed strongly with describing a person as a horse. They all think it implies that a person’s face is exceedingly long, so it is an insult.

Fifty percent of the Americans agreed if it is a compliment to say that the person works hard as in a “workhorse” or he is “strong as a horse”. It can also mean someone who runs fast or who is cunning and graceful. In addition, terms like “stallion” and “stud” used for men are usually considered complimentary. The horse is often used in “You eat like a horse” to imply a healthy or big appetite, or “Stop horsing around” to imply “stop wasting time.” Fifty percent disagreed because a horse might be used to mean a big and ugly woman.

#### **(8) The sheep/lamb**

The sheep is the eighth creature in the Chinese zodiac. It is the emblem of filial piety as it kneels when suckling its mother. Sheep were, on the whole, less important than the ox and horse in China.

#### **Insert Question 15 about here**

Ninety percent of the Chinese agreed because the lamb is a friendly, nice-tempered, soft animal. But it is also used to describe someone being shy and timid because they lack confidence and follow orders completely.

Forty percent of the Koreans who agreed think the lamb is pretty, pure, naïve, and innocent, so it is appropriate to describe a person as a lamb. The other 60% disagreed because the lamb is weak and stupid, and it is only appropriate to use it for females, not for males.

Sixty-five percent of the Americans agreed because the lamb is gentle, soft, kind, likable, and cuddly. When referring to a child or a female, you can use it as a term of endearment. Thirty-five percent of them disagreed because, like rabbit, it sounds weak and too gentle. Therefore, it depends on gender or age.

### **(9) The monkey**

The monkey is the ninth creature in the Chinese zodiac. The monkey plays a leading role in Chinese legend. Gods in Chinese mythology sometimes appeared in the guise of monkeys. A picture showing a monkey mounted on a horse is called *ma-shang feng-hou*; a homonymic reading of this title gives the meaning “May you be straight away (*ma-shang*) elevated to the rank of count (*feng-hou*).” Such a picture was a very suitable gift for an official, for example.

#### **Insert Question 16 about here**

Seventy percent of the Chinese agreed because the monkey is smart and agile. It also refers to one’s “thinness”. The 30% who disagreed think it is not appropriate to use it to an adult. It means he/she is too active.

Only 10% of the Koreans agreed because it may mean that the person is too quick in actions. Ninety percent disagreed because the “monkey” is associated with a funny image and is ugly, being so thin.

Thirty-five percent of the Americans agreed when it means very energetic. Children that climb everything are called monkeys. The sixty-five percent who disagreed think that monkeys are ugly, hyperactive, cunning, or primitive. It is all right to say it to a child being playful, and this can be good or bad.

### **(10) The chicken**

The chicken is the tenth creature in the Chinese zodiac. It was said to ward off evil: a picture of a red cock will protect the house from fire. In Old China, the cock was admired not only as a courageous bird but also as a beneficent one: he summons the hens to eat any food he finds. Again, he symbolizes reliability as he never fails to mark the passing hours. He is also a symbol of male vigor. Symbolically, a cock crowing represents the “achievement and fame” of a person.

#### **Insert Question 17 about here**

Fifty percent of the Chinese agreed. To some Chinese, chickens are cute and it does no harm to say it to their friends to make fun of them. Fifty percent disagreed because it may signal looseness or promiscuity. In Taiwan, some young men might call prostitutes “chickens”.

One hundred percent of the Koreans disagreed or disagreed strongly. To them, the chicken means stupidity and cowardice. It is very rude to call someone a chicken.

Thirty-five percent of the Americans agreed. Sometimes you can accuse someone who is lacking the courage to do something of being a chicken. Sixty-five percent disagreed because it implies cowardice, fear, or lack of integrity. It means the person is a wimp, which might be an invitation to fight in some cases, if it is not used playfully.

### **(11) The dog**

The dog is the eleventh creature in the Chinese zodiac. To the Chinese, if a dog runs toward you, it is a good sign: richness will be yours. But the dog is seen in a very different light in South and West China, especially among the minority peoples who live there. In their folktales it is the dog that brings rice to mankind. In the eastern province, Guangdong, the story of a faithful dog which saved its master’s life from fire is very popular. Another related story tells how a dog guarded its master’s belongings until it died. In Taiwan, “brother black dog” is a term for a man who runs after every woman he sees.

#### **Insert Question 18 about here**

Sixty percent of the Chinese people agreed because the dog is honest, faithful, and trustworthy. Forty percent of them disagreed or disagreed strongly when it implies too much obedience to authority like a servant or if it refers to a person who likes to follow a particular man or woman.

One hundred percent of the Koreans disagreed or disagreed strongly. Although Koreans like dogs very much as pets and the dog is edible in winter, they think “dog” is one of the most frequent curses in Korea. There are many bad implications in using “dog”.

Thirty-five percent of the Americans agreed. It implies one is friendly and honesty or one works hard, perhaps too hard as in to work like a dog. Seventy-five percent of them disagreed because it means a low life or a person that is far from being proper. Often it implies someone without morals, especially in relation to sex. This is a slang term now for a male who has many “girlfriends” at one time, for a female who is unattractive in some way, or for a person who is not trustworthy.

**(12) The pig**

The pig is the last of the twelve creatures in the Chinese zodiac. It symbolizes virility. Pregnant women are often given a dish with pig's knuckles and peanuts boiled for a long time as it is supposed to be the most nourishing food for a mother and her unborn child. However, "eating roast pork" is a metaphor for sexual intercourse.

**Insert Question 19 about here**

Forty percent of the Chinese agreed. But it depends on the context. If someone who sleeps too much is your family or close friend, it may sound all right to him or her. Sixty percent of them disagreed or disagreed strongly because the pig is lazy and ugly.

One hundred percent of the Koreans disagreed and disagreed strongly. To them, "pig" is a term used only when making fun of others or looking down on them.

Nearly ninety percent of the Americans disagreed or disagreed strongly. It is unacceptable because it implies dirty, fat, disgusting, sloppy, gluttonous, eating too much, smelling bad, or a person with no morals. Who wants to be like a pig?

**5. Conclusion**

To the first research question, "Do Koreans share more of these phonologically-linked taboos than Americans do because Korean language has very similar sounds to Chinese?" the answer is yes. However, the Chinese and Koreans share only the taboo of number "4," which strongly associates with "death." The rest of the Chinese taboos associated with "separation" do not happen in Korean culture.

Nevertheless, when asked the question "Can you think of other things that might be forbidden or impolite gifts in your society? If so, what are they?" the Chinese and Korean respondents had quite similar answers associated with "separation":

**Chinese:** knife, handkerchief, and shoes (forbidden gifts to avoid "separation").

**Korean:** knife, handkerchief, shoes, scissors (forbidden gifts to avoid "separation"), money or underwear (impolite gifts).

To most **Americans**, anything considered making a reference to a person's imperfections, such as anything stressing diet, exercise equipment for a heavy person, deodorant, toothpaste, soap, or a day planner, sexually implicit items, such as underwear, practical joke items, and used items are not welcomed. Sausage, cheese or candy to a person who is on a diet is not appropriate. All mentioned above, none is forbidden to avoid "separation."

To the second research question, "Do Koreans share more of the zodiac-animal-linked taboos with Chinese than Americans do because Korean people also use the same animals as a cycle of every twelve years?" the answer is yes but again with only one same metaphor – "tiger" for women. Both peoples think that the term "tiger" is used negatively for hot-tempered females. On the contrary, in the eye of the Americans, female tigers are graceful, fast, and sleek which are good female qualities. Surprisingly, these Korean subjects share more animal-linked taboos with Americans than with the Chinese. The results showed that, among the twelve zodiac animals, the Chinese and Korean respondents had very different opinions of nine of the animal taboos – the rat, the bull/cow, the rabbit, the lamb, the horse, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, and the pig. Most of the Chinese, Koreans, and American respondents had similar opinions of the three of the animal terms – the tiger for man, the dragon, and the snake.

But when asked the question "Among the twelve animals above, which ones do you think would make such an impolite comparison that you would never use them?" the Chinese and Korean respondents had quite similar answers: the snake, the pig, and the rat. Americans also dislike these three terms, but four American females chose the cow as the most impolite term, which are not found in both of Chinese and Koreans response lists.

**Insert Table 1 about here**

When asked the question "Which ones do you think are impolite, but you might use them when you are angry?" four Chinese chose the pig and three chose the snake; seven Koreans chose the dog and two chose the pig; seven Americans chose the pig, six chose the dog, and five chose the snake. From here, we learn that the pig and the snake are the most likely used when one gets angry. It is interesting to find that the dog is not found in the Chinese respondents' lists, but on the top of the lists of both Koreans' and Americans'.

**Insert Table 2 about here**

When asked "Which ones do you think are impolite, but you might use them behind a person's back when you are angry?" three Chinese chose the pig and two chose the rat; four Koreans chose the dog and two the rat and the snake, and eight Americans chose the pig, seven the snake and five the dog, the cow and the chicken.

**Insert Table 3 about here**

When asked the question “Which ones would you like to hear your friends use to describe you?” Five Chinese people chose none and two chose the monkey; three Koreans chose none and three chose the rabbit, and five Americans chose the tiger and three chose none.

#### Insert Table 4 about here

Many examples of taboos abound in the different values that different people attribute to the objective world. According to the findings from the Chinese respondents, the snake is the least appropriate term to say to a person's face. But still, 30% of them agreed with using it in certain contexts. For the other eleven zodiac animals, more than 50% of them would agree, but it depends on the speaker's tone of voice and the hearer's age and social status. According to the findings from the Korean and American respondents, more than 70% of them disagreed with using the rat, the bull/cow, the snake, the monkey, the chicken, the dog, and the pig to anyone. And other terms like the tiger, the rabbit, the dragon, the horse, and the lamb can also have bad connotations in certain situations. In order to interact with people of a different culture appropriately, one needs to adjust his/her language and behavior to others' cultural rules for meaningful communication. Most people believe that human beings are above every other living creature in the world because human beings can be educated, cultivated, and have the ability to tell right from wrong and good from evil. To avoid cultural misunderstandings, not to choose any of the animal-linked metaphors for people is highly recommended. In fact, if we are planning to visit any country that we are not familiar with, it is wise to check websites to get some valuable tips online (e.g., [www.mvmtravel.com/news/newsdetail.asp](http://www.mvmtravel.com/news/newsdetail.asp)). Paying a little attention to the cultural differences may bring us good luck

Pondering on the importance of culture teaching and learning in L2 education, I agree with Hinkel's approach (c.f., 2004): teachers and students should take a more reflective and ethnographic stance toward cultural content and methodology, in order to raise their awareness of intercultural issues, such as taboos in verbal and non-verbal communication. It would be a useful development if more textbooks included explicit intercultural elements and if teachers were more conscious of intercultural competence, in the way that many are now conscious of communicative competence. Developing cultural awareness means being aware of members of another cultural group: their behavior, their expectations, their perspectives, and values. It also means attempting to understand their reasons for their actions and beliefs. Ultimately, this needs to be translated into skill in communicating across cultures and about cultures. This can be encouraged by developing an ethnographic stance toward cultural learning. Using the students' home language and culture to inform classroom activities enables students to become motivated and empowered. In addition, raising cultural consciousness in the L2 classroom will help learners to critically reflect on their own culture and view it in relation to others, thereby gaining fresh perspectives about their culture and about themselves (Kumaravadivelu 2003). Cultural consciousness thus becomes a tool for both reflection and self-renewal. Such a process of cultural self-reflection and self-renewal is not confined to learners alone. In responding to their learners' heightened cultural awareness, teachers are also challenged to reflect on their cultural selves as deeply as they expect their learners to do.

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Question 1. It is appropriate to give a female friend **a fan** as a gift.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	5	3	2
Koreans	2	7	0	1
Americans	5	9	2	0

Question 2. It is appropriate to give a friend **an umbrella** as a gift.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	4	4	2
Koreans	2	8	0	0
Americans	4	9	3	0

Question 3. It is appropriate to give a friend **a clock** as a gift.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	3	1	6
Koreans	4	6	0	0
Americans	5	11	0	0

Question 4. If eating fish on a boat, it is appropriate to **turn the fish over** after one finishes eating the meat on the top side.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	5	3	2
Korean	2	7	1	0
American	2	10	3	1

Question 5. In your country, it is appropriate to use the number '4' in an **elevator or hospital**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	2	4	4
Koreans	0	1	6	3
Americans	8	8	0	0

Question 6. It is appropriate to **cut a pear in two halves and share it with a friend**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	5	2	3
Koreans	4	6	0	0
Americans	11	5	0	0

Question 7. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a rat**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	5	3	2
Koreans	0	0	1	9
Americans	2	0	6	8

Question 8. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a bull/cow**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	8	2	0
Koreans	0	2	7	1
Americans	1	3	8	4

Question 9. It is appropriate to say to a man's face that he acts like **a tiger**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	8	2	0
Koreans	1	4	3	2
Americans	4	8	3	1



Question 10. It is appropriate to say to a woman's face that she acts like **a tiger**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	4	5	1
Koreans	0	0	5	5
Americans	1	10	4	1

Question 11. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a rabbit**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	1	7	2	0
Koreans	1	4	3	2
Americans	1	9	5	1

Question 12. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a dragon**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	1	5	4	0
Koreans	1	4	3	2
Americans	1	6	6	3

Question 13. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a snake**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	3	6	1
Koreans	0	0	2	8
Americans	2	2	5	7

Question 14. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a horse**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	6	4	0
Koreans	0	0	7	3
Americans	2	6	6	2

Question 15. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a lamb**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	9	1	0
Koreans	1	3	4	2
Americans	1	9	5	1

Question 16. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a monkey**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	7	3	0
Koreans	0	1	6	3
Americans	2	4	6	4

Question 17. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a chicken**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	5	4	1
Koreans	0	0	2	8
Americans	2	2	8	4

Question 18. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a dog**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	6	3	1
Koreans	0	0	3	7
Americans	2	2	6	6

Question 19. It is appropriate to say to a person's face that he/she is like **a pig**.

Respondents	Agree strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree strongly
Chinese	0	4	5	1
Koreans	0	0	3	7
Americans	1	1	6	8

Table 1.

Number of Respondents	No = 4	No = 3	No = 2	No = 1
Chinese	Snake	Pig, Rat		
Koreans	Snake, Dog	Pig, Rat		Horse, Chicken, Monkey, Tiger,
Americans	Cow, Pig	Monkey, Rat	Snake, Horse, Chicken	Dog, Dragon

Table 2.

Number of Respondents	No = 4	No = 3	No = 2	No = 1
Chinese	Pig	Snake		Tiger, Rat
Koreans	Dog		Pig	Snake
Americans	Pig, Rat, Snake, Chicken, Dog	Cow	Monkey, Lamb	Bull-head, Dragon, Horse

Table 3.

Number of Respondents	No = 4	No = 3	No = 2	No = 1
Chinese		Pig	Rat	Chicken
Koreans	Dog		Rat, Snake	Tiger, Monkey
Americans	Pig, Snake, Chicken, Dog, Cow	Rat, Monkey	Lamb	Tiger, Bull, Horse, Dragon

Table 4.

Number of Respondents	No = 4	No = 3	No = 2	No = 1
Chinese	None of them		Monkey	Rabbit
Korean		Rabbit, None of them		Lamb, Bull, Dragon, Horse, Tiger
American	Tiger	None of them, Dragon	Monkey	Dog, Horse, Lamb, Bull, Rabbit, All of them

## Appendix A

## Questionnaire

Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: Male \_\_\_\_\_ Female \_\_\_\_\_

Please read the statements below and circle the response that best matches your own. *Note: please write down any implication that comes to your mind.*

1. It is appropriate to give a female friend **a fan** as a gift.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

2. It is appropriate to give a friend **an umbrella** as a gift.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

3. It is appropriate to give a friend **a clock** as a gift.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

4. If eating fish on a boat, it is appropriate to **turn the fish over** after one finishes eating the meat on the topside.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

5. In your country, it is appropriate to use the number '4' in an **elevator or hospital**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

6. It is appropriate to **cut a pear in two halves and share it with a friend**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

7. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a rat**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

8. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a bull/cow**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

9. It is appropriate to say to **a man's face** that he acts like **a tiger**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

10. It is appropriate to say to **a woman's face** that she acts like **a tiger**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

11. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a rabbit**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

12. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a dragon**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

13. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a snake**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

14. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a horse**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

15. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a lamb**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

16. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a monkey**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

17. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a chicken**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

18. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a dog**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

19. It is appropriate to say to **a person's face** that he/she is like **a pig**.

1. Agree strongly      2. Agree      3. Disagree      4. Disagree strongly

Why?

20. Among the 16 animals above, which ones do you think would make such an impolite comparison that you would never use them?

21. Which ones do you think are impolite, but you might use them when you are angry?

22. Which ones do you think are impolite, but you might use them behind a person's back when you are angry?

23. Which ones would you like to hear your friends use to describe you?

24. Can you think of anything which might be a forbidden or impolite gift in your society? If so, what is it or what are they?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.



## Cyberculture: Impacts on Netizen

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### Abstract

Macek (2004) highlighted a typology of current concepts of cyberculture. Four different concepts were identified, which are spans utopian, information, anthropological and epistemological concepts of cyberculture. Macek (2004) also highlighted four different periods of the cyberculture and its impacts on netizen. The very first foundations of cyberculture originate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) at the turn of the 1950s and the 1960s. Early cyberculture reached its peak in the late 1970s and in the 1980s. Early cyberculture originates in the American hackers' subcultures. The second period of cyberculture can be broadly set to the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. The beginning of the third period was characterised by a significant transformation at all the levels of early cyberculture, a shift that was related to the accelerated spread of microcomputers and to the development of public computer networks. This fourth period begins at the end of the 1980s and ends in about the middle of the 1990s.

