China in the World and the World in China

NACS 12th biennial conference

Venue: Campus Engelska parken, Thunbergsvägen 3H (just behind Carolina Rediviva, our main university library)

Here is a map of Uppsala: http://www.upsalakartan.se/

Preliminary program

Tuesday June 9th

8:30-9:00 Registration

9:15-9:30 Welcome speech

9:30-10:30 Keynote: Göran Malmqvist, Professor emeritus in Sinology, Stockholm University

Doing Field Work in China in the Early Years of the People’s Republic

10:30-10:45 Coffee/tea

10:45-11:45 Keynote: Professor Willy Lam, Chinese University of Hong Kong

The Rise of Xi Jinping and the Closing of the Chinese Mind: The secret agenda of president Xi Jinping

11:45-13:00 Lunch

13:00-14:00 Panels I, II, III

14:00-14:15 Coffee/Tea

14:15-15:15 Panels IV, V

16:00-17:00 Welcome reception at the University Main Building

Host: Vice-rector Torsten Svensson

17-18:30 Guided tour of the University Main Building


19 - Dinner, Engelska parken
Wednesday June 10th

9:00-10:00  Keynote: Professor Jean-Pierre Cabestan, Hong Kong Baptist University

Dragon in Deep Water. Transformations in China’s foreign policy

10:00-10:30  Coffee/tea

10:30-12:00  Panels VI, VII, VIII

12:00-13:30  Lunch

13:30-14:30  General Assembly

14:30-14:45  Information about Fudan-European Centre for China Studies, Copenhagen. Liu Chunrong

14:45-15:00  Information on NIAS databases, Inga-Lill Blomkvist

15:00-15:30  Coffee/tea

15:30-17:00  Panels IX, X, XI

18:30-  Dinner, Engelska parken

Thursday June 11th

9:00-10:00  Keynote: Professor Børge Bakken, Morrison Fellow at the Australian Centre on China in the World at Australian National University

Between Big Brother and Big Bucks. Surveillance with Chinese Characteristics

10:00-10:30  Coffee/tea

10:30-12:00  Panels XII, XIII, XIV

12:00-12:30  Final words from the 12th biennial conference and first of the 13th biennial conference in Denmark 2017
Panel I. Chinese students abroad as representatives of China: Fighting the “China Angst”

Moderator: To be decided

The following quote about China is often attributed to Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821): ‘Let China sleep, for when she awakes, she will shake the world’. Now that China has ‘awakened’, a certain ‘China Angst’ or Changst (Chu, 2013) is emerging worldwide. Changst represents the fear of ‘mysterious’ and potentially ‘threatening’ China and of being overtaken by her. This is experienced by e.g. the West and other parts of the world. As representatives of ‘China’, students of Mainland China but also of other Chinese worlds (Hong Kong, Malaysia, etc.), who study abroad have to face discourses of Changst: questions about Human Rights, ‘Chinafrica’, the positions of Confucius Institutes around the world, etc. These discourses can also relate to century-old clichés about Chinese culture. In this panel the speakers examine the kinds of Changst discourses that these students have to face abroad, how they deal with them and if they manage to have an impact on their interlocutors, i.e. decrease fear and angst about the Middle Kingdom. Using data from different contexts and different research methodologies, the speakers show the similarities and differences in expressing, constructing and dealing with discourses of Changst.

Fred Dervin
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Shadow Puppeting the Chinese student

Adopting a critical and reflexive intercultural perspective, this paper examines the depiction of a Chinese student, based in France, in a novel entitled “Ombre Chinoise” (Eng.: Chinese Shadow, 2014). What does the author, C. Masson, reveal about his (and potentially others’) ideologies and doxa about China and the Chinese in his novel? What elements of Changst are to be found? Is the Chinese student made to respond to the main French character’s assertions and assumptions about China and the Chinese? In other words, is he empowered to fight against these ideas or is he merely “shadow puppeted” by the author? What does it tell us about how a French writer sees the French when he writes about the Chinese? A critical discourse analytical approach is used to analyse excerpts from the novel.

Regis Machart
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Resisting the Overwhelming Anti-China Discourse: International Chinese Students in France

In March 2008, French President Nicolas Sarkozy announced a possible boycott of the opening ceremony of the Olympic Games in Beijing because of the then unrest in Tibet. In response to Sarkozy’s announcement and in support of China, PRC Chinese students in France started a blog (Soutenir JO 2008) in which they expressed their discomfort with this official French discourse. How did they reproach the French government? How was it expressed? How did they formulate their identity as Chinese-students-
who-were-receiving-a-‘Western’-education and oppose critics on human rights? A critical discourse analysis of Chinese students’ postings in French and the eventual feedback provided by French nationals/officials using a deconstructivist approach of identification will provide a better understanding of stereotypes faced by PRC students. This paper will highlight power relations between Chinese international students, the host country and the Motherland.

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The Political Paradox in Australian Higher Education over the Rise of China

The spectre of the rise of China haunts Australian education policy. China’s rise has become the source of the highest number of international students, contributing 20 per cent of university income. For Australian governments, Chinese student enrolments offer the opportunity to reduce overall public funding and promote deregulation. On the other hand, governments express anxieties that Chinese students have paradoxically either lowered the quality of higher education or are out-performing domestic students. China’s rise is also the ghost haunting Australia governments in their fear of university ranking decline. The governments seek to respond to the foreboding by deregulating demand, expecting a Darwinian survival of the international fittest university. However, in response to the fear that Australian students are falling behind their Asian contemporaries, government have become more interventionist, offering scholarships and funding for students to study overseas and the expansion of Asian language capabilities across the school’s curriculum. This paper will argue that Australian higher education policy has opportunity-come-threat relationship with China at its very essence that creates paradoxical responses from neoliberalism to interventionism.

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‘Critical Thinking’ and the Discourse of ‘Inadequacy’

Global higher education is now situated in an open information environment in which national borders are routinely crossed and cultural identities are constantly shaped through encounters with diverse others. With over 4.5 million students on the move, pedagogical implications are potentially profound to the knowledge structure, which so far has been largely affected by a single version of history. Located at the very centre of current critical debates on higher educational pedagogy, is the most contested issue of ‘critical thinking’, which has been credited as the essential attribute of graduates by all universities in Australia. University policy makers have taken up ‘critical thinking’ to benchmark against the ‘deficiency scenario’ often associated with Asian international students, the largest cohort of which come from China. University educators are faced with an awkward predicament: the demand from management to find a way to teach ‘critical thinking’ and the ‘diverse diversities’ in the changed demography, which compel the necessity to explore alternative ways in pedagogy. This paper contests the process of homogenisation with ‘critical thinking’ as a primary graduate attribute, and argues for an urgent need to embrace epistemological plurality in global knowledge domains and knowledge production.

Keywords: international mobility, fear of China, intercultural preparation, critical thinking, othering
Panel II. Soft power

Moderator: To be decided

Hang Kei Ho

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Hong Kong at a crossroad: Exploring its changing relationship with China and the West through foreign real estate investment, education and consumption practice

It has been eighteen years since Hong Kong’s sovereignty was transferred from Britain to back to mainland China. Although Hong Kong was promised that its autonomy and way of life would remain unchanged for fifty years until 2047, the ongoing political uncertainty and the influx of the underprivileged as well as super-rich mainland Chinese have impacted Hongkongers’ everyday life. Some Hongkongers have welcomed the wealth and opportunities that the mainland Chinese bring to the Special Administrative Region, whilst others have been less approving of their lack of respect for Hong Kong’s culture and society. Moreover, the recent Umbrella Movement that took place in September 2014 has further challenged the identity of Hong Kong citizens in which they are even more concerned, confused and consternated about their future.

This working paper examines the ways that Hongkongers deal with internal and external uncertainties through the way they invest in foreign real estates, decide on their children’s education and everyday consumption practices.

This research draws on my previous doctoral work on the geographies of consumption in Hong Kong and my current postdoctoral research on the way that Hong Kong investors purchase residential properties in the UK and other parts of the world. This paper provides a snapshot of 2015’s Hong Kong and how Hongkongers confront the conflicting relationship between the consumption of western values and their traditional Chinese identity.

Tiina H. Airaksinen

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Peace and order in China: Negotiating Legality in the Treaty Port

During the period of treaty port system period Chinese and Western concepts and understanding of processes of dispute resolution, territorial administration and the maintenance of order in society were constantly negotiated. This was particularly evident when the International Settlement was established within the boundaries of Shanghai. Imperial authority and legality was executed in the International Settlement by the Shanghai Municipal Council (the Council, 1854-1943) with support of the Mixed Court (1869-1927). The Council was an imperial construction created particularly by the British. The Council executed the authority and created legal rhetoric that sustained British order in the region. The Mixed Court was established to deal with people of Chinese nationality that were accused of offences or crimes committed within the Settlement limits. It was also responsible for dispute resolution, criminal administration, and the enforcement of order generally for the very large Chinese component of the population.

It was true that China was never completely colonised or reduced to the status of formal colony. Thus this system of foreign policies in the treaty ports is often referred as informal imperialism, semi-imperialism
or quasi-imperialism in where imperial practices were executed without formal territorial colonialism. Land was always leased from the Chinese government. Moreover Chinese residents were never colonial subjects and were in principle subject to Chinese national law. In reality, they were accorded a protection from the state by the foreign authorities, directly or indirectly. This paper hence focuses on the activity of ‘territorial administration’, which here refers to a formally-constituted, locally-based management structure operating with respect to a particular territorial unit or as a sub-state like unit or as nonstate territorial entity. Such an artificial definition is adopted in preference to that of ‘government’ or ‘governance’ when these terms are used to refer to, respectively, the sovereign authority in the territory concerned and the activity performed by that authority.

Keywords: legality, imperialism, treaty port system, territorial administration

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The International Soft Power Push of the PRC: Automated Content Analyses of the Early Impact in Western Media

The international soft power push by the PRC has been received with scepticism. The outcome of the image campaign is in doubt, and attempts to measure it have not yielded results. While the assessment of hard power is more straightforward, methods to quantify soft power remain underdeveloped. This study attempts to measure the success of Chinese external soft power with a large scale sentiment analyses from Western media. The quantifying of sentiment in vast data sets by hand coding is costly and time consuming and thus not useful for political science purposes. This paper utilizes an automated dictionary-based content analysis method. The data consists of two Reuters article corpus (n=1,500,000), which are first divided into China related content and further to cultural, political and economic categories. The method is validated by ranking each Transparency International corruption index country according to the positive sentiment value calculated from the data. The following order correlates strongly with the index (0.6). The method is used to test the hypotheses that Chinese “culture” has more potential as soft power carrier in the West than “politics” or “economy”, and thus should be and is the centre of focus in its soft power. Although a novel method, the basic results are promising: within China related cultural content a trend in the data toward higher positive value is detected. The method shows good promise within political science research and soft power measurement. However, more methodological contributions are needed especially in validation.

