

# East-West Connections: Review of Asian Studies

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2008

Edited by  
David Jones

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# East-West Connections: Review of Asian Studies

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## Asian Studies Development Program

In 1990, the Asian Studies Development Program was established by the East-West Center and University of Hawai`i to assist two and four-year colleges and universities incorporate Asian studies into the undergraduate curriculum.

As part of its goal of improving the long-term capacity of American higher education to teach about Asia, ASDP offers a variety of programs aimed at faculty, curriculum and institutional development, including summer residential institutes in Hawai`i, field seminars in Asia, and U.S. mainland workshops. ASDP provides on-going support for its alumni and other interested educators including the annual ASDP meeting, the ASDP newsletter, an active listserv for alumni and others, a website of undergraduate course syllabi and bibliographies on Asian topics and, more recently, East-West Connections, an annual volume of edited papers from the ASDP national meeting and submissions from outside the conference.

ASDP works collaboratively with institutions committed to developing and sustaining Asian studies programs by advising on strategies for developing Asian studies programs that include building faculty expertise, sources of funding and support from private foundations and government agencies, and the development of library and other resources. Close to 500 colleges and universities throughout the U.S. are involved in the ASDP network, and there are 20 ASDP regional centers that collaborate with each other as members of the Association of Regional Centers.

ASDP has received funding and support for its programs from the Freeman Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Korea Foundation, the Fulbright Group Travel Abroad Program, and ASDP alumni, as well as the East-West Center and University of Hawai`i. Many ASDP alumni are actively involved in ASDP and are integral to its activities and accomplishments.

Elizabeth Buck and Roger T. Ames are Co-Directors of the Asian Studies Development Program.

### **East-West Center**

The East-West Center is an education and research organization established by the U.S. Congress in 1960 to strengthen relations and understanding among the peoples and nations of Asia, the Pacific, and the United States. The Center contributes to a peaceful, prosperous, and just Asia Pacific community by serving as a vigorous hub for cooperative research, education, and dialogue on critical issues of common concern to the Asia Pacific region and the United States. Funding for the Center comes from the U.S. government, with additional support provided by private agencies, individuals, foundations, corporations, and the governments of the region.

Charles E. Morrison is President of the East-West Center.

### **The University of Hawai`i**

The School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies (SHAPS) represents the University of Hawai`i's commitment to education and research on Asia and the Pacific. SHAPS has the largest resource facility for Asian and Pacific studies in the world. Established in 1987, SHAPS offers academic programs in Asian Studies, Hawaiian Studies, and Pacific Islands Studies. SHAPS helps to coordinate the efforts of some 300 UH faculty who offer more than 600 courses related to Hawai`i, Asia, and the Pacific. The Asian Studies Development Program works primarily with the centers for Chinese Studies, Japanese Studies, Korean Studies, South Asian Studies and Southeast Asian Studies.

David McClain is President of the University of Hawai`i.



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## Editor's Note

We are pleased to present our readers with the eighth volume of *East-West Connections*. From its inception, *Connections* has offered scholarly articles on both content and pedagogical topics. The contents of this issue continue to reflect the interests of our readers by presenting readers with articles that reach across regions and the spectrum of Asian Studies. In this issue are content articles from the social sciences and humanities and curricular articles on business and the humanities. This issue also has a section devoted to the work of the late David L. Hall with articles by Ewing Y. Chinn and Robert Smid. Respectively, their articles are "David Hall and Richard Rorty: On What Is Philosophy Good For" and "Clearing a Fertile Middle Ground: Locating David Hall among Richard Rorty and Robert Neville." Robert Smid's article was awarded one of the two Best Student Paper Awards at the 2007 ASDP National Conference held in Seattle.

For the last several years, Richard Mack has secured funding from the National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates. In this issue, Aaron Ezroj, Deborah Mullin, Gregory Pyle, and Sean Sylvia present the culmination of their research efforts under his mentorship with their "Impacts of Developmental Programs and Policy Reforms on Rural Areas of Northwest China." Past issues of *Connections* have also supported faculty/student scholarship initiated by Professor Mack and we take pleasure in doing so again.

Included in this issue are two articles on curriculum development by Greg Cant and Terry Alkire, "Why Asian Studies Is Important to the Contemporary Business College Curriculum: Lessons from Entering the Japanese Market" and Rose Jang's "Searching

Across Disciplines: Linking History, Literature, and Religion in China Studies Curriculum.” Curriculum development has been an integral part of the Asian Studies Development Program’s mission and we are pleased once again to have this dimension represented in *Connections*.

Mary E. Sheldon’s “Confucian and Buddhist Values in Nguyen Du’s the *Tale of Kieu*” and “Unearthing the God of Place: Locating Space/Place in the Discourse(s) on *Tudi Gong*” by John A. Sweeney round out this issue with their investigations into values and place. John A. Sweeney was the other recipient of the Best Student Paper Awards at the 2007 ASDP National Conference.

Our Book Review section has always been an integral component to *East-West Connections* under the guidance of Ronnie Littlejohn. In this issue we feature reviews on three important books by Songhok Han Thornton and William H. Thornton, *Development without Freedom*, by Koushik Ghosh and Margaret MacMillan’s *Nixon and Mao: The Week that Changed the World* and James Kyngé’s *China Shakes the World: A Titan’s Rise and Troubled Future—and the Challenge for America* by Daniel A. Métraux.

This issue once again reflects our commitment to balancing content research and theoretical pedagogical and curricular concerns while keeping an eye open to regional parity in Asia. With articles on Japan, China, and Vietnam that cover religion, philosophy, literature, policy and developmental studies, and political science, this issue of *Connections* continues its commitment to offering readers a balanced and unique venue for research and the sharing of ideas in Asian Studies.

We at *East-West Connections* and the Asian Studies Development Program’s Association of Regional Centers (ARC) are gratified to bring *Connections* to you once again. *East-West Connections* is an undertaking of ARC and enjoys ongoing support from its contributors, generosity from its editors, and support from patrons. We continue to appreciate the support from Terry Bigalke, Director of Education at the East-West Center, Gordon Ring, East-West Center Alumni Officer, and Charles Morrison, President of the East-West Center. We also value the support coming from the ASDP

staff (Betty Buck, Roger Ames, Peter Hershock, Grant Otoshi, and Sandy Osaka), and the ASDP Association of Regional Centers that commissions this journal.

This issue was in large part put together by Jeffrey Dippmann. I am thankful to the *Connections*' editorial staff, Ronnie Littlejohn and Jeffrey Dippmann, for their hard work and cooperation for making this issue possible. To Harriette Grissom, I am especially grateful for her fine copy editing and promptness in getting this issue finally to press. I am pleased to announce Harriette will continue in a more permanent capacity as our copy editor. John L. Crow, our production editor, has taken us once again from electronic text to a quality journal design.

Lastly, we are grateful to the Central Washington University American Institute of Graphic Arts Student Club for use of their 2007 Asian Studies Development Program National Conference program design, which was adapted by John L. Crow as this issue's cover.

*East-West Connections* continues to evolve and we look forward to creating and cultivating a special venue for publishing in Asian Studies.

—David Jones

## Contributors

**Mary E. Sheldon** is Associate Professor of English at Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas where she teaches world literature for majors. In addition she teaches in the general education program. Her research interest is spirituality in world literature, especially Buddhism in Asian literature.

**John A. Sweeney** is a Ph.D. student in the Futures Studies program in the Department of Political Science at the University of Hawai`i at Manoa. Focusing on Buddhism and Contemporary Asian religions, he earned his M.A. in Asian Religion from UHM in 2007. He now teaches courses in Buddhism, Religion and the Meaning of Existence, and World Religions at UHM and Kapi`olani Community College. John plans to utilize his back ground in history, philosophy, and religion to study the intersections between spirituality, sustainability, and society as a means to provide and implement solutions for present and future problems related to global climate change.

**Greg Cant** is the founding Dean of the new School of Business and the Robert J. Johnson Chair in Economics & Business Administration at Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota. Previously he was the Chair of the Management Department at Central Washington University and has held both faculty and administrative positions at several universities in Australia. His PhD and undergraduate degrees are from the University of Western Australia and his Masters degree was from Queens' University in Ontario, Canada. Professor Cant has a passionate interest in cross-cultural management and ethical leadership.

**Terry D. Alkire** is currently a PhD candidate at the Cerum Business School in Nice, France. For the last three years he has worked as a Lecturer at Central Washington University where he taught Principles of Management, International Business, International Management, and Small Business and Entrepreneurism. Prior to becoming an instructor, Mr. Alkire worked as a global executive for Flow International Corporation. In his last position as Executive V. P. of International Operations, he was responsible for the operational management of the organization's five European and four Asian subsidiaries. Based in Switzerland, the position required extensive travel throughout Europe as well as Japan, Taiwan, China, and Korea. Locations managed included sales offices throughout Europe, Japan, China, and Korea, as well as factories in Germany, Sweden, and Taiwan. Mr. Alkire holds a BA in Spanish from the University of Montana and an MBA from City University in Frankfurt, Germany. In addition to his native English, he speaks fluent German, Italian, French, and Spanish.

**Rose Jang** has been a faculty member at the Evergreen State College, Olympia, Washington for 20 years, regularly and alternately teaching theatre and Chinese cultural studies. As a scholar in China studies, her areas cover history, literature and arts, from classical to modern. As a theatre professor, she is conversant with both Chinese and Western theatrical traditions and frequently conducts researches and artistic experiments cross-culturally. Rose is active in artistic and academic circles in both China studies and theatre. She has produced many theatrical events involving Chinese performing arts, presented papers and given talks at major Asian studies conferences, and is currently working on several publications. Her Ph.D. in Theatre is from Northwestern University.

**Richard Mack** is a professor of economics at Central Washington University specializing in regional economics and energy issues. He has been the recipient of several grants by the *National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates* to support research and travel in western China. Student co-authors who conducted the research resulting in this article were: **Aaron Ezroj**, University of

California, San Diego; **Deborah Mullin**, University of California, Berkeley; **Gregory Pyle**, Central Washington University; and **Sean Sylvia**, University of Alabama.

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**Ewing Y. Chinn** is Professor Emeritus at Trinity University, San Antonio Texas. He is presently an adjunct professor at the University of the Incarnate Word and the University of Texas at San Antonio. He is co-editor (with Henry Rosemont) of *Metaphilosophy and Chinese Thought: Interpreting David Hall* (2005), and has published many articles on Buddhist and Chinese Philosophy, particularly Zhuangzi, and comparative philosophy. His most recent publications are "John Dewey and the Buddhist Philosophy of the Middle Way" (*Asian Philosophy*, 2006) and "The Relativist Challenge to Comparative Philosophy" (*International Philosophical Quarterly*, 2007).

**Koushik Ghosh** is Professor of Economics at Central Washington University. His recent publications include "Stock Prices and Economic Growth: Are They Related?" (with Peter J. Saunders) in the *Indian Journal of Economics and Business*, "Teaching World Economic Issues in the General Education Curriculum, with an Emphasis on Asian Case Studies," *East-West Connections: Review of Asian Studies, Contemporary Economics* (M.E. Sharpe), and "The Effect of Social Security on Personal Saving in the Short-Run and the Long-Run: A Time Series Analysis" (with Peter J. Saunders) in the *Journal of Economics*.

**Daniel A. Métraux** is Professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin College in Virginia and is 2009 president of the Southeast Regional Chapter of the Association for Asian Studies. His forthcoming book, *Jack London and the Yellow Peril* will be published by Edwin Mellen Press in 2010.

# Confucian and Buddhist Values in Nguyen Du's *The Tale of Kieu*

Mary F. Sheldon

*How frail your fate! Your virtues, though, how strong.  
—The Tale of Kieu (l.2715)*

In modern Chinese literature, reincarnation has served both doctrinal and popular functions. A key Chan Buddhist doctrine, reincarnation has been included within stories to define, support, and/or propagate this doctrine within the context from which it originated, such as in Ts'ao Hsüeh-Ch'in's *Hung-lou Mêng* (*The Dream of the Red Chamber*). At the same time, reincarnation was adapted into "popular" or "folk" practices, most often being included within stories to reinforce the common people's belief in ancestral ties, such as in Zheng Yi's *Lao Jing* (*Old Well*). In an ancient village such as the one Zheng portrays, reincarnation serves Confucian notions such as filial piety in a way that would have utterly dismayed Ts'ao Hsüeh-Ch'in as he authored *Hung-lou Mêng* a mere two hundred years before Zheng.

While what is considered traditional Vietnamese culture developed from the eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries in the Ly Dynasty (1009-1225), Buddhism flourished among all classes in Vietnam. Having arrived in the second and third centuries from China by land and from southeast India by sea, the Thien (Chan, Zen) and Pure Land Mahayana sects were the most popular. During the Tran Dynasty (1225-1400), Confucianism regained equal

footing with the ruling classes. From the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries, in both the Le (1428-1788) and Nguyen (1802-1945) Dynasties, the ruling classes were educated exclusively in Neo-Confucian philosophy as rooted in the writings of the Chinese philosopher Zhu Xi (1130-1200). Yet many Confucians also practiced Buddhism as both philosophies continued to flourish in varying degrees (Jamieson 1993, 9-11; Taylor 1983, 80-84).

Nguyen Du, the author of the Vietnamese epic poem *The Tale of Kieu*, was born in the Le Dynasty in 1766 and died in the Nguyen Dynasty in 1820. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Vietnam's scholars and government officials concentrated on Neo-Confucian texts. They controlled the Vietnamese populace in part through Neo-Confucian principles as disseminated in folk songs and wise sayings (Marr 58). Nguyen Du's father, a prime minister in the Le Dynasty, and his brothers, who were ranking officials, exemplified Confucian conduct in their public and private lives, as did Nguyen Du. Yet while Neo-Confucianism formally dominated state thinking at this time, Buddhism continued to find expression. Over the centuries, Buddhism and Confucianism had, in fact, "become [so] intertwined, simplified, and Vietnamized" as to constitute almost "a single system" that was "shared to some extent by all Vietnamese" (Jamieson 11). By reflecting on how characters in *The Tale of Kieu* use values from each philosophy, it is possible to reveal how many considered Buddhism to be a necessary complement to classical Confucian doctrine in early nineteenth century Vietnamese life.

### Buddhist Values in *The Tale of Kieu*

*The Tale of Kieu* centers on a young woman's suffering and journey to well-being. Her life's pattern is symbolic of the ideal life-pattern outlined in the Four Noble Truths as presented by the Buddha in the *Discourse on Turning the Wheel of the Dharma*. The First Noble Truth establishes that suffering exists (Hanh 1999, 9, 19). Perceiving this reality at an early age, Kieu relates its truth to her gender. She recognizes the inevitability of suffering as a woman's fate: "[Kieu] had composed a song called *Cruel Fate* / to mourn all women in

soul-rending strains” (ll.33-34). After her brother shares Dam Tien’s story while they stand before her grave, Kieu immediately symbolizes the singer’s tragic fate: “How sorrowful is women’s lot!” she cried. / “We all partake of woe, our common fate” (ll.83-84). Suffering exists, but where does it come from?

The Second Noble Truth engages an individual in the search for the origin of suffering. Actions in past lives, as well as in the present, can contribute to an individual’s suffering (Hanh 1999, 9, 37, 114-15). Nguyen Du is especially concerned with *karmic* retribution. While good *karma* from past virtuous deed and actions has brought Kieu unique advantages in her present life—upstanding, supportive parents and siblings, unsurpassed beauty, and unique artistic talents—she will remain caught in the cycle of birth and rebirth until she finds a way to move past the bad *karma* of a previous life. Such is the human condition. When Kim Trong and Kieu fall in love at first sight, Kieu hardly dares hope their emotion derives from good *karma*. She asks “Does fate intend some tie between us two?” (l.182). Dam Tien’s ghost appears and warns Kieu that bad *karma*, in fact, will lead to heartbreak: We “reap what we sowed in our past lives” (l.201). Yet Kim perceives their initial meeting as a sign of good *karma*, a romantic convention in classical Asian literature.

In popular Buddhist belief, good *karma* will draw two lovers together, “if not in this lifetime, then over the next two reincarnations” (Thong 173). After he rents a house next to hers, Kim interprets its every design as a sign of the inevitability of their love: - “It must be Heaven’s will that we should meet!” (l. 282). When she is finally within his room, Kim pleads for Kieu’s understanding: - “If I did not earn merit in past lives, could I be blessed with you, my treasure, now?” (ll. 407-08). Even though Kieu warns him of a seer’s prediction years earlier that she would live “a life of woe” (l.416), Kim expresses steadfast confidence in the propriety of their private vows: “That we have met means fate binds us. / Man’s will has often vanquished Heaven’s whim” (ll.419-20).

Despite Kim Trong’s confidence in the future, the plight of Kieu’s father soon validates the seer’s dire prediction. To rescue her father from debt, Kieu marries a treacherous man and soon finds

herself surrounded by the vile desires of lechers. Greed and lust become everyday sordid realities. Kieu first attempts suicide and then makes a desperate break for freedom, but finally, forced to return to Dame Tu, she accepts her plight with humility. She submits to fate: “Because I badly lived an earlier life, / now in this world I must redeem past sins” (ll.1195-96). Ever hopeful, Kieu soon persuades Ky Tam, a brothel patron, to purchase her freedom and marry her, but marriage proves no more successful an escape than suicide. After Ky’s enraged principle wife, Miss Hoan, kidnaps and enslaves Kieu, a shaman informs Ky that his lover is alive, but that their relationship is over: - “A karma of dire woe still weighs on her— / . . .

/ And when you two stand face to face again, / how strange, you will avoid each other’s eyes!” (ll. 1693, 1697-98). When a stewardess in the household counsels Kieu that perhaps she “` must atone for some past sin” (l.1753), Kieu again submits to her fate with humility: “` I sinned in some past life and have to pay: I’ll pay as flowers must fade and jade must break” (ll.1765-66).