**Keywords:** Cyberculture, Netizen

### 1. Introduction

Cyberculture is a collection of cultures and cultural products that exist on and/or are made possible by the Internet, along with the stories told about these cultures and cultural products (Silver, 2008). The period of cyberculture can be divided into before the Web (past), and after the Web was invented (present). There are strong traceable connections between past and present of cyberculture development (Golubev, n.d) (Table 1).

The introduction of networked computer communications into society has led to the contention that entirely new forms of society are now possible which are better placed to survive in the rapidly changing information economy. This group of people call themselves a network citizen or netizen created online or cyberspace culture or cyberculture. The main objective of this study is to review netizen behaviour and concept of cyberculture. This study also tries to focus on impacts of cyberculture on netizen.

### 2. Netizen

Netizens use of the Internet around the world has been marked by (Wikipedia, n.da):

- Email: Delivery of letters by means of the Internet, as a replacement to the traditional based paper correspondence letters.
- Online chat: Establishing of one-on-one or group conversations by means of the Internet.
- Instant messaging: Software which enables real time conversations without the need of using a website (in contrast to online chats).
- Internet forums: Web Sites which serve to hold discussions in defined subjects.
- Online games: Multiplayer Computer games which are played through the Internet.
- Blog: A personal diary, which its owners writes in it in every possible subject in which he desires to talk discuss, and its content is available to all.
- Feedback comment system: A Mechanism used in web sites to post responses from the internet users, which is mostly used in the news web sites, in blogs and in the other additional sites.
- File sharing: A technology which enables the internet users to share files from their computers with other internet users, and in return the same internet user is capable of downloading files from the computer of other internet users. This enables the fast distribution, not always legal, of software, music, etc.

- Gopher: A distributed document search and retrieval network protocol designed for the Internet. Its goal is to function as an improved form of Anonymous FTP, enhanced with hyperlinking features similar to that of the World Wide Web.
- Wiki: A collection of web pages designed to enable anyone who accesses it to contribute or modify content, using a simplified markup language.

### 3. Cyberculture

Cyberculture is the culture that has emerged, or is emerging, from the use of computer networks for communication, entertainment and business (Wikimedia, n.db). In the same sense that cyberspace came into existence through computer technology, cyberculture may best be conceived as a culture which is mediated in some significant way by computer technology. Reflexively, cyberculture may also be conceived as a representation of culture within that cyberspace. As human/computer interfaces become increasingly immersive, the two definitions of cyberculture intermingle, sometimes indistinguishably. Anthropologists find themselves compounding metaphors and talking about representations of representations. In that confusion between the natural and the artificial lies the power of cyberculture to create and to be created by artificial realities and artificial worlds. At one level, cyberculture is what can be produced through the material culture of computer technology. It is embedded in the cognitive space shared between humans and machines. At another level, cyberculture resides in the behavioral interaction between those machines and their makers. Today, cyberculture is poised to provide new philosophy, new theory, new methods, new tools, and new subject matter for serious anthropological investigations. Cyberculture is driven by the seemingly limitless technology of the information age that constantly redefines cyberspace. The power of computing technology seems to increase unendingly with innovations appearing as frequently as limitations are set. Single processing units are replaced by high performance, massively parallel computers and massively parallel computation is created in cyberspace through the massive connection of single and massively parallel processors. Even the silicon confines of computer chips are being challenged by successful computation in molecular and organic media (Read and Gessler, 1996).

Manifestations of Cyberculture include various human interactions mediated by computer networks. They can be activities, pursuits, games, places and metaphors, and include a diverse base of applications. Some are supported by specialised software and others work on commonly accepted web protocols, examples include blogs, social networks, games, chat, USENET, bulletin board systems, E-Commerce, peer-to-peer networks, and virtual worlds. There are several qualities that cyberculture share that makes them warrant the prefix “cyber-“. Some of those qualities are that cyberculture (Wikimedia, n.d):

- Is a community mediated by ICTs.
- Is culture mediated by computer screens.
- Relies heavily on the notion of information and knowledge exchange.
- Depends on the ability to manipulate tools to a degree not present in other forms of culture, even artisan culture, example a glass-blowing culture.
- Allows vastly expanded weak ties and has been criticised for overly emphasising the same.
- Multiplies the number of eyeballs on a given problem, beyond that which would be possible using traditional means, given physical, geographic, and temporal constraints.
- Is a cognitive and social culture, not a geographic one.
- Is the product of like-minded people finding a common place to interact.
- Is inherently more fragile than traditional forms of community and culture.

Macek (2004) highlighted a typology of current concepts of cyberculture. Four different concepts were identified, which are spans utopian, information, anthropological and epistemological concepts of cyberculture (Table 2).

Macek (2004) also highlighted four different periods of the cyberculture and its impacts on netizen.

- The First Period: Early cyberculture originates in the American hackers’ subcultures. At the beginning, until at least the 1970s, it involved only young students, mainframes programmers, researchers and academics from the fields of cybernetics, computer science and informatics. The beginning of this period of cyberculture is marked by a set of crucial events in the field of computing, among others they include the formation of the first community of hackers at M.I.T. in 1959, M. E. Clynes’ and S. Kline’s concept of cybernetic organism (cyborg) in 1960, T. H. Nelson’s concept of hypertext at the beginning of the 1960s and the Arpanet project, ancestor of all subsequent computer networks, launched in 1963 and terminated in 1968.
- The Second Period: The second period of cyberculture can be broadly set to the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, when cyberculture moved beyond the realm of institutes and universities. The most crucial features of this era

were the increasing accessibility of technology, the invention of microcomputers and their massive development, which spawned an entire new industry. In addition to “classic” academic hackers, cyberculture also comprised the so called phone phreaks (hacking the phone systems), computer clubs hackers (interested in developing and programming the first homemade as well as mass-produced computers) and later the first de facto regular computer users.

- The Third Period: The beginning of the third period was characterised by a significant transformation at all the levels of early cyberculture (i.e. at the level of groups, discourse and practices and narratives), a shift that was related to the accelerated spread of microcomputers (in North America and Western Europe gradually becoming an office tool and a resource of home-entertainment) and to the development of public computer networks. This period witnessed the formation of the cyberpunk literary movement which became the first powerful loudspeaker of early cyberculture leading to its increasing popularity.
- The Fourth Period: This is the period of definitive fading of cyberculture into the majority society. It is the period when cyberculture is subjected to normalisation, is tamed by the language of social sciences and politicised and its culturally provocative edges are taken off. This period begins at the end of the 1980s and ends in about the middle of the 1990s. However, there is no point in defining the exact “end” of this period, because it could be defined by any of the key events or processes that signalled the massive and final shift of cyberculture to the social and cultural mainstream.

There is a wide variety of bases whereby communities can come into being and sustain themselves. These include (Clarke, 1997):

- Existing geographical communities based on physical proximity.
- Communities of interest.
- Communities based on religion, philosophy or political outlook.
- Communities driven by particular social or economic issues.
- Conventional formal organisations, particularly companies and partnerships, which is supported by Intranets.
- Clusters of companies operating within strategic relationships (supported by Extranets).

The early history, which is from its foundation in July 1994 until early 1996 have been chronicled, the community’s population numbers 5-10,000 worldwide. The two primary media for participation are an e-list for announcements, which has 3-5,000 subscribers, and a set of some 200 community-service web-pages established and maintained by some 100 volunteers. The community is driven by a leader/visionary, but the contributions are highly dispersed among the volunteers. The majority of the service-value has been provided by perhaps 2% of the overall community, but hundreds more have at least posted to the e-list, and many hundreds have accessed and in many cases bookmarked the web-pages. There are well over 1,000 hotlinks to ISWorld Net web-pages from other pages around the world. The volunteer force is very heavily english-speaking, and virtually all of the content is in English. The heavy majority of volunteers are in North America, with modest numbers in Australia, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and a scatter of Continental European and advanced Asian countries. Strenuous attempts have been made to ensure that the community services do not contain undue cultural biases. Given the strongly internationalist, but particularly Anglo-Saxon-American, style of the world’s I.S. discipline, the attempt has achieved some success. There is, however, only limited and slow penetration in Continental Europe and advanced Asian nations, due to cultural concerns and in less developed countries, due to slow emergence of the discipline there, mismatch between services and needs, cultural differences and infrastructure (Clarke, 1997).

#### 4. Conclusion

From early period until today, cybercultures are as communications networks, as games, as simulations and as research platforms. Cyberculture links with technologies to a number of fundamental themes within which technologies are attributed characteristics that shape cybercultural narratives, examples technology as agent of change, the relation of technology and freedom, power and empowerment, formation of the new frontier, and authenticity.

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Table 1. Cyberculture

Past	Present
Cyberspace	Internet
Cyberpunk	Netizens
Cyberstuff	Virtuality

Table 2. Concepts of Cyberculture

	Utopian concepts of Cyberculture	Information concepts of Cyberculture	Anthropological concepts of Cyberculture	Epistemological concepts of Cyberculture
Brief character of the concept	Cyberculture as a form of utopian society changed through ICT  Anticipating (futurologism)	Cyberculture as cultural (symbolical) codes of the information society  Analytical, partly anticipating	Cyberculture as cultural practices and life styles related to ICT  Analytical, oriented to the present state and to history	Cyberculture as term for social and anthropological reflection of new media
Examples of authors and books	Andy Hawk – Future Culture Manifesto (1993)  Pierre Lévy – Kyberkultura (1997, česky 2000)	Margaret Morse – Virtualities: Television, Media Art and Cyberculture (1998)  Lev Manovich – The Language of a New Media. (2001)	Arturo Escobar – Welcome to Cyberia: Notes on the Anthropology of Cyberculture (1994, zde 1996)  David Hakken – Cyborgs@Cyberspace (1999)	Lev Manovich – New Media from Borges to HTML (2003)  Lister et al. – New Media: A Critical Introduction (2003)



## On the Integration of Culture into EFL Teaching

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### Abstract

After a brief introduction, this paper dwells on cultural differences, and then answered the question “Why should culture be included in English teaching” from three aspects.

**Keywords:** Culture, Differences, Teaching

### 1. Introduction

Language is among the culture, and in turn it reflects the culture. They are in so complete harmony that the differences of language using unavoidably symbolize the cultural differences, and vice versa. Foreign language learning is comprised of several components, including grammatical competence, communicative competence, language proficiency, as well as a change in attitudes towards one’s own or another culture (Claire Kramsch, 1999). Of them, cultural competence has been viewed by many teachers as their goal to incorporate the teaching of culture into the foreign language curriculum. English speaking and writing two tough problems as to those Chinese students in their English learning. Among other things, the different ways of Chinese thinking and expression are the two basic reasons. So, a foreign language teacher should be first a culture teacher, having the ability to experience and analyze both the home and target cultures. Undoubtedly, the lack of English knowledge accounts for one of the phenomena. On the other hand. The overlook of culture instruction makes it unavoidable. It is well—known that culture, language and thought are an organic part, in which the interaction occurs among the three factors. As a result, cultural differences not only in the form, sentences and vocabularies but also in the way of thinking and expression habit, Can be seen obviously from a speech or writing product by a Chinese.

### 2. Cultural Differences

#### *2.1 Problems Caused by cultural differences*

As the information technology develops so rapidly at present, the economic globalization brings about culture fusion as well as culture conflicts. McDonald’s, KFC, Nike and Coke are among those English words well mirrored in the Chinese language. At the same time, “dim sum”, “kowtow and wok” have come to be examples of the Chinese language and culture in America. However as a coin has two sides, the ever-growing interactions among peoples with different cultures and languages also expose foreign language learners to greater risks of committing cultural blunders. Here are some examples:

#### *Example One:*

Mary: You look beautiful in that overcoat.

Hong: No, it is old. I don’t think it’s beautiful.

In this dialogue, Mary praises Hong’s overcoat, but Hong answers in a self-defacing way traditional for most Chinese. But to Mary (an American), it is regarded to be rude to express your gratitude this way. It is a denial to her connoisseurship.

#### *Example Two:*

Chinese greet each other cordially “Where are you going?” although they actually don’t really want to know where the others are going. A British woman walks to the cinema on campus in China, her student greets her in a traditional Chinese way by saying “Are you going to see the film?” The British woman feels very odd as she thinks that her going there is so obvious and why the student asks such a question. And the greeting of: “Have you eaten?” can be interpreted

as an infringement of privacy on the part of an English—speaking addressee.

## 2.2 What is culture?

Culture exists everywhere in human society. Even when a baby is born, his thought and behavior are influenced by culture subconsciously. Due to such a nature, it is hard to reach an agreement on a single definition of culture. There is really very little agreement on what people mean by the idea of culture since culture has different shades of meanings in different scientific disciplines and context. The English anthropologist E.B. Tylor first set his definition in his *Primitive Culture* in 1871: “Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”(WANG Fu—xiang&WU Han—ying, 1994, P.79). Daniel Bates and Fred Plog advance another definition with detailed descriptions: Culture is a system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that the members of a society, to cope with their world and with one another, and that is transmitted from generation to generation through learning. This definition includes not only patterns of behavior but also patterns of thought(shared meanings that the members of a society attach to various phenomena, natural and intellectual, including religion and ideologies), artifacts(tools, pottery, houses, machines, works of art), and the culturally transmitted skills and techniques used to make the artifacts(Quoted from Lamj. Samover&Richard E. Porter, 1995, P47).

## 2.3 A brief survey on Chinese culture and western culture

The traditional Chinese world view is “oneness between man and nature”, which refers to obedience of man to the natural law and the worship of nature. Under the guidance and influence of this idea, we Chinese tend to achieve wholeness, generality, synthesis and believe in intuition. Thus there is little mobility, either socially or geographically. Under the traditional education of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, Chinese respect the old and care the young; they are kind to neighbors; they behave themselves and are modest and prudent. China’s education advocates discipline and obeying the law, industry and thrift in managing a house and obedience to one’s superiors. China has been an agricultural country for five thousand years. This agrarian nature distributes to the traits and values that characterize the society both in the past and today. Chinese families are cohesive units in which all members work together and live together. Thus forms the collective nature of Chinese values.

Western culture is relatively young. People there respect religious freedom and have a great faith that everyone is born to be equal. Most of the countries were once greatly immigrant; different values, norms and customs were melted together. Everyone is equal to seek for wealth and liberty. People depend on themselves rather than others. They develop habits of survival based on individualism, and also such thought patterns, beliefs, values and attitudes.

Chinese culture belongs to the oriental culture while the western culture is the occidental. As a result, there is a large difference between these two cultures. Some aspects of the respective culture seem incredible to people belonging to the other culture. Many westerners even regard Chinese culture as the mysterious oriental culture.

## 2.4 The differences between Chinese and western culture

The differences between Chinese and western culture are numerous and complicated. To sum up, there are mainly the following aspects. First of all, cultural difference in convention. Cultural difference in convention is the difference in daily life and social intercourse result from the difference of custom and habit, such as the rules of using words to address, greet, express one’s thanks, apologize, and phone, etc. Secondly, cultural difference in thought. Cultural difference in thought results from the way of thinking. As an instance, Chinese have the characteristic of thinking from top to bottom while the westerners the reverse. Thirdly, cultural difference in psychology. Cultural difference in psychology results from the mentality of a nation and consciousness of a society. Expression of the concept of value, ethics; implicit and roundabout ways to express one’s feelings; Fourthly, cultural difference due to the difference of cultural development in history and accumulation of cultural legacy. Fifthly, cultural difference in posture. Culture can be represented through language. And without language, other signs of culture(such as gesture, fingering, facial expressions and clothing) can also represent it.

## 3. Why should culture be included in English teaching?

With the notion of over-emphasized adaptation to the need of the market, many English majors go to excess of learning some skills only and neglect the culture aptitude for language competence. In communication, they cannot find the right topic or proper expression; in reading, they feel it difficult to understand; in writing, they write English compositions in Chinese way’s of thinking and many of their choices of words are Chinglish. Those lacking culture knowledge are usually those who are poor in English competence. So, we realize that it is necessary to enhance the teaching of culture in college English teaching.

### 3.1 Interrelationship between language and culture

Language is a social institution, both shaping and shaped by society at large or in particular the “cultural niches”(Eleanor Armour-Thomas& Sharon—ann Gopaul—McNicol, 1998). Thus, language should be understood as cultural

practice, it cannot exist alone. Certainly, everyday language is tinged with cultural bits and pieces. By the very act of talking, people assume social and cultural roles, which are deeply entrenched in our thoughts, more often unnoticed and ignored though. In other words, the language people are speaking is culturally conditioned. Culture not only dictates who talks to whom, about what, and how the communication proceeds, it also helps to determine how people encode messages, the meanings they have for messages. So to speak, culture is the foundation of language.

Similarly, language is culture. When a person decides to learn English, for example, he or she is not merely absorbing the knowledge of the language, but everything to do with English and Britain and America. What he or she is taking in includes all the preconceptions about the English language, that it is beautiful, that it is world language, that it is spoken along the Shakespeare, and so on. Languages come with some cultural associations attached. By speaking the language, therefore, one automatically (to a greater or lesser extent) aligns oneself with the culture of the language. To speak a language well, one has to be able to think in that language, and thought is extremely powerful. A person's mind is in a sense the centre of his identity, so if a person thinks in English way in order to speak English, one might say that he has, in a way, almost taken on an English identity (see for example Brown, 1994 and Littlewood, 1984). That is the power and the essence of a language. Language is culture.