Panel III. Literature, caricatures and stereotypes

Moderator: Lena Rydholm

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Reflective Reconciliation: Cosmopolitan Memory in Long Yingtai’s *Big River Big Sea*

Much alike the study of literature, memory studies was characterized by its “methodological nationalism”. Memory, community, and geographic territory were thought of as an inextricable unit. However, Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider, among others, have argued that the global spread of Holocaust discourse has generated a “cosmopolitan memory” that has a vivid effect on collective memory and moral debates on a global scale. The Holocaust they argue is no longer tight to its spatial and temporal particularism, its memory “travels” and thereby becomes “cosmopolitan” or “multidirectional” (Rothberg) transcending its directly affected community and being taken up by others.

When reading Long Yingtai’s “*Big River Big Sea – Untold Stories of 1949*”, we encounter a carefully constructed polyphonic counter-discourse of national history that subverts the state-engineered nationalism in the PRC as well as in the ROC. Blending individual voices of survivors’ traumatic experiences with her own ethical beliefs, Long Yingtai explicitly points to elements of the past that traditionally counteract the self-sufficient narrative of the nation. In my paper I will explore in how far Long Yingtai’s “*Big River Big Sea – Untold Stories of 1949*” has a potential to replace (national) discourses of blame and lament by (multidirectional/cosmopolitan) discourses of shame and guilt. I will ask in how far her literary interference points to historical self-understanding that is no longer attached to the nation-state; in how far does it indicate self-transformation that enables Chinese imagination to reflexively rework the boundaries between Self and Other? In how far is her work a conscious act of reflective reconciliation that transcends national and ethnic boundaries?

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**Inspiration Across Borders – a Comparative Study Between Dickens and Lao She**

It is well known that the famous Chinese writer Lao She was inspired by Charles Dickens in his literary writing. Several studies have been done on the subject with regard to various aspects of their writing. Based in previous research on the subject, I have done a comparative study between Charles Dickens’ *Nicholas Nickleby* and Lao She’s *Lao Zhang de zhexue*, in my Master’s thesis. My intention is to see to what extent Lao She’s *Lao Zhang de zhexue* is under the influence of Dickens’ *Nicholas Nickleby* through comparing these two novels in order to find similarities and differences. The main aspects that I have studied are humour, characters and style.

A dissertation on the subject was written by Yiu-Nam Leung at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1987, named _Charles Dickens and Lao She: A Study of Literary Influence and Parallels_. This dissertation is the main study and I will use it as a starting point and I will relate my findings to it. What I will contribute to the subject is my use of literary theory, something that previous studies have neglected.

At the NACS conference, I will present my study, theory, method, analysis and my conclusions. I will also compare my study to the previous one by Yiu-Nam Leung, to show how the results can be reinforced through using adequate literary theories.

Key words: Dickens, Lao She, literary theory, influence, characterization, style

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The “Chinese character”– The Early Development of a General Purpose Stereotype

This research paper is a part of my dissertation titled: A Chinaman’s Chance: American Popular Fiction, Reality and the “Chinese Character”. It is an interdisciplinary study that combines Literary Studies, through Postcolonial Theory with East Asian Studies in an examination of a general purpose stereotype used in American popular fiction to represent the white American perceptions of the Chinese immigrant minority. This paper focuses on the definition and early development of the “Chinese character” in 19th century popular fiction. I argue that this early version takes the form of John Chinaman, both a fictional character as well as a term used to refer to the Chinese minority in the news media. I examine the early appearances of this stereotype in popular fiction and contrast these appearances with usages in three select newspapers, including the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times through content analysis. The purpose of this analysis is to examine the interconnection of influence between fictional representations of the Chinese minority and news media representations. It is also an attempt to determine when and why the term “John Chinaman” became widely used. The theoretical approach of my analysis comes from American Orientalism and Critical Whiteness Studies.

Keywords: Cultural Studies, Transnational History, Ethnic Stereotypes, John Chinaman

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Caricatures of Chiang Kai-shek in Czechoslovak Communist Propaganda (1948-1975)

“Chiang Kai-shek, the so-called president of the so-called Republic of China died...” By these words the biggest Czechoslovakian communist newspaper Rudé právo referred about the death of Chiang Kai-shek in April 1975.

The aim of this paper is to provide a media discourse analysis of the official communist propaganda caricatures in Czechoslovak press concerning Chiang Kai-shek in the period 1948-1975.

After the Second World War, when Kuomintang had began to lose the Chinese Civil War; Chiang Kai-shek and his inability to gain control in China became a popular part of communist propaganda, caricatures and even common jokes. This paper is mainly based on the most widespread Czechoslovakian newspaper Rudé právo, the official newspaper of Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and cartoon journals, Dikobraz and Roháč, that belonged among the most popular and read magazines in the country.

The study covers the period of communist rule in Czechoslovakia, from February 1948 to the Chiang Kai-shek’s death in April 1975. The emphasis will be laid on the last years of the 1940s before Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan and the 1950s, when P.R.C. was establishing its international contacts. During this period Czechoslovak public opinion was strongly supportive towards P.R.C. and their common “imperialistic” enemy. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a decline in international cooperation among P.R.C. and Soviet Bloc, and therefore a decrease in the amount of propaganda caricatures of Chiang Kai-shek, reflecting only significant incidents such as the UN’s recognition of the PRC, and the death of Chiang Kai-shek. The study will examine the presentation of Chiang Kai-shek; his stereotypes within the cartoon imagines and what information were or were not presented to the Czechoslovakian public.

Keywords: Chiang Kai-shek, Czechoslovakia, Communism, Propaganda, and Caricatures
Building a zone of influence in the global South. Sino-African cooperation in the context of Chinese foreign policy

Heated debates around China’s international strategy present various standpoints. This paper claims that China does not seek to overtake the Western zone of influence but works on establishing one of its own, based in the global South. To illustrate the point, the discussion focuses around Sino-African ties and places them in a broader context of South-South Cooperation. This paper argues against the claim that Chinese activity in Africa should be labelled “neo-colonial”: Chinese African engagement serves broader strategic, political, economic, and security purposes than simple resource extraction. Instead, it explains this activity through Chinese principles of mutual benefit and reciprocity in conduct of its foreign policy.

Based on the examples of Sudan and Zambia, this paper shall illustrate the great variety of China’s African interests and strategies. The two countries are extremely different from each other in terms of political regime, domestic politics, international standing, and resources available. China employed tailored mixtures of economic and diplomatic strategies to resolve the issues encountered in each country. In the world of globalized liberalism, China does not have to comply with neoliberal and democratic principles in its conduct of foreign policy and prioritizes economic gains over security of its investors. Hence, China is able to maintain close diplomatic ties with rogue regimes like that of Sudan, invest in fragile, new states, like South Sudan, and do not comply with the safety standards, like in its copper mines in Zambia.

This flexibility allows China to appeal to a variety of regimes ruling developing countries and present them with a wide array of developmental assistance. The main claim is that this unique diplomatic style aims at building up Chinese zone of influence in the global South, which is crucial for grounding Chinese future international standing.

Keywords: South-South Cooperation, China, Africa, Sudan, Zambia, foreign policy.

For mutual benefit? Activities of the Chinese party-state-corporate nexus in the Zimbabwean natural resource sector in the 2000's

The Chinese party-state and Chinese companies have been increasingly active on the African continent since early 2000's, especially in the natural resource sector. Accessing natural resources is assumed to be one of the main goals of both the Chinese government and relevant Chinese companies in resource-rich African countries. While existing literature has focused on various facets of China’s Africa policy, details of collaboration between Chinese party-state and corporate actors remain largely unexamined. In the natural resource sector, such collaboration ranges from negotiating access to natural resources to
arranging large Chinese-financed projects repaid in natural resources. The paper analyzes in detail several cases in which a nexus of party-state actors, state-owned enterprises and private companies have collaborated in accessing Zimbabwean natural resources (in particular platinum, chrome and diamonds) between 2000 and 2013. All in all, Zimbabwe offers a fruitful context for analysis: the government has actively sought closer relations with China, faced with a severe economic and political crisis involving a dire shortage of foreign investment and an increased state control over the mining sector.

Keywords: China, Zimbabwe, natural resources, foreign policy, Chinese companies

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Assessing China’s “Special” relations with Pakistan

Since the early 1960s, China and Pakistan have maintained a steadfast relationship, which studies claim is based upon a shared hostility towards India—the Indian factor. To argue, it emerged only in the wake of Sino-Indian border war of 1962. As there is no reduction in Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistan tensions since then, Sino-Pakistan “all-weather” friendship remains intact. It is correct, but does not represent the whole picture. Since the 1980s, China has been changing its policy from pro-Pakistan stance to a neutral policy as was exhibited on various occasions. Sino-Indian relations have substantially improved. Yet, Beijing’s “special” ties with Islamabad remained unchanged. This study argues that there are several factors, beyond India, which have played equally significant role in the growth of Sino-Pakistan relations. These factors include, shared geography, early border settlement, regular visits at top-level leadership, role of armed forces and media, non-interference policy and bilateral nature of relationship: China provided valuable economic, political and military assistance and technology which enabled Pakistan to gain a degree of self-sufficiency in many areas. Pakistan’s return support to China though was not in economic and financial terms, served some of China’s core strategic objectives. Pakistan helped in breaking China’s isolations during the 1960s, assisted in gaining UN seat, rapprochement with Washington, acted as a bridge between China and the Muslim world, and backed Beijing on important issues such as Taiwan, Tibet, human rights etc. This support is continuing in most of the areas. This mutuality of interests developed “trust and reliability”, as China and Pakistan often claims, though this concept remains alien to international relations.

Key words: Sino-Pakistan relations, China and Pakistan, “all-weather” friendship.