Each incarnation brings suffering to which a person must submit with humility, yet it also provides an opportunity for attaining the spiritual progress which allows an individual to move past suffering. While “no one can escape suffering,” “each person can decide how to respond to it” (Molloy 110). The Third and Fourth Noble Truths identify the “noble path” to well-being. By coming to understand that suffering can cease through the practice of mindful living, a person can break the *karmic* cycle of birth and rebirth and so find release from suffering (Hanh 1999, 11, 43).

Though Kieu is enslaved by Ky Tam’s primary wife, she gains permission to take lay Buddhist vows and tend the family shrine to Kuan-yin, the *bodhisattva* (or “awakened being” [Hanh 1988, 7]) of compassion. Eventually donning the brown garb of a nun, she devotes herself to prayer and copying sacred texts. Though Kieu takes the initiative to change her life style for the practical purpose of easing her condition, she comes to experience how mindful living can end suffering. In the process, she perceives the bodhisattva’s compassion. “Spared one shame—to sell her charms,” she rejoices in the quieting of her passions: “Oh magic drops from Kuan-yin’s willow

branch! They quench lust's fire, wash earthly filth away" (ll.1928, 1931-32). Though intent on mindful living, Kieu remains threatened by Miss Hoan's continued jealousy. Determined to live without fear, Kieu eventually escapes Ky Tam's home and takes refuge with a Buddhist nun, Giac Duyen. Giac Duyen invites Kieu to walk the noble path of a Buddhist nun: "The Buddha's gate is open wide to all" (l.2076). As explained in the *Prajñāparamita Sutra*, a woman is judged neither "defiled nor immaculate" (Hanh 1988, 1), for her condition results from circumstances beyond her control. Because of her inherent dignity, Kieu can choose to separate herself from suffering through mindful living under the guidance of Giac Duyen.

Kieu's refuge with Giac Duyen proves temporary. Further entrapment in a brothel and another escape through marriage, now to the warrior Tu Hai, causes a Buddhist prophet to question Kieu's true commitment to mindful living, a pre-requisite for the cessation of suffering:

As Heaven shapes our fate we lend a hand.  
 Renounce the world, reap joy--to lust spins grief. . . .  
 . . . When she dwelt in those abodes of peace,  
 she would not stay, for she could not sit still.  
 By fiends inspired, by demons led astray,  
 she left and darted down the path of thorns.  
 She raced from woe to woe. . . .  
 To passion sorrow clings and won't let go.  
 (ll.2657-58, 2663-67, 2673)

Perhaps the prophet fails to perceive the fear that causes Kieu's further entrapment, yet it is clear that Kieu's goals soon extend beyond mindful living. She is passionately attached to Tu Hai. Moreover, her recent understanding of the injustice attached to every past violation she experienced leads her to seize an opportunity to confront her tormenters. Kieu orders Tu Hai to have them captured, tried, and punished. Vile offenders cannot use the excuse of enforcing *karmic* retribution to violate the dignity of others and then escape punishment.

After Tu Hai dies in battle, Kieu is forced into a fifth marriage to a tribal chief. Despair over her condition as a tribute wife finally overwhelms Kieu. The old humility that encouraged her to submit

to suffering has vanished, even though she still recognizes a need to continue to pay off her “debt of woe” (l.2610). Moreover, mindful living as required by the Third and Fourth Noble Truth now seems beyond her reach. In despair, she hurls herself into a stream.

### Confucian Values in *The Tale of Kieu*

When analyzing Nguyen Du’s *The Tale of Kieu*, American critics have focused almost exclusively on Zhu Xi’s Neo-Confucian values as they dominated Vietnam for centuries. Concurring with Marr’s focus in *Vietnamese Tradition* (Marr 143, 195), Nhu-Quynh and Schafer argue that all Vietnamese verse narratives carry “primarily the Confucian doctrine” (769). Nguyen quotes from Marr to establish the foundation of her argument concerning *The Tale of Kieu*: “‘The basic [Confucian] tenets of female passivity, of a daughter’s piety towards her parents, of fidelity of one’s mate were upheld and perhaps even enhanced by the tremendous popularity of this work’” (Nguyen 456).

The heart of Zhu Xi’s Neo-Confucian values lays “in the cultivation of virtuous conduct.” For women, virtuous conduct is defined by adherence to the three submissions (to father in childhood, husband in marriage, and elder son in widowhood) and their accompanying virtues, especially filial piety (*hieu*) and chastity (*tiet*) (Marr 58-9, 192; Nhu-Quynh and Schafer 769; Jamieson 18).

Traditional Confucian doctrine has always held that chastity is an essential, life-long virtue. Virginity before marriage is the cornerstone of a daughter’s chastity (Nhu-Quynh and Schafer 769). Nguyen Du’s *The Tale of Kieu* created a “shock” for Vietnamese readers (Huynh xxiv) and “a scholarly storm for over a century” when what Marr terms the author’s “ambiguous morality,” especially the “revisionist interpretation of chastity,” “outraged stiff-backed Confucianists” (143, 195). The outrage begins when Kim Trong, who was raised to be an exemplary Confucian gentleman (Huynh xxiv), violates the code of conduct as summed up in the popular Vietnamese saying “‘Men and women should remain physically distant’” (Marr 192). Kim rents a house adjoining the Vuong family home so he can encounter Kieu alone, and Kieu deceives her parents in order

to speak with her beloved in the garden and even intrude upon the privacy of his room where she responds to his bold words and caresses. While Kim and Kieu, and Buddhist readers, might perceive a *karmic* blessing behind their initial meeting and subsequent private vow, Confucian practitioners must detest the improprieties which endanger the family's reputation and deny the father the privilege of arranging his daughter's marriage.

According to Vietnamese tradition, "private pledges of devotion . . . could put a woman under the strictures of the husband-wife bond" as surely as public betrothal (Nhu-Quynh and Schafer 770). Understanding the obligation under which her private betrothal to Kim Trong places her, Kieu acknowledges, "You've named me your bride—to serve [you], [I] must place chastity above all else" (ll.505-06). To fulfill the obligations of chastity, a woman must remain above reproach before marriage and "faithful and obedient to her husband afterward" (Nhu-Quynh and Schafer 769; Marr 192). Yet Kieu is soon forced to choose between fidelity to her betrothed and filial piety towards her father. In a Vietnamese Confucian household, the moral debt a child owes a parent is "so immense as to be unpayable" (Jamieson 17). When her father is arrested and tortured at the behest of a corrupt silk merchant, Kieu concludes that the obligation of filial piety outweighs even the duty of chastity: "A child first pays the debts of birth and care" (l.604). Also constrained by the bonds of filial piety, Kim must suddenly travel abroad when his father requests that he see to his deceased uncle's burial. Without Kim's support, Kieu feels obligated to accept an arranged marriage to raise the dowry necessary to redeem her father and brother and save her family. In a sad compromise with virtue, Kieu leaves her sister to redeem her pledge of marriage to Kim.

Thinking to preserve her chastity, Kieu considers suicide on her wedding day, but stalls when filial piety leads her to fear that her father, or even Kim, might be unjustly indicted for encouraging her action. Miles away from her family's home, she soon finds herself in a sham marriage, sold into prostitution. A Confucian respect for chastity guides her as she stabs herself before her violation can be compounded through sale to other men. Revived and cautioned to

consider the karmic debt she owes, however, Kieu chooses to place this Buddhist warning above the Confucian mandate of chastity. As time passes, Kieu enters into two more marriages, first to Ky Tam and then to Tu Hai, to save herself from the endless corruptions of the brothel. At best viewed as dubious compromises with the demands of chastity, Kieu's later marriages can only offend "stiff-backed Confucianists" (Marr 143). From their perspective, Kieu, mirrors both outer and inner dishonor (Nhu-Quynh and Schafer 770) when she develops spiritual, as well as physical, relationships with each new husband in turn (Huynh xxix).

### Interweaving Values: A Vietnamese Tradition

Rather than offering "a revisionist interpretation of chastity" in *The Tale of Kieu*, as Marr suggests, (195), Nguyen Du illustrates how traditional Buddhism has always played a necessary role in protecting the dignity of women. By the time she marries Ky Tam, Kieu has sullied her honor beyond repair in any Confucian world; but consideration of her "circumstances" rescues Kieu in the Buddhist tradition. With heart-felt courage, Kieu marries Ky Tam and so temporarily escapes the lechery of the brothel's patrons. To again fall in love and marry is the best avenue Kieu has at that present moment.

Wishing to honor the innovative way in which Kieu preserves her dignity when trapped within a horrible circumstance, Nguyen Du validates Kieu's second marriage by choosing the lines blessing the marriage of Kieu and Ky Tam as the epigram for *The Tale of Kieu*: "Of course, when two kin spirits meet, one tie / soon binds them in a knot none can yank loose" (ll. 1287-88). In effect, Nguyen Du praises the interweaving of more flexible Buddhist values within the Confucian tradition.

As *The Tale of Kieu* concludes, Nguyen Du explores how the Third and Fourth Noble Truths complement the Confucian insistence on a woman's continuous chastity. When circumstances permit, a woman should end suffering by choosing to lead a mindful life, ideally as a Buddhist nun. When Giac Duyen rescues Kieu from the stream into which she has thrown herself to avoid a fifth marriage, Kieu again shakes "off the filth of all past woes" (l. 2737) and

makes “her home within the Bodhi gate—” (l.2899). Having been rescued by the nun’s waiting boat, Kieu realizes what the Buddha calls “the highest awakening” through “insight and understanding of the Four Noble Truths” (Hanh 1999, 259-60). Though some critics see her as bound to fate through her life (Huynh 1983, xxxiv-v), Kieu, in fact, moves beyond suffering and even beyond the cycle of rebirth.

After she is reunited with her family, Kieu’s commitment remains unshaken: “To nunhood vowed, I’ll stay here till the end” (l.3048). Cleverly applying the Buddhist understanding of “circumstance,” Kieu’s father challenges Kieu to fulfill her Confucian obligations: - “Even a saint must bow to circumstance. You worship gods and Buddhas—who’ll discharge a daughter’s duties, keep a lover’s vows?” (ll.3052-54). Following his father-in-law’s lead, Kim Trong insists on his respect for her: Due to the circumstances which led to her suffering, Kieu’s essential chastity is preserved in his eyes:

A woman’s chastity means many things.  
 For there are times of ease and times of stress:  
 in crisis, must one rigid rule apply?  
 True daughter, you upheld a woman’s role:  
 what dust or dirt could ever sully you?  
 (ll.3116-20)

Though pressured to marry Kim Trong to satisfy Confucian values, Kieu finds a way to practice the mindfulness that will keep her on the noble path: she and Kim will remain friends beneath their one roof. After he acquiesces, she picks up her lute and plays, rather than *Cruel Fate*, “a hymn to life and peace on earth” (l.3199). As Vietnamese Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh writes in *The Heart of the Buddha’s Teaching*, suffering can be permanently transformed “into peace, joy, and liberation” (3) through an understanding of the Four Noble Truths.

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# Unearthing the God of Place: Locating Space/Place in the Discourse(s) on Tudi Gong

John A. Sweeney

The ubiquity of Tudi Gong (土地公), as a fixture of worship in popular forms of Chinese religiosity, has been well documented. Locating Tudi as a marker for identity through the construction and maintenance of place-based religiosity, this paper argues that ancient Chinese conceptions of space, which is signified as the cosmos in a state of discord, were necessarily transformed into place—representative of an ordered relation with the world centered on one's connection with the supernatural bureaucracy—as a means to manufacture a stable and productive society.

## Introduction

Man acts as though *he* were the shaper and master of language, while in fact *language* remains the master of man (Heidegger 1977, 348).

The ubiquity of *Tudi Gong* (土地公) as a fixture of worship in Chinese religion(s) has been well-documented. Although most, if not all, scholars agree on his position and role within the pantheon of deities that comprise Chinese religions, there have been, and continue to be, a seemingly endless number of translations of his name/title. As Yu Chien reports:

There is no consensus among foreign scholars for the translation of the term [*Tudi Gong*]. It is translated as 'the earth god' (Ahern 1973:6; Fried 1974:131; Maspero 1981:3; Suenari 1985:36), 'the Earth God' (Diamond

1969:99; Brim 1974:98; Wei & Coutanceau 1976:28; Werner 1977:413f), 'the Earth Gods' (Berkovits and others 1969:77), 'the local earth gods' (Baity 1975:58), 'the local god' (Smith (1899) 1969:138; Bredon & Mitrophanom 1927:456), 'the Place Gods' (Sangren 1987:61), 'the God of the locality' (Burkhardt 1958b:151), 'the Locality God' (Wolf 1974:134; Feuchtwang 1992:47), 'the gods of the Locality' (Maspero 1981:110), 'the Tutelary Deity' (Baity 1975:273), and 'land gods' (Hsiao Kung-chuan 1960:275f). Moreover, Ling Shun-sheng translates it as 'the local deities' (1967:133), 'the god of earth' (1967:133) and 'local divinities' (1967:136) to indicate the same deity in an article. Chamberlayne translates it as 'the earth-god' (1966:167), the local gods (1966:166), 'the local earth gods' (1966:164) and 'the god of the soil' (1966:167) to indicate the same deity.... (Yu 1997)<sup>1</sup>

As Yu attests, there has not been, and there might never be, a definitive translation of *Tudi Gong*—each transliteration exhibits the various ways in which this particular deity might be *signified*. This assertion, however, seems to contradict the previous claim that scholars, for the most part, agree upon who *Tudi* is and what he does, especially if “these *English* translations are all valid, and indeed, they reflect *different understandings* of this deity” (Yu 1997).<sup>2</sup>

If in fact the multiplicity of representations of *Tudi Gong* and the level of difference that separates them are, as Yu claims, equally viable, if not suitable, how is it that scholars, for the most part, can agree upon who *Tudi* is and what he does *and* yet hold “different understandings” of the same deity? While it is obvious that this “problem” has something to do with linguistic parity, or a lack thereof, it is clear that the dynamics of this quagmire are overtly one-sided: it is not the case that these *English* renderings of *Tudi Gong* are a reflection of the variance of thought and practice *within* Chinese religions.<sup>3</sup> Clearly, variations in thought and practice *do* exist, but

1 All citations from Yu (1997) are directly from the third chapter of his unpublished doctoral thesis. “The Land God in Chinese Popular Religion.” References for each author’s translations as they have been listed in the preceding passage are given in the bibliography of this work. Unfortunately, page numbers for this source are not available.

2 Italics added for emphasis.

3 It is interesting that Yu has specifically chosen to catalog *English* renderings of *Tudi*, and although he does not discuss his methods in compiling this list, one gets the impression from his work that it is meant to be authoritative (even though it does not include French and German sources on this subject, regardless

scholarly<sup>4</sup> representations of *Tudi* do not point to levels of difference within the historical and lived tradition(s) of Chinese religion(s)—and, perhaps, they were never meant to. It is, however, not within the scope of this particular analysis to examine the assortment of religious praxes related to *Tudi*, as such an investigation would not illumine the queries put forth in this study.

Although *Tudi* has clearly evolved, both conceptually and concretely, in conjunction with Chinese religions, one could argue that, for the most part, little or no attention has been granted toward such change in scholarly representations of *Tudi*; this is problematic at many levels, and yet emblematic of an operative discourse. This investigation limits itself to examining the question of how *Tudi* has been signified in scholarly representations and bringing to light the *discursive limits*<sup>5</sup> that have haunted and continue to haunt such renderings, even when some have turned to complex theoretical terms such as *space/place*—both of which have undergone immense conceptual alterations within the last half century.<sup>6</sup>

The primary example of this movement is present within Dell'Orto's *Place and Spirit in Taiwan: Tudi Gong in the Stories, Strategies and Memories of Everyday Life*, which "identifies place and Tudi Gong as valuable terrains of investigation which, hopefully, may indicate further trajectories through which anthropology can approach and discuss" Chinese religions (Dell'Orto 23). Dell'Orto's text sets out to imbue *Tudi* with contemporary notions of *place* as

of whether or not they use the same or similar designations for *Tudi*)—perhaps his inclusion of native speakers is meant to compensate for this clear oversight. However, Yu's omission points to one of the key elements of this work—the nature and flow of discourse, which gives the impression of infallibility but which is never, in and of itself, complete.

4 Here and elsewhere in this text, *scholarly* refers to English-language academic analyses of *Tudi*, which are grounded in the study of Chinese religions.

5 This is the language of the French philosopher/historian Michel Foucault. Although Foucault's work will not be included in this analysis in an explicit manner, the point of utilizing his theoretical jargon is to point towards the formation of a discourse, a unified field of study that is embodied within a scholarly corpus, that sets limits upon the concepts and language used to represent specific objects of enquiry—in this instance, *Tudi Gong*.

6 This point will be addressed in greater detail later in this examination.

both philosophers and geographers have constructed it; but in distinction to many contemporary notions of *place*, there is an apparent lack of *space*, theoretically speaking, within his work.<sup>7</sup> Although Dell'Orto drives his work to the limits of the scholarly discourse on *Tudi*, he also remains firmly grounded within an enduring discourse. Thus, the point of this study is to look at the ways in which scholarly representations of *Tudi* have changed, adapted, and, in many ways, remained the same.

### Movement toward Place

Utilizing terms such as *earth*, *land*, and *soil*, scholars have employed universally intelligible concepts to elucidate, as clearly as possible, the representative characters of *Tudi Gong* (土地公). There is nothing special or significant about this process as it pertains to Chinese religions or *Tudi* in particular; this, quite simply, is the nature of all scholarly discourse—the hunt to find the right words to communicate an idea. However, the scholarly translator finds herself in a particularly difficult position—she must not only find a way to communicate a term or idea that may be foreign or nonequivalent but she must also do so in a way that accommodates the nuance of *meaning*.<sup>8</sup> Thus, one must not assume that terms such as *earth*, *land*, and *soil* carry the same *meaning* on both sides of the equation. It is often the case that when such calculations are balanced, a remainder is produced: something vital is often left unexamined. This, if anything, explains how and why so many transliterations of *Tudi Gong* are existent—the search for symmetry continues. If anything might be taken from this analogy, it is that the scholarly understanding of *Tudi*, and of Chinese religions in general, is in itself a process—one that is grounded within the workings of *language* and *meaning*, but

7 In fact, there is but one entry in the index for the term.

8 Recently, Poul Andersen has argued, contra Frits Staal, that “‘Meaning’ evidently is a relational concept, in the sense that it always presupposes the notion of ‘meaning to someone,’ ‘meaning in a certain context,’ ‘meaning defined within a certain form of life’” (Andersen 163). Although Andersen tailors his argument to the question of meaning in ritual, his analysis of the contextuality of meaning is highly relevant.

one that has continued to locate *meaning* within itself, within the tenets of the discourse.