Language is the soul of the country and people who speak it.

### 3.2 Inseparability of culture teaching from language teaching

The implications of the discussion above for the teaching of culture in language education are evident. Nowadays, researchers on EFL or ESL have attached much importance on culture teaching. Related studies have been carried out extensively on the vital place of culture in the foreign language classroom. Culture teaching is an essential part of language education. What is culture teaching exactly from a practical view?

In the field of foreign language teaching, one aspect that occasionally comes out as a topic of discussion is the relationship between linguistic knowledge of a foreign language, and knowledge of the culture of that target language. From the author's limited experience with foreign language education, it would appear to many language teachers that culture teaching means teaching courses of culture, it is supposed to lay out special courses such as American government, British history, literature, etc. The question of "culture" is often linked to the end of a language teaching plan. It seems as if it is always something of an addition if a teacher manages to find time to introduce a bit of the culture of the foreign language into the classroom—some music perhaps, a traditional wedding custom, Christmas, or stories from The Bible and Greek mythology, in the final minute of a class or in the final lesson of the course.

### 3.3 Implications for teaching materials and contents

The present study shows that the choice of Language and culture by Deng Yan--chang and Liu Run--qing as the textbook is proved to be all right, but it is not necessary for the teacher to be confined to its contents and arrangement. The teacher should read more books concerning culture in language teaching and try to get something useful to enrich the teaching content.

The results of the present study also strongly supports that the choice of the teaching materials and all the topics the author had taught must be included in the teaching plan. In teaching, what the teacher should spend more time are the following topics: idioms, proverbs and sayings; knowledge about culture; euphemisms and taboos; the similarity and difference in conversation; comparison between Chinese characters and English vocabulary because these are what the students are interested in most or what they think it is necessary to be explained more, or what they consider as the most difficult contents. Though ethnocentrism and body language are regarded as something unimportant to be explained less in class, they do goodness to cultivate the students' cultural awareness and enlarge their cultural knowledge and so it is necessary to mention them in class. Apart from these, the teacher should provide more sources for the students to widen their knowledge, such as *Speaking Culturally* by Johnson, Fern L, *Idioms and Idiomaticity* by Chitra Fernando, *Comparison of Chinese and English Customs* by DU Xue—zheng, etc.

## 4. Conclusion

All in all, Chinese culture, inclusive of the way of thinking and habitual expression, has a great influence upon students' English writing. As second language learners advance into certain language production stages, various influences brought about by the way of thinking in one's native language might increase correspondingly (WANG Dan—bin, 2002). A culture-related teaching and learning, involving the whole living style of a society and a language must be applied to the process of language learning and using. A language contains not only the historical and cultural background of that nation but also its viewpoints on the life, the living style and the way of thinking. In a society the language interacts with the culture. The ultimate aim of language teaching is to teach the students how to use a language. English writing is an integration of a student's English language competence and performance. It is true that under the good mastery of the English words and the styles, the culture has a great effect on the students' English writing. Therefore, in the teaching process of English writing it is necessary to help students to be conscious of the differences of Chinese and English culture. Only in this way, are Chinese students capable of reaching an understanding consensus of culture and

language, and can they view things in English, thereby avoiding or overcoming the negative effects of native language to the full extent and producing pure English works.

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## Historical Developments of Financial Rights after Divorce in the Malaysian Islamic Family Law

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### Abstract

Islamic family law plays a significant role in minimizing the unpleasant effects of the family break up faced by the divorced women and their children by protecting their rights to financial support after divorce. This study undertakes to discuss the historical development of the financial rights after divorce applicable among the Muslims in the pre and post colonial periods, particularly with reference to the *iddah* maintenance, *mut'ah*, arrears of maintenance, and child maintenance. The study indicates that despite the provisions were inconformity with the Islamic principles, the applications were restricted and influenced by the Shafi'i *madhhab*. However, the amount of *iddah* maintenance and *mut'ah* were substantial taking into account the standard of living of the Malay society in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. This means that the welfare of the divorced women was taken care of since the codification of the Islamic law and its implementation in the Malay society.

**Keywords:** Islamic family law, Divorce, Financial rights

### 1. Introduction

The periods beginning with the widespread of Islam into the Malacca Sultanate in the fifteenth century and the importation of the English legal system during the British colonial rule have marked the significant impacts in shaping the unique legal system workable within the heterogeneous cultures, religions, and ethnic groups in Malaysia. This article examines the three distinct periods commencing with the introduction of Islam in the Malay Peninsular, the British colonial period, and the period after the formation of the Federation of Malaya (Note 1), with a view to observe the Islamic law elements exhibited in the Malay Legal Digests and Islamic family law legislations particularly with reference to the rights to financial supports after divorce in terms of *iddah* maintenance (Note 2), *mut'ah* (Note 3), arrears of maintenance, and child maintenance. The study is based on the premise that the Islamic family law plays a significant role in minimizing the unpleasant effects of divorce faced by the Muslim women and their children.

## 2. Islam in the Malay Peninsular (15<sup>th</sup> To 19<sup>th</sup> Century)

So far as the history of Islam in the Malay Peninsular is concerned, Hooker (1984:130) said that “the key geographical and cultural reference has always been to Malacca,” renowned for the sovereignty of its Sultanate, an international entrepôt, and a centre of Islamic religion. The process of Islamization had influenced the introduction of the *Shariah* and modification of the Malay *adat* to accord with Islam. According to Azra (1997:146) although many orientalist of early Islam, such as Landon, Van Leur, and Winstedt viewed that the influence of Islam on the indigenous were far from being substantial or merely a veneer over the Malay indigenous culture, this was opposed by other scholars such as Naquib al-Attas, Van Nieuwenhuijze, and Majul. They maintained almost in similar tone that Islam has transformed the entire structure of the Malay society, particularly in the political, cultural, religious, and social realms. This latter view is considered in the literature as more plausible than the former opinions (Azra, 1997:147). Therefore, in so far as legal heritage in the Malay Peninsular is concerned, the following discussion endeavours to examine the Malay legal digests, which were influenced by *adat temenggung* and the customary laws of *adat perpatih* specifically on the existence of Islamic law principles on the financial supports after divorce.

### 2.1 Undang-undang Melaka

During the early days of the Melaka Sultanate, it had been influenced by the old Hindu tradition from Palembang and according to I-Tsing; it was changed to Islam after its sovereign converted to Islam (Hooker, 1968:157-170). Notwithstanding the influence of Islamic law in Melaka, it had not supplanted the local *adat* in its entirety. Hence, it is generally accepted that the law administered during those days was a composite law in which part of the Islamic law was mingled with ancient Malay custom (Wilkinson, 1908:1-45; Taylor, 1937:1-78). Wilkinson more particularly said that it was in fact a combination of Islamic law and the *adat temenggung*, which had been administered in Melaka (Hooker, 1970:4, 7). *Adat temenggung* had been considered a “decayed” form of *adat perpatih*, since both originated from the Minangkabau highlands in Sumatra. However, *adat perpatih* in Palembang had been affected by profound changes with its exposure to Hindu and later Islamic influences thus, changing it from matrilineal and democratic system to a patriarchal and despotic one (Hooker, 1970:2, 8; Glos, 1965:104).

Although *adat temenggung* was ordained as the law of the Sultan and formed the basis for the law as found in the Malay legal digest, such as the *Undang-undang Melaka*, the digest also contained some aspects of Islamic law. Taylor (1937:4) stated that “Apart, however, from ceremonies of animistic origin, the *adat* did little to regulate marriage and divorce. Consequently, it was not difficult for the Malays to adopt most of the Muhammadan law on these topics....” In order to observe the Islamic elements contained in the *Undang-undang Melaka*, Hooker (1984:9-16) referred to the work of Fang (1976:30). It was ascertained that the four *Fasal* (Chapters) in the *Undang-undang Melaka* (*Fasal* 25 – 28), regarding marriage and divorce were generally the translations of Islamic law, which were based on the Shafi’i school of thought. This was evidenced by the reference made in several authoritative works of the Shafi’i disciples, such as *Fath al-Qarib* by *Ibn al-Qasim al-Ghazi*, *at-Taqrir* by *Imam Abu Shuja*’ and *Hashiyah ‘ala Fath al-Qarib* by *Ibrahim al-Bajuri* (Ibrahim, 1965:130-140).

However, according to Wilkinson, the so-called “codes” or *undang-undang* such as *Undang-undang Melaka* was only a digest of Malay law, which may give a very faithful picture of its subjects, but it was not the actual law and no man can be charged in court for violating some sections or subsections of the digest (Hooker, 1970:8). This is because the digest was never enacted by any legislative authority. Wilkinson’s view, which was published during the early part of the twentieth century, should be treated cautiously before making any conclusion, since literature from the latter part of the twentieth century suggested that there were some evidences of the existence of functionaries of Islamic legal institution, especially that of the *kadi* (Hashim, 1988:192). Several religious advisers during the Melaka Sultanate were appointed as *kadi*. They were socially at par with the notables in those days. They had acquired a relatively strong position as *kadi* and had exerted considerable influence upon the population and the rulers in imposing the Islamic law.

Furthermore, Fang (1976:64) states that the injunction in the *Undang-Undang Melaka* ruled that Melaka should be governed in accordance with the Qur’anic law:

Concerning all the ministers and the *sida-sida* (court officers) and the fighting men, they should act in accordance with the words of Allah Most High in the Qur’an; they should obey the command to do good and the injunction forbidding to do evil...

The command shows that not only the idea of the sovereignty was determined by Islamic thought, but also the administration and settlement of legal disputes among citizens contained the Islamic elements. By reinforcing the idea of the divinity of the Sultans (Muslim sovereign) who were often described as the “Shadow of God on Earth,” they attained strong influence over their subjects, thus made it possible to apply Islamic law over them.

Regarding the family law in the *Undang-undang Melaka*, although it was based primarily on Islamic law, *Fasal* 28 only illustrates the general principles on *talaq* and nothing was mentioned about the rights and liabilities of the parties following a divorce. Although Hooker (1984:16) said that there were many features of family law that had been left

unanswered or undescribed, “thus admitting by implication, the existence of local custom,” yet, it can still be concluded that the “translation” of the classical text of Islamic law on marriage and divorce would also include the detailed application of *Hukum Sharak*, which is important in administering justice to the Muslim subjects. Moreover, the structure of the text of *Undang-undang Melaka* itself was hybrid. It was not all written at the same period. The Muslim law sections were apparently completed at a later period compared to the *Undang-undang Melaka* “proper” (Hooker, 1984:15). Therefore, the detailed application of the law must have been developed in due course of time.

## 2.2 The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak

According to Mutalib (1997:40), many scholars had widely felt that many of the subsequent written laws in the Malay Peninsular borrowed or were fashioned from the broad guidelines given by the Melaka Digest, such as the Kedah Laws, Customary Laws of Sungai Ujong and Kuala Pilah, and the Ninety-nine Laws of Perak. Hooker (1970:51), on the other hand, had previously cautioned that although the texts of these digests showed some measure of uniformity in their provisions, it was uncertain whether that argued for a common origin or for a process of local diffusion or a conscious imitation. Nevertheless, Hooker said that scholars did agree that the provisions of the digests were often described as containing the rules of *adat temenggung* and the rules relating to marriage and divorce were generally rules of Islamic law that followed the Shafi'i sect.

The Ninety-nine Laws of Perak which was considered as the most detailed of all the digests also contained meticulous laws on marriage and divorce compared to the *Undang-undang Melaka*. There were ten chapters on divorce (Rigby, 1908:20-56), which included the laws on rights of women after divorce. Regarding maintenance of divorced women, *Fasal 7* states that:

If a husband wants a divorce he must pay within three months two *paha* of gold (for her maintenance) and pay the whole of the dowry in cash (if not already paid).

*Fasal 31* reiterates on the maintenance of divorced woman besides the law on division of property after divorce to the effect that:

If the divorce is at the instance of the husband and there is no blame attached to the woman, he must provide her with maintenance for three months, and the personal property will be divided.

Since the period of three months is usually the *iddah* period for a divorced woman, she is entitled to *iddah* maintenance of two *paha* of gold. Howard (2005) states that *paha* is a unit of weight used especially for gold. In addition, *Fasal 39* also spells out on maintenance of divorced women, but it is stated differently:

For her maintenance about a *paha* will suffice, but if there are young children, or if the parties live in a large village, the amount will be two *paha* and a half; if the place where the woman lives is in the jungle, or if she can earn her own livelihood, like the people of the country, she is not entitled to maintenance, she must support herself.

The latter part of the above quoted provision seems to contradict the Islamic law because according to *Hukum Sharak*, a husband is obliged to maintain his wife during *iddah* as their marital tie still exists and maintenance is incumbent upon the husband irrespective of the wife's place of residence, social status, and capability of earning an income.

Furthermore, the law also explains on the division of property of a woman divorced owing to misbehaviour on her part. *Fasal 31* also states that:

If a divorce is sought owing to the misbehaviour of the woman – that is, on account of either adultery or neglect of service at bed and board, or refusal to do works of charity and to the Almighty – she forfeits her settlements only, and the law is that the husband must pay a *paha*.

According to the above provision, *nushuz* (recalcitrance) on the part of the wife disentitles her to the division of property after divorce although the husband still has to pay a *paha* of gold to her. However, according to *Hukum Sharak*, it is a wife's right to maintenance, which is forfeited if she is found *nushuz* and she is also not entitled to maintenance during *iddah* (Haskafi, 1970:316-324; Al-Shirazi, 1976:205-206). Therefore, it may be appropriate to conclude that a *paha* of gold payable to a wife who has been divorced under *Fasal 31* of the Ninety-nine Laws of Perak, due to her misbehaviour, may indicate a parting gift or *mut'ah*, not *iddah* maintenance. This is because *mut'ah* according to the Shafi'i *madhhab* is provided to all divorced women except a woman who has been divorced before consummation and her dower has been fixed (Al-Sharbini, 2003:307).

Having discussed all the three provisions on maintenance of divorced women as provided under the Ninety-nine Laws of Perak, though it seems confusing as the amount of gold was not fixed, nevertheless, it may be concluded that the minimum rate of maintenance for a divorced wife was a *paha* and the maximum limit was two *paha* and a half.

The value of the amount of maintenance provided for the divorced women under the Ninety-nine Laws of Perak may be converted to the Malaysian currency based on the international gold spot price. According to Howard (2005), a *paha* of



gold is equivalent to  $\frac{1}{3}$  ounce or 9.45 grams of gold (based on the Metric Conversion Table of 1 ounce equivalent to 28.35 grams). Therefore, it is equivalent to USD \$221 (based on the gold spot price of USD \$662.60 per ounce). By converting it to the Malaysian currency of RM3.47 per USD \$1, this means that a *paha* of gold is equivalent to RM766.87. So, the minimum amount of maintenance that should have been provided by a husband to his divorced wife was about RM767 and the maximum amount was about RM1, 917 (two *paha* and a half of gold). The amount was quite substantial taking into account the standard of living during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The substantial amount of maintenance during *iddah* means that the economy of the divorced Muslim women was better taken care of since the codification of the Islamic law and its implementation in the Malay society.

### 2.3 Adat Perpatih

According to Wilkinson, *adat perpatih*, which is believed to have originally come from the Menangkabau highlands of Sumatra, was found primarily in Negri Sembilan and certain districts of Malacca (Hooker, 1970:7). In due course of time, its practice was recognised as a Malay customary law and enforced by the *Adat* court in Negri Sembilan. It envisages a matrilineal tribal structure and lays importance on the female line of descent. However, contrary to the popular belief, Caldecott said that a man's high position is guaranteed under the *adat* either in his capacity as a husband, an uncle, or a brother who may become an elder or chief in his clan (Kamaruddin, 2005:14).

Under *adat perpatih*, men are responsible for the welfare and heirlooms in the family, but women acquire full rights to the family properties. By this, lands were owned by the wives but the husbands were responsible for its cultivation and strictly subjected by his duty towards his wife and her kin. Therefore, if they did not behave to the satisfaction of "the wife's relations," they ran the risk of being divorced and expelled (Mohammad, 1964:40; Hooker, 1970:13). Therefore, scholars viewed that the men of Negri Sembilan are the most industrious, intelligent, and artistic Malays in the Peninsular because of the pressure put on them by "the wife's relations" that made their positions in the family rather weak upon marriages (Glos, 1965:104).

According to Swift (2001:63), a man's economic interests are very much tied up with his place of residence and he must leave it immediately on divorce. This may well represent a considerable loss to him. Moreover, returning to his matrilineal kin will be unsatisfactory for a man who has been a 'master in his own house' as he is going to live in his sister's house, i.e., in a household headed by his brother-in-law. He may find that his prolonged presence will be regarded as imposition rather than enjoyment of a legitimate privilege because the use and ownership of the property has been vested in his sister's. Therefore, it can be concluded that the matrilineal system provides more protections to women in terms of property rights upon divorce and this is significant in a strongly rooted peasant society.