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The principle of non-intervention with Chinese characteristics

Exploring the conditions under which to expect what kind of Chinese intervention

Due to Beijing’s expanding global role and interests, it is no longer possible for China to follow its traditional ‘lay low’ [tao guang yang hui] strategy and a strict interpretation of the principle of non-intervention. Rethinking is needed. Consequently, there is among Chinese International Relations scholars an intense debate and a key driving concern is how China can become more actively and constructively involved in international politics and thus better promote and protect Chinese global interests while at the same time continue to respect the principle of non-intervention and not end up conducting foreign and security policy like ‘the hegemon’, i.e. the US, and risk creating more instability
and chaos in the international system. That is, how can China intervene in a ‘morally rightful’ and ‘non-
hegemonic’ way?

The current Chinese foreign and security policy clearly reflects a more flexible and pragmatic
Chinese interpretation of the principle of non-intervention. In relation to several international security
challenges and crises, Beijing has presented diplomatic suggestions and offered to play a mediating role,
e.g. in Afghanistan. There are also signs of a kind of Chinese ‘stick and carrot’ diplomacy, where Beijing
shows increased willingness to use its now stronger economic and military strength to influence the
domestic politics of other states, e.g. of the smaller East Asian states like Myanmar and Cambodia. Lastly,
there are cases, where Beijing continues to insist on the principle of non-intervention as the most
fundamental principle in international politics, e.g. in relation to the conflict in Syria.

In this paper I explore the conditions under which to expect what kind of Chinese intervention
examining both the debate among Chinese International Relations scholars and the current Chinese
foreign and security policy.

Panel V. Language, Linguistics and Rhetoric

Moderator: To be decided

Anna Fäl dt anna_faldt@hotmail.com

The Animal Symbols in the Pictographic Script of the Naxi People (MA thesis)

The purpose of this work is to acquire a deeper knowledge of the pictographic script of the Naxi people.
In this paper there is first an introduction to the Naxi people and their culture, language and script. An
analysis of all pictographic symbols would be too extensive a scope for this paper. As the animal symbols
give the pictographic script of the Naxi people its special characteristic and personality, I have chosen to
limit the study to them. A selection of pictographic characters representing animals is described, the usage
of characters is discussed and observations noted. Characteristics, structures and patterns of usage are
studied, and observations are commented on. Without a study of the Naxi manuscripts one could believe
that the contents deals with animals largely, which would be a mistake. About half of the animal symbols
here do not actually represent the meaning of an animal at all. The object of investigation has been two
ritual texts, “A Naxi Story of the Creation” (He Jigui, Naxi dongba guji yizhu (3), Kunming: Yunnan
Minzu Chubanshe, 1989, pp 107-137) and Naxi manuscript no. 1946.34.12, which have been translated in
order to provide a basis for this study. These texts deal with the story of creation, which is a theme
narrated within several different kinds of rituals. Naxi manuscript no. 1946.34.12 is a manuscript
belonging to the collection, which the National Museum of Ethnography bought from the missionary
Hanna Asp in 1946. This collection is not yet translated or published, but in this thesis a small part of it is
available. Pictographic script, English translation and other information can be found in the appendices.

Keywords: Naxi people. Pictographic script. Symbols. Story of the Creation. Culture. Dongba (Naxi-

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Culture influences action understanding in infancy: A comparative study of action prediction in Chinese and Swedish infants

Previous studies have shown that infants can predict other peoples’ action-goals and that this ability is connected to infants’ own motor development. However, the cultural specificity of this ability is not known. Eight-month-old Chinese and Swedish infants were presented with an actor eating with a spoon or chopsticks. Predictive goal directed gaze shifts were examined using eye tracking.

It was hypothesized that if infants use direct matching to predict action goals of others only actions that infants can perform should be predicted. In this case actions directed towards the mouth. Infants should however be less proficient in predict actions directed towards external objects in order to manipulate them (as this ability is under development at this age; Ruff, 1984). From a cultural perspective infants should anticipate tools that they are highly familiar with, that is, spoon-use in Sweden and chopsticks-use in China. As infants are often confronted with both object manipulation and eating (after all, food needs to be manipulated prior to being placed in the mouth) the cultural hypothesis would predict that both of these actions should be anticipated to an equal degree. A third alternative, direct matching plus culture, would be that both above mentioned requirements are fulfilled. Infants are assumed to predict action goals when observing actions that they are highly proficient in performing (placing objects in mouth) but only in contexts that that harmonize with the cultural context in which the infants live (in this case, chopsticks used to eat in China and spoons used to eat in Sweden).

The results demonstrate that infants’ ability to predict the goal of manual actions directed towards the mouth varies drastically between cultural contexts. Chinese infants only predicted the goal of eating actions performed with chopsticks whereas Swedish infants exclusively predicted the goal of eating actions performed with a spoon. Infants in neither culture predicted the goal of object manipulation actions (e.g. picking up food) performed with a spoon or chopsticks. The results support the view that multiple processes (both visual/cultural learning and motor based direct matching processes) facilitate goal prediction during observation of other peoples’ actions early in infancy.

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Linguo-centric tendencies in contemporary Chinese philosophy and literature

It is common knowledge that nowadays major schools of Western philosophical thought focus mainly on the phenomenon of language. It becomes a spinal cord in the body of modern philosophy. Boundaries between philosophy, linguistics and literature are blurred. Language dictates the ways we perceive the world, determines the reality. The world is viewed through the prism of language. Derrida even turns the world into a text. Such a linguo-philosophical approach finds its true place in contemporary Western literature. Meanwhile, China is day by day strengthening its position on the world scene. This paper intends to loosen up the rigidity of conventional notion according to which contemporary Chinese philosophy and literature is nothing more than a blind imitation of Western tradition. Of course, we can’t doubt the influence Nietzsche, Foucault, Heidegger, Derrida and Lacan have had on Chinese writers. Their works are permeated with the awareness of Post-Structuralist notions according to which the whole world is a text. And still, modern Chinese philosophy and poetry develop their own rather peculiar linguo-philosophical approach to the world. That is, philosophy and poetry in China revolves around the idea of vivifying life-giving powers inherent in “汉语” – ancient language. In the works of philosopher Xia Kejun 夏可君 it is viewed upon as a “double gift”. A cult poet Yu Jian 于坚 says that ancient language is “the last hope of salvation” given to Chinese nation. A poet Ouyang Jianghe 欧阳江河 sees “汉语” as an antidote for cultural deprivation. A literary critic Zang Ce 藏策 also talks about marvelous
potentialities hidden in the language of the “ancients”. Such linguo-philosophical ideas are being juxtaposed with the views of famous Western thinkers. This article helps strengthen the intercultural dialogue, enhances mutual understanding between two traditions.

Keywords: linguo-philosophical, poetry, literature, Post-Structuralism, ancient language, text.

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Speaking with Twisted Tongues? Words and rhetoric in religious adaptation in contemporary China

Since the 1990s the Communist Party of China (CPC) has proposed an agenda of “adapting religion to socialist society”, which has had a definite impact within the officially recognised religious groups in China. The many unregistered groups have escaped the direct impositions of the CPC, through the government organs for religion, but have nevertheless experienced a secondary impact through the changing climate for religion. In 2014 party-state representatives announced that “a Chinese Christianity” should now be formed, catering better to the needs of Chinese Christians. In 2007 new regulations for selecting “living Buddhas” within Tibetan Buddhism were promulgated by the authorities. This certainly does not mean that the secular Chinese government now believes that there are “living Buddhas”, but the words may be interpreted in this way. How are words changed and used for these control mechanisms of religion?

Such appropriating of religion through words is one important aspect of the interplay between party-state and religion in contemporary China. State and party leaders also has a tendency to talk about “our Buddhism”, “our Christianity”, as if they were part of these religious systems, when it is rather the contrary. However, there are interesting examples of party-state actions and sayings that could indicate that the Chinese party-state would acknowledge religion in a more concrete way. Some party leaders have even phrased themselves as if religion is “needed” to fulfil the “Chinese dream” and create “a harmonious society”. This paper aims to make a preliminary analysis of this tendency and to examine the rhetoric and words behind the “adaptation” policy.

Wednesday June 10th, 10:30-12

Panel VI. China and bilateral security relations in East Asia

Moderator: To be decided

China’s rise has already started to fundamentally transform the regional security order in the East Asia region, and is likely to continue to do so even more in the coming future. According to offensive realism, a prominent theoretical perspective in IR Theory, as the material power of a rising power grows, it will come to challenge the current regional and international order, often leading to conflict and even war. However, competing theoretical perspectives have come to question this approach and argued that there is nothing determinant in how the trajectory of a rising power should be analyzed.
This panel will present different types of alternative and theoretical approaches to understand and analyze China’s rise. The panel will *thematically* look at how China manages its rise and how neighboring countries interact and respond to China’s rise. *Empirically* it will discuss developments and issues of China’s bilateral security relations with three of China’s key neighboring countries in the East Asia region, namely Japan, North Korea and Russia. *Theoretically*, the panel seeks to critically discuss new perspectives and approaches on how to analyze China’s evolving great power diplomacy and how this has shaped China’s bilateral security relations with Japan, North Korea and Russia.

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**Ontological Security and Recognition: Explaining the Deterioration of Sino-Japanese Relations**

Why have Sino-Japanese relations deteriorated sharply in the 2000s despite the existence of several factors—such as increased interdependence—that might be thought likely to have led to an improvement? The most common explanation to this puzzle seems to be that China’s rise at a time of Japanese decline has caused increased bilateral tensions by upsetting the balance of power. By integrating key insights from *Ontological Security Theory (OST)* and *Recognition Theory (RT)* the paper provides an alternative explanation, which more fully explains not only the material but also the emotional aspects of the deterioration of bilateral relations. The analysis suggests that during the 1970s and 1980s, Sino-Japanese relations were largely characterized by routines of recognition. In the 2000s, in contrast, misrecognition has become increasingly common, causing relations to deteriorate sharply. These developments can be explained by the ontological security seeking behaviour of the two states, which has involved identity change accompanied by altered ways of recognizing the other. This in turn has disrupted the previous routines of recognition. The paper concludes by critically discussing the potential offered by mutual recognition for improving bilateral relations.