One may begin to see this process work itself out in the aforementioned list of terms, as presented by Yu, used to signify *Tudi Gong*: Earth/earth, God/god, god/gods, Locality/local, land/soil, and deities/divinities. These distinctions—singularity/plurality, proper/common, and general/specific—constitute a unified field, a theoretical standard by which the discourse on *Tudi* functions. Historically, these were the limits within which scholars signified *Tudi*, but others, some of which appear to escape the traps of such distinctions, are extant. Consequently, there are other renditions present within Yu's inventory that, at first glance, appear to leap beyond the conceptual parameters listed above; terms such as *tutelary* and *place*, in particular, stand out. Although Yu offers Baity and Sangren as examples of representing *Tudi* with the terms *tutelary* and *place*, one might have located both designations in an earlier work (as Dell'Orto does) by Wolf, who catalogs the "supernatural bureaucracy" in his *Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors* (Wolf 133). Commenting on the multifaceted nature of *Tudi Gong*, Wolf writes, "The prototype of the many gods in the Chinese pantheon is ... [*Tudi Gong*]. This 'earth god' is often introduced as the Chinese god of agriculture, but this is only partially accurate. [*Tudi*] is better translated as 'site' or 'locality' than as 'earth' or 'soil.' [*Tudi Gong*] is a tutelary deity, the governor of a *place*..." (Wolf 134).<sup>9</sup> Expanding on previous conceptualizations present within the discourse on *Tudi*, Wolf suggests that *Tudi* signifies more than mere *earth* and *soil*; he is in fact indicative of the natural human relation with the *land* and, more specifically, the built human environment—hence, *site* or *locality* and, perhaps, *place* are in some sense *better*.

Wolf's point represents an important shift in focus. First, Wolf's subtle admission that *Tudi* is, in his opinion, "the prototype of the many gods in the Chinese pantheon" leaves one to infer that perhaps there is more than meets the eye in the case of *Tudi*, as well as in Chinese religions in general. Unfortunately, Wolf does not go on

9 Italics added for emphasis.

to explain how and why he came to this conclusion, aside from his previous assertion that Chinese religions constitute a *supernatural bureaucracy*. Second, Wolf proposes that *specific places* are governed, conceptually if not concretely, by two parallel *bureaucracies*, human and supernatural; hence, *Tudi*, as one bridge between the two, may be thought of as a *tutelary* deity. Third, and most significantly, Wolf shows us that simple or commonplace transliterations of *Tudi Gong* are incomplete; his postulate that terms such as *site* and *locality* are *better* translations moves us toward the possibility of a deeper understanding of the relation between people and their environs. Based on these suppositions one might credit Wolf with introducing the term *place* in the discourse on *Tudi*, but he does so only in passing. Although Wolf's allusion to *place* is just that, his inclusion of the term lays the conceptual groundwork for what appears to be an enormous step in the discursive movement toward *place*: Sangren's term *Place God*.<sup>10</sup>

In his *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community*, Sangren makes explicit reference to *Tudi* as the *Place God*. Locating *Tudi* as the center of ritual worship, he writes, "Neighborhood-cult ritual is generally associated with worship at Place God [*Tudi Gong*] shrines" (Sangren 51). Sangren continues in the same vein when he elucidates that "the smallest communal rituals, associated with what I term neighborhood cults, generally focus on worship of the Place God [*Tudi Gong*]" (Sangren 61). Connecting *Tudi*, as the *Place God*, with specific neighborhoods, Sangren confirms Wolf's prior assertion that better translations, in comparison to *earth*, *land*, *locality*, and *soil*, are not only requisite, but also that they are more *meaningful*. *Tudi*, as his very name denotes, is grounded within clearly defined *places*. Sangren, however, seems to take this notion even further in suggesting that in the context of Chinese religions, as the case of *Tudi* confirms, *earth* might be understood as *place*. He explains,

10 It must be noted that Sangren was Wolf's student at Stanford. Also, in opposition to Yu's catalog, Sangren never refers to *Tudi* as a plurality: *Place Gods* versus *Place God*. The former does not appear in his text; he does, however, point out that there are multiple *places* that have their own *gods*.

“[*Tudi Gong*’s] association with territory is quite clear in the deity’s name, which means ‘Earth God’ or ‘Place God’” (Sangren 73).<sup>11</sup>

Although Sangren appears to equate *Earth* with *Place*, he gives no reason or theoretical underpinning that explains why this equivalence is appropriate—*why place*? Nor does he allude to anything within the context of Chinese religions that might validate this rendition. Additionally, it is not clear from Sangren’s account what is meant by his inclusion of the term *territory*—indeed, is *Tudi*’s association with territory *quite clear*? One need not feign ignorance to admit that the conceptual weight of such terms as *place* and *territory* had grown considerably, certainly more in 1987 than in 1974, although these enlargements were concentrated primarily within the disciplines of philosophy and geography. However, there appears to be no reason to eschew some discussion of the theoretical background of such terms; unless, of course, they were never intended to signify anything greater than their pedestrian meaning(s). Thus, Sangren’s invocation of these terms is both beguiling and mystifying, especially when the reader is left to interpret them freely. As such, the movement toward *place* within the discourse on *Tudi Gong* has, as yet, gone nowhere; ostensibly this has more to do with the discourse on *Tudi* than it does with available theories concerning *place*. At the time of the publication of Sangren’s text in 1987, *place* was certainly to be taken as more than a mere placeholder for *earth*, *land*, *soil*, and *territory*.

Prior to examining the next discursive realignment related to *place* within the discourse on *Tudi*, it is necessary to discuss briefly a few thinkers who have played, and continue to play, an important role in directing the discourse(s) on *place* and *space*. In many ways, this discussion will help to show the multiple issues in invoking a term such as *place* without explicating its usage. Additionally, the following overview is included in order to create a conceptual foundation for subsequent sections of this examination that deal explicitly with Dell’Orto’s work.

11 Italics added for emphasis.

### The Weight of Place and Space

For many, including some scholars mentioned in this examination, both *space* and *place* are self-defining; they in fact seem to exude a comfort that most other signifiers inherently lack. Indeed, one knows exactly what is meant when one hears them at play in such phrases as “This place is a mess!” or “We’re running out of space!” And yet, much is assumed on the part of both the speaker as well as the listener in thinking that it is absolutely clear what one means in employing *space* and *place*, either separately or in tandem. As Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine point out, “In popular discourse, space and place are often regarded as synonymous with terms including region, area and landscape. For [scholars], however, these twin terms have provided the building blocks of an intellectual (and *disciplinary*) enterprise that stretches back many centuries” (Hubbard, Kitchin, & Valentine 3).<sup>12</sup> Although this is not the *place*, nor is there *space*, for a detailed analysis of the colossal corpus on *space* and *place* within this study, it is absolutely requisite to outline a few of the necessary movements in the contemporary discourse on *space* and *place*; hence, this section will highlight the contributions of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Yi-Fu Tuan (1930-), and David Harvey (1935-).<sup>13</sup>

#### Re-thinking the Question: Martin Heidegger

In “Building, Dwelling, Thinking,” Heidegger outlines the connection between humanity’s thoughts and efforts as *Beings* on the earth in relation to our capacity to contemplate and construct the ultimate question, as one might expect from Heidegger, that one must derive from the intricacies of these relations: *what does it meant to be?* Ultimately, Heidegger is critical of the human project to encompass or

<sup>12</sup> Although Hubbard, Kitchin, and Valentine originally had the term “geographers” in the above passage, it is clear that the designation of scholars is far more appropriate; indeed, geographers are not the only ones thinking about *space* and *place*.

<sup>13</sup> Though there were many thinkers to choose from, these three play a significant role, either through inclusion or exclusion, within Dell’Orto’s text, although each is mentioned at least once.

consume the earth, which he sees as counterintuitive to our natural position within the world—because, as he puts it, “we are *dwellers*” (Heidegger 350).<sup>14</sup> Dwelling, then, points toward our capacity to let things be in-the-world; as such, we must foster *space*—a distance between things mediated by the relations that define specific places or locales—for things to come into *Being*. Although Heidegger’s discussion is laden with etymological analyses and jargon, the thrust of this short piece, for the purposes of this investigation, is his reconceptualization of *space*, which for most of the previous three millennia had been thought to be nothing more than a cold, dark place—a vast, *quantifiable* region of lifelessness; this, from Heidegger’s perspective, has been a grave miscalculation. He writes, “The space provided for in this mathematical manner may be called ‘space,’ the ‘one’ space as such. But in this sense ‘the’ space, ‘space,’ contains no *spaces* and no *places*” (Heidegger 357).<sup>15</sup> Thus, in response to what he sees as the bias of previous philosophers (namely modernity’s rationalists), Heidegger has brought *space*, in conjunction with *place*, back into the human realm of concern, value, and meaning—they are constitutive of *Being* itself. Heidegger, if anyone, is responsible for reconstituting the question: *space* and/or/versus *place* has become *space/place*—within contemporary scholarly discourse.

### Feeling Our Way Through: Yi-Fu Tuan

Considered by many to be the father of humanistic geography, Tuan utilizes Heidegger’s repositioning of *space/place* as a means to forge new ways of thinking about the relation between humans and their environment(s). As Rodaway explains, “[Tuan] was ... concerned with the emotional and intimate engagement of people, culture, environment and place” (Hubbard, Kitchin, & Valentine 306). In *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience*—arguably his most

<sup>14</sup> Explaining his use of the term *dwelling* a page earlier, he writes, “To be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to dwell. The old word *bauen*, which says that man *is* insofar as he dwells, this word *bauen*, however, *also* means at the same time to cherish and protect, to preserve and care for, specifically to till the soil, to cultivate the vine” (Heidegger 349).

<sup>15</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

influential work—Tuan analyzes the impact of somatic, cultural, and experiential factors upon the ways in which people, both collectively and individually, conceptualize *space/place*. Ultimately, however, Tuan is after something greater, something more *human*: “to understand how people feel about space and place, to take into account the different modes of experience (sensorimotor, tactile, visual, conceptual) and to interpret space and place as images of complex—often ambivalent—feelings” (Tuan 6-7). For Tuan, it is this emotive connection between people and *spaces/places* that begins to illuminate the varied and difficult questions surrounding our experiences within *spaces/places* as well as the formation of our identity, which, obviously, has everything to do with the *spaces/places* within which we reside. Thus, Tuan argues that there exists an understood intimacy present within the human relation with *spaces/places*. As human beings, we invest and harvest notions of our identity and community within/from *spaces/places*.

#### The Truth behind Space and Place: David Harvey

If one were inclined to identify, merely for one’s own gratification, geographers who exhibit (shall we say) Marxist tendencies, Harvey would certainly be at the top of any such list; indeed, he and his circle of colleagues and students might in fact comprise the entire registry. This is in no way meant as a criticism against his methodological *modus operandi*; rather, this merely points to the foundations of Harvey’s challenges to the role, structure, and force behind our conceptions and realizations of *space/place*. As Castree reports, “By ‘geography’ Harvey [does] not mean the discipline of that name, but the material landscape of towns, cities, and transport networks that act as the ‘arteries’ of capitalism” (Hubbard, Kitchin, & Valentine 182). Harvey’s efforts to examine the forces that manipulate our notions of *space* and *place* in the end reflect back upon our notions of selfhood, which for Harvey—like Heidegger and Tuan before him—are, in turn, constitutive of *space/place*. He writes, “Place-identity, in this collage of superimposed spatial images that implode in upon us, becomes an important issue, because everyone occupies a space of individuation (a body, a room, a home, a shaping commu-

nity, a nation), and how we individuate ourselves shapes identity” (Harvey 302). Ultimately, Harvey sees the workings of political and historical mechanisms behind our notions of selfhood and *space/place*.

While Harvey comments, at length, on the position of the individual within the capitalistic production of *space/place*, his *telos* in analyzing the methods and mechanisms of capitalism’s influence on *space/place* is aimed at thwarting its social and political hegemony. This understanding leads Harvey to construct universal theories concerning *space/place* that—in competition with global capitalism—are meant to encompass the totality of human experiences concerning *space/place*. As Castree explains, “Ultimately the key contribution that Harvey has made to contemporary conceptions of space and place is to insist that the two can be theorized.” He also notes that “[Harvey] has been an exponent of what is called ‘grand’ or ‘meta-theory’” (Hubbard, Kitchin, & Valentine 185). For the purposes of this analysis, Harvey’s recognition that there are larger theoretical systems at work (for instance, the tenets of capitalist economics) within our notions of *space/place* is an integral part in considering the ways in which ideas about *space/place* blend the temporal with the spatial.

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As the preceding, albeit terse, discussion of Heidegger, Tuan, and Harvey sought to reveal, *space/place* has received an enormous amount of scholarly attention over the last half century. Much of it has expressed, in one way or another, the deep interconnectedness between how humanity thinks about itself and the *spaces/places* within which it does so. Ultimately, the discourse on *space/place* sets out to map some new ground and recover lost territory. As Casey explains:

To become familiar with [the] history [of *space/place*] is to be in a better position to attest to the pervasiveness of [*space/place*] in our lives: in our language and logic as in our ethics and politics, in our bodily bearing and in our personal relations. To uncover the hidden history of [*space/place*] is to find a way back into the [*space/place*]-world—a way to savor the renaissance of [*space/place*] even on the most recalcitrant terrain. (Casey xv)<sup>16</sup>

With an understanding of the significance of *space/place*, as well as a few key figures and realignments within this discourse, we can now return to the question of *space/place* and *Tudi Gong*—specifically, to the next movement in the discourse of *Tudi*: Dell’Orto’s *Place and Spirit in Taiwan*.

### The Spirit of Place

Most importantly, [my ethnography] has contributed towards the construction of an *anthropology of place* by analysing a number of key concepts related to the notion of place and space (see Conclusion). (Dell’Orto xviii)

Although it is outside the scope of this book to thoroughly examine the various discipline’s approaches to place/location, I must say that they all have, in different ways and in different degrees, informed my own approach to place. (Dell’Orto 233)

I wish to stress, however, that having been more interested in the process rather than the product, in the journey being made rather than the reaching of a final destination, these revisited trajectories do not claim to be definitive. They have the potential for generating further research on both place and Tudi Gong. (Dell’Orto 222)

Following in the footsteps of Wolf and Sangren, Dell’Orto commences his investigation into the *place* of *Tudi* in Chinese religions with a definition/description of the deity’s name/title. His approach, however, is one that, in contrast to both Wolf and Sangren, assumes from the outset the significance of *Tudi* as a cultural marker of identity and *meaning*. Reflecting on the nature of his project, he writes that it is “a book about Tudi Gong, *the spirit of place*, both as a religious-social phenomenon of intrinsic interest, but also as a ‘fixed reference point’ and an ‘appropriate medium’ for exploring and analysing the dynamic social changes which have been occurring in contemporary Taiwan, and people’s strategic adaptations to

16 In the introduction to *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*, Casey only utilizes the term *place*; however, it becomes apparent through his discussion of both *space* and *place* that these two seemingly disparate terms/ideas are inextricably tied to one another—thus, *space/place* has been inserted in the above passage where Casey originally had *place*. Indeed, to talk about *place* is to invoke *space*, and vice versa.

these changes” (Dell’Orto xvii). Dell’Orto orchestrates his work in conjunction with, as we are repeatedly told throughout the text, contemporary notions of *space/place*.<sup>17</sup> Prior to jumping directly to Dell’Orto’s analysis of “a number of key concepts related to the notion of place *and* space” and their ostensible relation to both *Tudi* and the author’s desire to aid in the “construction of an *anthropology of place*” in his conclusion, it seems necessary to journey through parts of the text in order to examine the ways in which his closing summations are meant to be construed.<sup>18</sup>

Having spent a number of years researching in and through various locales on the island of Taiwan, Dell’Orto supplies his text with what is, in his opinion, a central avenue by which to examine the role(s) of *Tudi* in both urban and rural settings: the many and varied *stories* of the people and places where *Tudi* resides. As he explains, “The multilocation of Tudi Gong is, at the same time, his ‘multilocation.’ Each place he guards has its stories to tell, and so the cult of this most ancient and popular Chinese deity lives on in the narratives of the people and places of contemporary Taiwan” (Dell’Orto 1). Focusing on the role that *Tudi* plays in contemporary Taiwanese society—and the stories that define him—Dell’Orto concurs with Wolf and Sangren that commonplace designations of *Tudi* are incomplete; in support of this view, he writes:

Tudi Gong’s domain, however, extends well beyond the relationship between man and the land. His agricultural function – thus Tudi Gong has often been translated as earth god – is but one aspect which should be integrated with notions of territory (Baker 1979:1), locality and community (Wolf 134; Feuchtwang 96) and *place* (Sangren; Wolf 134). (Dell’Orto 6)<sup>19</sup>

There are a couple of things worth noting in the above passage that may help to elucidate Dell’Orto’s position within the ongoing scholarly discourse on *Tudi*, as well as his and his predecessors’ employment of the term *place*. Both are essential in understanding the way in which his text, like a discourse, operates.

17 See the first two citations at section heading.

18 Italics added for emphasis.

19 Italics added for emphasis.

First, it is difficult to overlook the structural similarities between Dell'Orto and Wolf in professing the complex nature of *Tudi*.<sup>20</sup> This is not meant to insinuate in any way that Dell'Orto is merely reiterating Wolf's previous proclamation since, in many ways, he does not; and yet, it appears as though he remains true to Wolf's earlier and obviously unrealized "vision." In some sense, this particular passage marks the passing of the proverbial torch. Although this deference signifies Dell'Orto's adherence to the standards of contemporary scholarship, it is, more importantly, indicative of his recognition that the alignment of *place* with *Tudi* is something that precedes his own work. Thus, it is an admission on the part of Dell'Orto that a discourse not only on *Tudi* but, more importantly, on *place* and *Tudi* is already present; but, as the previous sections sought to elucidate, locating a separate discourse—one that actually intertwines *place* and *Tudi*—is not an easy task.