Furthermore, the *adat* confers on woman in every case an absolute right and duty to take the custody of all the children upon divorce (Taylor, 1929:14-55). Hence, the husband is not liable for the support of the children by his divorced wife (Ibrahim, 1965:78). This is because on divorce of the parents, the children will definitely stay with the mother. Although for legal and religious purpose his status as a father is irrevocable, he can only have the children stay with him occasionally and this can be considered as good as lost (Swift, 2001:63).

On the other hand, Taylor (1929:14-55) observed that with the influence of Islamic principles on the questions of marriage and divorce, the claims for maintenance during *iddah* were made to the Court of *Kadi*. Although the conventional rate fixed was small (\$6 a month), this was not unreasonable when considered in conjunction with a system, which vests so much of the property particularly the *sawah* (paddy field) and *kampung* (village) lands, in the women. From Taylor's manuscript, other claims for post-divorce financial supports, such as *mut'ah* and arrears of maintenance could not be traced in the society of *adat perpatih*, since the Islamic law was administered mainly by the *kadi* whose jurisdiction had been strictly limited to the questions of marriage, divorce, and alimony (Taylor, 1937:4).

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that with the influence of Islam, *Hukum Sharak* should had been made applicable to family affairs except in matters where the *adat* strongly prevailed. Since the divorced women under *adat perpatih* are more protected in terms of property rights, therefore, issues of *mut'ah* may not be relevant.

### 3. The British Colonial Period (1824 till 1948)

The preceding discussion proves that Islamic law, though in a modified form was largely observed by the Malays in the Malay States prior to the European conquests. The fact was further verified through various law cases decided during the British administration (Wilkinson, 1922:49). In the case of *Shaik Abdul Latif & Ors. v Shaik Elias Bux* (1915), Edmond JC held that "the only law applicable to the Malays in the Malay States before the arrival of the British administrators is Islamic law modified by local custom." The position of Islamic law had been repeated in *Ramah v Laton* (1927), whereby Thorne J in delivering the majority judgment of the Appeal Court of the Federated Malay States held that:

Muslim law is not foreign law; it is the law of the land, and as such the court must take judicial notice of it. It must propound the law itself and it is not competent for the court to allow evidence to be led as to what is the local law.

Based on the above facts, one would expect that strong argument exists for the notion that Islamic law should be the *lex loci*. Unfortunately, despite the above-mentioned enlightened decisions by the English judges, it was during the English colonial rule particularly in the Straits Settlements (comprising Melaka, Singapore and Penang), that the status of Islam as the prevailing law had declined to a stage where it was only applied as personal law and was limited to family law and some other aspects of the religion (Ibrahim and Joned, 2002:51). In contrast, English law became the law of general application, although with regard to other Malay States, no formal reception of English law took place until 1937.

### 3.1 The Law in the Straits Settlements

Under the British colonisation, the status of Islamic law as the prevailing law in the Straits Settlements was reduced to personal law under which the practice of this law should have been continued uninterrupted. It was stated under the Anglo-Dutch Treaty 1824 (Article 6 of the Treaty) that the British were not to interfere in matters affecting Malay culture and religion, but to only offer advice on such matters (Mutalib, 1997:36). However, scholars found that operationally, it was clear that such an “advice” had to be acted upon (Hooker, 1972:13-50).

The existence of inconsistencies in the administration of Islamic law had made the British officials to attempt to regulate some key aspects of it. This prompted the passing of the Mohammedan Marriage Ordinance 1880 (Aun, 1999:146; Hooker, 1984:95-101). The Enactment, however, dealt mainly with the administrative or procedural matters, rather than the substance of the *Shariah*. It merely provided for the voluntary registration of Muslim marriage and divorce, the recognition of the *kadi*, and the regulation of the property of married women.

### 3.2 The Law in the Malay States

According to Aun (1999:147), the status of Islam in the Malay States was very different from that of the Straits Settlements as the Sultans retained their sovereignty. Since Islam was the basis of the Malay rule, it might be said that it was indeed the State religion. Therefore, *Shariah* law should have been made applicable. However, in practice, Islamic law was also restricted to a mere personal law pertaining to marriage, divorce, and other related matters applicable to the Muslims, which included divorce matters and the consequences thereto. This was due to the fact that through treaties engagements concluded between the Malay rulers and the British (beginning with Pangkor Engagement 1874) the former must accept the British Resident or Adviser “whose advice must be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching the Malay religion and custom.”

However, scholars also found it difficult to uphold that during colonisation, matters relating to Muslim family laws were actually left to the jurisdiction of Islamic laws and *adat* laws (Mutalib, 1997:41). This was due to the colonialists’ efforts at the “bureaucratization” of Islam in the form of greater regulation, standardization and control of Islamic administration, which had marginalized the role of the traditional Islamic religious elites in preference for the colonial-appointed religious functionaries. For example, the establishment of the Religious (Islamic) Council (*Majlis Agama*), which was formed to assist the Sultan in administering the State, was controlled by the British officials.

Moreover, important rulings affecting the Islamic law as well as the jurisdiction of the *kadi* were confined and subjected to the sanctions of the British officials, which made the Islamic law subservient to the British-influenced State enactments. Therefore, it seems that the overpowering of the British legal preferences and values had curbed the role and position of Islam although it had not led to its total overhauling.

#### 3.2.1 Ahkam Syar’iyyah Johor

A significant development of the Islamization of Malay *adat* law can be seen for instance in Johor. A Hanafi text on family law code was translated but adjusted to suit the ruling of the most influential *madhhab* in the Malay Peninsular i.e., the Shafi’i *madhhab* (Ibrahim and Joned, 2002:49-50; Borham, 2002: IV). This was known as *Ahkam Syar’iyyah Johor*. With the arrangement of this Code of 1935 (Volume I), Johor had preceded other Malay States in providing for the first time, the substantive contents of the rules on Muslim family matters to be used as reference for the *kadi*.

Reference to the principle on *mut’ah* was made in *Fasal 37* of the 1935 Code (Articles 375 – 382), all of which related to the detailed *hukum* of an obligatory payment of *mut’ah* to the divorced wife. In fact, the law also provided for the minimum limit of *mut’ah*, which was not less than thirty *dirham* (Article 381). This ruling, which showed the influence of the Shafi’i *madhhab*, was the direct translation of the Shafi’i texts such as *Mughni Muhtaj* (Al-Sharbini, 2003:407-408) and *Minhaj et-Talibin* (An-Nawawi, trans., 1977:313).

It is also possible to convert the value of thirty *dirham* of *mut’ah* into the Malaysian currency. Based on the well-known coin standard established during the period of the Caliph Umar al-Khattab, the weight of 10 *dirham* was equivalent to 7 *dinar* (Ibn Khaldun, trans., 1978:217). The conversion can be made based on the current international gold spot price, which is published in troy ounce of 24k gold (1 kg is about 32.15 troy ounce), while gold *dinar* is 22k gold weighing of 4.25g. Using the gold *dinar* conversion rate i.e., (weight of coin (g) × purity of coin × troy ounces/kg = fraction of spot price per ounce), the international gold spot price is about 7.98 times of the conversion rate:

$$4.25\text{g} \times (22\text{k}/24\text{k}) \times (32.15\text{ oz}/1000\text{g}) = 1/7.98$$

So, if the current gold spot price is USD \$662.60 per ounce/7.98, it is equivalent to USD\$83. By converting to the Malaysian currency of RM3.47 per USD\$1, this will amount to RM288 per one gold *dinar*. Since thirty *dirham* is equivalent to twenty-one dinars, therefore, thirty *dirham* of *mut'ah* payable to the divorced women in the State of Johor about seventy years ago is equivalent RM6,050 (21 gold *dinar* multiplied with RM288). This by all means constituted a substantial amount of *mut'ah*, which indicates the significance of applying the Islamic principle to safeguard the welfare of women upon divorce.

Taking into account that previously many women had been dependent on their husbands for maintenance during the subsistence of marriage, it was important that they should have been compensated for the economic loss that they had suffered. In addition, Article 382 of *Fasal 37 of Ahkam Shar'iyah Johor 1935* states that the *kadi* had the discretionary power to determine the reasonable amount of *mut'ah* in case the parties disputed on its quantum, to be based on the financial position of the husband and the condition of the wife.

Nevertheless, it was unfortunate that the relevant laws on maintenance of divorced wife and children was not incorporated in the two volumes of *Ahkam Syar'iyah Johor*, although the translator of the Code did mention of his intention to pursue with the subject of maintenance. According to Borham (2002: V), the arrangement for the subsequent volume might not succeed due to the outbreak of the Second World War. However, it was briefly provided in Article 573 of the Code of 1940 (Volume II), that a man had a duty to pay maintenance to his wife and the *kadi* had the power to make a decree on this matter. In case the husband was legally incompetent to maintain the wife, her *wali* (legal guardian) could be ordered to provide the same. The provision adopted the view of the Hanafi *madhhab*, which is in favour of the non-separation doctrine when the husband is unable to provide maintenance to his wife. In such a case, she may raise a loan on the husband's credit with the order from the *qadi* (Al-Marghinani, trans., 1975:397). Contrarily, the majority of Muslim jurists contended that a wife has a right to separation on account of her husband's poverty (Al-Sharbini, 2003:563; Ibn Qudamah, 2000:577), which is due to great hardships that may be caused to her because it may be difficult for her to get a loan on the husband's credit (Wani, 1995:82). In this sense, the Hanafi jurists maintain that the husband's obligation remains, but the wife shall be supported by her blood relatives in case of necessity as the latter would be responsible for her if she were not married (Al-Marghinani, trans., 1975:412-413). Thus, the Hanafi ruling points towards the significance of the Islamic principle of inheritance whereby those who are related by blood are bound to maintain their daughters or sisters as they would have been entitled to inherit from her, had she been deceased.

Since Islam had discarded the pre-Islamic customs of excluding the daughters and sisters from their natural family upon their marriage, women therefore continue to be the members of their natural family (Khan, 1989:8). In case of hardships, their collateral relations are responsible to help them. Whether the wife raises a loan on the husband's credit or she gets help from her family, her expenditure becomes a claim or debt against her husband for which he is liable to pay when his financial situation improves (Al-Ati, 1977:159).

#### 4. The Law in the Borneo States (1841 till 1963)

Islamic law in North Borneo (now Sabah) and Sarawak was the peculiar creation of the unique systems of private administration under British protection (Hooker, 1984:189). Although there were no special provisions for application by Muslim divorced women for maintenance in both States, the *kadi* had the jurisdiction to deal with such applications (Ibrahim, 1965:55). In North Borneo, Muslims could apply for child maintenance under the North Borneo Maintenance Ordinance 1959, while in Sarawak the application could be made under the Sarawak Criminal Procedure Code. For instance, in Sarawak, it was provided that a man who neglected or refused to maintain his child may be ordered by the court to make monthly allowance that had been fixed at a rate not exceeding fifty dollars (Sarawak Criminal Procedure Code 1948, s 335).

In addition, there were in existence law texts in Sabah known as *Undang-undang Mahkamah Adat Orang Islam* and in Sarawak *Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak*. According to Hooker (1984:215), the former law adhered more closely to the *Shariah* compared to the latter. Nevertheless, by implication, the substantive rules on "divorce and its related matters," as referred to by Hooker, included matters relating to financial rights of women after divorce. Besides, the laws in both States did specifically provide for maintenance of children (Ibrahim, 1965:55).

The amount for maintenance of a divorced wife and children was fixed under the *Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak* at the rate of 20 to 50 dollars and 10 to 25 dollars a month respectively. Under the same law, s 40 as well as Addenda of 9<sup>th</sup> September 1910, it is stated that an ex-husband who failed to provide proper maintenance would not be allowed to marry again (Ibrahim, 1965:78). The law in Sarawak also protected the rights of a Muslim woman who was married to a person not domiciled in that State (or stranger known as *orang dagang*). It had been provided that the husband should not leave Sarawak until the authorities were satisfied that he had made proper provision for the maintenance of his wife and children (Sarawak Muslim Marriage Ordinance 1948).

By not allowing a man to remarry or leave the State of Sarawak and fixing the rate of maintenance, it seems that the laws previously enforced in Sarawak adopted far-reaching efforts of reasonably aimed to serve justice to divorced

women and children by protecting their economic welfare. This guaranteed that the Islamic principles on maintenance were enforced and complied with by the ex-husband.

## 5. The Federation of Malaya (1948)

Since 1952 the Islamic law in each of the Malaya State has been consolidated on a fairly uniform basis, which deals mainly with its administration (for examples, Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1952 (Selangor); Administration of Islamic Law Enactment 1955 (Terengganu); and Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1965 (Perak). The provisions contained in the various State Enactments were the statutory restatement of the basic tenets of Islam, which related among others to family law; the rules were taken from the orthodox Shafi'i practice as this was understood and applied in the administration and courts of the pre-war Malay States (Hooker, 1984:151-152).

### 5.1 The Administration of Muslim Law Enactment

With regard to the financial rights of women after divorce, the law on maintenance in most of the Malay States (such as the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1959 (Penang), s 134, s 137, and s 138; the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1959 (Malacca), s 132, s 135, and s 136; and the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1960 (Negeri Sembilan), s 133, s 136, and s 137) provides:

A woman who has been divorced may, by application in the court of a Kathi, obtain an order against her former husband for the payment in respect of her period of *iddah*, if the divorce was by one or two talaks, or, in any case, in respect of the period of pregnancy by the former husband, of any such sum in respect of her maintenance as she may be entitled to in accordance with Muslim law. In case of wilful failure to comply with such orders, the person in default may be sentenced by the Court to a term of imprisonment which may extend, if the order provides for monthly payments, to one week for each month's allowance remaining unpaid, or in any other case, to one month.

The provision specifically states that only those women who were revocably divorced or those who were pregnant could claim maintenance in respect of the *iddah* period. Therefore, those women who were divorced irrevocably are clearly excluded as there was no possibility for the parties to resume conjugal relation. This provision applies strictly the doctrine of the Shafi'i sect (Al-Shirazi, 1976:210; Al-Jaziri, 1950:575-576), for which the *qadi* in those days had to take effect of the provision. Contrarily, the Hanafi jurists allowed all divorced women to claim *iddah* maintenance in any form of divorce (Al-Marghinani, trans., 1975:373-406), which may be considered as a form of financial protection.

In addition, a woman who was divorced by her husband was also entitled to claim for *mut'ah* or a consolatory gift. The law (such as the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1952 (Selangor), s 130 and the Council of Religion and Malay Custom and Kathis Courts Enactment 1953 (Kelantan), s 149) provides that:

A woman who has been divorced may apply to a Kathi for a consolatory gift or *mut'ah* and the Kathi may after hearing the parties order payment of such sum as may be just and in accordance with Muslim Law.

Although the provision regarding *mut'ah* is more general, the application of the law also reflects the influence of the *madhhab*, which is the Shafi'i view. In this regard, all women who had been divorced regardless of whether their marriages had been consummated or not, were entitled to claim for *mut'ah* (Al-Sharbini, 2003:307; Al-Shirazi, 1976:81). Although, there were no statutory provisions for the payment of *mut'ah* in other States of Malaya, it would appear that an order for its payment might be made by the *kadi* in accordance with Islamic law (Ibrahim, 1965:52).

It is also important to highlight the provision of the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1963 (Perlis), s 104(3), which provides that:

A divorced woman may apply for an order of maintenance against her former husband, which is payable monthly for so long as she remains unmarried or does not commit any misconduct.

The above provision can be considered as a statutory effort to extend the right to maintenance beyond the period of *iddah*. This provision has gone beyond the explicit Islamic law principles, which oblige an ex-husband to maintain his divorced wife during a specified waiting period only (al-Qur'an, *at-Talaq*: 1 – 2, 4, 6; *al-Baqarah*: 233, 241). However, the provision was successfully invoked in the case of *Che Ah v Ramli* (1981). The *Kadi* Court of Perlis had allowed the claim for *iddah* maintenance as well as an order for monthly maintenance payable to the ex-wife. The *kadi*, while granting the order, expressed that the said Section 104(3), was not based on *Hukum Sharak*. Nevertheless, the reason for inserting such provision may be viewed as a form of providing financial support to the divorced women particularly those who had been divorced without good cause or reason and it was not due to misbehaviour on their part.

However, after the passing of the Perlis Islamic Family Law Enactment 1991, by virtue of Section 133 of the Enactment, Section 104(3) of the Administration Enactment 1963 was repealed and ceased to apply to the State of Perlis. The current provisions on financial rights after divorce in Perlis are similar to that of the other Malaysian States, which

provide that a divorced woman's right to maintenance shall expire after the end of the period of *iddah* or when she is found *nushuz* (Islamic Family Law Enactment 1991 (Perlis), s 65).

Furthermore, the laws in most of the States of Malaya also provide, in accordance with the Islamic law, for the obligation of a lawful father or any other person to support his minor child (the Selangor, Pahang, Penang, Malacca, Negeri Sembilan and Kedah Enactments, a minor is a person under the age of fifteen years, whereas under the Kelantan and Terengganu and Perlis Enactments, a minor is under the age of eighteen years). Child maintenance should also be provided to an incapacitated child by infirmity or disease or an unmarried person, unless the child has sufficient means to support himself (the Administration of Muslim Law Enactment 1962 (Kedah), ss 135-136; Council of Religion and Malay Custom and Kathis Courts Enactment 1953 (Kelantan), ss 160-161; and Administration of Islamic Law Enactment 1955 (Terengganu), ss 118 -119).