Key words: Sino-Japanese relations, Security behavior, Ontological Security Theory, Recognition Theory

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**China’s nuclear diplomacy towards North Korea**

What is China’s strategy for dealing with the North Korean nuclear issue? Among pundits and in academic circles, it is a widely held belief that Beijing’s strategy has shifted on several occasions during the last two decades. In contrast, I argue that its basic strategy has remained unchanged. China is opposed to North Korean nuclearization, and never materially supported the weapons program. At the same time, Beijing has adopted a sheltering policy, where it protects Pyongyang from any measures that could affect regime stability.

Based on a new framework for analyzing when and why states support nuclear proliferators, I argue that two factors have shaped China’s approach. Firstly, China has worried that the nuclear program could influence the strategic postures of its rivals, such as Japan and the U.S. Secondly, because of North Korea’s strategic value, China has nevertheless refused to support any policies that risk harming regime
stability. A third factor - the diplomatic costs of protecting North Korea – has influenced China’s policy responses, but has not had an effect on Beijing’s basic strategy.

Key words: China, North Korea, Northeast Asia, nuclear weapons, nuclear proliferation.

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Mitigating power shifts and managing power plays - China’s military reassurance policies towards Russia in the post-cold war era

A shift of power is characterizing the bilateral relation between China and Russia. Balance of power theory holds that an uneven distribution of power in the international system compels weaker states to balance against stronger states. However, looking at the relationship between China and Russia, balancing behavior from Russia towards China seems not to have evolved. This puzzle of the “non-conflictual” power shift between China and Russia is commonly explained with arguments that China and Russia have formed a semi-alliance to counterbalance what they perceive to be a more powerful threat emanating the U.S., thus limiting the severity of balancing mechanisms between China and Russia predicted by balance of power theory.

This paper instead argues that the puzzle of the “non-conflictual” power shift needs to be nuanced by offering an alternative explanation by on drawing security dilemma theory and insights from the reassurance literature. The paper will seek to demonstrate that China has developed a certain degree of security dilemma sensibility which has translated into a set of military reassurance policies, such as overall force posture and towards Russia, border troop reductions, initiating and engaging in multilateral CBMs with Russia and conducting joint and multilateral military exercises. These military reassurance policies have thus had the effect of mitigating potential sources of interstate conflict between China and Russia, despite the ongoing power shift.

Key words: China’s rise, security dilemma, reassurance, China-Russia relations

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CHINA AND COERCIVE DIPLOMACY IN THE EAST CHINA SEA

The rapid economic development, the emergence as a key actor in the international political arena as well as substantial improvements in the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) have led to concerns about what kind of great power China will turn out to be. A very important dimension relevant to this question is how and for what purposes China will actually use its growing power to conduct international relations. China’s periphery is no doubt the very first regions where China will wield its power to attain political objectives. This paper draws on different strands of conflict management literature namely coercive diplomacy, gunboat diplomacy and economic coercion literature so as to build an analytical framework to examine the strategy in which military and economic power combined with diplomacy are exercised to put pressure on the target state to obtain gains that might otherwise be unachievable. This framework will then be applied to China’s maritime dispute with Japan over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands in the East China Sea to examine Chinese use of coercion. The paper highlights the way in which China has used instruments of national power to influence Japan’s policies and/or behaviours and assesses its implications for future conflict management efforts.
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**China’s Foreign Policy Roles toward Japan, 2002–2012**

During Hu Jintao’s president-chairmanship Chinese foreign policy toward Japan faced unprecedented ups and downs. The 2005 textbook controversy was quickly followed with “icebreaking” and “ice-melting” activities, culminating in Hu Jintao’s 2008 visit to Japan and signing of a joint statement on "Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests." The deterioration of the relationship between the two countries was thus even more dramatic when the dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands surfaced once again in 2010.

Drawing on the official Chinese discourse as well as discussion in two academic journals, *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi* and *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu*, this paper analyses the Chinese National Role Conceptions (NRC) towards Japan between the years 2002 and 2012. According to Role Theory, NRCs are “domestically held political self-views or self-understandings regarding the proper role and purpose of one’s state in the international arena.” Thus they are of invaluable assistance in predicting state’s role enactment, that is, foreign policy behavior.

This paper aims to show how China’s “assertive” foreign policy rhetoric deviates clearly from the usual role statements of the Chinese leaders. The role statements of the Chinese leaders indicate that while China sees the issue over disputed islands as very problematic, it is mainly considered to be a hindrance to the East Asian regional development, a Chinese core interest. In its current phase of development China would most likely prefer the “shelving” of the dispute. However, Chinese leaders are hostages to their own earlier rhetoric which has emphasized China’s historical sufferings and has led to the current nationalistic sentiment among large segments of the Chinese populace.

Keywords: China, Japan, foreign policy, role theory

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**Abstract: PLA and political elites - conflict or cooperation over foreign policy?**

Over the years, the relationship between the political and military elites in China has been a contentious and mainly speculative area of research due to China's closed governmental system. This paper merely aims to showcase whether the two elite branches are growing apart and are becoming dysfunctional or on the contrary, are reinforcing each others' position when it comes to China's foreign policy towards Japan. In other words, it considers both People's Liberation Army (PLA) ability to independently influence the Government towards an increasingly militarised foreign policy and also its role as a propaganda tool in supporting the Government's stance.

The period of time considered for analysis is 2010-2014, when Sino-Japanese relations reached one of their lowest point in decades. In 2010 and 2012 bilateral relations hit rock bottom around the disputed Diaoyu/Senkaku islands, which in late 2013 further deteriorated with the establishment of China's ADIZ in East China Sea. PLA still holds sway particularly on issues related to territorial disputes and Japan, reason for which a military reaction was expected.
Discourse analysis on Chinese media publications and official documents reveals that a shift took place in the role that People's Liberation Army (PLA) played in China's foreign policy. PLA officers debated the Diaoyu/Senkakus in public in 2012, in what appears to be a new phenomenon in China, but which also suggests that the islands must have been high up on the political agenda. Despite several incidents on external affairs showcasing an incoordination between the military and political elites, when it came to China's foreign policy towards Japan the two managed to reach a consensus.

Key words: PLA, Sino-Japanese relations, foreign policy

Panel VII. The revival of Confucianism

Moderator: To be decided

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From Arch Enemy to National Saviour: Changing Perspectives of Confucius and Confucianism in Contemporary China

In this paper Torbjörn Lodén will discuss the dramatic changes that the views of Confucius and Confucianism have undergone in Post-Mao China and try to identify the major factors behind these changes. He will also discuss possible future roles for Confucianism in China and the world.

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Can the lost soul of Confucianism find a new body in communalism?

When the Chinese leadership promotes the “socialist core values” alongside with selected Confucian values, especially “harmony”, through banners and slogans, their actions resemble those of the emperors in the late imperial era who aimed to pot Confucianism into sets of maxims. The first Ming emperor declared six maxims which included calls to obey filially one’s Father and Mother (孝順父母) and to live in harmony with one’s fellow villagers and townsmen (和睦鄉里). During the Qing era, the maxims were expanded into sixteen, and most importantly demanded doing away with errant beliefs, in order to exalt the correct doctrine (黜異端以崇正學).

When Confucian thinkers like Gu Yanwu (顧炎武) and Zeng Jing (曾靜) began discussing the advantages of a decentralized rule (‘divided enoffment’, 封建), they were inspired by the excesses of centralized power, and probably also the growing demands from the rulers for intellectual orthodoxy. According to them, the ideal system of the remote past was to have the emperor appear as a unifying figure-head whereas the day to day administration was in the hands of regional rulers. Their message is echoed today by those who promote decentralization, regional autonomy and grass-roots democracy, and criticize nepotism, corruption and plutocracy. In other words, the ‘divided enoffment’ ideal of the old has similarities with contemporary communalism which, as a theory of government, refers to a federation of autonomous communes.
This paper posits the assumption that the current societal climate in China would be favorable for the emergence of a form of Confucian Communalism (儒家公社主義), and opens up a discussion on the nature and desirability of such a fusion.

Keywords: Confucianism, fengjian, communalism, values

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“On Confucianisms”

Ever since the first encounter of Western missionaries with the Confucian literati, the problem how to define or pigeonhole Confucianism has been a much discussed topic among Western scholars. Current publications in the academic world at large, now including China and Taiwan, reveal that this is still the case. The late scholar of comparative religion, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, may have come up with the most poignant description of the cultural presuppositions of the problem when he claimed that “the question, ‘is Confucianism a religion?’ is one that the West has never been able to answer and China never able to ask.” Cantwell Smith’s point, that a proper understanding of Confucianism requires that we move beyond the strict analytical categorizations characterizing Western thought, is well taken. However, I will argue that speaking of ‘Confucianisms’, which entails differentiating between the various manifestations that could be termed ‘Confucian’, is indeed helpful, perhaps even necessary, when attempting to understand and assess Confucianism’s ostensible ‘revival’ at present.

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Sinology and Confucianism

Abstract (forthcoming)

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China’s Ideal International Society

In the last two decades, the “Rise of China” has created unease among traditional powers. In an attempt to ease the apprehension, China has tried to convince the international community that it is a responsible power. However, the country’s response to international humanitarian crises, and particularly its opposition to military intervention and economic sanctions, favoured by the West, has cast doubt over its sincerity. China’s apparently contradictory behavior in terms of humanitarian response has become the subject of great debate. It is generally held that China’s decision to adopt a non-confrontational stance in humanitarian crises is driven purely by self-interest and not by an awareness of its role as responsible power, considered mere camouflage. Some argue that intervention is against the founding principles of international relations and international law. However, both interpretations fail to incorporate culture as a crucial component. Culture affects our perception of what the world ought to be, which in turn dictates our behavior. In China, contemporary culture, and therefore the Chinese perception of how the world is organized and how societies should interact with one another, is heavily influenced by Confucianism. This paper attempts to identify the key elements of an ideal international society according to
Confucianism paying special attention to Confucius and Mencius, whose ideas about social order and good governance constitute the basis of the orthodox Confucian philosophy. Analyzing these key elements will help us gain a deeper understanding of China’s stance in humanitarian crises and shed new light on China’s humanitarian policy.