Clearly, this movement as embodied by both Wolf and Sangren goes nowhere. In lieu of grounding his work in that of his predecessors or distancing himself from them, Dell'Orto proceeds without looking at the particulars of what has already been said. In some ways this approach supports, but also limits, his project. He writes, "place is indeed an 'odd' and 'misunderstood' concept, if confined merely to its topographical characteristics" (Dell'Orto 117). Is this not what Wolf and Sangren mean in their employment of the term *place* in the context of *Tudi*? Although one might allude to greater connotations in their mention of *place*, (certainly Wolf does more than Sangren), they ultimately leave coded messages for future generations to decipher. One might make the case that seeds of change are present within Wolf, but they clearly have not yet begun to bloom. Consequently, Dell'Orto, in conjunction with Yu, whose work appears in his list of references, credits, unduly, both Wolf and Sangren with the connection of *Tudi* and *place*. Indeed, the context in which Dell'Orto employs the term versus that of his predeces-

20 "The prototype of the many gods in the Chinese pantheon is ... [*Tudi Gong*]. This 'earth god' is often introduced as the Chinese god of agriculture, but this is only partially accurate. [*Tudi*] is better translated as 'site' or 'locality' than as 'earth' or 'soil.' [*Tudi Gong*] is a tutelary deity, the governor of a *place*..." (Wolf 134).

sors is quite different, but the reader is left to assume—thanks to Dell’Orto’s omission in analyzing, either partially or at all, the previous use of the term in connection with *Tudi*—that both Wolf and Sangren are key figures in this discourse.<sup>21</sup>

Second, Dell’Orto, in contrast with Wolf, makes no mention of *better*, or ostensibly worse, translations; one gets a sense of inclusiveness from his mention of *Tudi* as the Earth God as “but one aspect which should be integrated with other notions” (Dell’Orto 6). Thus, Dell’Orto appears to agree with Yu’s assertion that such variation is not only agreeable in the case of representing *Tudi*, but also highly preferable. This, however, does not stop either scholar from defining *Tudi*.<sup>22</sup> For Yu, *Tudi* is best described as the Land God; Dell’Orto, on the other hand, appears comfortable with the monicker: “*the spirit of place*” (Dell’Orto xvii). Although the former seems much more limited, in scope as well as depth, than the latter, a closer look at Dell’Orto’s burgeoning usage of *place* might help to close the conceptual gap between the two.

As previously mentioned, Dell’Orto sets out to locate *Tudi* within contemporary notions of *place* through the many and varied stories of the people and the places where *Tudi* resides. The intended product of his examination is twofold—first, he seeks to posit *Tudi* as a marker for socio-cultural change over time within Taiwan; and second, his work is meant to contribute towards the construction of an *anthropology of place*. Thus, one might expect that in addition to a thorough analysis of both historical and contemporary narratives of *Tudi*, which comprise most if not all of chapters four and five, the author would clearly and succinctly outline his theoretical foundation. A glance at the table of contents, not to mention a close reading of the entire text, quickly dispels any such notion. And although Dell’Orto infuses his work with some, one might even go so

21 In support of this point, one might venture to look at Dell’Orto’s index, which has no entry for Sangren, whose text appears in his list of references, and three for Wolf, one of which is the cited passage.

22 As Yu explains, “the most important function of the God is to be in charge of a piece of land or sometimes related to the land as a whole. Therefore, I shall translated the term [*Tudi Gong*] as ‘the Land God’ and it will be capitalised hereinafter” (Yu 1997).

far as to say a few, scholarly references concerning *place* in his conclusion, the most striking sections concerning *place* in the text occur when *he* attempts to elucidate, seemingly of his own accord, a theory of *place*—in most *places* in the text, however, it is his subtle inconsistencies that require careful attention.<sup>23</sup> For instance, Dell’Orto proposes that “Places ... never speak for themselves: they need to be familiarised with, experienced, practised, understood, interpreted, conceptualised in order to let them become authoritative in our ethnographic accounts” (Dell’Orto 117). Considering Dell’Orto’s previous assertion that *Tudi* “lives on in the narratives of the people and places” and that “each place he guards has its stories to tell,” this assertion seems more than merely ironic—it appears openly contradictory (Dell’Orto 1). It sounds, on one hand, as though one needs only to relay these stories in order to hear *place* speaking for itself; but, on the other hand, his overly poetic language in both instances seems to leave both open to interpretation, especially when one considers that a clear definition of *place*, as it is being used, has not been established. However, when one considers that Dell’Orto’s intent is to aid in the construction of an *anthropology of place*, the level of dissonance between the two positions quells; however, other concerns—namely those stemming from the construction of an *anthropology of place*—quickly arise.

As the above passage indicates, in order for *place* to become authoritative within the scope of the anthropologists’ ethnography, it must be “familiarised with, experienced, practised, understood, interpreted, conceptualised”; from Dell’Orto’s account, it apparently must be objectified and quantified—in short, consumed (Dell’Orto 117). Thus, *place* seems quite similar to *land* or *territory* in its capacity to be devoured; furthermore, it seems unlikely that once this process of anthropological consumption has begun that it would ever be satiated with mere stories. As Dell’Orto explains, “In this analysis, I proceed from the basic assumption that there is a dialectical and ongoing relationship between people and places” (Dell’Orto 120). As such, it would only be a matter of time before one might begin to speak of conceptual casualties—indeed, this endeavor

23 See second quote at section heading.

might, in fact, lead to some form of ethnographic cannibalism on the part of the anthropologist. Commenting on the issues within Dell'Orto's text, Clart concludes that "although multivocal authorship is an appealing concept, in practice the ethnographer still occupies a privileged position and tends to crowd out the people about (or with) whom he is writing. Thus, we end up learning much more about the sensitivities and theoretical concerns of the author than about Tudi Gong and Taiwanese senses of place" (Clart 493). Though this critique stretches the limits of possibility concerning anthropological representation, it nonetheless points to the dark, and often unspoken, dangers of any anthropological endeavor that is not commenced with a great deal of caution; this, if anything, represents a clear hazard in Dell'Orto's haste to forge an *anthropology of place*. Additionally, it is not, perhaps, the case that these *places* do not speak for themselves; rather, it seems that they never quite say what the anthropologist/outsider, in this case Dell'Orto, wants them to say. If one recalls, the scholarly translator—in this case, the anthropologist—must make accommodations for the nuance of *meaning*. This, however, is problematic only if one is attempting to have these objects of study—be it *places* or people—say something in particular, which seems to be what Dell'Orto sets out to accomplish. As he explains in his opening remarks, "*My stress* on story telling as a creative, performative, and provisional act is appropriate not only to the theme of ethnography but also to the theme of place" (Dell'Orto 12).<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, there is no discussion, other than the author's repeated assertion that this is the particular path he has chosen to undertake, about whether such an approach is appropriate as the primary means to analyze the *place* of *Tudi*. Although Dell'Orto does include some discussion of the rituals and worship practices associated with *Tudi*, they are de-emphasized in favor of, or subsumed under, storytelling and narrative.

In the opening page of his conclusion, Dell'Orto confesses that his attachment to story is derivative of Ryden, who argues, "the sense of place achieves its clearest articulation through narrative" (Dell'Orto 221). Accordingly, and as promised, in the final pages

<sup>24</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

of the text, Dell’Orto begins to lift the veils of those scholars who have informed and directed his work; it is here that he begins to analyze “a number of key concepts related to the notion of place and space” (Dell’Orto xviii). In a noticeably similar fashion to his previous move, which is extraordinarily inclusive concerning the various representation(s) of *Tudi*, Dell’Orto again signals his desire to include almost anyone and everyone commenting on *place*. *Space*, however, remains curiously absent. Commenting on the trajectory of his conceptual conclusion, Dell’Orto explains that “the interconnectedness between place and Tudi Gong... has also inspired a theoretical process of reflexivity on various key terms which, in my view, exemplify and expand on the very notion of place. These are *locale*, *territory*, *locality*, *location*, *senses of place*, *community* and *identity*” (Dell’Orto 222).

However, it becomes clear as this section proceeds that he is intent upon a single understanding—one, of course, that delivers on the promise of an *anthropology of place*. Ultimately, Dell’Orto whittles down the various theories of *place* to concur with Baker. Conveying his sentiments in agreement with Baker, Dell’Orto writes that:

The continuous interplay, at times ambiguous and contradictory, between community and identity finds in the notion of place I am proposing, its own theoretical standing and importance. Such interplay may be viewed, I suggest, as a consequence of people’s senses of belonging and displacement, of stability and mobility and of a desire for fixed reference points in the confusions and fragmentations of everyday life. In this regard, Baker’s observation, which I have proposed several times in this book, best grasps the interrelation between Tudi Gong and people’s senses of community and identity: ‘it is, I think, what the Earth God symbolizes that holds my interest. It stands for a sense of stability, of security, of identity with *fixed and unmovable reference points*, of community and of belonging’ (Baker 1). (Dell’Orto 246)<sup>25</sup>

Thus, in conjunction with Baker, Dell’Orto arrives at an understanding of *place*, and by extension of *Tudi*, that suits his particular need to begin to find a way to extract community and identity from *place* via an *anthropology of place*. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of the possible impact that such a process might have upon the very

<sup>25</sup> Italics added for emphasis.

notions of community, identity, and *place* that the anthropologist seeks to study. Such concerns fall outside the parameters of most, if not all, theoretical discourses aimed at reporting *meaning* as mere data. Though Dell'Orto professes to remain sensitive to notions of identity, community, and *place*, his attachment to an *anthropology*—the very science of humanity itself—*of place* seems, at some ways, to undermine these claims.

In light of various theories and the scholars that propose them, Dell'Orto's conclusion takes an odd turn. He proclaims, "My study of Tudi Gong has, I feel, offered valuable ethnographic insights on the fact that a conceptualisation of the notion of place has to take into consideration its community and identity connotations" (Dell'Orto 237). Comparing the above passage with the very brief analysis of Tuan's theory of *space/place* mentioned in this examination, one gets the suspicion that Dell'Orto has simply not done adequate research; confounding this issue even further is the fact that Tuan's most notable text, *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience*, appears in his list of references and Dell'Orto cites a passage from Tuan on the preceding page.<sup>26</sup> How, one might wonder, is this possible? Although it is clear that Dell'Orto is not out to mislead the unassuming reader, this problem is endemic in the way in which his text does, and does not, discuss *space/place*, which is ultimately reflected in his designation of *Tudi Gong* as "*the spirit of place*" (Dell'Orto xvii).

Although much has already been said about the connection between Dell'Orto's employment of the term *place* and Yu's usage of *land* or *territory* as actual things that might be consumed through the processes related to an *anthropology of place*, the specifically temporal connotations of this understanding, which are perhaps what undermines the *spatial* (*space/place*) within Dell'Orto's work, have not, as yet, been explored within Dell'Orto's movement to *place*.

26 In total, there is the aforementioned single reference to Tuan, one citation of Heidegger (which is actually quoted in full from Harvey), and only three references to Harvey (one of which is the Heidegger quote). Considering the status of these particular thinkers and their roles in contemporary discussions of *space/place*, it is clear that there are issues with Dell'Orto's analysis of these concepts.

Commenting on the nature of the relation between people and their *sense of place*, he writes, “Senses of place, as the local ‘structure of feeling’ or the ‘felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time,’ refers to the personal or collective, relatively subjective and, to a certain degree, intimate experiences of place that people ‘sense’ in the practices of everyday life” (Dell’Orto 235).<sup>27</sup> In many ways, Dell’Orto’s allusion to the specifically temporal aspects of *place*—manifested concretely in his designation of *Tudi* as *the spirit of place*—resembles Hegel’s notion of *Zeitgeist*, or “spirit of the times.” In both instances, there exists an ambiance of dialectical understanding, both culturally and historically, that ultimately prevails upon its subjects; although some, clearly a select few, may have a sense of this process at work, the mass remains, nevertheless, subject to this ultimate drive.<sup>28</sup>

As previously cited, he writes, “In this analysis, I proceed from the basic assumption that there is a *dialectical and ongoing relationship between people and places* and that spatial practices shape and are shaped by the social and spatial characteristics of the specific places in which they happen” (Dell’Orto 120).<sup>29</sup> Although Dell’Orto mentions the importance of spatial practices—by which he means the strictly human dimensions of relationality—he fails to make the connection, or interconnection, between *space*, beyond its merely socio-cultural characteristics, and *place*. Indeed, much like Hegel’s *zeitgeist*, *place* shapes and is shaped by an ongoing dialectic, particularly if one is attached to the temporal dimensions of *place in toto*. In Heideggerian terms, however, it seems as though Dell’Orto has failed to see the intimate connection between *space/place* that is constitutive of our very *being-in-the-world*.<sup>30</sup> This intrinsic (inter)

27 Italics added for emphasis.

28 Although there are clear contextual differences between Hegel’s conception of spirit, or *Geist*, and Dell’Orto’s positioning of *Tudi* as the *spirit of place*, the point of this comparison is to show how Dell’Orto presents the temporal aspects of *place*, as opposed to the spatial, in his final analysis.

29 Italics added for emphasis.

30 As mentioned previously, Dell’Orto’s employment of Heidegger occurs only once in the conclusion of his text. He references an entire quote, verbatim, from Harvey, and it is not clear that this particular passage adds anything to his own

relation undercuts questions of temporally driven identity and community; it slices directly to the very heart of our existence in the world—as beings constitutive of *space/place*. This is not to say that such factors are insignificant—Harvey’s work is clearly intended to refute such nonsense; rather, it seems as though Dell’Orto is caught up in presencing temporality over *space*, which as we have seen should now be *space/place*. Thus, his selective, and at times reductive, discussion of *place* obscures, and in particular places stalls, the intended trajectory of his work, which was initially meant to elucidate the important presence of *Tudi* within Chinese religions and life in general within the context of *space/place*.<sup>31</sup> This final critique is not meant to demean Dell’Orto’s work or diminish the valuable contributions that his study has made to the discourse on *Tudi*; but, on the other hand, it is also levied with a modicum of contempt—for it seems that somewhere between the construction of an *anthropology of place* and the noticeable absence of any complete and systematic discussion of *space/place* that something is lost, which, as it turns out, might be the *meaning* behind the *God of Place: Tudi Gong*.

#### Unearthing the God of Place: Conclusion

Although Dell’Orto might allude to some of the deficiencies within his own work in writing that his text has “the potential for generating further research on both place and Tudi Gong,” it does seem that he remains unaware of his rather selective view concerning *space/place* as well as the potential violence, culturally speaking, that an anthropology of place might incur (Dell’Orto 222).<sup>32</sup> This, however, is indicative of the discourse on Tudi as a whole, epitom-

analysis, which seems evident from the fact that he spends no time discussing or employing Heidegger’s terminology.

31 Commenting on the treatment of *place* in Dell’Orto’s text, Clart notes, “Place is no longer the object of study, but a mystical presence that somehow communicates itself to the author. It seems that we have dragged authorship out into the open only to then remystify it by investing it in the intangible agency of genius loci” (Clart 493).

32 In the final pages of his text, Dell’Orto commences a discussion of the similarities between the anthropologist and *Tudi*, which, in the final analysis, is his attempt to justify the deification of the anthropologist/outsider. Indeed, a brazen Dell’Orto writes, “The anthropologist, in fact, like Tudi Gong, is held to be ‘knowledgeable’ of the places he or she inhabits” (Dell’Orto 249).

mized and encapsulated within Dell'Orto's work, which remains true to itself above all. As the preceding analysis sought to uncover, it is the case that the discourse on Tudi (which, like Tudi himself, is a primary artery in the physiology of understanding Chinese religions), locates meaning internally, as opposed to placing it within the context of its origin. Thus it limits itself in order to maintain authority—one of the primary purpose(s)—if not the primary purpose—of all discourse. As such, it might seem awkward to mention now that there has been no discussion or invocation of scholarly Chinese conceptions of space/place throughout this analysis; although one might grant Tuan a privileged position, it is clear that his experience—which includes schooling in China, Australia, and London before the age of 18—might differ, in many ways, from more “homegrown” perspectives. Ironically, this insider's perspective is exactly what Dell'Orto set out to foreground in his work by amplifying the narratives and stories of the people and Tudi; but, as the preceding section argues, his presence within the text, namely his proffering of an anthropology of place, represents a failure to grant the voices of the people their due.<sup>33</sup>

As such, a truly outsider's/insider's<sup>34</sup> voice concerning the scholarly discourse on Tudi and space/place has yet to be heard. Whether or not this voice has been intentionally silenced is a point that this analysis will not examine, and even raising the question produces great discomfort. Indeed, this oversight, intentional or not, has unearthed the God of Place from his contextually meaningful abode; this is not to say that the external discourses on Tudi are without merit and that they have not contributed toward the scholarly un-

33 In his review of Dell'Orto's text, Katz explains, “Dell'Orto's goals in studying the cult of Tudi Gong are twofold: first, to engage in and also critique the writing of an anthropology of place; and secondly, to examine social and cultural change in post-war Taiwan” (Katz 839). Although Katz's assessment is not meant as a criticism of Dell'Orto's work, it is clear what, for Katz as well as others, stands out as the most important aspect of the text. Indeed, should not the order of importance be reversed?

34 The term *outsider* is used in the sense of solely operating within the limits of the discourse and *insider* in the sense of access to *meaning* and position within the socio-religious milieu.

derstanding of Chinese religions—quite the contrary. In many respects, this is the best and only conceivable way in which such a discourse might proceed, and yet, in the case of Tudi and space/place, there remains much more that needs to be said.<sup>35</sup> Although it is apparent that in many ways the discourse on Tudi has grown to include greater and more adventurous conceptual terrain, it has also in many ways developed an inhibiting habit—one in which, perhaps unknowingly, it reproduces meaning within itself. Thus, this discourse aimed ostensibly at intercultural dialogue has, in some fashion, always been more of a monologue.