## 6. Conclusion

To sum up, as observed by Hooker (1984:155), "the legislation on family law is permissive of Islamic principles but rather restrictive as to the practice or implementation of the relevant rules. The statutory emphasis is on order and certainty of process rather than on either an innovation or detailed confirmation of Islamic laws." It may be understood that despite its conformity to the Islamic principles, the provisions are restricted as it had been much influenced by the dominance of the Shafi'i *madhhab*. Although history proved that the amount of *iddah* maintenance and *mut'ah* paid to the divorced women in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century was substantial, legislations that were passed in the later centuries only ensured consistency of the administration of personal law and procedural matters rather than dealing profoundly with the substance of the *Shariah*. This is true because the purpose of the codification of the law is to serve as a guideline only. The detailed dictates of the *Shariah* are to be found in the classical texts of the Muslim jurists from the four established *madhahib*. Therefore, it is left to the judges to refer to the classical texts while interpreting the codified provision to be in conformity with the spirit and objectives of the *Shariah*.

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- Sarawak Muslim Marriage Ordinance Cap. 75 of 1948
- Undang-undang Mahkamah Adat Orang Islam Sabah
- Undang-undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak

#### Notes

Note 1. The discussion is confined to the period before the coming into force of the Islamic Family Law (Federal Territories) 1984 Act 303, which was enacted as a model of uniform Islamic family law legislation for other States in Malaysia.

Note 2. *Iddah* is the length of time a Muslim wife must wait (can not remarry) following her divorce in order to ascertain her state of womb, which is important to establish parentage if she is pregnant, thus protects the rights of both the first as well as the potential second husband. During this period her maintenance is incumbent upon her husband.

Note 3. *Mut'ah* is a payment made by a husband to his divorced wife as a symbol of humility and kindness to remove any cause of accusation or shame, which may arise from the divorce and to lessen her financial burden caused by the separation.



## Philosophies Underlying the Western and Chinese Traditional Cultures

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### Abstract

This paper aims at analyzing the distinctive features of the western and Chinese philosophies, which underlie the western and Chinese cultures. Westerners focus on the form, and they are deeply influenced by geometry and materialized philosophies. Meanwhile, Chinese people focus on connotation, and they are greatly influenced by the yin-and-yang principle.

**Keywords:** Form, Connotation, Materialized philosophy, Yin-and-yang principle, Five-element principle

### 1. Aristotle and Liu Xie: Representatives of western and eastern cultures

#### 1.1 Similarities

“Art imitates nature”. That is a very important viewpoint in art held by Aristotle. Literature, as a branch of art, imitates nature as well. And “nature” in the west, refers to natural beings such as plants, animals, and the human beings. As one of the forefathers of the western philosophers and literary critics, Aristotle exerted a deep and enduring influence on the British literature. Therefore I choose Aristotle as the spokesman for the British culture.

As for the spokesman for Chinese culture, we choose Liu Xie, an ancient Chinese scholar. In his famous *Intention and Ornament in Literature*, Liu Xie points out that literary works are created in accord with the natural laws of the universe. The sun, moon, rivers, plants, animals and human beings, which are depicted in literary works are in accord with the common logos, which is believed to be the transcendent reason or the rational principle expressed in words and things, although each has its specific characteristics.

Concerning literary creation, both Liu Xie and Aristotle stress the nature. But Liu Xie has gone much further into the natural laws than Aristotle.

#### 1.2 Differences

For Aristotle, “..., art finishes the job where nature fails or imitates the missing parts.”(Shirley Wood, 1997: 30) Accordingly, it is human beings who make the art pieces. And he also pointed out, “since the objects of imitation are men in action, and these men must be either of a higher or a lower type (for moral character mainly answers to these divisions, goodness and badness being the distinguishing marks of moral differences), it follows that we must represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are.”(Zhang Zhongzai, 2002: 35) It shows that in the westerners’ eyes, human beings are both the reproducers of the nature and an object of the imitation.

But in Liu Xie’s opinion, human beings are only one small part of the universe, who are living in harmony with the nature. Like most traditional Chinese writers, he believes that human beings cannot be separated from the universe, and they are of one integrated entity.

### 2. A survey on the traditional Chinese and western sense of culture

#### 2.1 Western cultural sources with illustrations

In Zhang Fa’s *Aesthetics and Cultural Spirit, Chinese and Western*, he states that western culture originates from geometry, from which the model of science comes. Later on, contemporary scientists and philosophers continued to present a series of paradigms to describe the universe. A philosopher, Parmenides took “being” as the noumenon of the universe. Aristotle used “substance” to substitute for “being”, which determined the direction of the development of



western culture. The world depicted by artists is made up of substance and void. In westerners' mind, the two parts exist independently. As a result, the westerners pay more attention to "form" but less to the "content" of the things around them. For instance, facing a house, they catch the first sight of its pillars, walls, and roofs but not the void parts. Facing the body, they pay more attention to its proportion, but not the charm of the figure's temperament. When studying the laws of the universe, they focus on the logical inference of its ideational evolution. In a word, westerners' sense of culture is to take the existence of the world as a "form". From Parmenides and Plato, to Newton and Einstein, no philosopher or scientist is an exception. Although Einstein developed his wider-ranging Theory of Relativity, his equations can only be applied within a certain scope. He stepped forward a little further than others, yet he never broke away from the western mode of thinking, taking the world as a substantial form.

Labov has divided a fully-fledged narrative in the casual conversation into six parts (Huang Guowen, 1988: 147). The first part is an abstract, which gives the readers a brief introduction to the narrated story. The second is an orientation, which introduces the time, place, characters, and circumstances. The third is the complicated action, which serves as the development and climax of the story. The fourth is evaluation, which exists in any possible part of the story to express the writer's attitude or to arouse the reader's interest. The fifth is the result or resolution that ends the happening. The sixth is the coda, which echoes the theme. Among the six parts, coda is optional. Labov also points out that a fully-fledged narrative should consist of at least the first five parts. His statement coincides with the stereotyped writing mode of four steps in the composition of Chinese essays, which consist of introduction, elucidation of the theme, transition, and summing up.

In literature, we find the formula for the beginnings of fables, myths and allegories are usually "Long, long ago...", "There was once a...", "Once upon a time...", etc. In spite of this, the main event is seldom introduced at the beginning. Neither is the background. But modern English writers emphasize individuality and originality. They tend to separate the part from the whole and spotlight self-identity. They omit the beginning and /or the end of the stories to achieve a specific effect. And they start their stories with a direct yet elaborate event. Furthermore, they finish stories with a surprise ending, which remains open to the audience. Take the beginning of Hemingway's short stories as an illustration.

"The Killers" by E. Hemingway begins with an action directly as follows:

"The door of Henry's lunchroom opened and two men came in. They sat down at the counter."

Another short story "The Happy Life of Francis Macomber" also adopts an abrupt start. Its readers will be carried away by:

"It was now lunchtime and they were all sitting under the double green fly of the dining tent pretending that nothing had happened".

The audience cannot help wondering: "Why did they pretend to do so?" And "What on earth has happened?" These introductory remarks are always attractive and original. They bring in suspended questions to the readers and define an exciting atmosphere.

The abrupt elaboration of an accident or the surprising end of a story is nothing but the application of literary creation. By omitting the starting coda or abstract, the author kindles the readers' fancy and interest. This may contribute to the westerners' originality and individualism.

## 2.2 Chinese cultural sources

Then how do the Chinese observe the world? In his book, Zhang Fa concludes that the Chinese emphasize "wholeness". When they watch a building, the Chinese never forget its void part. For example, their windows and doors are delicately decorated and several bamboos are planted in their empty yard to produce a lively atmosphere. When they draw a picture of a body, they weird their last touch of the brush on the eyes, which brings in the most lifelike effect. When studying the universe, they never separate mankind from either heaven or earth. Early in ancient times, they found that the logos is the yin-and-yang principle in Taoism and the five-element principle. Over the time, whether in philosophy, medicine or literary works, the Chinese have always been applying these natural principles consciously or unconsciously.

*The Dream of the Red Chamber*, as a classic representative of traditional Chinese literature, the American sinologist Andrew H. Plaks analyzes the structure of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. He generalized its structural features as complementary bipolarity and multiple periodicities. Complementary bipolarity is similar to the Chinese yin-and yang principle, one half of which is feminine and negative and the other half masculine and positive. Multiple periodicities are similar to the Chinese five-element principle, which consists of gold(corresponding to autumn), wood(corresponding to spring), water(corresponding to winter), fire(corresponding to early summer) and earth(corresponding to later summer).

In *Codes: Language and Art*, Yu Jianzhong and Ye Shuxian take the main thread of the story in *The Dream of the Red*

*Chamber* is the love story of Lin Daiyu and Jia Baoyu. And the side thread is the history of Jia Mansion and Rong Mansion, which undergoes a process from their heyday to their doomsday. In accord with the yin-and-yang principle, the two threads symbolize how happiness and sorrow, unity and departure, success and failure in human life switch with each other. There are also cycles of five-element principle. For instance, the clue of many chapters is the temporal order of the four seasons. Daiyu's short life represents a complete cycle of the spring, which corresponds with the element of wood. As she was born in the year of wood, she became sick and weak in the hot summer and was on the verge of death in autumn. This can be well explained by the mutual promotion and restraint among the five elements (Yu Jianzhong and Ye Shuxian, 1988: 201).

In addition to the above principles, the characteristics of "unity of humanity and universe" can be reflected at the beginning of the work as well, which is different from the spotlighted "self" in the west. At the beginning of *The Dream*, a stone tells the audience the background of the story. The previous existence of the characters and the potential cause and effect of the conflicts in the novel are expounded for the convenience of unfolding the vast scenes.

This may serve as an illustration to reveal the Chinese tendency to take the whole circumstance into consideration. Traditional Chinese novels usually begin with the background of the story, and end with a corresponding end to echo. And the characters and incidents function as the five elements of metal, wood, wood, fire and earth to interact with each other. This complicated and roundabout way of writing usually puzzles many westerners.

### 3. A summary: Traditional philosophies in the west and in China

#### 3.1 Traditional philosophy in the west

Traditional philosophy in the west is based on nature. Western philosophers start their research from geometry and even physics. For instance, geometry emerging in ancient Greece serves as the model for western science. And ancient Greeks take "water", "fire", "earth", and "air" as the four elements of the universe. Ancient Indians believed "earth", "fire", "wind" and "water" as the four elements of the universe. These ideas were replaced by atomic theory later on, therefore the westerners tend to be unified and western way of thinking is characterized to be logical, formal, simple, direct, clear and analytical. They separate man from nature, focus on the form, and are deeply influenced by geometry and materialized philosophies.

#### 3.2 Traditional philosophy in China

Traditional philosophy in China focuses on man and society. Chinese philosophers are deeply influenced by yin-and-yang principle and five-element principle. They originated from Yin and Shang Period. They exert deep influence on Chinese philosophy and culture and become the underlying structure of Chinese culture.

Chinese take fire, water, wood, earth and gold as the five basic elements of the universe. Water is taken to be the origin of life. People live on the earth and grow plants on it. The emergence of fire betters the human life. Wood symbolizes the agriculture and gold is the symbol ancient metallurgy. As time went on, the number of five rooted in Chinese people deeply. The five elements were used to describe the seasons, organs in human body, medicine, food, color etc.

Yin-and-yang principle is based on binary oppositions. Yin represents being dynamic, hot, bright, strong, upward, active, outward, etc. Yang represents being static, cold, dark, weak, downward, inactive, inward, etc.

When analyzing an object, the Chinese tend to ponder from two opposite directions. Therefore they maintain the colorful appearance of the real world, and tend to think in dialectic, comprehensive, complex, and indirect way. Chinese way of thinking does not seem so logical, systematic, and accurate as westerners. Yet the Chinese writers' vivid and concise expression is very attractive.

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## The Impact of Foreign Programs on Taiwanese Youth and the Significant Role of Media Education

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### Abstract

As cable television channel bloomed and grew in Taiwan, more and more teenagers watched a wide variety of foreign TV programmers through hundreds of channels. The impact of this media trend among Taiwanese youth stresses the importance of research to assess whether local college students learn from foreign television programming. In this research, which supports the theoretical discussion in this paper, the nature of these learnings was analyzed as well. In general, this study aims to explore the relevant literature and examine whether college students engage in critical thinking when viewing foreign television programs. This research used a popular Korean series shown in Taiwan to examine various perspectives and views related to the issue. Based from the gathered findings, college students appear to pay more critical attention to the program script, character, rhythm, plot and cultural differences. In relation to aesthetic, ideology and cultural identity issues, less response on the educational impact of the program was obtained from the participants. This confirms the claim that Taiwanese youth view television as an entertainment medium rather than an educational one. For this reason, the role of media education, specifically the integration of visual literacy and critical thinking, is highly significant to generate less passive television viewers.

**Keywords:** Korea series, Impact, Foreign programs, Media education

### 1. Introduction

Media has been part of the people and the world. As a significant part of most people's lives, media had undergone extreme transitions making it a progressive industry. In Taiwan for instance, there are 451 newspapers, 7,220 magazines, 174 radio stations and 5 non-cable television stations, and 80% of television households have cable access accounting for about 23 million people (GIO, 2007). In developed countries such as the United States and Japan, the media industry has greatly progressed as well. In most parts of the world, television is considered as the most popular and ubiquitous public medium, offering diverse and accessible entertainment that remains unmatched by print media (Abu-Lughod, 1993, p. 509). Mass media, and television in particular, are forces which provide audiences with ways of seeing and interpreting the world—ways which ultimately shape their very existence and participation within society.

Many viewers choose to ignore or actively oppose television's representations of the world (Brookfield, 1987). Hence, various researchers have conducted numerous reception studies so as to discuss the decoding process applicable to TV viewing (Fiske and Hartley, 1978; Hall, 1980). In 1974, Hall (1980) had initially mentioned the process involved in the encoding and decoding theory in television discourse. In this interpretation, three positions were pointed out in interpreting audience message. These are dominant-hegemonic position, negotiated code or position and oppositional code. In fact, the three positions can be seen as a process of audience constructing. Each can be associated with life experience and the sense of reading by the audience themselves. An audience with a high level of education may be inclined to the situation of oppositional code. Dominant values are broadly accepted but are interpreted within the viewer's idiosyncratic context (Brookfield, 1987). In addition to analyzing the audience, television viewing is also analyzed based on conceptualism. This served as a useful analytic tool in understanding how audiences perceive television as a medium (Zettl, 1990, 1998; Barker, 2000).

Among the number of people viewing television, the children perhaps are the most directly affected by its influences. In addition to their absorbent young minds, children in general are easily influenced by what they see. Moreover, television programs contain certain cultural context that teaches young viewers cultural norms and expectations. This in

turn teaches the youth ways to interact in daily life, specifically those that are related to dating and establishing intimate relationships (Moran, 2003).

Television drama is undoubtedly a significant source of informal learning related to love, sex and relationships. In some instances, television programs are capable of implying explicit situations related to these aspects (Buckingham, 2004, p. 157). In gradual process, the youth can easily imitate and learn the values, behaviour and attitude implied by these foreign series through the characters' acting. Thus, Buckingham mentioned that television, which is largely perceived as entertainment, can encounter certain difficulties when used for the purpose of education (Buckingham, 2004, p.157).

In relation to this, there is a strong tendency for people to be easily manipulated by media. This creates concern for the youth who needs to be educated on appropriate TV program selection and perception. Being in the process of becoming educated and skilled, the youth should be prevented from being manipulated by media. The prevalence of this practice will make the youth less opinionated, making them less creative and independent as thinkers. Rather than increase the number of passive viewers among the youth, television viewing should be promoted as more than just a medium for entertainment.

## 2. Television and the Taiwanese Youth

The progress of the Taiwanese media industry was partly brought about by the introduction of Cable TV in 1990s. In addition, globalization has simultaneously flourished during this time, making foreign exchange a common trend among nations. As cable TV companies want to cater for large numbers of channel requests on programs, Taiwanese cable programming became more internationalized. This in turn made it significantly easier for foreign cultures to enter the Taiwanese society. In Taiwan, most of the television programs are characterized by Western and other Asian influences. American films, Japanese and Korean series are the most common programs shown on cable TV. According to Taiwan magazine *Global Views* Monthly magazine survey in 2007, in Taiwan, over 95 percent people watch TV every day, and above 18 years old spend 16.94 hours every week on TV, 2.42 hours every day, which is very similar to the situation in the UK where children and young people watch TV for an average 148 minutes per day (GVM, 2007; Johnson, 2006; Livingstone, 2002). This makes the impact of television and foreign programs strong among the Taiwanese audience. In fact, it was stated by a committed teenage group and Taiwan Media Watch in Taiwan that television in the country is an essential medium among the locals (TMW, 2008). This means that appropriate program selection is no longer an issue among the viewers.

Survey result has shown that about 50% of the teenagers significantly relate to these television series and have a strong tendency to imitate how these series characters' behave and act (Nielson Report on Television, 1988). This led to the growing number of new idols Taiwanese teenagers admire. In addition, consumer products associated with these new idols became very popular. These include pop music, clothes, mobile phone, hello kitty dolls, computer games, electric products, and published items. The Korean or Japanese series locations used for the programs became popular destinations for Taiwanese fans as well. Thus, anything related to these foreign programs become popular commodities among local consumers. The results of this survey further emphasized the great impact television has on its viewers.