Key words: China, International Relations, Humanitarian Policy, Confucianism, International Society, Governance

Panel VIII. The emergence of a new Chinese welfare state – perceptions of distributive justice and fairness: foundations and directions of welfare reforms in China

Moderator: To be decided

It is well established that China has seen rapid growth in inequalities since Reform and Opening up. How Chinese citizens perceive inequalities is less understood. The conventional view in discussions about welfare in China is that despite great progress in improving living conditions and reducing poverty, large segments of the population are dissatisfied with increasing inequalities and see current distribution systems as unfair. The goal of this panel is to provide insight into Chinese perceptions of distributive justice and fairness and their implications for the development of welfare schemes in China.

To all appearances, the Chinese Communist Party shares the view of those that hold that a more ‘fair’ distributions are needed and that dissatisfaction threatens the legitimacy and thereby the survivability of the regime. Chinese governments have introduced (and is in the process of introducing) numerous welfare reforms (including health, social benefits, pensions etc.) Addressing the hukou-based welfare divide between urban and rural residents in favor of greater social equity is another declared goal of the Xi administration. But to what extent are these reforms in line with the public perceptions of how social benefits should be distributed in fair ways?

- Who should be responsible for providing welfare?
- Who should be eligible for benefits on what terms?
- How is today’s welfare system perceived to meet people’s perceptions of fair distribution?
- Is it still true and fair that “some have to get rich first”?
- How does Chinese perceptions of distributive justice and fairness compare to other countries and welfare systems?

Presentations and discussions will be based on the ongoing research project “Towards a new Chinese welfare state: Chinese perceptions of distributive justice”. The project is led by Fafo research foundation in collaboration with University of Bergen and financed by the Norwegian Research Council. Data is provided by a national survey of Chinese perceptions of inequality and distributive justice from 2014. The survey built on national distributive justice surveys from 2004 and 2009 and was conducted in cooperation with Beijing University’s Research Center for Contemporary China (RCCC) and Harvard University.

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Title: How unfair are inequalities in health? Perceptions of distributive justice under China’s health system reforms

This paper explores how the distributive principles inherent in China’s health governance correspond with the Chinese population’s perceptions of fair and just distribution of healthcare.

Health system reform is the most extensive among China’s social security reforms and remains a priority under Xi Jinping’s new government. An important rationale for China’s emerging welfare state is to strengthen the legitimacy of CCP rule through enhancing the government’s performance in delivering healthcare and other basic social services. This rests on the assumption that Chinese people are dissatisfied with existing social distribution especially in health. But there is little systematic and nationally representative evidence on how the Chinese population perceives issues of distributional fairness and government performance in healthcare.

This paper draws on data from a 2014 national survey on Chinese perceptions of inequality and distributive justice to assess to what extent are health inequalities perceived as unfair? How do people view the government’s role in health care? How have perceptions changed over the course of reforms? And how do perceptions vary across population groups?

Health system reform policies and outcomes will be analyzed to investigate the relationship between popular perceptions and fairness preferences, on the one hand, and distributive principles and practices of the emerging healthcare system, on the other.

A national survey of Chinese perceptions of inequality and distributive justice from 2014 provides new data on popular perceptions two years into the Xi administration’s tenure. Similar surveys were undertaken in 2004 and 2009, allowing for comparisons over time across important junctures in the health reform process.

Key words: Health system reform, distributive justice, fairness

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“Restructuring welfare in China – Chinese reforms in old age pensions systems and social assistance; how do these reforms align with popular perceptions of fairness and distributive justice?”

This paper explores the policy designs, and the normative foundation of these designs, in two core areas of Chinese welfare developments; namely the reforms of old age pension systems and reforms of public anti-poverty programs.

In China, academic interest in social policy reforms has been fueled by the challenges following expanding social inequalities and increasing demands on public policy. The political leadership under Xi Jinping has also put social welfare reforms at the top of his agenda, pledging to create a societies based on greater social fairness. But what are Chinese people’s perceptions of what is fair and just when it comes to distribution and equality? What are the underlying normative perceptions in society and how do they correspond to the ongoing reforms of the welfare schemes?

Exploring recent institutional developments in China in light of popular perceptions on fairness in distributions gives insight to substantial issues in Chinese social policy, such as access and eligibility of
benefits for different groups in society. It will also provide insights to how the Chinese system compares to other established welfare systems.

The paper draws on unique data from three comparable Chinese national surveys of “Chinese perceptions of distributive justice” conducted by Beijing University’s Research Center for Contemporary China (RCCC), Harvard University and Fafo Research Foundation in 2004, 2009 and 2014. The data allows for comparisons over time and across populations groups. Moreover new data and descriptions of national policies as well as local rules and regulations relevant for these policy areas have been collected. Hence, the paper looks for relationships between distributional norms, policy design and policy outcomes in China.

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The effect of migration and hukou reforms on citizens’ support for welfare policies
How to deal with migration and hukou reforms are two of the most central issues in Chinese social politics. The central government has signaled gradually moving towards a system of equal rights for urban and rural residents (hukou holders), and several cities are experimenting with various pilot schemes granting more rights and welfare benefits to some of its migrant workers. This paper studies whether perceptions and preferences Chinese citizens hold in regard to migration and hukou reforms are releated to their attitudes toward welfare policies. Chinese perceptions and policy preferences are discussed in light of relevant developments in other countries. The analysis is based on a new national survey conducted in China in summer and fall 2014.

Keywords: welfare state, hukou, migration, reform, fairness

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Building NGO-Government Relations within Authoritarian Constraints: The Case of Selective Cooperation around AIDS in China
Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in authoritarian countries face many constraints, yet the interaction between NGOs and government actors can in many instances still be frequent, dynamic and even cooperative. This article explains why this is the case for many NGOs working on AIDS-related issues in authoritarian China. The article shows how active actors on both sides of the NGO-government divide have for years been able to circumvent formal restrictions, increase their interaction and start new forms of selective and largely non-formalized cooperation based on a number of health and AIDS-related services. The article presents a model illustrating how these NGO-government relations work, showing how they deviate from corporatist principles of state-society interaction.

Keywords: NGO, state-society relations, welfare state, reform,

Wednesday June 10th, 15:30-17
Panel IX. Media and Freedom of speech

Moderator: To be decided

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(Un)Doing Constitutionalism in China: the Cases of Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong

Based on the cases of Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong, this article reviews the court judgments and discussions about the criminal charges of “inciting subversion of state power” and “disrupting public order” used against Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong respectively. Through a review of the major discourses surrounding the two cases, we focus on the arguments regarding the Chinese Constitution and the Constitutional right to freedom of expression. This article concludes that the different discourses surrounding these two cases reveal the complexity and politicization of interpreting Chinese law in politically sensitive cases, resulting in a political battlefield over the application of the Constitution.

Key words: Freedom of Expression, Inciting Subversion of State power, Disrupting Public Order, Constitutionalism

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“The image of China in the political debates on freedom of the press in the Nordic countries in the 18th century”

Today we often talk about globalization as if it was a recent phenomenon, although this is a process that has been going on since ancient times. Few people today realize the significance of the political and cultural influence of China in the Nordic countries in the 18th century, and that the image of China was of crucial importance in the political debates on freedom of the press and of information in the Nordic countries, as has been discussed in several publications by Professor Marie-Christine Skuncke, Uppsala University. The French Jesuit Jean Baptiste Du Halde’s Description géographique et historique de l’empire del la Chine et del la Tartarie chinoise (1735) had created an image of China among Europeans as a rich, populous and peaceful country with a stable political system. Based on Du Halde’s descriptions of China, several politicians in the Nordic countries working against censorship, Anders Nordencrantz (Swedish politician and businessman), Anders Chydenius (Finnish priest, former student of Uppsala University) and Frederik Lütken (Danish navy officer, economist and politician), claimed that China’s prosperity and stability was caused by the existence of a freedom of writing and of information in China since ancient times. This image of China was used as an argument for a Freedom of the Press Act in Sweden. Largely through the work of Chydenius in the Swedish Diet, His majesty’s Gracious Ordinance Relating to Freedom of Writing and of the Press was passed in the Swedish Diet in 1766. It was the first Freedom of information act in the world. I will compare the arguments used in the political pamphlets written by Nordencrantz, Chydenius and Lütken, in relation to their source, Du Halde’s Description del la Chine, and in the context of the political climate and debates at the time.

Keywords: history, politics, media, freedom of the press, freedom of information
News Production across the Border Pushes the Boundaries of News Censorship– Journalists with mainland Chinese background in Hong Kong

The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region as a former British colony returned to the rule of China more than a decade ago. The Chinese government has maintained the main control over the city after the handover, but with the fundamental institutions of Hong Kong, the Basic Law dictates that Hong Kong will remain politically, economically and judicially independent for 50 years after the handover, which enshrines a certain degree of freedom of expression in the city. The influence on the media in Hong Kong from the central government is therefore subtler, allowing the city to enjoy a freer media environment than in mainland China and continues to serve as an outsourcing base for forbidden information from China. This paper argues that the freedom in Hong Kong provide a space for dissident voices from mainland China, and therefore help to foster a community and provide opportunities for pro-democratic journalists with mainland background in the city. It argues that journalists with mainland background, who work across the border, facilitate the information flow of sensitive news; therefore broaden the diversity of information under press censorship in China. Methodologically, this paper draws on both literature review and 15 in-depth interviews data. It is found that journalists with mainland background in Hong Kong help to bring in their social capital from mainland China to Hong Kong to facilitate news production under censorship.