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<sup>35</sup> For instance, one might *first* discuss the construction of *space/place* within Chinese religion(s) and society and then go on to infer the significance and *meaning* of *Tudi* and *space/place*.

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# Why Asian Studies is Important to the Contemporary Business College Curriculum: Lessons from Entering the Japanese Market

Greg Cant and Terry Alkire

## Introduction

For several decades a common agenda for Business Colleges has been to internationalize their curriculum. In fact, as far back as the 1950's there have been calls to develop cross-cultural competencies in the U.S. business educational system (Albers-Millers et al. 56). The Department of Education, along with the major accrediting organization (Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business) and the business community have all actively encouraged international education and research. It is now broadly accepted that colleges need to both facilitate the development of general business skills and knowledge as well as the critical competencies necessary to work in a culture other than one's own. Institutions have typically used one or more approaches to institutionalize the curriculum; discrete international business programs, stand alone international course/s, infusion of international business material across the curriculum (Cant 31). Despite such initiatives being in place for years, many commentators still conclude that business students often have a very limited appreciation of other society's values, norms, assumptions and beliefs.

To examine the impact that understanding culture has on business success, this paper focuses on the challenges U.S. firms confront entering the Japanese market. In particular the paper reflects on the experience of a high technology firm that entered the Japanese market in the early 1980's. Beginning with a simple import/export agreement with a Japanese trading company, the firm's involvement in the Japanese market evolved through several phases until the company ultimately acquired their own wholly-owned Japanese subsidiary. The general conclusion from this case is that for a U.S. firm to be successful in the highly nuanced market of Japan requires a profound understanding of Japanese culture. Incorporating aspects of the "Asian Studies" curriculum into the business programs could provide critical insights for tomorrow's business leaders.

While there is conjecture about when China will eclipse Japan as the world's second largest economy, there is no doubt about the continuing financial power and importance of the Japanese economy. Japan is a major trading partner of the U.S. and while many goods and services are exchanged between these two giant economies, many U.S. firms have struggled to establish a lasting presence in Japan. Recent history is littered with examples of failed attempts by U.S. and other international corporations to succeed in the highly demanding Japanese market. Firms ranging from Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, eBay, to L.L. Bean have had complete failures, while others such as Carrefour and Wal-Mart continue to record massive financial losses from their Japanese subsidiaries (Phatak et al. 261).

There have of course been a number of success stories; most notably Starbucks, Disney and 7-Eleven. Evidence however, suggests that failures far outweigh successes. The reason for failure can be attributed to several key factors such as; too much focus on short term economic goals, lack of demand for U.S. produced goods due to perceived quality problems, Japanese government protection of domestic businesses, choosing the wrong business partner, very strong local companies, rigidity and restrictions of the distribution and supply-chain network, Japanese practice of valuing personal relations over economic efficiency, and major differences between

U.S. and Japanese leadership and management approaches and practices (Fascol 1999; Yoshimura et al. 1997; Ouchi 1981).

Given that culture, both national and organizational, plays a central role in this case study, it is important to define the concept. The literature provides a rich array of definitions including: the collective programming of the mind (Hofstede 25), way of life handed down from one generation to the next (Barnouw 4), shared meaning (Geertz 8), shared view (Varner and Beamer 7), and system of knowledge (Keesing 75). The case study presented explores the issues that arise when national cultural values and corporate cultural values collide. Far from being discrete concepts, as illustrated in this case, there is a dynamic interplay between these two forces of culture that have a profound impact on business success. The definition that has been adopted for this paper is that culture is the collection of beliefs, value, behaviors, customs, and attitudes that distinguish the people of one society (*or company*) from another (Kluckhohn 9).<sup>1</sup>

The paper is divided into three sections. Section one begins with a brief history and background of the subject company, their initial entry strategy into the Japanese market and their eventual decision to purchase their own wholly-owned subsidiary. The second section of the paper details the various cultural and organizational challenges the company faced assuming whole ownership of a Japanese company. This section examines a range of issues including the impact of cultural differences such as culturally dictated expectations and perceptions of appropriate behavior, the challenges of employing expatriate managers, the clash between Japanese and American corporate cultures and the nature of supplier-customer relationships in Japan. The paper concludes with a review of the lessons learned by the company and the implications for the business college curriculum.

1 Parentheses added by authors.

## History and Background

### *New Technology*

CleanCut Corporation was founded in the mid 1970's. Working in close conjunction with the Boeing Corporation, CleanCut engineers were able to design a power unit, along with a cutting head that was capable of very clean and precise cutting of wide variety of composite materials.<sup>2</sup> Although the inspiration for the CleanCut technology was the highly technical aerospace industry, it was a new application in the early 1980's that transformed both the company and the technology. The new industry sector was called "nonwovens" and the application was cutting anatomical leg shapes from the then relatively new market of disposable baby diapers. The importance of this industry was twofold: first, the number of potential installations far outnumbered the relatively limited aerospace sector. Second, due to the mass production process used by the nonwoven industry, the cutting of disposable baby diapers was the first continuous-run application faced by CleanCut's technology.

### Entering the Japanese Market

The disposable diaper industry was the catalyst for the company's decision to move into international markets. After first breaking into the European market, CleanCut entered the Japanese market in the mid 1980's. The first CleanCut machines to enter Japan were dedicated to the cutting of nonwovens. In order to enter this highly restricted market and be able to support the sales and service of quality conscience Japanese customers, CleanCut decided to form a trading-partner relationship with Ogawa, one of the major *Sogo Shosha* (vertically integrated trading companies).<sup>3</sup> While a number of machines were sold, most sales were associated with services and

2 Composite materials were first introduced into the aerospace industry as a light-weight substitute for metals. These materials had only one drawback; they were extremely difficult to cut or machine using contemporary technology of the day.

3 During this period of time approximately a dozen major *Sogo Shosha's* dominated much of the export/import market. These companies included Mitsui, Marubeni, Sumitomo and Mitsubishi. (Smiley and Heil)

spare parts. These parts carried high margins for CleanCut, which would be further increased by Ogawa to the point where Japanese end-user prices would often be two or three times higher than the U.S. domestic list price.

In the mid 1980's, a major innovation dramatically increased the potential for CleanCut's technology. One of Ogawa's existing *keireitsu* partners<sup>4</sup> mounted the CleanCut cutting head onto their motion control device. This breakthrough allowed the technology to be used on programmable multi-axis robots. Although industrial robots were adopted by many industries, it was primarily the automotive industry that incorporated them on a major scale.<sup>5</sup> Teamed up with the anthropomorphic movement capabilities of programmable robots, the CleanCut cutting head was naturally suited to cut a wide variety of automotive parts such as floor carpets, dash boards, head liners and other trim parts. The new robotically manipulated automotive applications required both full power and extremely high numbers of on/off cycles.<sup>6</sup> While initially the CleanCut power-unit and its cutting head had numerous technical problems, the company was able to make major improvements in reliability that allowed them to ultimately dominate the market.

Following late 1980's recession CleanCut adopted a much more aggressive growth strategy, in particular the company made a major strategic decision regarding their core technology. Up to that point, the majority of sales had been to companies that combined the CleanCut power-unit and cutting heads with their motion control systems. In a dramatic departure from previous practice, CleanCut decided that it would begin to manufacture and sell total systems.

4 Keiretsu: An organizational arrangement in Japan in which a large group of vertically integrated companies bound together by cross-ownership, interlocking directorates, and social ties provide goods and services to end users. (Hodgetts et al. 23)

5 Today, multi-axis robots can be found in almost every major automotive manufacturing plant doing such jobs as welding, gluing, cutting, material handling and a variety of assembly applications.

6 The shift to the flexibility offered by programmable robotic production cells was tied to the mainstream integration of the 'just-in-time' manufacturing philosophy pioneered by companies such as Toyota.

This decision meant that CleanCut would in many cases become a direct competitor to many of its major customers.

### **Purchasing the Japanese Subsidiary**

The late 80's and early 90's were a period of major economic change in Japan and many of the *Sogo Shosha's* found themselves saddled with unprofitable divisions and substantial fixed costs associated with life-time employment practices. This crisis required the trading companies to sell off non-critical divisions. The financial difficulties of Ogawa enabled CleanCut to purchase the division that had been acting as their distributor, thus creating CleanCut Japan. The U.S. firm moved from a relatively low risk position of having a trading partner, to the relatively high risk position of having its own wholly owned subsidiary in Japan.<sup>7</sup>

### **Challenges of Operating in Japan**

#### *Inheriting the Sogo Shosha Culture*

The purchase of the distribution company meant that CleanCut inherited a sales, service and administrative staff of 25 employees, a small headquarters in the prestigious Ginza district in Tokyo and a demonstration facility in Nagoya, close to CleanCut's key automotive customers. These Japanese employees had been part of the previously very stable and secure organizational culture of Ogawa. Traditionally *Sogo Shosha's* placed great emphasis on homogeneity and company allegiance (Holt & Wigginton 497). Large Japanese trading companies are typically male-dominated organizations whose staff comes from the finest universities and as a result of extensive socialization programs develop a profound team mentality (Smiley and Heil). According to Japanese business tradition, working your way up the management ladder of an organization such as Ogawa required moving around the various divisions of the company. It did not require the development of product-specific marketing and sales

<sup>7</sup> For a description of low risk and high risk entry strategies see Daniels et al. 66.

expertise. Rather, sales were achieved through fostering long-term customer relationships, where sales staff saw themselves more as advisors rather than technical sales engineers. This Japanese system contrasts sharply with the traditional approach of U.S. firms that aggressively market their products to anyone in an environment where quarterly sales performance is absolutely paramount.

### **Sell by the End of the Quarter:**

#### **U.S. Stock Price-Driven Corporate Culture**

For the former Ogawa sales staff, their primary supplier-customer relationship had been built with the various Japanese Original Equipment Manufacturer (OEM) end-users. With ever increasing demands for sales growth, at almost any cost, CleanCut recognized that this business model inherently limited revenue growth possibilities. The U.S. companies "logical" business decision to leverage their expertise with key elements of the technology to produce total systems meant the Japanese sales staff were suddenly faced with the unthinkable: They now were expected to compete with their former partners. While such a strategy was typical in the very competitive U.S. market, for CleanCut Japan, this change in strategy meant that they would be expected to continue to sell components and spare parts to their old OEM's, while actively competing with those same companies for the lucrative complete systems market.

#### **Avoiding Confrontation: The Importance of *Wa***

Whether negotiating business deals or interpersonal relationships, the Japanese value the avoidance of conflict, thereby reducing the likelihood of anyone "loosing face." The concept of *wa* suggests group harmony and mutual cooperation to reach group goals (Alston 29). In this extremely "high context culture" silence is highly valued as are non-confrontational responses (March 141). CleanCut's Japanese General Manager and the sales staff would not confront the American managers directly with their concerns about the parent company's decision to switch to supplying total systems. The Japanese perception was that the American's would not understand the significance of the long-term relationships with the Japanese OEM

customers. The response of the Japanese staff was to politely indicate a broad range of explanations for why they had not been able to sell the total systems; the American cutting systems were too big for the Japanese market; quality did not meet the Japanese customer's specifications; the operating software was not available in Japanese; the Japanese customers would only accept a Japanese robot in their cutting cells, etc. The explanations given were always very plausible and ensured there was no direct confrontation.

### **Business by Day: Relationship Building by Night**

It has been widely acknowledged that conducting business in Japan involves both the formal daytime activities and evening social activities. The Japanese "salary man"<sup>8</sup> life is determined by rigid expectations, from attire which will typically be a formal grey or black business suit with a white shirt and a conservative tie through to expectations on social etiquette such as the correct bow, with factors such as the depth and duration being a function of the relative status and the relationship of the participants (Reischauer and Jansen 146). While the office layout is usually very open, interactions are polite, with formal titles used regularly e.g. the suffix *san* (Cullen 51). The second, and critical part of the work day begins in the evening when many of the male staff and often key customers, adjourn to a restaurant. These dinners last many hours and involve the consumption of large amounts of beer and saki. It is during the informal socialization that junior employees can build key relationships that will shape their future careers. The social outings also serve as an important part of the salary man's compensation since many junior managers are often paid a relatively low salary and dining out at a fine restaurant in Tokyo can be prohibitively expensive.

After dining out with staff, senior managers will invite their customers to one of the many gentlemen's clubs found throughout the major cities of Japan. These clubs play an essential role in the Japanese business world. It has been asserted that for many Japa-

8 Salary men routinely put in 60+ hours per week at work, endure very long commutes, rarely take vacations and spend several nights per week socializing with coworkers.

nese men they develop a fuller social life with their work group, and find feminine company through the local nightclubs rather than through a close relationship with their wife (Reischauer and Jansen 179). Modern day Japanese bar hostesses, like their Geisha predecessors, are neither required nor expected to play the role of prostitute. What they do provide is friendly conversation laced with just the tiniest hint of flirtation (Reischauer and Jansen 178). For many Japanese business executives, these hostesses become the only female "friends" that they have ever known. On a regular basis these night time activities will not conclude until the late hours of the night, and at 9:00 A.M. the next day, it is back to the formality of the office environment (Cullen 51).

### **The Japanese General Manager: The Polycentric Approach**

When CleanCut first acquired the Japanese company they initially appointed the former Ogawa Sales Manager for the CleanCut product line as the General Manager. While he was a product of the culture of Ogawa, he had lived in Los Angeles for two years and spoke excellent English. He had also developed positive working relationships with key managers in CleanCut. He appeared to be precisely what the parent company wanted; a Japanese executive who understood the expectations of an American company. In hindsight this logic was flawed from the outset. First, as a manager in the trading company, he had very little direct experience with the competitive technical sales area. As noted previously, he was instead used to a vast bureaucracy in which his central role was to maintain harmony, not to maximize profits (Yoshimra & Anderson 167). Second, this exposure to American society did not change his basic management style which was deeply rooted in Japanese values. For example the concept of *shinyo* (gut feeling), which requires you to intuitively understand other peoples unspoken needs (Holt & Wigginton 394). While he clearly understood the Japanese business environment, he did not embrace the expectations of the U.S. parent firm.

### Choosing an Expatriate General Manager: The Ethnocentric Approach

In 1999, the situation for CleanCut was complicated when it became clear that their Japanese manager was defrauding the company by using his expense account for gambling and for the costs of his mistress. The improper use of company funds was actually reported by two staff members who breached a major social taboo by reporting on their supervisor. After an extensive recruitment process, CleanCut USA narrowed their search for a new General Manager for Japan to two possible replacements. One candidate was a Japanese business man that had spent the last ten years living in the United States. He was highly qualified but required extremely high compensation. The second candidate was a Japanese speaking American. He had learned his Japanese while undertaking his responsibilities as a Mormon missionary. After the frustrations of the previous manager and his “Japanese ways” the company opted for the American. He had some business experience in Japan, having lived and worked for seven years in Japan working as the Marketing Manager for an American owned chain of copy/facsimile retail service centers.

Long hours in the office followed by late night socializing in nightclubs, typically involving considerable drinking, smoking and flirting with hostesses can prove to be a major challenge to the U.S. expatriate managers in Japan. Many American have returned from business trips to Japan exhausted by the constant “after work” obligations. These challenges were exacerbated for the new American General Manager. His religious beliefs obligating no consumption of alcohol, or caffeine and a very strong focus on time with his family severely restricted his ability to participate in the after-hours activities. To avoid any loss of face over concerns about the American manager not drinking, employees told customers that he had a rare stomach disorder that prevented him from consuming alcohol. This medical excuse was more acceptable to everyone concerned than trying to explain a religion that prevents a man from drinking with his colleagues.

### Going Back to a Japanese General Manager: The Geocentric Approach?

While the American expatriate achieved steady financial success as the General Manager of the Japanese division, he was only able to sell a small number of complete cutting systems into the Japanese market. All but a few of these systems were the smallest machines that the company made. In part this was due to the continuing reluctance of the Japanese sales staff to compete with former clients and partners and furthermore, in a market that has the highest price per square foot for real estate in the world, size does matter. When the American expatriate eventually left the company to pursue other opportunities, CleanCut was again faced with the dilemma of who should run their Japanese Division. The choice they made reflects yet again the unique issues of doing business in Japan. When the first option of the Japanese "salary man" was unsuccessful, CleanCut opted for an American to run their subsidiary. The next General Manager was a departure from the cultural norm; they employed a Japanese female manager. The new General Manager chosen was a woman who had been with the company for many years and had risen up to the position of Accounting Manager. While it is very unusual to have a female executive in Japan, there are some exceptions. Young educated woman traditionally start in the role of "office lady." They usually perform menial tasks such as serving tea to the men in the office (Reischauer & Jansen 181). By the age of twenty-five "office ladies" should have found their "salary man" husband and have left work to raise a family. Once a female employee reaches thirty years of age, it then becomes more difficult for her to find a husband. It is therefore acceptable for her to begin doing more important jobs within the organization (Cullen 62). The new female General Manager fitted into the latter category. From CleanCut's perspective she was a long-term and loyal employee, and was one of the two staff members mentioned earlier who had advised headquarters of the problems of fraud. She fully understood the operations of the business and as an older unmarried woman could be accepted as an executive. One of the limitations she experienced was that it was not culturally acceptable for her to participate in the after hours socializing and the male Sales Manager took on that role.

### Discussion

This paper, and similar work, highlights some basic requirements for any U.S. firm considering entering the Japanese market. As with any entry into a foreign market, the mantra needs to be “prepare, prepare, prepare.” While success has its obvious rewards, it is clear that many firms have failed to penetrate this market, often resulting in dire financial consequences. The experience of the CleanCut Corporation highlights several critical factors that affect any organization's likelihood to succeed.

The approach used to enter the Japanese market is profoundly important. The usual advice when entering a market you are unfamiliar with is to do so with a local partner. The U.S. firm was attracted to the large and well connected *Sogo Shosha*. While this trading company was well established in the market place, its approach to business was fundamentally at odds with the dynamic, entrepreneurial stance of smaller U.S. companies. Ogawa never changed their approach to sales and the staff inherited when the division was sold to the Americans continued this very traditional approach to customer relations.