Aside from consumer identity effects, many researchers view television as a negative influential medium for the general population, particularly among children and teenagers, directly affecting civic engagement, racial attitudes, gender role perceptions and violence issues (O' Bryant and Corder-Bolz 1978; Mackey and Hess 1982; Rosenwasser, Lingenfelter, and Harrington 1989; Shively 1992; Putnam 1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b; Felson 1996; Pescosolido, Grauerholz, and Milkie 1997). The phenomena with regard to popular foreign series in Taiwan as well as their growing impact among the youth calls for considerable attention as many relevant inquiries needs to be addressed. For instance, what are the specific effects of foreign television programs to the youth? Why do young viewers pay more attention to program factors such as the script, character and idolism rather than to the programs' aesthetic properties and ideology? What is the reason behind the growing interest and preference of the Taiwanese youth for foreign series? What is the degree of youth critical viewing involved in viewing foreign series?

## 3. The Invasion of Korean TV series in Taiwan

In Taiwan, television viewing is one of the most popular type of past time activity and perhaps one of the most accessible form of media, particularly among the youth. This makes television viewing highly influential. For example, one form of TV program that has greatly influenced Taiwanese youth is the introduction of drama series and soap operas. An example of which is the popular Korea series "Dae-Jang-Geum" that has been rating 4.5% as the highest rating of foreign series in July 2004 in Taiwan. (Nielson Report on Television, 2004) Before it was able to reach high ratings in the country, there are already a number of Korean fans in Taiwan. According to the head of MBC Television station, the export of Korean series has been raised 46% for US 43,000,000 in 2003 and US 130,000,000 in 2005. (MBC, 2006) Hundreds of Korean series proliferated in Cable or Series TV since July of 2000; many TV stations now import not only Korean series but Japanese series and American series as well due to the successful ratings representing a new industry trend.

Research spanning 50 years since Herzog's (1944) classic study of daytime radio or Television soap opera listeners indicates that emotional release, fantasy fulfilment, and information seeking still represent major reasons why people are interested in soap operas (Allen, 1995; Matelski, 1988). In addition to these, Korean series contains visual atheistic culture interests as well as cultural accessibility with its characters are some of the major contributory factors that make these soap operas popular. Korean series are also created with new Korean idols generating a number of young avid Taiwanese fans all over the country.

Considering this trend in Taiwan, the effect of popular foreign television series becomes clearer and more evident. Based from the discussion on effects of television to the youth, the pervasion of Korean series in Taiwan will naturally result in cultural effects that can change the cultural landscape of Taiwan in terms of media viewing. Media has remained an efficient medium in maintaining status quo or creating cultural changes whether in the material or non-material cultural sphere. It is recognized as one of the monumental institutions of society aside from the family, religious, and economic ones (Robertson et al., 1987).

As claimed by several researchers, television generates informal learning among the viewers and makes them adaptable and resilient to what characters portray on these series (Buckingham and Bragg, 2004; Ang, 1985; Moores, 1993, p. 43). While this is the current trend and situation among young TV viewers in Taiwan, much emphasis must be placed on what they are learning from these programs other than entertainment. The youth should be able to learn and decipher the real message behind the entertaining program they prefer to watch. Moreover, much emphasis must be placed on the effort and responsibility on educating the youth to integrate essential skills as active viewers. Considering the effect of television on the youth as well as the impact of the Korean series to Taiwan, it becomes clear that the Taiwanese youth audience needs certain factors to buffer the impact of foreign television programming, particularly on visual literacy and critical thinking.

#### **4. The Way towards Smart Television Viewing**

##### *4.1 Visual Literacy*

An art critic needs visual literacy; a music critic needs aural literacy; and a television critic needs what some analysts describe as television literacy. This use of the word 'literacy' is, admittedly, metaphoric. There is no evidence that our comprehension of television is analogous to our comprehension of printed words. The tendency for media manipulation can be prevented through proper education of television literacy. Furthermore, television literacy also serves as a means of detoxifying television which in turn generates active viewers with a more holistic understanding of the television (Wu, 1996). If you are aware of the medium's behind-the-scenes realities, then one will not be so stunned or manipulated by its message. At this point, watching TV actively is an essential skill for being a member of civil society.

In television literacy, what the television does to its viewers is not the core issue. Rather it is what the viewers do to television (Brookfield, 2001). Television literacy can help in preventing media manipulation as it provides the necessary abilities TV viewers must possess. According to Hefzallah (2002), television literacy produces educated active viewers by equipping them with the ability to analyze everything that is seen on television, the ability to define the difference between real world and television world, the ability to assess and judge various television programs, and the intellect to use leisure time. In other words, television literacy is an essential skill to create a smart audience. Television literacy become an essential skill for everyone and one of the most focused issues and therefore gains most of the attention from researchers. Television literacy is indeed essential for educating the audience to equip them with the abilities that will help prevent media manipulation. For this reason, the integration of critical thinking becomes a necessity.

##### *4.2 Critical Thinking*

Critical thinking is the ability to make reliable judgments when identifying, analyzing, comparing, contrasting and evaluating arguments. This ability is more than the act of receiving things through reckless and passive means. If a person is not able to critically understand a message and receive them in a reckless way this means that the individual lacks the ability to defy authority. This makes the person submissive to power. Through critical thinking, the individual is enabled to think beyond what is given by those with power. These makes people independent in thoughts and views.

Critical thinking is not only a skill or ability but it can also be described as an attitude with the urge to pursue the truth (Ennis, 1996; Siegel, 1988). First all, to challenge unfair practices, oppression and so on, is not dependent on the individual. The power derives from the combined voice of a group of people. The power of critical thinking as Freire emphasizes is associated with critical conscious and requires practice (Freire, 2003). Literacy is a key point connected to the consciousness of being critical. The lack of television literacy as well as the consciousness of being critical directly affects the audience, making it difficult for them to identify unrighteous practices shown on television. Maletzke in 1963 was sharply critical of elitist thinking behind the whole concept of 'mass society,' pointing out that industrial society of his day allowed a greater degree of individual variation in tastes, opinions and values than at any previous time. He concludes that the whole idea of mass culture is rather a product of the isolation of intellectuals than of observation of society (Maletzke, 1963, pp. 26-27); it matched that critical thinking requires on criteria epistemic

adequacy. Apart from enough knowledge to judge, the most important factor is critical thinking spirit that gives people courage to discover any unfair phenomena. Critical spirit is the foundation and key to practice the principle of critical thinking. As Freire mentioned, the process of critical thinking involves not only theory but also action (Freire, 1970). Combining thought and action creates an effective critical thinking spirit.

To acquire the literacy of critical thinking, the most important tool lies in education. Certainly, it shall be acquired in the process of growth during childhood but also as an adult. Many researches have cited that critical thinking is generally conceptualized as an intellectual ability suitable for development by those involved in higher education (Drake, 1976; Young, 1980; Meyers, 1986; Stice, 1987). Empirical studies of the development of critical thinking capacities focus on young adults (Kitchener, 1986; King, Kitchener, and Wood, 1985) or college students (Perry, 1970, 1981). This suggests that adults play a significant role in educating the next generation regarding television program viewing. Thus, to educate the youth as critical thinkers is a way of avoiding the tragedy of media manipulation.

Recently, educators have been aware of the risk for media manipulation and started to educate students in critical thinking but the practice on pedagogy still has a long way to go especially critical thinking of television for media. In 2002, the media policy released by the government emphasised the need for people to have television literacy so that they can access, evaluate, analyze and assess television when in a chaotic environment. Critical thinking plays a very important key to interpret the media message.

The Taiwan government issued a white paper in October 2002 asserting the importance of improving media literacy by enhancing the ability to judge and interpret media messages. Although television literacy class is not as advanced as in the U.K., where it has been included in the National Curriculum since 1989, more educators recognise its importance in education. In 2002 research, Sophia Wu cited four abilities on television literacy in Taiwan: (1) manage viewer's behaviour while they are watching (2) define the reality of Television programmed (3) convince by supportive evidence and truth (4) understand the media organization. So to be a critical thinker means that the television viewer is able to be skeptical about the accuracy of media depictions of what are portrayed as 'typical' families, or of the neutrality and objectivity of television's reporting of political events (Brookfield, 1987). When the Korean series and foreign series gradually "invaded" Taiwan, young viewers discussed risks of TV idols overly influencing their decisions to buy products related to the series; the degree of critical thinking of television literacy could be a possible resolution for this risk.

In order to emphasize more on the need for media education among young Taiwanese audiences, the researcher finds it necessary to identify the specific perceptions of the youth toward television viewing by means of conducting a study.

## 5. Research method

This research is focused on the feeling of watching Korean TV series on university level of Taiwanese audiences through focus group discussions (FGD). The researcher formed one focus group for discussion after watching the popular Korea series "Dae-Jang-Geum" for one hour. The focus groups are comprised of seven 18 year old respondents including two male students and five female students. The similarity of the composition among the respondents will strengthen the validity of the data gathered.

Using a questionnaire that the researcher has prepared (Appendix), the first batch of respondents (the Korean series fans) was invited for the FGD in a classroom. The classroom was chosen as the location for the study FGD due to its convenience. The respondents and researcher were seated in a round table for ease in facilitating the discussion. Before the FGD started, the respondents were initially familiarized on what the study was all about. After the brief introduction of the research objective and purposes, the FGD was conducted. They were all very enthusiastic to answer the questions so it was not difficult to gather information. In order for the researcher to conduct proper documentation, the participants were asked to respond one at a time.

In addition to the FGD, the researcher also classified the different themes that dominate Korean television series. This enabled the researcher to compare it with Taiwan's culture to confirm if it fits with it or otherwise. These themes also help in evaluating how Korean series affect Taiwanese women in terms of their behaviour and lifestyle. The discussion that will follow shows evidences of the learnings derived from watching the series. This process will also help in assessing the level of the participants' critical thinking.

## 6. The message of "Dae-Jang-Geum"

The story of "Dae-Jang-Geum" is about a young woman who grew up in a lower class family who later became an excellent doctor in the living quarters of a monarch in a palace. The story fulfils the spirit of invincibility among women especially since the story is based on old century Korea where women are regarded as lower class people. The characteristic of "Dae-Jang-Geum" can be discussed as following:

### *6.1 High class society*

High class living is always emphasized in Korean series, especially during the old century Korea. The young lady named Jang-Geum plays the role of a court lady who obeys the empress dowager of the higher class. During this time, women belonging to the lower class are not allowed to go against the law. Misery will bestow upon those who try to defy authority; those who work for the palace will naturally be moved out of the palace. This old practice is the reflection of social context within the Korean community. Power is always a factor to divide social class.

### *6.2 Stereotype image of lower position and weakness of woman*

Exchanging roles and sharing power are not encouraged in traditional Korea. Aside from being born from a poor family, Jang-Geum is a woman. During this period, sexual discrimination and labelling is a common practice in treating men and women. Women are forced to sacrifice their careers under the patriarchal system/community. This apparently reflects the sexual ideology in Korean society.

### *6.3 Strong family connection consciousness*

Influenced by Confucianism, Koreans value harmony within the family, community, and society as a whole. They consider themselves as members of a large family, and often regard the welfare of the family as more important than the individual. This has been evident when Jang-Geum tried her best to do her mother's wishes on her deathbed. This meets the values that Rosengren and Windahl (1989) mentioned: family welfare is always the first priority for Koreans. It reflects the culture of Korean society and the producer's identity values.

### *6.4 The strategy of idolism for promoting series*

According to cultural ministry of Korea, the purpose of promoting series idols is to attract viewers as well as to enhance consumer identity among fans. Once people identify with these idols, viewers tend to relate every life instance and experience to their idols. It matches Baudrillard's theory on the concept of simulations. It is not appropriation but rather extends the value of symbolism (Jian Miao Ru, 1998, p. 30). It reflects on consumer products associated with these new idols becoming very popular like pop music, clothes, mobile phones, computer games, electric products, publishing, and even Korean sightseeing destinations. Thus, anything related to Korea have become popular commodities for consumers through the value of symbolism.

### *6.5 The storyline of love affair is a hypnotic or a tear gas catalyst*

Emotions are naturally evoked from watching these television series, making the viewers deeply attached to its story and characters. Thus, the turn out of various events in the series can greatly affect the outlook of its viewers towards life's challenges. In a way, watching a television series serves as an inspiration to several viewers. As Hobson pointed out, watching television is a deep phenomena for family; woman will feel happy because they have cultural economy and cultural competence, so that they are able to enjoy the meaning delivered by the series (Hobson, 1982). In Korean series, love is unrealistic and illogical for the storyline. In spite of this, the viewers see it as reality, giving them hope and encouragement.

## **7. Analysis of the Respondents**

It is beyond the scope of this short assignment to provide an account of the detailed responses of the participants (as would be possible in a longer thesis). However the following account provides a summary of the main issues which emerged in order to illuminate the theoretical discussion.

Based on the survey FGD conducted with seven selected south Taiwan university participants, the following important points are summarized below:

Firstly, none of the respondents pointed out the implications of cultural issues (e.g. high social class, strong family connections and stereotyping) found in the series. This suggests that the respondents were not critically conscious of the Korean culture depicted in the drama. Apparently, the respondents were more interested in the nature of the characters' lifestyle including the fashion trend during that time. The manners in which the characters dress up are far more interesting to the selected participants. The manners, etiquette and customs shown by the empress were pointed out by the participants as a similar practice characterized in Chinese culture. However, no further points of relating this observation to Korean society were given. It is possible that watching more Korean series can help familiarize the viewers with the Korean culture and history.

Secondly, the respondents of the study appear to be influenced by idolism. Ying Ai Lee is a very popular actress who played Jang-Geum in the series. She has many Taiwanese fans from the first Korean series previously shown in Taiwan. As the respondents are able to identify with the popular actress, more young viewers are interested in watching Korean series. Interestingly, idolism greatly affects the respondents as they are also interested in knowing more about the series and its characters. Although the respondents do not want to be Koreans, they want to visit Korea and visit the place where their idol has been. They also have consumer identity related to their idol. The audience has been manipulated by

idolism that the series producer had intended; the producer's goal for influencing the way of behaviour, values and attitudes had obviously been achieved. One of the respondents stated, "I watch "Dae-Jang-Geum" because of Lee Young Ae." This is one of the most obvious evidences of manipulation through idolism.

Thirdly, the series exaggerates the stereotype of the woman's lower position, such as Jang-Geum's mother. The fatalism of woman reflects weakness of a woman's position by traditional values of following and obeying the man. Respondents seem to be unaware of gender equality. They just absorb the insensible storyline to fulfil their imagination. But some respondents commented on the illogical, fantasy storyline. One of the respondents stated, "I feel the storyline is fake, but I enjoyed the sound track." Most respondents gave less critical views on fake, insensible and illogical storylines but are more interested in finding enjoyment in the series, such as music, fashion and Korean cuisines. This apparently is one of the evidences of media manipulation among audiences. According to the current scenario illustrated above, viewers are more interested in a series' entertainment factor rather than concentrating on its critical elements.

Fourthly, television has had a profound effect on the information environment and the culture of society (McLuhan, 1964; Postman, 1982). In a chaos media environment, much effort is clearly necessary to resolve the problems of television programming within Taiwanese society. Of course, the identification of the problem is not sufficient. Means of integrating proper identification abilities, television literacy and critical thinking will help in understanding the message being delivered by various foreign television series. How will the youth know that the influence derived from television viewing should have limitations? How does media manipulation affect the youth's viewing interpretation? Are the youth equipped with the abilities to evaluate and interpret the message delivered by television programs? These questions will have to be answered so as to resolve the issues on the impact of television programs among Taiwanese youth.

In general, the youth are not particular about the problems of cultural identity. Although many respondents enjoy watching Korean series, they enjoy the series primarily because of the new idol and the growing interest in cultural differences. They may learn from the history and culture of Korea, but they basically perceive its story as old fashion characterized by slow rhythm. From this perspective, it is obvious that today's young viewers watch foreign TV series as entertainment that requires less critical thinking. In this case, Taiwanese young viewers are unconsciously manipulated by consumer identity, symbolism and idolism.

In order to resolve this concern, instructors must be engaged in reflective teaching (Consideine and Haley, 1999, p. 8). Through reflective teaching, questions about ideology, power and social relations are constructed, carried, and conveyed by media representations which require commitment to both critical thinking and a critical pedagogy. Len Masterman said, "It severely undermined the hierarchical role of the teacher as the accredited expert and purveyor of approved knowledge within the classroom. The role of the teacher in this process becomes one of organizing and guiding learners in activity leading to the acquisition and mastery of knowledge, skills, beliefs, values....cultural capital" (Consideine and Haley, 1999). Thus, media education and instructor support can be a key for improving critical thinking among young Taiwanese viewers.

## 8. Conclusion

Literature had proven that television programs can greatly influence viewers and has the tendency to instil new beliefs and insights, which later become societal norms. This trend can be a problem, particularly among youth, as it can substantially deprive their ability to think and act independently. Media, as described by various authors and researchers, has the ability to manipulate and affect its audience negatively. In turn, this problem leads to the generation of passive or unresponsive media users.

In Taiwan, cable television has paved the way for more foreign programs. In effect, this had affected the way in which Taiwanese youth perceive visual media. Based on the study findings, signs of media manipulation are evident among the respondents. Using a popular Korean TV series as an example, the respondents typically find television viewing as a mere form of entertainment. Although most of the respondents enjoy watching the Korean series, they enjoy the series primarily because of the new idols and growing interest in cultural differences. From this perspective, it is obvious that today's young Taiwanese viewers watch foreign TV series for entertainment that requires less critical thinking. In this case, Taiwanese young viewers are consumers unconsciously manipulated by identity, symbolism and idolism.