Keywords: China - Hong Kong, news production under censorship, cross-border communication, journalists, press freedom, forbidden information

Practices of French correspondents in China - an immersion journalism limited and constrained

Foreign correspondents report and interpret one part of the world to another for newspapers, newsmagazines, news agencies, radio and television. They are in many ways mirrors of the society they live in and report, as actors in the process of production of informations. French medias and correspondents in China play an important role in the flow of information from China to France. However, they are unknown in China or in France. It is certainly necessary to study these French medias and correspondents in China who exercise the media power, and whose works influence the audience’s judgment of China and their construction of ideology, which affect the formation of public opinion in France and French foreign policy toward China. We used triangulate methods based on 30 semi-structured interviews, observations and document collections. My paper aims to explore the actual presence of French medias and correspondents in China and their practice of immersion journalism in China. The results of this study shows some different factors who could affect the practice of immersion journalism of French correspondents in China, such as a limited presence of French correspondents and their Chinese proficiency, but also the political regulation of foreign journalists in China and some difficulties about the accessibility to news sources.
The Role of Chinese TV Media in Popularising Traditional Culture in the Case of Lecture Room

In China, a craze for traditional Chinese culture has emerged in recent years for the political and social reasons. Under such circumstance, how to utilise mass media to popularise traditional Chinese culture has also became a hot topic. Among all the media, television outshines the rest, and has made outstanding contribution to the popularity of traditional culture. To examine the history of its rise is essential to comprehend the specific adoption of approach the television media apply for the purpose of popularising the traditional culture, with a special attention given to specific TV programme. Lecture Room is a well-known and popular television programme in China Central Television (CCTV-10). First broadcasted in 2001, Lecture Room has gradually focused on constructing a dissemination platform to popularise traditional Chinese culture. The programme format is to invite scholars to give lectures on Chinese history and literature. As for the media personnel and lecturers, nevertheless, the programme has faced an enormous difficulty due to huge difference between ancient and modern Chinese language in the process of popularisation. Ultimately, Lecture Room has created a new mode of dissemination to transform the complicated traditional culture into popular culture. The nature of traditional culture popularisation in Lecture Room is the modernisation of language. This television programme is significant for several reasons. First, it marks a vital case where the Chinese TV personnel successfully popularise traditional culture by making full use of modern communication means. Secondly, it can be viewed as the first case where the educational TV programme expands the craze for traditional Chinese culture in the society by means of cultivating “academic stars” on the basis of the communication rules of television media, which expands the influence of Lecture Room in the public as well. Lastly, the success of Lecture Room is regarded as a momentous guide in terms of advancing the development of the same type television programmes. In reality, similar TV programmes have emerged in large numbers after Lecture Room became a household name. In my opinion, the great success of Lecture Room should be attributed to three reasons: First, the popularity of it tightly links to the social trends, which attempt to revive traditional Chinese culture. Secondly, this programme actively adapts to the market-oriented requirements that enable it to relocate in two aspects: target audience and programme content, which reflects the marketisation of Chinese media. Lastly, it successfully reinterpreted the traditional culture in modern Chinese language that effectively caters to interest of audiences.

Panel X

Moderator: To be decided

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Conflict Processing without Power Sharing: The Politics of Stability Preservation in China
What is the prerequisite for conflict resolution and “domestic harmony” building in modern state? Do peace and harmony require liberal democracy as an ultimate solution? There seems to be a high level of agreement regarding the importance of election-based power sharing, and in particular the role of consociational institutions in settling down the conflict and sustaining peace, as they can facilitate accommodation and cooperation between the contentious communities and state. Without doubting the importance of “liberal template of conflict resolution” and the power of bureaucratic control in keeping stability in the authoritarian context, I suggest that Chinese state’s responses to sociopolitical conflict have been diversified as a result of its coevolution with the social unrests. In particular, the issue-based, unorganized, localized nature of contentions have largely shaped the security strategy of the party-state and give rise to an everyday form of harmony building by revitalizing grassroots straddling institutions, namely, state-led organizations and networks. Despite its limits in addressing large-scale tensions, these community-based state-empowered agencies have contributed to regime stability from below by depoliticizing community grievances, facilitating consensus building, preventing everyday form of conflicts from being transformed into organized political mobilization.

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Employed by China “Foreigners” in the development of public administration as a field

This paper examines the construction of public administration as an academic field in China. In particular, it focuses on the role of foreign experts. The author has been employed by a Chinese university for three years. Based on this experience, treated as a three-year ethnographic fieldwork, the paper identifies development directions and challenges of the academic field of public administration. The auto-ethnography is nested in a comprehensive review of the literature about public administration in China, and complemented by interviews with scholars who have been involved in the “making-of-the-field” from a foreign perspective going more than three decades. This paper provides a narrative of a field closely involved with administrative practice and state power as it has evolved. The issues that characterized the field in its early childhood are still prevalent in its coming of age. Yet, universities are taking determinate steps to enhance teaching and research quality, and foreign experts play an important part of this work. Paradoxically, yet perfectly understandably, the foreigners become proponents of not only Western theories but also of the creation of indigenous Chinese theory.

Keywords: China, public administration, higher education, internationalization

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Xi Jinping and China’s Ideological Legacy: Comparing the discursive content in the speeches of Jiang Zemin and Xi Jinping

Xi Jinping, in comparison with his predecessor Hu Jintao, has managed to consolidate power more comprehensively and is in a relatively strong position to assert influence over the future development of The People’s Republic of China. The period under Hu’s leadership has been characterized by few changes in the political ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, and it can be argued that the ideological legacy
that Xi inherits is the development of Deng Xiaoping’s theories represented by Jiang Zemin’s ideology of The Three Represents.

The purpose of the Master’s thesis which this paper is based on is to assess how Xi positions himself vis-à-vis the ideological legacy left by Jiang by examining and comparing the discursive content in the speeches of both leaders. Speeches found in two corpora (Xi Jinping’s *On the Governance of China* and *Selected Works of Jiang Zemin*) are subjected to qualitative data analysis in order to place the discursive content of the speeches in a larger context, allowing the establishment of relationships between various discourses and the situations in which they are employed. The presentation of the paper will include a summary of the conclusions reached by this study.

Key Words: China, political discourse, Xi Jinping, Jiang Zemin, political speech, qualitative data analysis

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**Between ‘governance’ and ‘democracy’: Xi Jinping and his model of leadership in Russian perspective.**

This paper discusses the Russian perspective on the model of leadership and governance as represented by the Chinese President Xi Jinping as well as its implications for power structures in that country.

The reading of the performance of the current Chinese leader - already proclaimed as the strongest one since Deng Xiaoping – is deeply embedded in domestic politics and reflecting both Russia’s geopolitical aspirations as well as its internal concerns.

I would claim that in Russia there are two approaches to the model of governance worked out by Xi Jinping, both of them involving associations with the overwhelming figure of the Russian politics: Vladimir Putin. In one narrative, it is argued that unlike Russia, Chinese leadership while focusing on social and political stability, has also decisively launched new reforms or deepened the old ones under the banner of the ‘Chinese dream’ or ‘rejuvenation of the Chinese nation’: an anti-graft campaign, the reinforcement of the ‘socialist rule of law’ and even – quite unexpectedly – ‘constitutionalism’. In foreign policy, this has been accompanied by an increased (but prudent – in comparison with Russia) assertiveness, and in economic sphere by rather comprehensive and bold moves.

According to an official assertion, both Xi and Putin are not only equally committed to a “multipolar world” and an ‘effective protection of international law’ but also share a similar political ‘charisma’. Critics, however, prefer to see a different correspondence: a massive consolidation of power.

Keywords: Chinese Dream, governance, leadership, Xi Jinping, rejuvenation, Russia, Vladimir Putin

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**Panel XI. Worker’s rights and rights claiming**

Moderator: Helena Löthman
'The woman who nearly died making your iPad’ – relations between Chinese workers and global consumers

‘The woman who nearly died making your iPad’ is the title of a newspaper article in which journalist Aditya Chakrabortty seeks to forge a link between and create an awareness of the interconnectivity of workers in the PRC and consumers in Europe. This paper presents the beginnings of a research project on relations between Chinese workers and global consumers. The starting point is that in order to understand why the great transformation of global economic and environmental practices is so difficult to bring about we need knowledge of the macro level political actors who are determining the future of humanity through international agreements on CO2 emissions and so on. However, we also need knowledge of the micro level of citizens – the people who form the foundation of global economies - producers and consumers. The focus of the project is on awareness of globalization, interconnectivity and inseparability as a defining aspect of the lives of Chinese workers and the consumers of their products. Through the process of studying producer and consumer reflections on awareness of their interconnectivity, as well as behavior related to such awareness, the project aims to understand ethical aspects of global inseparabilities and the implications of these for action for global survival. The overall theoretical framework draws on Sandra Harding’s notion of gendered modernity, Karen Barad’s theory of agential realism, as well as the transcultural history method proposed by Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüesch and Christiane Sibille for looking into a global imaginary not yet known through studying global social networks of ordinary people.
Myanmar. Secondly, it outlines regional jadeite trade networks, discussing roles and relations between different ethnic and social groups involved in the trade. Finally, the paper asks how a group of wealthy male Han Chinese jadeite traders frame their earnings in moral terms. The paper shows how these traders de-emphasize negative consequences of their business practices, and argues that their monetary wealth attains a distinct life once earned; channelled into consumerist, domestic, and ritual domains, it often functions as an unquestioned token of masculine social and even moral power.

Keywords jade, traders, money, morality, China, Myanmar, borderlands

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South China, a Stronghold for Radical Chinese Labour NGOs

An Investigation of Chinese Labour NGOs’ Ideological Orientation

Since the 1990s a growing number of labour NGOs, non-governmental organizations assisting workers, have emerged in China. According to the dominant academic view, labour NGOs do generally hold a relatively moderate ideological orientation and they are believed to at least openly express loyalty to the present social order. This argument is problematized in the following article. The study investigates how the Chinese labour NGOs discuss political issues of relevance to workers in text messages posted on China’s equivalent to Twitter, SinaWeibo. Although most labour NGOs certainly have a moderate political discourse some groups express a more radical ideological position. Especially in South China’s Guangdong province, labour NGOs frequently criticize the present social order, and they often relate to Marxist ideology while doing so. The relative political openness in Guangdong might explain the more radical orientation of NGOs in this region. The study thus indicates that Chinese NGOs located in the more liberal parts of the country have a more radical ideological orientation than what has been argued in previous research.

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Rights claiming and social accountability in a Chinese city

(Work in progress)

In this paper we examine four cases where citizen groups in the Chinese city of Hangzhou engage in social protest in order to claim their legal rights. Because of its fairly responsive local government, Hangzhou is considered to be a crucial and most-likely case for the existence of social accountability in China. The concept social accountability – in contrast to either horizontal accountability (between government agencies) or vertical accountability (in the form of elections) – is used to analyze if rights
claimants manage to hold the local government accountable with the use of informal and semi-formal channels. Inspired by Peruzzotti and Smulovitz (2006) and other scholars, our multiple case-study specifies social accountability in terms of (A) answerability, (B) sanctions, and (C) legal rights attainment. The paper discusses this concept and its empirical applicability to the Chinese political context. Our cases of citizen social protest are based on in-depth field studies and interviews with key stake-holders. We use process tracing to examine the social settings and mechanisms linking social protest with specific outcomes. So far, our findings show that two forms of social accountability – i.e., answerability and the attainment of legal rights – are more likely than sanctions. More specifically, once claimants manage to overcome challenges to gain media attention and to invoke legal channels, their chance of achieving some degree of social accountability will tangibly increase. In addition to the display of original empirical findings, our study makes a theoretical contribution by more firmly connecting the two research fields of social movement and social accountability, which will be of interest to a wider scholarly audience.