A recurring dilemma for CleanCut was who should lead the Japanese subsidiary? They employed a former manager from Ogawa who had the advantages of local knowledge and was of course fully acquainted with all the subtle nuances of Japanese social behavior. However he was never able to adopt the sales-oriented approach required by the Americans. His approach to leadership was shaped by his experience in Ogawa and by the patterns of behavior dictated by national cultural values. Choosing an American expatriate to lead the organization was equally as challenging. On the plus side he had good language skills that are essential in a country in which only 5% of the population speak English, and he also had a good appreciation of Japanese cultures having lived in the country for many years. However, he was always the outsider and his personal religious faith was a major impediment to building business relationships.

To conduct business in Japan requires very regular socializing outside the office. As well as adding substantially to the “cost-of-sale,” it requires an ongoing commitment to relationship building.

The traditions around these activities have their roots in feudal Japan and are very pervasive, even during periods of economic decline. The company's staff will regularly be eating, drinking, and singing together, while flirting with the hostesses and customers will expect to dine late into the evening. Ignoring the socializing aspects of business relationships is not an option.

Even if an American corporation is able to fully comprehend and participate in Japanese business practices, there are numerous challenges to succeeding in this market. For example, a continuing problem for CleanCut was the widely held view that Japanese products are always superior to American-made products. Also Japanese clients continued to raise concerns about the size of the American machines.

The contemporary literature on the business environment suggests there are signs of changes in Japanese societal and cultural norms and values; young people with very different expectations than previous generations, a growing number of women making different career and life choices, the progressive demise of the "lifetime" employment system, and "westernization" of everything from pop culture to cuisine. While these trends may be signs of profound shifts in society, there is an equally plausible proposition that Japanese cultural values will remain relatively unchanged, even in the face of the forces of globalization. If the latter is correct, U.S. businesses will need to be better equipped for the cultural complexities of Japan if they are to establish a presence in this market.

The experience of CleanCut and similar cases would suggest that understanding Japanese and other Asian cultures is critical to the business community and by extension Colleges of Business. An important issue that requires further discussion is how to incorporate the Asian studies disciplines into the business curriculum? As described earlier, a number of business programs have systematically internationalized their curriculum, including requiring language studies and study-abroad or international internships. The standard Asian Studies courses can provide crucial insights into history, politics, religions, etc. of Asian communities. However what may be required is the forging of new alliances between social sciences

and the business faculty that would allow for the development of courses particularly tailored for the business curriculum. This would for example, enable students to both understand Confucian values and also to appreciate how this value system shapes familial relationships in the contemporary business context. Team taught courses or at least courses designed for business programs could be a very important growth opportunity for the Asian Studies discipline.

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# Searching across Disciplines: Linking History, Literature, and Religion in a China Studies Curriculum

Rose Jang

Within the 2006-2007 yearlong program “Searching for Modern China” at the Evergreen State College, we tried to bridge historical, literary, and religious studies together in an undergraduate curriculum on China. From *The Classic of Poetry* to *The Peony Pavilion*, Chinese literary works—poetry, prose, fiction and drama—are infused with religious sentiments and give testimony to religion’s infiltration in everyday life. Chinese religion—joining Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism and popular beliefs—not only depends on literary dissemination but also provides literature with endless sources of conflict and beauty. This kinship between literature and religion has developed through the progressive stages of Chinese history driven by social and political dynamics. During fall quarter of 2006, we successfully implemented this interdisciplinary approach in our search for classical China, from Neolithic times up to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). Three major texts representing three disciplines, *Cambridge Illustrated History of China* (history) by Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (literature) edited and translated by Stephen Owen, and *Religions of China in Practice* (religion) edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. guided our survey with a rich array of historical essays, literary examples and historic religious documents with commentaries. The weekly reading and lectures linking corresponding sections from these three texts gave students a solid and well-rounded, interdisciplinary understanding of classical Chinese

culture both as an on-going, temporal continuity and as a series of politically and culturally distinct dynasties each dominated by a particular socio-economic structure, aesthetic taste and world view.

### **Introduction**

The Evergreen State College is a small liberal arts college in Olympia, Washington. At Evergreen, the curriculum primarily comprises interdisciplinary, team-taught academic programs lasting through a whole year. This year (2006-2007), faculty member Andrew Buchman and I have been team-teaching a China studies program titled "Searching for Modern China" which applies many interdisciplinary ideas and strategies. I would like to share some of the ideas and strategies we have implemented in our program that have proven particularly useful and effective in teaching Chinese culture to undergraduate students.

A year-long, all-level program, "Searching for Modern China" was designed to provide students with a comprehensive grasp of Chinese history and culture, from pre-historic archaeological discoveries to the complexities and conflicts of the nation-state's modern era. Our survey started with fall quarter's emphasis on the foundations of Chinese culture, established over more than three thousand years of dynastic history. Now, in winter quarter, we have progressed to the critical phases of democratization and modernization during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We will then continue on to study China's contemporary roles as a dynamic economic powerhouse and enigmatic, ambitious world political presence in the spring. The program also offers a travel component in the spring which takes students to China to visit such major cities as Beijing and Xi'an, where they can experience both the preserved memories of classical China and the changing realities of contemporary China.

### **The Thematic Model: An Interdisciplinary Approach**

At this point mid-way through our program, I would like to offer our fall experiences and some of our winter assignments as a case study of interdisciplinary innovations in the curriculum for undergraduate China studies. To prepare students for a close, well-round-

ed examination of modern and contemporary China in all her complexities, as promised by our program title, we purposefully started our studies from China's ancient roots in classical China. During fall quarter we traced and investigated historical, religious, literary, and artistic developments in China from Neolithic times up to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and strategically ended before China's intensifying exposure to the West in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911).

We carefully chose our texts for this period and meticulously wove our weekly syllabus into a web of activities to engage our students through a broad scope and wide variety of cultural exposures that kept building on each other through time. Due to the limited scope of this paper, and since the artistic experiments were usually conducted in the context of workshops independently from the analysis of texts in the main program, I will not touch on our explorations of visual and performing arts in this paper, but concentrate specifically on the thematic studies through the main texts.

As fall quarter began, we did not jump into ancient China right away. Instead, we decided to use a recently published book written by an American journalist, John Pomfret's *Chinese Lessons: Five Classmates and the Story of New China*, as our first week's reading. This critical but very personal look at contemporary China immediately brought students aboard on a journey to China's complex past, largely because it is projected through the eyes of an American whom students can easily identify with. This reading assignment, for which many students expressed deep appreciation, not only started off our chain of investigations into China's past by making them relevant to China's present and to Western sensitivities, but also whetted students' appetites for our planned travels and studies in China scheduled for the spring.

Starting with the second week, the program plunged into full-scale immersions in China's ancient culture. It has always been my conviction that, while traditional academic disciplines separate history, religion, literature, and arts, these are all integrated and inseparable aspects of a culture. Therefore, an organic, holistic approach to cultural studies should deliberately highlight the overlapping and reciprocal sharing between these disciplinary explorations in the

culture. That is exactly what we set out to do with our program. In fall quarter particularly, we tried to bridge historical, literary, and religious studies together in a dynamic, crisscrossing curriculum which stressed the ubiquitous relations between history, literature, and religion all through more than three millennia of Chinese classical period. From *The Classic of Poetry* to *The Peony Pavilion*, Chinese literary works—poetry, prose, fiction, and drama—are infused with religious sentiments and give testimony to religion's infiltration in everyday life. Chinese religion—joining Confucianism, Daoism, Buddhism, and popular beliefs—not only depends on literary dissemination but also provides literature with endless sources of conflict and beauty. At the same time, the kinship between literature and religion has developed through the progressive stages of Chinese history, propelled by constantly shifting but unbroken social and political dynamics. Only with an integrated, coordinated pedagogical approach linking all these disciplinary perspectives, I believe, can we do justice to the depth, complexity, and multiplicity of Chinese classical culture.

### **The Textual Selection: Examples of Linkage between History, Literature, and Religion**

We chose three major texts which represent three distinct disciplinary approaches to China. The historical analysis came from *Cambridge Illustrated History of China* by Patricia Buckley Ebrey; our literary survey depended on *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, edited and translated by Stephen Owen; and our religious pursuits followed *Religions of China in Practice*, edited by Donald S. Lopez, Jr. These three texts guided our studies with a rich array of historical essays, literary examples, and religious documents with commentaries. We purposefully designed the reading sequence in a clearly chronological order, carefully grouping selections from each text within a weekly structure in close correspondence with the succession of dynasties. The weekly reading and lectures linking corresponding sections from these three texts provided students with a comprehensive view of each dynasty from many different angles and through various cultural manifestations such as literary trends and

religious practices. Working as a whole, the collaboration of these texts gave students a solid and well-rounded interdisciplinary understanding of classical Chinese culture, both as an on-going, temporal continuity and as a series of politically and culturally distinct dynasties, each dominated by a particular socio-economic structure, aesthetic taste, and world view.

Reading and analysis of the poems from *The Classic of Poetry* 诗经 offered students invaluable insights on the daily concerns and emotions of Chinese life during the Shang and Zhou dynasties, the formative period of Chinese civilization (Owen 10-57). But even more importantly, this large collection of poetry gave our students a more human and intimate introduction to Confucian ideology. The deep sense of empathy in these early poems binds not only members of a community but also people with the native land. The world of *The Classic of Poetry* depicted a closely-knit, harmonious network of social and natural relationships earnestly celebrated later in the Confucian *Analects* (Owen 58).

The genre of poetry originating in these regional songs and lyrics would dominate Chinese classical literature as well as act as a powerful vehicle of social commentary and political observation for the literati, whose vacillating tastes in relation to music and language became both the mark of a given dynasty and an indicator of the literati's social status. The Confucian humanism underlining *The Classic of Poetry* would reemerge in the elevated language and sensitivity of Du Fu (712-770) (Owen 413-440) during the Tang Dynasty and Wu Wei-ye (1609-1671) (Owen 1130-1135) during the Qing Dynasty, each at a time of national disaster. The frustrated men of letters of the Yuan Dynasty (1276-1368) turned to the freer, cruder forms of popular song suites and vernacular language exactly because they had lost the traditional leverage in both political and literary hierarchies. This turn led to the blossoming of the lively, vibrant Yuan variety drama with a recurrent theme of defying oppression at its heart. Again and again, our studies revealed an undeniable fact: disciplinary divisions could not work for ancient culture. Literary texts and historical documents were frequently one and the same (just look at Si Ma-qian's *The Historical Records!*),

the carriers of political thinking, religious beliefs, and collective ideology.

Studies of *The Lyrics of Chu* 楚辭 from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C.E. led to the identification of another direction of dominant Chinese ideology and literary concentration, and this direction belongs to the trend of Daoism in China. Students read selections from *The Lyrics of Chu* (*Chu-ci*), included in both Owen and Lopez, on mystical excursions and spirit roaming (Owen 155-175 and Lopez 156-165). Recordings of these fanciful experiences would resurface in different guises in the fourth Century C.E. in Daoist texts such as the Celestial Masters' *Declarations of the Perfected* (Lopez 166-179), in which a human is united with a divine female through matrimony in a dream. These common, widespread notions of female spirits from an unseen world of mystery roaming the world of men would find their literary reincarnations in Tang marvel tales such as "Li Zhang Wu's Story" (Owen 526-531) and, seven hundred years later, in Tang Xianzu's dramatic creation of *Lin-Chuan's Four Dreams*, with *The Peony Pavilion* as the major representative (selected acts included in Owen 880-906).

The slow but definite fusion of Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism was another thematic thread of the program which was carefully traced through cumulative reading assignments and comparative investigations between texts. As two primary native ideologies of China, Confucianism and Daoism played an intricate game of dominance and inter-dependence in early Chinese history, largely defined by the level of national unity and social stability. As clearly explained by Ebrey, the collapse of the Confucian state and resulting national divisions brought by alien rulers from 220 to 589 C.E. would allow imported Buddhism to flourish in Chinese societies by allying itself with the more spiritually akin native Daoism (Ebrey 86-107). The sinicization of Buddhism would continue to make this foreign religion accessible to the Chinese sense of ethics and cosmic order. While state ceremonies and popular religion continued to feed into each other in securing a consistent Chinese ideological system, as proven by many historical religious records at state and folk levels in Lopez, the close-to-final state of syncretism of the "three

teachings” became evident in the authentic texts left from the Song Dynasty, again recorded in Lopez. Using four selections from the tenth to twelfth centuries from Lopez’s book, “Buddhist Ritual and the State” (390-396), “A Sutra Promoting the White-robed Guanyin as Giver of Sons” (97-105), “Zhu Xi on Spirit Beings” (106-119), and “Shrines to Local Former Worthies” (293-305), we engaged students in an intense intellectual seminar on how these three religions or ideologies had by this historical point completely merged into one entity in the common people’s spiritual identification.

With this understanding of the close ties between history, politics, and religion, it was no longer difficult for our students to comprehend, while reading about the founding of Qing Dynasty in Ebrey and through an added text, *The Search for Modern China* by Jonathan Spence, that one of the primary things the Manchu rulers did to secure their rule was to woo the Confucian intellectuals. As recorded in one of the Qing religious documents in Lopez, both the Yongzheng and Qianlong Emperors wrote essays for the erection of local city god temples (78-81). The observance of Confucian hierarchy in such Daoist pantheons would only help strengthen the legitimacy of the central government which supported, so wholeheartedly, the native Chinese religion. It also explained why Kong Shang-ren’s play *The Peach Blossom Fan* (selected acts included in Owen 742-972), a literary and dramatic lamentation of the loss of Ming, would be so leniently forgiven by the severe censorship of Qing government. The play, despite its colorful descriptions of the Ming loyalists’ heroic restoration efforts, turned out to be a clear declaration of the Ming’s final doom as the main characters found their higher goals and spiritual solace in Daoist abandonment at the end. Religious and literary writings became potent political acts defined by and defining specific historical moments.

### Conclusion

Connections such as the ones I described above were constantly made throughout the fall quarter and have continued during the winter quarter. Students were asked to compare, contrast, and find little traces and clues of connection all the time, in lectures, in semi-

nar discussions, and in their integrative essays. I have attached with this paper two appendices which are samples of our essay assignments. Each assignment allowed the students to pick one topic out of several options, but each option would engage students similarly in an effort of comparative study, not only between different texts, but also in bridging history, literature, and religion into a coherent flow of comprehension. Appendix I, the second essay assignment of the quarter, was more critical and intellectual, while Appendix II, the final assignment, purposefully switched to a creative and artistic mode by asking students to write an adaptation of a Chinese love story. Since each of the stories has embedded within it elements of Chinese Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist ideology, the attempt of the assignment was to invite students to relate to these social, moral, and spiritual elements from a familiar place of personal association and imagination. Students' responses to this assignment were excitingly varied, from extremely serious to downright bizarre. But they all seemed to have grasped an essential part of the story they adapted—the difficulty in asserting love due to conflicting social expectations which are already internalized.

As faculty we place high expectations on our students. I frequently remind my students that as a Chinese American my attitude toward them vacillates between rigorous Confucian and free-flowing Daoist. I do not expect my students to grasp every connection I have tried to make for them, nor do I imagine that they can all comprehend history, literature, and religion of China as a complete whole. They are often confused and sometimes frustrated. But the good thing is that they have charged forward with an almost fierce trust in us as faculty. At this point of the yearlong program, I believe that they have at least realized the sense of continuum between all aspects of a culture. And that realization itself is an intellectual gift I can give them before they leave this program.

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### Appendix I

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Integrative Essay Assignment, Searching for Modern China, Fall, 2006

Format: 3-5 pages, double spaced; Deadline: Monday, Oct. 30

Again, you have the option of selecting one of the following topics/ questions:

1. As part of Chinese reverence to tradition, poetic themes, imageries and literary passages of earlier historical periods were often adopted and elaborated upon by writers of later generations. As we will continue to discover, adaptations of the same motif or story constitute a big part of Chinese cultural—artistic and literary—legacy.

On pp. 312-314 of Owen's Anthology, a passage from Confucius' *Analects* was incorporated and reshaped into a poem called "Seasons Shift" by Tao Qian (Tao Yuan-ming, 365-427), one of the most famous poets in Eastern Jin Dynasty.

First look at the original passage from *Analects*, discuss how the passage reflects Confucius as a philosopher and aspiring politician at his time, and whether and how it can be viewed as a crystallization of the Confucian world and ideology.

Then read Tao Qian's poem carefully, and analyze the poet's Daoist transformation of the original piece. Use specific phrases and poetic schemes from "Seasons Shift" to illustrate Tao Qian's Daoist tendencies. Most importantly, can you identify or recognize any major points of departure, as well as a more implicit sense of continuation, between these two different works?

2. Looking at the following three poems from the Chinese Middle Ages, "Mulberries by the Path" (Owen 234), "The Ballad of Mu-lan" (Owen 241) and "Old Poem" (Owen 262), discuss and compare how women were portrayed in each of the poems. Furthermore, please illustrate, with specific examples from the poems, how these three different treatments generate the impression of womanhood and womanly values in that historical period.

3. Looking at the following religious texts from Lopez:

*The Scripture in Forty-two sections* (360), *The Scripture on the Production of Buddha Images* (261), “Biography of a Buddhist Layman (397) (all three above are Buddhist texts), “Laozi: Ancient Philosopher, Master of Immortality, and God” (52), *Declarations of the Perfected* (166), and “Body Gods and Inner Vision: *The Scripture of the Yellow Court*” (149) (all three are Daoist). Identify and discuss the characteristics of Buddhism as contained and reflected in the first three texts, and then identify and discuss the characteristics of religious Daoism as represented in the last three texts. Please, if possible, also try to locate any shared or fluid elements between these two Chinese religions at their early stages.

## Appendix II

### The Fourth and Final Integrative Essay Assignment Searching for Modern China, Fall, 2006

So far we have covered a lot in our study of classical China, searching for the artistic, literary and religious developments through the succession of Chinese dynasties.

We have studied Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism independently as well as their gradual, eventual syncretism in China. We have read extant religious texts and examined literary works which reflect the sentiments and mindsets of Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism, individually as well as in harmonious co-existence.