This finding further stresses the need for integrating television literacy and critical thinking among young passive viewers. In order to attain this objective, the significance of media education should be emphasized. This can be attained by the active participation of adults, particularly educators, in teaching the essential values and skills that youth need for more meaningful television viewing. Visual literacy as well as critical thinking should always be part of media education so as to prevent audience manipulation among Taiwanese youth. In general, the problem of media and youth can be resolved primarily through coordinated efforts and unified objectives.



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## Appendix

Name	Gender	Age
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1. How many Korean series have you watched on television in the last five years

- a. 1~3
- b. 4~6
- c. above7

2. Usually, do you watch Korean series regularly?

- a. almost every episode
- b. occasionally
- c. rarely

3. Do you buy goods which are presented in Korean Series?

- a. yes, very often
- b. occasionally
- c. never buy it

4. What is the reason you like watching Korea series?

- a. the actors or actresses
- b. the story line
- c. others \_\_\_\_\_

5. Have you ever watched "Dae-Jang-Geum" soap opera?

- a. yes, every episode
- b. occasionally
- c. only a few episodes
- d. never

Back up question during focus group

1. What is your feeling about this episode of "Dae-Jang-Geum" after watching it? Why do you like it? Why don't you like it?

2. Will you recommend it to your friend? Why?

3. If there is another Japanese or foreign series on another channel, will you consider changing channels?

4. What is your view on the popularity of Korean series in Taiwan? Why does "Dae-Jang-Geum" reach a high rating?

5. What is impact on Korea series for Taiwanese audience (example "Dae-Jang-Geum" promoting Korea tourism and food...)

6. Are you more interest in Korean culture since you watched this episode of "Dae-Jang-Geum"? What do you want to have further understanding?

7. What is your view about foreign culture imported to Taiwan by TV series?



## A Study on the Earliest Representation of Garment & Accessories in the Figure Illustrations of 'Nushi zhen'

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### Abstract

The earliest Chinese handscroll extant painting is the 'Nushi zhen' by *Gu Kaizhi* housed in the British Museum, which is now often considered to be a Tang Dynasty copy of the original. This article shows the study of the representation of garment and accessories of the figure illustrations all-sided in the painting. And by comparing with correlated literature and images, it opens out the typical skills and style in which the ancient Chinese figure painters of Jin Dynasty (AD 265-420) depicting the apparels in the handscroll painting.

**Keywords:** Representation, Garment, Accessory, Figure illustration, Handscroll

In Qi Dynasty (AD 479-502) of Southern Dynasties, *Xie He* said: "No ancient painting is exquisite until *Wei Xie*." in his <Commentaries on Ancient Paintings>. The ancient paintings *Xie* mentioned were the Chinese handscroll paintings of figure illustrations, and *Wei* was famous in Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265-317). So the mature style of Chinese ancient handscroll painting should appear from then on. Unfortunately, there was no *Wei*'s painting in existence, even copies. The earliest painting we can see nowadays is the 'Nushi zhen' by *Gu Kaizhi* housed in the British Museum, who was a top painter of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (AD 317-420), and ever learned painting from *Xie*. Upon that, this article will study the representation of garment and accessories of the figures in the painting all-sided. And by comparing with correlated literature and images, it may unveil the prevailing skills and styles of earliest Chinese handscroll figure painting at that time, although the painting being likely a later copy.

### 1. *Gu Kaizhi* and his works

*Gu Kaizhi*, (AD 345-407), a native of Wuxi in Jiangsu province, gained a reputation as a painter at the Jin court in Nanjing. He was famous for his portraits and figures, but he also painted landscapes. A number of important paintings are attributed to him, such as 'Nushi zhen', 'Nymph of the Luo River', 'Ladies of Beneficent & Wise in History', 'Chop Guqin', etc. But they were not associated to him in texts until the Song dynasty, so the relationship to him is tenuous.

According to the literature, *Zhang Yanyuan* of Tang Dynasty said: "*Gu*'s brushwork was compact, immediate, continuous, circular, fast like wind and thunder." in <The Records & Commentaries on Historical Famous Paintings>. *Tang Hou* of Yuan Dynasty also said that his paintings looked like the silk spun by spring silkworm, the cloud floating in the sky and the stream gliding on the ground, in his <Discrimination of Paintings>. Then we now know the probable style of *Gu*'s drawing. Comparing with other paintings in his name, the 'Nushi zhen' housed in the British Museum is the proximal copy to those literatures, so it is authentic for us to study the representation of garment and accessories of the figures in the earliest Chinese handscroll paintings.

The handscroll 'Nushi zhen' (also called "Admonitions of the Instructress of the Ladies in the Palace") illustrates a moralising text by *Zhang Hua* (AD 232-300) which discusses the correct behaviour of ladies of the imperial harem. The scroll consists of quotations from the text, followed in each case by figure illustrations without any background or at most slight suggestions of setting. It was made of ink and coloured on silk, which was 343.75 centimetres long and 24.37 centimetres high. This is the finest extant work attributed to *Gu* and one of the two versions of this theme (the other is in the Palace Museum, Beijing).

There are many differences of painting styles from Han Dynasty in the handscroll. Scene seven, for example, shows a

court lady advancing towards the Emperor, who was repulsing her with a gesture of his raised hand. The drapery is portrayed with long, continuous and even brushstrokes; movement is shown through the vitality of the swirling draperies, a continuation of Han Dynasty traditions. The facial expressions of the figures have advanced beyond the generalised types of Han figures; the characterisation of facial expression here is closer to portraiture, displaying individual character and emotion, etc.

As the representation of garment and accessories shown in it is discussed neither in fine art nor in costume academe, the study on it is significative.

## 2. Analysis of figures' apparel drawing

The handscroll 'Nushi zhen' depicts forty figures totally, including eighteen ladies, seventeen men, and five children. The analyses of the representation of those figures' apparel all-sided in it are as follows:

### 2.1 Head ornaments

All the ladies are ornamented with Jinjue hairpin, jointed with Buyao (it appeared in Han Dynasty, which is a kind of flower-like movable ornament on the hairpin, usually made of gold), as Figure-1 shows. The hairpin is outlined in thin ink line covered with red, while the Buyao is illustrated in quit different uneven curly red lines, which shows obvious distinctness compared with the ornament in silk painting of Mawangdui Han Tomb (see Figure-2). That makes out the advance of expressive force on lines.

There are several kinds of hat men wearing, one is the Tongtian hat which Emperor Yuan of Han worn (see Figure-3), one is a sort of deerskin hat three men had on(as Figure-4), one is all the housecarl and wagoner worn, named as Black Lacquered Silk hat (as Figure-5), others are called Qia by ancient Chinese.

On the other hand, the hats were drawn in various ways. For example, the upper part of Tongtian hat was painted like ribbon, and the tie part of hat was also illustrated in two segments, with the wider line representing Ying and the thinner lines hiking up like dragon antenna representing Wei, which hinting the afearred feeling of Emperor Yuan of Han. That means the painters in Jin Dynasty had begun to use diverse lines to make a clear distinction of different apparel parts, also to concern the expression of lines and shapes to show the figure's innermost being.

And the representation of Black Lacquered Silk hat of the housecarl and wagoner tell us that the painter was able to illustrate object from diverse angle of view that time. Comparing with the paintings of Han Dynasty, it was a great advance too. Although the painting skill of texture of netlike Black Lacquered Silk derived from Han Dynasty, it showed much more delicacy and third dimension. Furthermore, the transparency was never seen before, which made the Ze (a kind of ancient cap) and the shape of head under the silk hat be seen clearly.

The men's deerskin hats showed in Figure-4 painted with stronger third dimension by two lotus-leave-like parts standing towards two directions in front of the forehead, with alternation of black and white strips. The presentation was undoubtedly superexcellent, which exceeded the anterior paintings on the stones and bricks of Han.

### 2.2 Hairstyle

The woman's hairdo in the scroll has two styles, one is a big bun worn at the back of the head, with a string of hair behind (see Figure-1), the other is hanging down, with a double-loop knot at the end of the hair(see Figure-6). Obviously this painting style also came from Han(see Figure-7). The forms which represent the hairstyle of women differ greatly from men, which were all painted flat and sharp, like paper-cut, while the men's were illustrated vividly into threads. Although the representation of man's hair was not originated from that time, but no doubt it had shown obvious advance in the scroll by then.

### 2.3 Silhouette

It was common for women of Jin to dress short jupe with V-collar and long skirt reaching the ground with wide pleads. The silhouette of woman garments appears tight at the top and the waistline, while loose at the bottom and the cuff (see Figure-8), which could be traced up to Chu of Eastern Zhou Dynasty (see picture-9, a piece of silk painting named "lady with dragon & phoenix"), even the turnup skirt lap looks just the same. Although the poses and guises of the ladies in the scroll differed slightly, they all followed the shape of "L". According to the archaeological study, we know the silhouette was not formed by the garment itself, but a kind of artistic distortion by the painter of the handscroll, which revealed the aesthetic idea that age.

The curly flying silk band of the lady's garment is another obvious feature (see Figure-10). It could be comprehended as scarf, waistband, and Zaju (the multiple angular lap of the apron). This kind of figure shape appeared in several images of that time or later copies, such as lacquer painting in Datong Sima Jinlong Tomb of Northern Wei Dynasty (see Figure-11). It seems more like a kind of apparel representation style than the actual structures of suit-dress those days too.

As for the men and children, the silhouettes in the scroll were far more veridical compared to the lady's (see

Figure-12.13). There were no exaggerated shapes of garment or accessory parts in the scroll, except the robe of Emperor Yuan of Han, just like his tie of Tongtian hat, tossed about to illustrate his terrified mind. The representation was first brought forward by Gu Kaizhi in his argument on figure painting named “a form for an expression”, which influenced generations of ancient Chinese painters. The point is that the painter only highlighted few figures in this way to show their difference (see Figure-3.10).

#### 2.4 Structure

According to the scroll, the representation of structures of the garments, comparing men’s with women’s, shows more similarity than difference. The most painstaking depictions were all surrounding the head, besides the hat and the ornaments, the collar’s structure was illustrated quite exquisitely, which represents more than two layers of gowns or frocks. Take Figure-12 for example, the outermost one is called Danyi, which is made of gossamer, so only the edge of the collar was painted, and often right lapel on the left. The middle layer gown usually has edging on the V-collar, with left lapel on the right. The innermost one is under gown, shown by several slim lines. Moreover the women usually has furbelow around their necks.

Another important structure the scroll presenting is the waistline of figures. It seems that the men’s were loose and lower, using narrow belt covered by the bulgy gown; while the women’s were fairly tight and higher, often fastened with long silk band and knotted in the front (see Figure-14). Under the lady’s belt, there were usually apron and netlike cestus contracting the waist, which just as the lady’s in the silk painting of East Zhou Dynasty mentioned before (see Figure-9).

Not only on the collar, but also the edging of the gown and skirt was a key part illustrated quite meticulously, which also emphasized the outline of those lumpy laps. Comparatively, the cuffs of gowns and jupes were depicted quite vaguely, with a lot of interlaced lines only to show a rough appearance of several layers of clothes. Nor did those flying curly silk band of ladies express their cause and effect as which parts of garments they were.

There is an indistinctive garment’s structural detail in the scroll, which indicating the seam of the joint of sleeves to panel (like the armhole called today)(marked in red arrow in Figure-8.12), appeared on quite a few figures’ outermost gown (Danyi). That is to say that the painters of Jin even paid relatively more attentions on the structure of garments than later generations. It also showed that the painter then, by careful observation, tried their best to reproduce what the real garments should be on the handscroll.

#### 2.5 Shoes

It is interesting that all the men’s shoes were illustrated partly or integrally (see Figure 12.15), while the women’s were all covered up by skirts. The representative feature is common in Han Dynasty, but not prevailing after Jin Dynasty. It still revealed that the female image in the handscroll of Jin strongly influenced by Han.

On the contrary, the men’s shoes could be depicted so vivid that it almost likes a rendering of sketch. It also shows the great advance on the accessory illustration of scroll painting in Jin.

### 3. Painting skills

The painting skills the scroll expressing those garments and accessories were significant signs of Jin Dynasty, and influenced later painters for a long time.

Firstly, the lines of the scroll painted in taper brush all looks evenly narrow and slim, traveling slowly and smoothly, without diversification of strokes. This kind of line used to be called as “spring-silkworm-spitting-silk line” or “ancient-hairspring line” of “eighteen outlines” in drawing garments on traditional Chinese painting. This linetype is the earliest one appeared in Chinese handscroll figure painting, reflecting the rudiment of apparel representation, which mainly came into the style of Han. It wasn’t until Tang Dynasty that more kinds of strokes began to be shaped up. But the mode of the line had also been advanced greatly by then, just as its name described by later essayists. So it demonstrated the concern of the painters on the expressive force of lines about apparel molding.

Secondly, the colors applied in the scroll were quite few, besides ink, mainly vermilion and ochre, which means the palette of inchoate scroll painting was fairly limited. Obviously these colors couldn’t match all the garments and accessories wearing in historical reality. For example, the vermilion was used to paint golden head ornament, also to tinge clothes and edgings. Shortly after that time, in Southern and Northern Dynasties, more colors were painted on scroll painting, such as green, yellow, white, etc.

Thirdly, the most important feature lies that although the lines and the palettes were both monotone, the skills of the render on the garment and accessory displayed in the scroll varied wildly from flat to shade, thick to thin, even overlapping. There was almost no repeated rendering skill used on a single figure’s apparel, which represented the diversity of various clothes parts. In these crack ways, the painter of that era could represent luxuriant costume colors within limited tincts.

Lastly, also because of the lack of styles of lines and colors, the painters then could show almost no pattern on those garments, even though the textile pattern of Han and Wei had taken on a gorgeous visage. So it revealed that the painting skills that time were not capable of handling those complicated apparel patterns yet. Furthermore, there are few kinds of fabric materials represented in the scroll, because of the limitation on the painting skills.

#### 4. Conclusion

By the study of the representation of garment and accessories all-sided in the 'Nushi zhen', this article depicted a scene of the handscroll figure illustrations in Jin Dynasty. It could be concluded at least six points from the analysis.

The representation of apparels in Jin Dynasty derived directly from Han Dynasty, especially on the way it painting the outer woman.

The painting showed much more delicacy and third dimension on the apparels, which represents the great advance made in Jin, especially on the men's outfit, such as hats and shoes.

The painter in Jin Dynasty has begun to concern the expressive force of apparels' lines and shapes to show the figure's innermost being.

There are few kinds of fabric materials showed in the scroll out of silk textiles, because of the limitation on the painting skills.

The painting skill on lines, colors and render of that time had brought forth the rudiment of apparel representation of earliest Chinese figure illustration.

Above all, the painter of that age, by careful observation, made great efforts to reproduce what the real garments and accessories should be on the scroll.

The 'Nushi zhen' was a very important milestone of the beginning of ancient Chinese figure handscroll painting. From then on, the representation of garment and accessories, along with the development of figure illustrations flourished for almost a thousand years till the rise of landscape in Southern Song Dynasty.

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Figure 1. Lady's head ornaments and the hairstyle in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 2. Lady's head ornaments and the hairstyle in silk painting of Mawangdui



Figure 3. Emperor Yuan of Han's hat



Figure 4. Three men's deerskin hats



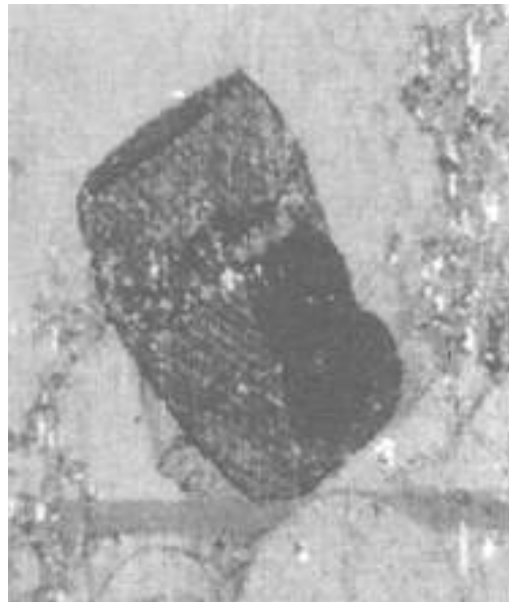


Figure 5. Black Lacquered Silk hat the housecarl and wagoner worn



Figure 6. Another kind of hairstyle in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 7. Figure brick in a tomb of Han Dynasty



Figure 8. Lady's silhouette in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 9. Lady's silhouette in the silk painting of Eastern Zhou Dynasty



Figure 10. Lady's silhouette in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 11. Lacquer painting in Datong Sima Jinlong Tomb



Figure 12. Man's silhouette in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 13. Children's silhouettes in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 14. Lady's waist part in 'Nushi zhen'



Figure 15. Men's shoes in 'Nushi zhen'



## Reinforcement on Teachers' Morality Construction --- An Eternal Subject in Educational Development

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### Abstract

Teachers perform the duty of imparting knowledge and educating people, and undertake the important task of cultivating socialism builders and successors and the mission to improve the quality of the nation a whole. Therefore, teachers should set an example in abiding by teachers' professional ethics, intensifying construction of teachers' morality, and improving level of education. This article proposes the constructive thought in teachers' morality construction in vocational education, that is, to try to improve the overall quality of a teacher in vocational education. Improvement of moral trait is the foundation, improvement of cultural awareness the key, improvement of innovative quality the core, and improvement of health and psychological quality is the basis.