Thursday June 11th, 10:30-12 Panel XII

Panel XII. Environment and natural disasters

Moderator: To be decided

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INITIATING ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE IN TIANJIN

Chinese municipal governments are in the midst of the initial transition towards environmental governance. In Chinese cities, district governments are the decisive actors in the adoption and implementation of any urban policy initiatives. However, this transition is often a complex and difficult process, because attempts to promote sustainable development are after all normative projects, which aim at advancing a new type of society which respects environment, social equality and participation (Pow and Neo, 2010). The transition towards environmental governance requires changes in the values, structures and working styles and these requirements often complicate and hinder the process. Furthermore, because environmental policies do not belong to the most important “hard targets” of Chinese municipal governments, there is much flexibility in their implementation. This has caused large inter-district discrepancy in the adaption of environmental plans, regulations and policies. Hence, despite the generally acknowledged urgency to improve the livability of cities, the implementation of the central policies for that aim remains weak and incoherent.

This paper is based on a research project that focuses on environmental policy implementation in the city of Tianjin. Using institutional theory as the analytical framework, it analyses the reasons for inter-district variation in the implementation of the binding “Regulations on Environmental Education in Tianjin” (2012). It is argued that the inter-district discrepancy is created by three consequential factors: path dependence, conceptual framing of the issue, and available resources.

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The Beijing Syndrome. The communist view on nature

A totalitarian regime can leave a mental footprint on a nation, even after the worst period of oppression has ceased. This essay describes how rhetoric and choice of environmental policy is impacted by China’s Maoist experience, as described in my book The Beijing Syndrome (Pekingsyndromet, Ordfront Förlag 2014).

One can compare the situation with the ”Stockholm Syndrome”. The psychologist Nils Beijerot coined the term ”Stockholm syndrome” to describe a situation where the hostage starts to protect and love their tormentor. When the hostage taker is dead, the surviving hostage will regard themselves as pale copies and descendants of the hostage-taker. Today China’s leaders grapple with an unprecedented environmental crisis, but their efforts seem to be formed and hampered by the way their view on nature is influenced by their Maoist past.

An essential part of the Communist party agenda during the Mao years was to militarize every aspect of society, and wage war on nature. Development was made in revolutionary upheavals with scarce regards to cost. This was summarized in Mao’s words that ”man must conquer nature”. Today on the other hand the communist party’s stated goal is to build a ”ecological civilization” which produces high-quality products with minimal pollution and encourages people to conserve resources and protect the environment. But from great engineering projects like the the South North water diversion, to the habitual war-rhetoric being used by state media whenever natural catastrophes occurs, the Maoist view and rhetoric on nature plays out again and again.

In my essay, I explore this through examples from state media and my own experiences from 11 year as a foreign reporter based in China for Swedish media.

Key-words: ”Mao” ”Environment” ”Politics” ”Culture” ”Nature” ”Media” ”Pollution” ”Communist” ”Xi Jinping”.

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Climate change responsibility with Chinese characteristics

Based on an analysis of Chinese official strategies and political statements presented in the global arena, this paper studies China’s ideas of climate responsibility. In particular, the paper examines the ethical foundation of China’s climate practice(s) and looks at how the Chinese government justifies its practices both locally and globally. First, the paper begins with an analysis of the party-state’s evolving discourses on human-nature relationship and assesses their influence on China’s climate practices. Second, it investigates China’s evolving notions of responsibility: What does “responsibility” mean to the Chinese government? To whom the Chinese government sees itself responsible, and for what, and why?

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Managing Famine, Flood and Earthquake in Tianjin 1958-1985

From 1958 to 1985 an Eastern Chinese metropolitan city Tianjin went through the ordeals of three major disasters: the great famine during the Great Leap Forward 1958-1961, the great flood in 1963, and the Tangshan earthquake in 1976. This paper analyses how the city managed to overcome the three disasters.
It is argued that Maoist socio-political structures on one hand enabled effective disaster management but on the other hand created vulnerabilities and could cause even failure of disaster governance.

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The tragedy of Beichuan: Tan Zuoren and the politics of the Wenchuan earthquake

The purpose of this paper is to present the results of my analysis of environmentalist Tan Zuoren's essay "Longmen Mountain, please bear witness for the children of Beichuan". In the aftermath of the hugely destructive Wenchuan earthquake, the Chinese government and the Communist Party wanted to present the rescue and relief work as great successes and soon began to suppress all the critical voices who demanded explanation for controversial issues, such as the collapses of schools. Moreover, recent research (Schneider & Hwang 2014; Xu 2014) has showed that the discourses on the Wenchuan earthquake have become an important part of the CCP's legitimating efforts and also spilled outside the state-controlled media.

Tan investigated the school collapses, collected the names of students who died and, eventually, published those names. He was particularly moved by the near-complete destruction of the Beichuan town, the county-seat of Qiang autonomous county in the mountainous Sichuan. His first-hand experiences and discussions in the post-earthquake Beichuan prompted him to write the essay that contains scathing criticism of the current political system. I suggest that Tan's essay can be understood not only as an alternative narrative on the earthquake but also a narrative that aims at presenting an alternative for China's current political culture. I argue that in addition to criticizing corruption, suppression of the freedom of expression and the ethnic policies, Tan outlines an alternative political practice that respects ethnic minorities and common people, takes local knowledge seriously, and gives weight to the balance between human beings and nature.

Keywords: Tan Zuoren, the Wenchuan earthquake, Beichuan, narratives, criticism, politics

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Household Vulnerability to Impact after the 2008 Earthquake in Sichuan, China

This paper will be based on data from three surveys in earthquake affected areas in Sichuan province, China. The three-round earthquake surveys carried out by Fafo and Casted provides rich data for in-depth analyses of the short-term and long-term impact of the disaster on poor households in China.

The disaster has different short-term and long-term impacts on the households in the area. The data collected during different time periods after the disaster provided unique opportunity for the study. While the disaster impact and economic losses have been the focus of studies on disaster, studies on households’ vulnerability to the shock is more important for households’ recovery after the disaster. Some households can have recovered rather quickly from rather high economic losses after the disaster, while some others can have been stuck in deep trouble for long time after relatively minor shock.
Households with high vulnerability are those who have more difficulties to recover from the disaster and therefore can be in chronic poverty for long term. It can be the case that the poorest households or those who suffer most from disaster are not the same as those with highest vulnerability to the impact. Therefore, a better understanding of the characteristics of households with high vulnerability to the impact will help identify them in earlier stage after the disaster and facilitate the policy making during recovery. Households’ social and economic characteristics such as household income sources, educational level of household members, access to external subsidies and assistances can be determinant factors to their vulnerability to the shock. To enrich the knowledge on the determinant factors to households’ vulnerability to the shock is important for studies on households’ recovery after disasters in China.

Keywords: Poverty, Vulnerability, Disaster

Panel XIII. Identity and Space

Moderator: To be decided

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Contact Space: Shanghai  
The Chinese Dream and the Production of a New Society

In my dissertation (Vaide 2015), I analyse ‘space’ in CCP rhetoric, Shanghai spatial planning discourse and personal intercultural engagements in the context of China’s societal changes. By the term ‘space’, I refer to an understanding of societal production that integrates space as a crucial part of the analysis, taking into account the interplay between official statements on nation-building and city planning, built environments and people’s situated understandings of space. I establish an understanding of how the CCP envisioned the opening up of the PRC, how the Shanghai Municipal Government implemented CCP’s visions in Shanghai and how young Chinese talked about their experiences of the changes taking place in the city in interviews about intercultural communication. By presenting the term contact space, I analyse how the Chinese society is reconfigured at different levels as to attain contact with the outside world and realize a modern society. I demonstrate how contact space is envisioned nationally, implemented spatially and promoted locally, and lived personally.

Taking into account the country’s historical experiences of partial colonisation by foreign powers, the CCP envisioned a selective state, which should modernise on its own terms. Emerging into state-sanctioned capitalist spaces within the one-party rule, several localities were opened up to market-oriented principles. Shanghai was designated to lead the country into a modern, prosperous, socialist state. Through a land-leasing system, demolition and renovation of selected built environments, I show that Shanghai Municipal Government produces Shanghai into a twenty-first-century post-revolutionary city anchored in ancient China, the city’s colonial heritage and Mao’s socialism. By the interviews, I demonstrate that the city emerges into a contact space conditioned by its colonial history and more recent changes, the city’s geography and literature representations. Illustrating China’s emerging society, the interviewees engage in culture and language exchanges, work at international companies and take part in the city’s leisure and entertainment spaces. Belonging to the new urban middle-class, the interviewees demonstrate how they create their own contact spaces (one-to-one occasions, group gathering...
initiatives) and make use of established contact spaces in Shanghai (universities, language schools, international companies, leisure and entertainment spaces).

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M+ : A museum that looks at the world from a Hong Kong perspective

M+ is the Museum of Art and Visual Culture in Hong Kong that is currently under construction. The new Hong Kong museum will open its doors to the world in 2018. The idea of placing a museum like M+ in the larger cultural infrastructure project of West Kowloon Cultural District (WKCD) came from a group of people that the Hong Kong Government put together in 2006. This group, known as the Museum Advisory Group was to think through what kind of museum – if any – Hong Kong needed besides the already existing but not so appreciated museums it already had. The initiative for this new museum thus initially came from the Hong Kong Government. The funding comes from the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and the decision to move ahead came in 2008 – but it took until 2010 until Lars Nittve, at the time director of Moderna Museet in Stockholm, was contacted and asked to become its visionary leader. M+ is a distinct Hong Kong project, looked upon with scepticism from Beijing. This paper puts the project of M+ in the contexts of the rising international interest in contemporary Chinese art after the turn of the millenium, the rising prices on this art on the international market, the rising economic status of contemporary Chinese art on the mainland, adding the ambitious museum building boom on the mainland since around the Shanghai Expo in 2010. What are the main differences between the art museum projects on the mainland and the building of M+ in Hong Kong? How is it to work with this museum project in the Hong Kong SAR environment? What does the existence of a museum like M+ mean to China and the World?