Your next integrative writing assignment is another creative project. This time, you are going to write a story. This story has to be an adaptation of one of the Chinese love stories included in Owen's Chinese literature anthology:

- 1 Xuan-Zong and Yang the Prized Consort (most vividly recorded in Bo Ju-yi's *Song of Lasting Pain*, 442-447, and Chen Hong's prose account to go with the "Song of Lasting Pain," 448-452)
- 2 "The Ying-ying's Story" by Yuan Zhen (540-549). Remember that this Tang tale is also the basis of another elaborate adaptation in Yuan drama: *The West Chamber (or the Story of West Wing)* by Wang Shifu. It is strongly suggested that you check out that Yuan dramatic adaptation (available, in two different translations, in closed reserve in our library) while you attempt to create your own adaptation.
- 3 *Peony Pavilion* by Tang Xian-zu (71-76, 880-906). Although we will only read selected acts from the play in Owen's anthology, which is our week 9 reading assignment, the scenario of the play is explained in Owen's introduction. This has become an internationally well-known play from China's Ming Dynasty due to a few highly publicized productions in recent years.

This story does not have to be a Chinese story, but it has to bear significant resemblance to the original to justify itself as an adaptation. More importantly, you should clearly identify in your creation the key aspects of the original—be they social obligations, moral conflicts, longing, spiritual roaming and transcendence, or any other elements—and translate them into your own specifically defined set of time and space.

The story should be about the same length as your regular essay, 3-5 pages, or longer. You have the choice to hand it in on Wednesday (of week 9), Nov. 29, in seminar or Monday (of week 10), Dec. 4, before the final presentations. But please don't turn it in later than Monday because your dearest faculty member needs sufficient time to read them before your final evaluation.

# Impacts of Developmental Programs and Policy Reforms on Rural Areas of Northwest China<sup>1</sup>

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## I. Introduction

Recently, China has experienced rapid economic development; however, most of this growth has occurred in its eastern provinces. Its western provinces still have relatively sluggish economies due to previous policies that encouraged nodal development in coastal areas. The Chinese government is making efforts to alleviate western provincial problems and to bring the development of these provinces closer to levels in the wealthier parts of the country. It is, however, unclear whether these government efforts are achieving success. And, if these efforts are achieving success, it is unclear to what degree these policies are benefiting rural inhabitants. The purpose of this article is to investigate impacts of these government efforts. The study couples the results of several weeks of field research in North-

1 The authors wish to acknowledge the National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates who supported the research and travel required for this study and to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor of *East-West Connections* for their helpful comments.

western China with multiple regression analyses of data sets sourced from Chinese statistical yearbooks.

## II. Background and Review of Literature

### *Background*

The vast economic divergence between China's coastal eastern provinces and its interior western provinces has occurred as a result of both geographic and political advantages; these advantages include two decades of favorable government policies designed to promote rapid growth in the coastal provinces through market liberalization and other policies to attract foreign investment. The Chinese government has recently shifted its focus westward, enacting broad development policies, such as the Great Western Development Strategy (Xibu Da Kaifa). Intended to help close the gaps between east and west, these policies are designed to shift the majority of central government infrastructure expenditures from the coastal provinces to the central and western regions. These policies consist of a series of programs designed to implement the necessary agricultural, environmental, infrastructural, and industrial changes necessary for growth. This article focuses specifically on several of these programs and on the resulting impacts upon northwest China's rural populations.

Among the trends analyzed in this article are significant deviations from regional agricultural traditions. Many laborers who had previously been chiefly occupied by agriculture are now looking toward other sources of income for all or part of their livelihood. In part this is due to the opportunities for alternate employment provided by recent development. This development has also changed the composition of rural agriculture—away from producing staple foods such as grain and corn, towards producing more high value “cash crops” such as fruit and fresh vegetables that can now be more effectively marketed in larger towns and cities. In addition to changing crop selections, some villagers are moving toward agricultural practices other than farming, such as animal husbandry. However, not all of these trends are beneficial; some adverse results of these

policies upon agriculture include extremely volatile agricultural commodity prices and negative environmental impacts associated with industrialization and development.

Among the most pressing of environmental concerns is the massive erosion which occurs in the region. The Yellow River, "Mother of China," is now all too often referred to as "China's Sorrow" due to the periodic devastating floods that kill thousands of people and destroy entire villages. These flood damages are exacerbated by the nature of the loess soil in parts of the northwestern region. The loessal soil blows in on winds from the north and is highly susceptible to erosion. This massive yearly erosion changes the dynamics of the Yellow River, raising its bed sometimes as much as one meter per year.

At the forefront of the projects to combat this erosion is the "Grain for Green" program. This is a federally funded reforestation project aimed at returning sloped farmland to forested land in order to combat the erosion which is exacerbated by the over-cultivation of land. This program is widespread in northwest China, particularly in Shaanxi's Loess Plateau. It has both positive and negative impacts on local residents. Long-term positive impacts of the program include both a decrease in the level of erosion and incentives to concentrate scarce resources on more productive farmland once the marginal land has been afforested. However, there are severe implementation and administrative problems that affect local residents who participate in the program. Often participants are under-compensated for land given up to reforestation, and thus pressure on already strained incomes is intensified.

One program with positive effects has been the promotion of increased access to nearby market towns and cities through improvements in the infrastructure of the region. These programs have several positive effects, namely lowering transportation costs and allowing rural residents not employed in agriculture the opportunity to travel to urbanized areas where additional, and often more lucrative, employment is available in construction and manufacturing. In addition, these reduced transportation costs have effectively shortened the distances between cities and rural areas, opening up large new markets for rural agricultural products and facilitating the develop-

ment of entrepreneurial endeavors that were far too cost-prohibitive before the implementation of new infrastructure projects.

The inland provinces account for more than half of China's land area and almost one fourth of its population. Their standard of living however, falls far short of national averages. For example per capita gross regional product is only 60% of the national average.

#### *Previous Literature*

Literature about the development of the western regions and the possible effects upon rural areas is largely qualitative in approach. *Accelerating China's Rural Transformation*, a World Bank Report, identifies challenges in facing and facilitating sustainable rural development. Zou Wei's *The Approach to Transforming the Traditional Rural Economy: China's Case* utilizes theoretical and empirical analysis to argue that the source of rural poverty is "capability poverty," namely the deficiency of social services and human capital development, rather than the scarcity of income or consumption. A work by Harry Waters, *China's Economic Development Strategies for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, also discusses the general development philosophy and strategy for the country including the specific strategies for rural development in the central and western regions. In his article "The Campaign to 'Open Up the West': National, Provincial-level and Local Perspectives," David Goodman looks at the Great Western Development Strategy (GWDS) and stresses the importance of assessing its impacts from provincial and local perspectives because of greatly varying economic and social conditions in the western provinces. He further emphasizes that the GWDS may be less of a radical change and more of an adjustment to existing western development policy. Due to its geographical focus, the work most pertinent to our study is *Shaanxi: Building a Future on State Support* by Eduard Vermeer. It outlines specific implications of development strategy with respect to Shaanxi and provides a qualitative, yet detailed, discussion of implications for the province regarding infrastructure development, agricultural reform, industrial development, mining and energy development, and tourism. A study by Bergqvist and Cormery, entitled *Migration, Remittances and the Rural Economy:*

*A Case Study from Shaanxi Province China*, provides a comprehensive, quantitative analysis of the effects of migration and remittances on the rural economy. It not only provides insight into the growing trend of out-migration from rural areas and its effects at the farm-household level, but also develops useful models and methodology regarding research into rural areas of the province.

A number of works provide insight into the many facets of agricultural reform. A World Bank working paper, *The Impact of Property Rights on Households' Investment, Risk Coping, and Policy Preferences* by Deininger and Jin, analyzes how property rights affect agricultural investment in the country. They argue that stronger property rights positively influence investment in land improvements. Various determinants of land-use choice in rural China are outlined by Sylvie Demurger and Weiyong Yang in *Economics Changes and Afforestation Incentives in Rural China*. They discuss market forces which can be utilized to instigate more sustainable land use. On the issue of land reform in China, an article by Chen and Davis, "Land Reform in Rural China since the mid 1980s," identifies the weaknesses of the current household responsibility system. It also outlines debates over further land reform occurring in the country,—debates which are extremely pertinent to Northwestern development.

Specific to the Grain for Green Program, two articles by Jintao Xu and his colleagues provide a wealth of information regarding the implementation and progress of the program. The first, "Implementing the Natural Forest Protection Program and Sloping Land Conversion Program: Lessons and Policy Recommendations," provides the results of a Western China Forest and Grasslands Task Force study that evaluated the efficacy of the two programs. The second, "China's Sloping Land Conversion Program Four Years on: Current Situation, Pending Issues" identifies some problems with the program based on results from a 2003 household survey.

In "Infrastructure and Western Regional Development," Xubei Luo provides an empirical study of the impact of infrastructure development on regional development. This could be particularly pertinent to Shaanxi because it is viewed as a gateway to the entire western region. The article by Edward Vermeer listed earlier also speaks

of infrastructure development as a priority in the development of Shaanxi and its seminal role in rural development.

### III. Objective and Methodology

#### *Objective*

China has in recent years made significant policy changes and instituted development programs aimed at opening up and reforming the northwest in hopes of initiating sustainable growth and avoiding social unrest. We examine specific programs in terms of their effectiveness, limitations, and intentions by drawing from previously published works and from four weeks of interviews and observations. Four hypotheses about possible trends and impacts of specific development programs within northwest China are developed and tested.

#### *Hypotheses*

*Agriculture/Environmental Programs:* A multitude of factors are influencing rural northwestern Chinese agriculture. These include government industrial growth and environmental programs such as the “Grain for Green” program as well as changes in regional labor market dynamics. Two hypotheses are:

- There is a significant increase in income diversification away from agriculture in rural populations.
- Environmental conservation programs and their implementation are being conducted at a significant cost to rural populations.

*Transportation/Infrastructure:* Northwest China will have received considerable development in transportation facilities, such as roads and highways, due to favorable funding policies for the region from China’s Great Western Development Strategy. Accordingly:

- The construction of infrastructure and transportation facilities has positively affected development in surrounding regions

- Transportation costs and distances to market are shaping crop selections in rural areas.

### *Methodology*

To test our hypotheses quantitatively, we developed formal models and used data from statistical yearbooks and published household surveys at the county, city, and provincial levels. Specifically, we employed econometric analysis of these data to prove correlative behavior on national, provincial, city, and county levels. The accuracy of the data, especially the county and even city level data, however, was often marginal in quality. National and provincial data showed clear and significant trends, yet we were unable to find many significant trends from local data at the county, town, and village levels, even in relationships that should have been easily modeled. This may be due to the non-standardized record keeping for many of the variables in which we were interested, such as government expenditures and income levels. In spite of this, we were able to build models from cross-provincial national data and cross-city data on the northwest region that yielded significant results.

The field research portion of our analysis began in Xian, Shaanxi, considered the “gateway” to the northwest provinces of China because of its central location within the nation. During our four-week study, we conducted approximately forty interviews throughout the province. These interviews provided us with critical opinions and experiences of a large spectrum of northwestern Chinese residents, government officials from a variety of agencies, executives at government and privately owned enterprises, workers, and peasant farmers. After a week of interviews in Xian, we traveled north to Shaanbei to study the state of economic development in the region and its impacts on rural residents as well as to gather anecdotal evidence. We were able to conduct interviews with villagers in villages of various sizes and distances from urban areas. In addition to interviews conducted in Shaanxi, a similar process of urban and rural interviews was undertaken in neighboring Ningxia province in the capital city of Yinchuan and its surrounding villages.

#### IV. Quantitative Analysis

##### *Estimation Methodology*

Regression equations were estimated using Ordinary Least Squares, and heteroskedasticity was adjusted for, utilizing White-Heteroskedasticity consistent standard errors. Data were gathered from statistical yearbooks published by the China Statistical Press. These included the *China Statistical Yearbook 2004*, the *China Rural Statistical Yearbook 2004*, and the *Shaanxi Statistical Yearbook 2003*.

Equation One<sup>2</sup> takes the form of:

$$\text{Log}(\text{income}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Service} + \beta_2 \text{HighwayByArea} + \beta_3 \text{EcoForestArea} + \beta_4 \text{TrnsprtExp} + \delta_1 \text{Northwest} + U$$

Where:

Income: Average rural income in Yuan

Service: Percentage of employed rural population in service or retail sales.

HighwayByArea: Total provincial highway lengths divided by provincial area

EcoForestArea: Percentage of total provincial land area covered by environmental protection forests

TrnsprtExp: Percentage of total rural living expenses spent on transportation by province

Northwest: Binary variable for the seven northwestern Chinese provinces

U: Stochastic error term

Table One shows the quantitative results of the application of our econometric model. Interpretation of these results and findings will comprise the next major section.

2 By taking the natural logarithm of the dependent variable (rural income) we allow our standard errors to be normally distributed. We then can assume a standard normal distribution and conduct "t" and "F" tests for our hypotheses.

**Table One – Results from Equation A-1**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>t-Statistic</b>	<b>P-Value</b>
Constant	6.896658	0.111491	61.85824	0.0000
Service***	0.087357	0.021414	4.079410	0.0004
HighwaybyArea***	66.09576	12.10874	5.458518	0.0003
EcoForestArea***	-0.048139	0.015650	-3.075999	0.0050
TrnsprtExp***	8.103951	1.216585	6.661228	0.0000
Northwest*	-0.136900	0.069373	-1.973379	0.0596
R <sup>2</sup>	0.924080			
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.908896	N=31		

\* = Statistically Significant at a 90% confidence level

\*\* = Statistically Significant at a 95% confidence level

\*\*\* = Statistically Significant at a 99% confidence level

## V. Findings

### A. Quantitative Findings

In support of our initial hypothesis concerning reforestation programs, we found the area dedicated to such programs to be a statistically significant variable in explaining income.<sup>3</sup> Regression one suggests that for every additional percentage point of provincial land area that is designated for environmental protection (EcoForestArea) there is a 4.8% decrease in rural income.<sup>4</sup> Observational evidence discussed in the following section confirms these findings.

We also found the variable for the percentage of the rural population employed in service and retail industries to be statistically significant<sup>5</sup> at a 99% confidence level. This was used as a proxy to measure well-being of those rural inhabitants who are diversifying incomes away from agriculture. It also has a significant positive coefficient of 0.087357, meaning that for every one percent increase in the population working in the service and retail industries, rural per

3 The “t” statistic for EcoForestArea is -3.075999. Regression One was run on data taken from a sample size of 31 Chinese regions, including autonomous regions, provinces, and cities considered to be free-standing regions. The smaller sample size was taken into account when regressions at the provincial level were estimated; the regression contains 25 degrees of freedom.

4 The coefficient of EcoForestArea is -0.048139

5 The “t” statistic on Service is 4.079410

capita income increases by approximately 8.7 %. This implies that development is indeed having a positive effect on rural incomes for those who are diversifying away from agriculture.

Another of our initial hypotheses was that increases in infrastructure, as measured by road area and the access that it brings, would have a positive effect on rural incomes for reasons described in the following section. In addition to this, we hypothesized that, crop selection in rural areas would be shaped by the reduced transportation costs and effective distances to market as infrastructure extended outward from cities. In order to prove or disprove these hypotheses and back up anecdotal evidence, we analyzed statistics on the provincial level concerning rural income, access to roads, and several other variables. The statistics were obtained from the *China Statistical Yearbook 2004*, and the *China Rural Statistical Yearbook 2004*.

Upon reviewing the results of regression one, we came to the conclusion that increases in infrastructure do have a statistically significant positive effect on rural income.<sup>6</sup> The variable for highway infrastructure also has a large positive coefficient, indicating that increases have a measurable effect on rural income.<sup>7</sup> The coefficient on rural income estimates that for every one thousandth of one percent increase in the total land area of a province that is covered by roads, there is a corresponding 6.6% increase in rural income. Therefore, rural income is extremely sensitive to infrastructure developments. We observed that this is indeed happening in rural northwest China and that sections of developmental policies dealing with infrastructure development have provided new opportunities for rural laborers and merchants alike.

However, incomes of the people of China's northwestern provinces are still far below those of other regions. A dummy variable was used for the seven northwest provinces and, while the results were only marginally statistically significant,<sup>8</sup> the implications of the results point to the need for further assistance to the region. The co-

6 The "t" statistic on HighwayByArea is 5.458518

7 The Coefficient on HighwayByArea is 66.0976

8 The "t" statistic on Northwest is -1.973379

efficient on northwest was negative,<sup>9</sup> meaning that rural residents of the northwestern provinces are likely to make approximately 13.7% less than those in other provinces.

In summation, through econometric modeling we have found our hypothesis concerning the negative relationship between environmental reforestation programs and rural well-being is affirmed. We have also supported our hypothesis concerning the positive relationship between rural incomes and transportation infrastructure. In addition to this, we have confirmed the hypothesis concerning rural income diversification and supported it with observational findings.

### B. Observational Findings

The following section weaves together the insights gathered from interviews about the effects of the specific government programs in question on rural populations in northwest China. In general, the observational evidence corroborates our statistical findings.

#### *Agriculture/Environmental Programs*

While conducting our research in northwestern China, we observed that the rural laborers were diversifying their income by: working in occupations other than agriculture, involving themselves in agricultural practices other than farming, and growing crops other than grain. In part, these changes follow from China's shift from a collective-based system to a family-based system in the early 1980's. These policies provided peasants more freedom to engage in labor practices of their choosing by giving land use rights to individual families. Initially, peasants used this freedom to increase the yield from agricultural practices. From 1979 to 1984, the total value of agricultural outputs increased at 7.6 percent annually, but much of this growth was from traditional practices such as growing grain (Brandt et al 2002, 47.) Yet, with the advent of recent Chinese policy reforms that have led to the growth of major cities and infrastructure, Chinese peasants are using the freedom they obtained earlier to engage in new income opportunities.

9 The Coefficient on Northwest is -0.136900

We observed several salient trends. First, as shown in Figure One, many rural inhabitants are shifting from agricultural occupations toward non-agricultural occupations. This has occurred in part because large urban centers offer jobs which are more profitable than agricultural work; new roads are making it easier to travel from villages to cities for work.