**Keywords:** Construction of teachers' morality, Eternal subject

Excellent teachers' morality was born during several thousand years' education in China. Confucius said, "To be a person of exemplary virtue", Mencius said, "Teachers should be correct themselves", and Mr. Tao Xingzhi said, "A learned man for a teacher and his integrity for pattern" etc. Without doubt, these are spiritual treasures in Chinese traditional morality, and have been shining until today, so they should be inherited and developed. However, as an important component of moral criterion in a harmonious society, teachers' morality is also changing and advancing with the times. On one side, it has undergone long-run cultural accumulation, and on the other, it also reflects intensive characteristics of the times. With development of the reforming and opening up and the market economy, cultivation of practical, and technical talents has been an urgent requirement for construction of a harmonious society and campus, and construction of teachers' morality, especially that in vocational education, has been integrated with more enriched meaning, such as cultivation of innovative and practical talents. Therefore, construction of teachers' morality in vocational education has been encountered with new challenges and ordeal.

### 1. Importance and urgency of intensifying teachers' morality construction in vocational education

The Party and the country attaches great importance to vocational education, and has regarded development of vocational education as the strategical focus of further implementation of Scientific Outlook on Development and as the strategical breakthrough of the entire education. According to <<Decision by the State Council on Vigorously Carrying Forward Vocational Educational Reform and Development>>, the total enrollment scale of vocational education in China will be roughly equivalent to that of ordinary high school. Success and failure of education rests with teachers. Implementation of developing vigorously the policy of vocational education and realization of development goal calls urgently for further reinforcement on construction of vocational education teachers. However, that should concentrate on improving morality of teachers and their practical teaching ability, which can be realized by training a batch of virtuous and excellent teachers who are dedicated to work and have exquisite professional skills. By this means, they can become facilitators and promoters for advanced productivity and advanced culture, become instructors and guides for health growth of young students and play an important role in construction of a harmonious society and campus. (1) Reinforcement on construction of teachers' morality is a particular requirement of vocational education on professional quality of teachers. Characteristics of vocational education call for higher professional requirements and conditions from teachers, who should not only understand theory, but be proficient in practical skills. That is the particularity of vocational education, and more a precondition for ensuring talent training quality of vocational education. Therefore, the target should be positioned in realizing specialization of teachers, and what's more, specialization including connotation in a broad sense, and by no means merely improving professional level and skills in a narrow sense.

Construction of teachers' morality should be connected with specialization, and what's more, the former should be emphasized first of all, because teachers' morality is a construction of connotation and an internal core formulated by specialization. Just as the Minister of Education Zhou Ji says, "Construction of teachers' morality determines success or failure of reform and development in Chinese education. If we intend it for better, then the crucial factor is teacher, and what's most important in the quality of a teacher is the morality." Growth of teachers cannot go without escalation of morality. If we define educational function merely as imparting knowledge and define teachers merely as those who impart knowledge, then that might result in emphasis on professional quality assessment and negligence of teachers' morality assessment, and emphasis on external criterion and negligence of internal morality. Therefore, teachers of vocational education should not only improve their professional level and skills, but pay more attention to learning of the theory and escalation of morality, and regard construction of morality as an important content of their specialization.

(2) Reinforcement on construction of teachers' morality is a particular challenge to teachers' morality by characteristics of students in vocational education. First of all, poor foundation of students is the major feature of vocational education students. Since most students are eliminated by the exam-oriented education, there exists a serious inferiority complex among them. Besides, they don't have enough confidence, and have resistant feelings toward education and teaching in the school. They are at the most important stage of growth and development in their life, so they have a strengthened independence consciousness but a relatively weak self-control awareness. Many of them are "indifferent" to those behaviors such as violation of classroom discipline, destruction of public property, fighting and abusing, and consider such behaviors normal phenomena as being late for or absent from class, and intimate relationship between boys and girls. Some of them are lacking in a definite concept of right and wrong and a concept of beauty and ugliness, with weird hair and clothes and full of four-letter words. Furthermore, some students have a rather weak collective concept, weak legal awareness, indulged in smoking and drinking, punching up, blackmailing and stealing. In addition, quality and competence of graduates from vocational schools cannot satisfy requirements of modern enterprises. Due to the fact reform measures are not powerful in current vocational education, practical training conditions are limited, and professional teachers are lacking, comprehensive quality and professional skills cannot meet new requirements of modern enterprises on occupational capacity of a position, which calls for new ordeal and higher requirements for reinforcement on construction of teachers' morality and establishment of a harmonious campus. Characteristics of teachers and students in vocational education determine significance and urgency of teachers' morality construction, which is associated with realization of the goal of a well-off society, with survival of a vocational school and with the comprehensive development of a teacher. Reinforcement on construction of teachers' morality not only helps improve ideal of teachers, their philosophy of life, their value orientation, their moral trait, teaching approach, and even attitude of conducting themselves, and enable them to make clear their occupational characteristics and role value, but also can build excellent moral exemplification for students, lead them to choosing a correct path, furthermore, bring into existence a healthy style of study, precise school spirit, realize talent training goal of vocational schools and promote a better and faster development.

## **2. Major issues in the current teachers' morality construction in vocational education**

Generally speaking, in recent years, professional quality and ideological and ethical standard of teachers in vocational education have been continually improved. Under attack of all sorts of social trains of thought, they still hold their spiritual home and holy land of morality, voluntarily comply with professional ethics, work hard, make selfless and extraordinary contributions to reform and development of vocational education, cultivate batches of constructive talents and technical backbones with virtuous morality and excellent skills, and therefore, make significant contributions to social and economic development of China. However, it cannot be denied that, there also exist some unneglectable issues in morality of teachers in vocational education under the circumstance of market economy and the reform and opening up. First of all, quite a large number of teachers are lacking in correct ideal and push-and-go. They mistakenly believe that it's rather difficult for them to get promoted if involved in vocational education for years. Their students are weak in foundation, difficult to control; their students won't have a bright future, and it's also difficult for the teachers to go forward. Therefore, they don't pay much attention to their pursuit of their ideal and career, and separate their work from the future and fate of the school. Some teachers don't learn or have no knowledge of the basic line of the Party and relevant policies and guidelines, don't care about students' ideological and moral conditions, mistakenly believe it's enough for them to accomplish the teaching task, and don't expect much in their political thought. Some cannot and even don't want to adapt to requirements of vocational education reform. There lack new ideas in their own lesson notes, but they don't want to take pains to learn any more. Some don't want to learn a new major even if their current major doesn't adapt to requirements of teaching reform. They are even not aware of that, and don't expect much in their work. What is more, some teachers ignore the morality of a teacher, so they are biased in their world outlook, their philosophy of life and their values. They propagandize the dark side of the society in their communication with their students, and teach some unscientific and incorrect ideas with or without consciousness, so the students are misguided and affected in their healthy growth. Some teachers overemphasize their personal value and material interests because they are corroded by the social mammonism. The previous problems are likely to cause emphasis on wisdom and negligence of

morality, careless attitude, irresponsibility on post, decline of teaching competence and practical skills. Therefore, the reputation of the school slides down, and the development of the school is obstructed. Secondly, a minority of teachers are short of morality quality, sense of responsibility and mission. They merely regard teaching as a means of subsistence or as a transition and springboard to transfer to other occupations, without responsibility, and fundamental dedication awareness. Some flighty and impetuous teachers overemphasize economic interests, put too much energy and time to part-time jobs or commercial service activities, and merely regard teaching as a stable living channel; they cannot be devoted to teaching, exploring reform of teaching, or innovation. What should be specially pointed out, there exists a serious tendency of academic utilitarian among some teachers, who make false academic study, and false teaching evaluation to cope with their work. Some of them don't have a meticulous attitude in teaching, seriously lacking in knowledge, and they are content with superficial understanding, which causes a serious impacts upon teaching quality. Furthermore, some teachers are short of cooperative awareness and an attitude to cooperate harmoniously with colleagues, and malign their superiors and colleagues by means of complaint, anonymous letters, and some hearsay. What's more, some disparage their school, superiors and colleagues, deteriorate and damage their image and relationship in the presence of other institutions and parents of their students. Unfriendliness between teachers may also do harm to the students. All the above phenomena have serious negative impacts on the internal unity of the school, and leave bad impression upon all teachers and students. A minority of teachers are not meticulous in teaching; they don't care about study of their students, lacking in love and patience, consider teaching as a task to cope with, and carry out "No Man's Land", namely, what students do, whether they listen or not, and whether they comprehend or not). What's more, some teachers even write down an outline on the blackboard for students to let them learn by themselves, and lead the young astray. They know nothing about students' life, thinking and psychological condition, unable to treat students equally without discrimination, short of patience for those underachievers, simple and crude, satirize and discriminate against them, which brings about serious psychological harm to students. Some individual teachers even punish students with corporal punishment in a disguised form, and seriously hurt their personality and self-esteem. Some teachers abuse power for personal gains, accept students' invitation to eat by means of enrollment, transfer into another class, and admission into the Party, etc, and even accept the gift of money. At the current transformable age, especially a key period, there are also a minority of teachers who recklessly disregard the moral dignity of being a model for others, but merely regard themselves as ordinary social practitioners, such as "Fan Paopao" and "Yang Buguan", etc. There exist serious issues in terms of their morality. Although there are only a few exceptions, this brings seriously negative effect to the improvement of the teaching quality and to the reputation of the school, which sets back reform and development of the vocational education.

### **3. Approaches and methods of reinforcement of teachers' morality construction**

First of all, awareness of the significance of teachers' morality construction should be improved. A great many teachers, and even some superiors, are not quite aware of its importance. As for them, they mistakenly believe that the central task is teaching, which is closely connected with the assessment, their workload, and the title promotion, but that ideological, political and moral consciousness is virtual, which can only cause trouble if too much focused upon, and may waste time for teaching. This viewpoint is extremely one-sided. Teaching cannot proceed if isolated. But for perfect teachers' morality, a team spirit of mutual respect and mutual cooperation, and understanding of moral and ethical conditions of students, it's impossible for them to accomplish their teaching task or cultivate qualified talents. Then, a managerial mechanism should be established and formulated. There haven't been any special morality institutions in vocational schools to manage, guide and coordinate teachers, and construction of morality system, work approach, methods and means are far from perfect, so continual exploration and combination of practice should be conducted for further establishment and perfection. At present, reinforcement on construction of teachers' morality in vocational education can proceed from the following several aspects. Teachers should volunteer to devote themselves into construction of teachers' morality to improve their comprehensive quality. Improvement of moral trait is the foundation, improvement of cultural awareness the key, improvement of innovative quality the core, and improvement of health and psychological quality is the basis.

Comprehensive improvement of the quality means a lot to teachers. Firstly, the status of teachers is significant, and their role cannot be overestimated. As a poet said, "Do you want to change today? Then you can do business. Do you want to change tomorrow? Then you can be a teacher. If you die as a businessman, all will go with you. However, if you die as a teacher, your thought will perpetuate." This deeply reveals significance of a teacher and role of a teacher in the human society. Secondly, occupation of teachers is particular and irreplaceable. The position of teachers is a particular occupation with high content of morality, and what they produce are intellectual products. Their target is not only to impart knowledge and skills, but more to teach students how to conduct themselves. What they rely on are not only teaching materials at hand and equipment in the laboratory, but more virtuous personality and morality. Particularity and insubstitutability of the occupation is determined by the fact this occupation is one that cultivates people, and one that leads people to sublimity and a more beautiful life by cultivation. Thirdly, teachers' morality should be prior to all in education. Imparting of knowledge and educating of people is the mission of a teacher. To illuminate others, they should,



first of all, have brightness themselves, and to light others, they should, in the first place, have their own tinder. As the Chinese proverb goes, ‘to be “a teacher of imparting knowledge” is easy and to be ‘a teacher of people’ is difficult’. It means that, it is easy to impart knowledge, while it is difficult to teach students to conduct themselves. As a teacher of the people, one should not only impart knowledge, and educate others, but should be accustomed to loneliness and be indifferent to fame and wealth, and overcome fickleness and falsehood as well as eagerness for instant success and quick profits. In the process of education, a teacher should insist on priority of teachers’ morality, because virtuous morality is a flag, a perfect textbook for life, and a strong spiritual power, and has an imperceptible, huge and profound influence upon students, even benefiting them all their life. In one word, teachers who practice vocational education should strengthen their quality in several aspects, which mainly include the following four aspects.

Firstly, improvement of moral trait is the foundation. Moral trait is soul of human being, and plays a leading and dynamic role in their growth. To lay a foundation for that is actually to set up one’s own business. The Italian Poet Dante said, “Morality, in most cases, can fill up defect of wisdom, while wisdom can never fill up defect of morality.” Connotation of morality involves how to conduct oneself, how to care for others, how to cooperate and how to deal with all sorts of contradictions in a correct way. Improvement of morality should be based upon emphasis on cultivation of personality power. Personality refers to sum of such characteristics as disposition, temperament, and capacity, etc, while morality trait refers to essence of personality. One well-known American Managerialist said, “One can usually accomplish nothing if he/she regards the occupation as a job, while his/her achievement tends to be uncommon if he/she regards the occupation as a career. If we regard the occupation just as an occupation, then what’s on our mind is only a job, and a means of subsistence. However, if we regard the occupation as a career, then it will become an indispensable part of our life. We will have the enthusiasm to go forward with a strong push-and-go and desire of learning, and pursue realization of the value of our life. Therefore, teachers should get down to teaching, display their rich spiritual life and pursuit of distinguish ideal without cease, and bring the role of teaching into a full play with their perfect personality charm and diligent and joyous working attitude.

Secondly, improvement of cultural awareness is the key. The Educator Ye Shengtao said, “The entire job of a teacher is to be a model for others.” “Teacher” refers to a learned man for a teacher, which means that a teacher should not only grasp rich knowledge, but should be learned and accomplished. To be a teacher, one has to be well-read, diligent and eager to learn; one has to really have firm knowledge, proficient skills, rich practices, and really play the role of “teaching and disabusing”; one has to mould oneself to be both proficient in professional theory and in practical operation, so as to really become a model for students to conduct themselves and to learn. Meanwhile, cultural awareness not only refers to cultural knowledge, but more an internalized humanistic spirit and cultural awareness from humanistic, artistic, social and natural science. It is a social wealth accumulated in the process of human social development, which not only brings knowledge and capacity to human being, but also constrains formation of the world outlook, philosophy of life and values and confirmation of a distinguish mental realm. In one word, cultural awareness is a kind of knowledge and wisdom, also an excellent character, a tolerance, a spiritual state, and a thought on the quality that makes humans human, the core of which is to how to conduct oneself. Those with bad cultural awareness have knowledge but without cultural awareness, have intelligence but without wisdom, and have personality but without quality. Difference between excellence and mean does not lie in intelligence quotient, but in nonintellectual factors, which depend on cultural awareness. Therefore, as a teacher, one should take the initiative to improve the cultural awareness, then he/she can live up to the title of “engineer of the soul”.

Thirdly, improvement of innovative quality is the core. Innovative quality is unification of innovative consciousness and competence, while cultivation of the latter rests with innovation of thinking and rich imagination. Einstein once said, “Imagination is more important than knowledge, because knowledge is limited, while imagination is unlimited, and is source of all knowledge. As a teacher, one should, first of all, have innovative consciousness and competence. That is, one should have originality, become an actual torch for students’ rationality and enlightenment, and lead them to a path of truth. At the same time, a teacher should pay attention to the personality development of students, and create conditions for their personality development, because personality is the core of creativity and lack of personality means lack of creativity. Only a teacher with enriched spirit, distinguish morality and outstanding intelligence can respect and edify personality of students, while a teacher without any particular features cannot cultivate students with extraordinary features, but can only result in their spiritual poverty. Therefore, a teacher should support students’ vagarious activities and thinking, create atmosphere and enlarge the space for their free presentation and innovative development, and provide perfect teaching environment.

Fourthly, improvement of health and psychological quality is the basis. World Health Organization made such a conclusion on health: health not only means elimination of disease, but means a sound personality. Once a scholar said that, to be successful, one has to have motive, competence and energy. Lack of motive means unwillingness to perform, lack of competence means inability to perform and lack of energy means impossibility to perform. However, abundant energy exactly originates from perfect psychological quality, and a health build also depends on high-level psychological quality. Improvement of health and psychological quality should be based on reinforcement of learning of

pedagogics, psychology, management and sociology, etc, on correct understanding of the society, oneself and correct treatment of colleagues and students. One should be broad-minded, good at adjusting one's feelings, optimistic strong-willed, pioneering and innovative, and improve the ability to endure frustration, so as to adapt to requirements of the lofty occupation.

All in all, attack of market economy upon traditional morality of teachers will necessarily penetrate into vocational education under impact of various interests and trains of thought. Therefore, some news situations, changes and problems arise, and as a social being, teachers are necessarily affected. Likewise, connotation of teachers' morality construction should also go forward with changes of the situation, and new content is added which reflects requirements of the times and educational development. Today, teachers of vocational schools should not have scientific world outlook, philosophy of life and values, selfless devotion to vocational education, perfect professional ethics and healthy psychological quality, but should try to have new thought, new concepts of the new era and advanced morality awareness with characteristics of the times.

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