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Recollections on the 18th Century China by Finns Serving the Swedish East India Company

For centuries until 1809 Finland was a part of the Kingdom of Sweden and many Finns sailed to China on board the Swedish East India Company ships in the 18th century. While a thorough research on the number and identities of these Finns is still pending, at least two of them deserve to be mentioned for their contributions to our knowledge on premodern China.

Israel Reinius (1727-1797), a midshipman, left Gothenburg on board Crown Prince Adolph Friedrich in February 1746. In June 1747 the ship arrived in Canton. Loading merchandize took half a year, and in January 1748 the vessel started its return journey to Gothenburg which was reached in June. Reinius kept a diary throughout the whole journey. In 1939 Reinius’ diary was published by the Swedish Literature
Society in Finland under the title *Journal hållen på resan till Canton i Kina* (Diary on the Journey to Canton in China, 325 p.). In the spirit of the Era of Utilitarianism Reinius devoted many chapters to agriculture, production and trade, but he also comments on Chinese culture and thought. He had even a short chapter on the possibilities for Europeans to enter the Chinese market.

On the basis of his travel diary Reinius submitted a master’s dissertation *Anmärkningar samlade under en resa till Kina* (Remarks collected during a trip to China) to the Royal Academy of Åbo.

Peter Johan Bladh (1746-1816) made a long career in the service of the Swedish East India Company. After 10 years of service in Sweden he was promoted to the rank of supercargo and on board Stockholms Slott he sailed to China in 1777. Besides trade, he was interested in natural sciences, botany in particular. He made observations on nature and sent them with samples to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Due to his reports, he was nominated a member in the Academy in 1779.

Keywords: Canton trade, Swedish East India Company

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**NATION-BUILDING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MACAO, HONG KONG AND TAIWAN – Tourism, Tourist Attractions and Women**

Many of the current borders in Asia were artificially created by European colonialists. After the Europeans left or were driven away, the young nations built their futures on this division of land, a land that in many cases was inhabited by a diverse heterogenic population. In my PhD thesis research I will study how the area’s small countries, namely Singapore, Brunei and East Timor and culturally distinct areas, namely Macau, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Aceh and Bali have created a distinct national identity.

In this presentation I will discuss the issues related to the Chinese territories of my research. Hong Kong and Macau are today special administrative regions (SAR) of the People’s Republic of China (PRC), but differ from the mother country in many aspects. It has not even been 20 years since these regions were administrated by United Kingdom and Portugal respectively and had limited contact with the mainland. Taiwan, seen by the PRC as a part of its territory, has during the last decades become braver and constructed a national identity partly based on the aboriginal past of the island as the Republic of China (ROC).

The focus of my study is on how nation-building and the quest to construct a national identity is visible within the tourism sector and various tourist attractions and on how women are portrayed and placed in all of this. The both SARs have remained in many respects separated from the mainland. For example in Macau, where casinos form the main tourist attractions, rigid labour regulations prevent foreigners, also including mainlanders, from working at the gaming tables. In Taiwan nation-building projects have focused on “Taiwanese” rather than “Chinese” and worked to create a nation distinct from the land where 98 per cent of the population is descendent from.

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Building identities; networks and strategies of official documentation and the Hong Kong - Shenzhen boundary

The Hong Kong SAR, represents a site of mobility, possibility and change for each generation of new arrivals. This is a trope, or narrative of possibility, change and social and economic liberation that is part of a wider global trope of movement and modernity. This paper is based on a series of in depth interviews with individuals whose daily lives both conceptually and physically span the Hong Kong - Shenzhen boundary. A boundary that regulates the movement of people, goods and information. Using this material it investigates the networks and relationships those engaged physically with the border have with their travel documents and what these relationships mean to our understanding of modernity and how ‘China’ might be understood in wider networks of possibility and modernity.

Critical to our understanding of development and modernity is a recognition, that both ‘nationality’ and ‘development’ are multi-generational projects. In this paper I wish to look at the interaction between individual multi-generational projects which involve China’s internal controls over identity and political and economics rights. Investigating how these contrast and engage strategically within and against state techniques and desires for political control.

Panel XIV. Education

Moderator: To be decided

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Governing Through Education: The Case Of “Teenagers With Four Good Qualities (sihao shaonian)” Campaign In A Private School For Rural-to-Urban Migrant Children

China has a long history of using education as a governing technique. Based on ethnographic research and in-depth interviews conducted in one of the private schools for rural-to-urban migrant children in Hangzhou in 2010 and 2012, this paper is devoted to a case study of this analytical approach. It explores how governing - the “conduct of human conduct” in the Foucauldian sense - is carried out in this school for migrant children; what type of subjects it is designed to create; and finally, what role it plays in the construction of migrant children’s social identity.

This paper probes into the “teenagers with four good qualities” campaign in this school, inspired by a message from Hu Jintao to young pioneers on the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Young Pioneers of China. I argue that it bears a temporal dimension, in the sense that it aims to shape pupils’ behaviors in the future, especially through exemplary models. On one hand, the four qualities promoted by the campaign are consistent with the CPC’s overall-Quality (suzhi) discourse, which affects strongly the representation of migrant workers and their children in Chinese society; On the other hand, the whole campaign falls within the vision of children as the “flowers of the motherland” and the future of the nation. They are considered as a way of achieving the national objectives in terms of modernity and development.

With the suzhi discourse, China’s migrant workers are represented as the antithesis of the country’s development. With examinations, the education system disseminates a meritocratic ideology that filters
out rural-to-urban children in urban schools and legitimates the structural biases that label them as second-class citizens. Meanwhile, those migrant children are encouraged to identify themselves as citizens of the nation and not to challenge the exemplary authorities. Migrant children’s school life is thus glutted with the comparison between several legitimacies that place them in circumstances of conflicts and controversies.

Key words: governing, school education, rural-to-urban migrant children, identity, “teenagers with four good qualities” campaign

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Ethnic School Closings in China: The Case of Ethnic Korean schools

Since the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Korean immigrants in China have been officially recognized as one of the 56 ethnicities, and Korean schools have been built up to preserve Korean languages and culture. In last 20 years, however, 60% of ethnic Korean schools were closed down due to low-recruitment rate. This paper is aiming at investigating major causes of the decline of student numbers in ethnic Korean schools in China.

This paper examines its research question through qualitative analysis of data and information gathered through interviews with 14 ethnic Korean parents and related research literatures. Key findings: Migration of ethnic Koreans, lack of teaching staff and perceptional changes of ethnic Koreans are responsible for the school closings. The establishment of China-South Korea diplomatic relations (1992) and ethnic Korean’s bilingual advantage have encouraged them to migrate to mainstream cities and work for South Korean companies, implement of market economy and urbanization have provided them a chance to approach mainstream market and pursue upward social economic status through volunteered assimilation.

Ethnic education plays crucial role for forming and preserving ethnicity. Ethnic school closing, therefore, challenges China’s multicultural society and urgently ask for a set of solution. This paper provides evidence that ethnic education is facing crisis, invites readers to understand how social, economic and political changes in China influence ethnic societies.

Keywords: ethnic Korean, ethnic Korean school, school closings, migration of ethnic Korean

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Beijing teachers’ views of support for inclusive education

In mainland China, the first high-profile efforts to place children with disabilities in regular classrooms began in the 1980s. Currently there are many policies at the national, municipal as well as district level,
with purpose to promote inclusive education in regular Chinese schools. This paper reports teachers’ views and experiences about the support they receive for their teaching in inclusive classrooms focusing on support from families, resource teachers, and school leaders and administration. The results are based on 16 individual and focus group interviews conducted in four schools in Beijing municipality. The teachers identified the lack of family support as a major challenge for their work. Several teachers reported collaboration with resource teachers but the scope of that cooperation was quite limited. The teachers expressed satisfaction with the support from school leaders both directly and indirectly through opportunities for professional development. Despite receiving different forms of support the teachers expressed that it did not adequately address the challenges they face when teaching inclusive class of learners.

Keywords: China, Beijing, inclusive education, teachers, support

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Discourse topic revisited: A linguistic analysis, a universal account

This paper investigates the contemporary Chinese discourse topic across text genres based upon the cognitive/relevance-theoretic approach (Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995; Noveck & Sperber, 2004; Forceville, 2005) to render plausible interpretations to this fundamental issue and our research aims, as compared to previous studies from syntactic/structural and functional/cognitive points of view (Chu, 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000; Chen, 1996; Hedberg, 1990; van Oosten, 1986). People often mean more than they say. Grammar/syntax on its own is typically insufficient for determining the full meaning of an utterance, the assumption that the discourse is coherent or ‘makes sense’ has an important role to play in determining meaning as well (cf. Asher & Lascarides, 2005). Just as syntactic surface structures display ramifications of underlying structures, we can well appreciate the inferred implicit meanings (vs. explicit meanings) as potential topics conveyed and enriched by the interplay of syntax-semantics-pragmatics and discourse, as shown in this study.

Conceptual topic (or baldly termed cognitive topic in this paper) from a cognitive perspective will not merely facilitate the readers with more accessible contextual effects (implicatures), but the subtopics, grounding (Chui, 2001) and composite topics (Bilhaut, 2005) can also be approached layer by layer with regard to cognition and language, which, again, play a vital role in perception, comprehension, and interpretation of utterances and non-verbal communication, and hence the mental processes of assigning/deciding a topic. The topic may thus vary from a word, short phrases, to a sentence, and, above all, the gist (after reader’s digestion and reorganisation) of the text/discourse.

There are gaps having long existed between linguistic studies and language instructions (pedagogical implications), for the former emphasise theoretical investigations usually associated with abstract concepts, whereas the latter focus on practices and applications in their own right. Cognitive-functional linguistics, however, with its niche of observation and evidence from ordinary language use, poses challenges and opportunities to the two research areas of language science. From the discourse topic (and/or sentence topic) exemplified in this paper, we as researchers and language instructors are able to introduce (but definitely not confined to) the basic linguistic patterns, with contingent prototype/prototypicality of topic, to language learners. We are also to embrace multifaceted non-prototypical speech encounters across genres and languages, for cognitive processing is crucial to human communication, verbal and non-verbal, and reveals one of the most important language universals.

Keywords: cognitive topic, discourse topic, implicature, pragmatic inferencing, relevance