In addition to the increased access to urban areas resulting from improvements in transportation infrastructure, rural laborers are also diversifying incomes away from agriculture; this diversification is a direct result of several government programs. The recent focus on regional industrial growth has led townships and villages to offer generous incentive packages to companies in order to lure large scale industrial complexes to their areas. These packages often include provisions which guarantee the companies access to land at very low prices or at no charge. In most cases, this is agricultural land which had been farmed by local villagers who are then not adequately compensated when the land is annexed. One such instance we witnessed took place in a village outside of Mizhi, Shaanxi. In order to secure a large chemical plant for their area, village leaders offered the land to the company at no charge. Local residents we interviewed claimed that they were promised 50,000 Yuan/MU for their land;<sup>10</sup> this was never received. In some instances farmers were forced off their land by local police. Unjust land annexation forces villagers who were often previously employed only in subsistence farming to enter other trades and occupations for which they have few skills.

Another initiative with profound influence in the region is the campaign to combat land degradation; this is a serious problem in this region because of its location on the Loess Plateau where severe soil and water erosion has occurred. A specific program which is designed to address this problem is termed "Grain for Green," otherwise called the Sloping Land Conversion Program (SLCP); it was initially implemented in 1999. This ambitious reforestation program targets the drainage basins of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, and currently involves more than 15 million farmers across 2000 counties (Xu 2004, 3). The original purpose of the program was to

10 Interview: Guanchuang, Shaanxi

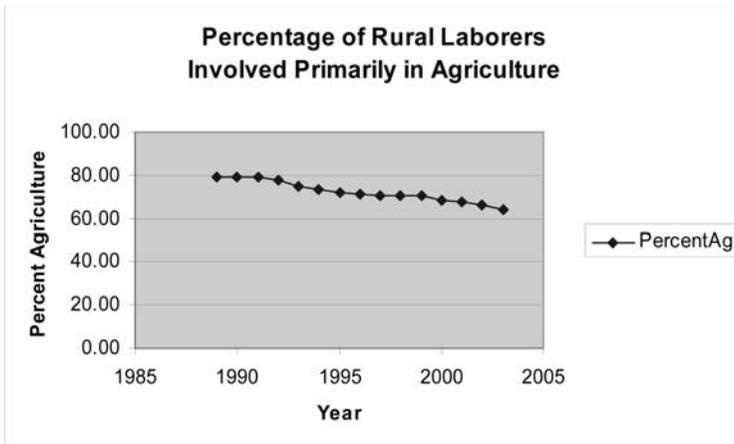


Figure One

Source: Derived from data from *China Statistical Journal 2004*

reduce environmental degradation by increasing forest cover and preventing soil erosion on sloped agricultural land. It was later revised by the State Council to also include alleviation of poverty and promotion of local economic development (Xu 2002, 6). In northern Shaanxi, we studied some of the 531,170 hectares of cropland that had already been dedicated to the project in the province, and, in interviews, inquired into the economic impacts of the project at the farm-household level in the area.<sup>11</sup> Figure Two shows the change over time in the land area dedicated to the Grain for Green program in Shaanxi province.

Under the Grain for Green Program, farmers retire certain types of land in return for compensation in the form of grain allocations and cash payments; these are programmed to last from 5 to 8 years. In addition to providing seedlings free of charge, there is a planned cash subsidy provided to farmers of 300 Yuan per hectare per year and an annual per hectare grain subsidy of 1500 kg and 2250 kg, for residents of the Yellow River Basin and Yangtze River basins respectively (Xu 2002, 9). This difference in grain subsidies is meant to account for regional differences in crop yields. The timeline of the

<sup>11</sup> Dedicated land area in Shaanxi has conceivably increased significantly since data were published in 2002.

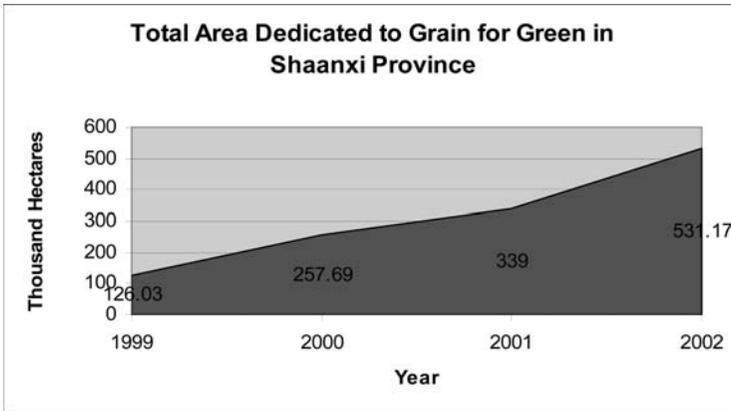


Figure Two

Source: *Shaanxi Provincial Statistical Yearbook*

subsidies depends upon the type of trees planted, and whether for ecological or economic purposes (Demurger 2).

In addition to questions about sustainability and efficacy of the program, there are multiple problems with the program as it pertains to the livelihood of participating farmers and even those non-participating farmers who live in participating areas. Many of these problems are due to local variation about implementation and to the overall rigidity of the program. The first issue is that many participants did not receive their due compensation for participation in the program. One of the main tenets of the program is that farmers should be no worse off for participation (Xu 2004, 11). The subsidies were designed to cover at least the pre-program net revenue of retired plots; this would theoretically account for a net gain for participating farmers, considering risk adversity and preference for a fixed subsidy. According to a study conducted in 2000, the average pre-program yield of retired plots was about 1319.25 kg per ha, somewhat less than the promised compensation. The actual payment of the subsidy, however, was in many cases found to be significantly less. A 2003 study found that the average shortfall in cash compensation for their sample was 195 Yuan/ha and 953 kg/ha in grain compensation (Xu 2004, 13). Table Two shows the discrepancies in planned and received subsidies among respondents in a 2003 study.

Table Two: Planned Versus Received Subsidies for participants in the Grain for Green Program

Province	County	Grain Compensation		Cash Compensation	
		Actual Received Subsidy (Kg/ha)	Grain for Green Planned Subsidy (Kg/ha)	Actual received Subsidy (Yuan/ha)	Grain for Green Planned Subsidy (Yuan/ha)
Shaanxi	Yanchuan	232.5	1500	60	300
	Liquan	1215	1500	90	300
Gansu	Jingnin	810	1500	225	300
	Linxia	322.5	1500	30	300
Sichuan	Chaotian	2025	2250	45	300
	Lixian	1927.5	2250	195	300
Average		810	1763	105	300

Source: Adapted from data in Xu 2004.

During our interviews we found this lack of compensatory payments to be the overwhelming trend among participants in the program. One interview conducted in a rural village in Mizhi County revealed that the family had retired much of their land four years prior, soon after implementation of the program, yet had only received subsidies for the first year. The family was forced to seek income from other sources; they currently rely on support from friends and family. The long-term costs to this family are significant; one example of long-term impacts is that the children's schooling was no longer affordable. Though an extreme case, this family is one of the numerous observed examples of the diminution of overall well-being through participation in the program. Much of this lack of compensation paid to farmers may be attributable to both the diversion of funds and inefficiencies of implementation at the local level. This is not to say that from an economic standpoint reforestation programs should be avoided, but rather that the short-term economic loss of local residents should be considered among other issues before their implementation.

Another reason why participant's incomes could have been negatively impacted was that a prohibition of grazing was instituted along with the Grain for Green program in order to protect the lands converted to grassland (Li 2001). A study conducted in Ansai County in Shaanxi revealed that the share of total agricultural output comprised by animal husbandry in the county had dropped 6.2 percent only one year after implementation of the program, with output from sheep dropping the most significantly (Li 2001).

Another drawback to the program is its possible impact on non-participating grain farmers in the area. In areas where significant subsidies were distributed in the form of grain, potential exists to suppress local grain prices (Xu 2002, 13). This suppression of grain prices would cause a decrease in the revenue of non-participating farmers who rely on grain as an income generating crop. This could be a contributing factor to the sharp decrease nationally in sown grain crops as farmers switch to other crops or to other income-generating activities.

**Table Three: Participant Autonomy in Grain for Green Program**

<b>Group</b>	<b>Measure of Autonomy</b>	<b>Percentage of Affirmative Responses in Shaanxi</b>	<b>Percentage of Affirmative Responses All Provinces Surveyed</b>
Partici- pants	Consulted Before Imple- mentation	24.3%	15.1%
	Able to Choose Tree Types	46.7%	36%
	Able to Choose Areas to Retire	53.4%	34.9%
	Able to Choose Plots to Retire	40.2%	30.5%
Non- partici- pants	Able to Choose Whether or Not to Partici- pate	40%	27.8%

Source: Xu 2004.

In field interviews we also observed a complete lack of autonomy in decisions about participating in the program. Though many said that they were initially glad to give up the marginal land they had previously cultivated in return for compensation, they described the program as the government “taking” land for environmental purposes. This may be caused by local governments attempting to increase their land conversion quotas in order to receive more subsidies. Table Three was constructed using data from Xu (2004, 13). The study found that the participation autonomy in Shaanxi was

actually the highest among the provinces in which the survey was conducted: only 24.3 percent of participant respondents said that they were consulted before implementation and 40 percent of non-participant respondents said that they had a choice whether or not to participate in the program.

Combating this problem of soil erosion and improving biodiversity are indeed necessary, and economic losses associated with not doing so are significant. However, efficient allocation of the cost of a program such as this would require a greater degree of dispersal throughout the agricultural population. Currently, cost is concentrated within lower income ranges in rural areas. Equitable distribution of cost can be achieved through better monitoring schemes which would serve not only to ensure payment of subsidies but would also ensure environmental effectiveness.

In conclusion, after analyzing previously published literature on the subject, gathering observational and anecdotal evidence, and analyzing statistics on the subjects, we find that our hypothesis concerning rural income diversification and our hypothesis concerning the impacts of environmental programs in the region is affirmed.

#### *Infrastructural Development and Implications*

One of the most marked examples of change we observed while doing the field research portion of this project in northwestern China was the phenomenal level of infrastructure development that has been ongoing since the mid 1990s. In the 1980s and early 1990s, the Chinese focused such development in their eastern coastal provinces, the beneficiaries of the market-oriented reforms of Deng Xiaoping. However, in the mid-1990s, the growing gap in the standard of living between the east and west commanded the attention of the central government, and they began enacting policies aimed at helping this relatively backward region climb out of poverty and into the mainstream Chinese economy. One of the requisite transformations for such a development is the implementation of modern infrastructure to lower transportation costs and allow freer movement of goods, services, and people throughout the region. For example, annual road-building investment in Shaanxi province increased from

five billion Yuan in 1998 to ten billion Yuan in 2001 (Vermeer 404). The Chinese have been very successful in the east implementing both sophisticated freeway systems as well as smaller road networks that were designed to link people on the village level to local market towns and each other. These developments have had a twofold positive effect on the rural population: first, they allow for greater access to local market towns where goods can be bought and sold, and second, they provide opportunities for income diversification by making it more feasible for villagers to commute to labor markets where more gainful employment is available.

Perhaps the area where this development is most apparent in China's western region is in Shaanxi Province. Currently Shaanxi has approximately 1000km of high grade freeway and has plans to triple that within the next ten years.<sup>12</sup> There are also plans to increase the level of smaller paved roads within the province from approximately 10,000 km to 50,000 km over the course of the next 7-8 years.<sup>13</sup> Statistics such as these are indicative of the level of resources being committed to the development of a modern infrastructure network in the western provinces. The network being developed is not limited to roads, as multiple new rail lines are being constructed as well as five new airports in Shaanxi province alone.<sup>14</sup> This development is evident on a daily basis when traveling in the region, from the brand new highway linking the airport with the provincial capital of Xi'an to the rail lines connecting cities that up until a handful of years ago were all but unreachable.

During our field research we observed several residents of villages in Shaanxi and Ningxia provinces who had taken advantage of lowered transportation costs by becoming merchants. For example, in northern Shaanxi one man had begun buying peanuts from local farmers and trucking them to Ningxia to market, an activity which has been made much easier by infrastructure improvements over the

12 Interview: Shaanxi Provincial Transportation Ministry (7/1/2005) Xi'an China

13 Interview: Shaanxi Provincial Transportation Ministry (7/1/2005) Xi'an China

14 Interview: Shaanxi Provincial Transportation Finance Minister (7/1/2005) Xi'an China

last 10 years. Another local merchant had been buying farm animals in Inner Mongolia and selling them at markets close to his village in Shaanxi. In Ningxia province we encountered a family of merchants who had been selling sheepskins to leather goods manufacturers throughout central and western China. Entrepreneurial enterprises traversing such distances as these would have been unheard of only 20 years ago in this region.

In addition to business endeavors by villagers, these improvements in infrastructure have also led to the growth of smaller cities and counties as well as the development of service and other industries which previously had neither the customer nor the labor base. Businesses and shops can locate in county seats, and with new roads and public transportation, they have access to new consumers. Consumers, in turn, have access to a wider variety of often cheaper goods and services. In addition, residents have greater access to jobs in the city. In one village we visited just outside of Mizhi city, many of the able bodied men worked part time in the city doing construction work, and many of the women were employed in textile mills at certain times of the year.<sup>15</sup> These cheap labor pools, comprised of villagers who, up until a few years ago, were unable to commute to cities effectively, are attractive to industrial interests and facilitate the further industrial development of smaller cities and counties.

A remarkable footnote to this development—and one of the most unexpected benefits of the increased infrastructure—pertains to education. Most villages have small primary schools for education through grade six; however, if a child wants to progress into middle school and can afford the tuition, there is still the matter of whether or not a particular village has a middle school. Recently it has become easier for students who want to continue their education to travel to schools outside the village. We spoke with villagers whose children were attending middle school approximately 10km beyond their villages.<sup>16</sup> It is not uncommon to send one's children away to school like this, but perhaps with programs in place to bring paved roads to the particularly rural villages, some students who otherwise

15 Interview: Guanzhong, Shaanxi

16 Interview: Gaoxigou, Shaanxi

would be unable to attend classes will also be beneficiaries of these economically motivated development policies.

Along with all of the positive effects infrastructural development has on rural inhabitants of the Northwestern provinces, there are also potential problems from the modernization of infrastructure for portions of the population. Reduced transportation costs allow local products to be easily transported elsewhere for sale. However, the inverse is also true: products of large companies from other parts of China that can take better advantage of economies of scale and technological knowledge are likely to be cheaper than locally produced goods and could in certain cases displace local producers (Vermeer 402). Though the benefit of cheaper and perhaps higher quality products will accrue to the consumers in these rural areas, a price will be paid by producers who lose local market share.

In addition to this, we hypothesized that crop selections would be shaped by transportation costs and by effective distances to market. Throughout our field research we encountered precisely that, in the form of farmers turning away from grain and other staple crops in favor of cash crops. Because of the reduced transportation costs and shortened effective distances to markets, higher value crops such as fresh vegetables and fruits can now be more effectively marketed in nearby towns and cities. A trucking route which would have taken several days to complete ten years ago could now conceivably be traveled in a single day. This extends the radius in which perishable foods can be grown outside of major metropolitan areas much further into the surrounding rural areas. We witnessed this first hand at a village outside of the Ningxia provincial capitol of Yinchuan. Villagers had recently adopted a system of earthen greenhouses and were growing eggplant and other vegetables year-round to satisfy the needs of the nearby city.<sup>17</sup>

## VI. Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

After engaging in field research and analyzing statistical relationships to support our observational findings, we conclude that ag-

<sup>17</sup> Interview: Yinnan, Ningxia Autonomous Region

gressive government programs designed to implement agricultural and environmental reforms and to increase infrastructure have indeed generated growth. Nevertheless, this growth has had disparate effects on the inhabitants of northwestern China. In general, people working in urban occupations are benefiting; however, those continuing to work in rural occupations are losing. This discovery in itself is not surprising because development policies are not necessarily designed to help rural inhabitants. What is surprising is the degree of the burden borne by rural inhabitants.

Certain adverse effects related to our topic of study are clearly evident in the rural population. We found our hypothesis that reforestation programs are being conducted at significant cost to rural communities to be correct through both statistical and observational evidence. Failures in local-level implementation, less-than-equitable compensation, and a distinct lack of autonomy in deciding whether or not to pursue the program were among our chief concerns. The synergy of these factors has led to the program being a net welfare-loss for participants, placing further strain on already meager incomes.

Distinct trends concerning rural employment were also observed. The reduction in farmland for various purposes has led to the already under-employed rural labor force turning away from agriculture.<sup>18</sup> Many rural inhabitants who were chiefly occupied by agriculture are now working in the construction, service, and manufacturing sectors. Typically these are more lucrative jobs, and those who are successful seem to be benefiting from the transition. In addition to seeking employment in urban areas there is a growing element of the population taking advantage of entrepreneurial talents to create entirely new enterprises, ranging from brokering agricultural commodities to managing restaurants.

In addition to facilitating change in labor dynamics, the recent improvements in infrastructure have had other effects. We affirmed our hypotheses concerning rural infrastructure development. First we hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between infra-

<sup>18</sup> Interview: China Northwest University, Agricultural Economics Faculty, Xian, Shaanxi

structure improvements and surrounding rural development. We found overwhelming support for this hypothesis in the form of observational evidence as well as statistical modeling. Our other hypothesis stated that rural crop selections will be shaped by transportation costs and distances to market. This was also supported by our observational evidence. Over the course of our interviews we repeatedly observed farmers changing their crop selections toward higher value crops which could now be marketed in large urban areas.

There are some policy changes that can protect the benefits to rural inhabitants and address the difficulties they may face, such as strengthening the property rights of rural farmers. But, for the most part, the negative impacts upon rural inhabitants are due to failures in local-level implementation. Solving these problems will require better policy implementation and control rather than entirely different legislation. For example, when land is taken for infrastructure, industrial, or environmental projects, those farmers who lose their land should be guaranteed equitable compensation. Although resolving these matters will not in itself be sufficient to solve these problems, doing so will markedly improve the condition of rural inhabitants.

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# David Hall and Richard Rorty on What Is Philosophy Good For

Ewing Y. Chinn

Richard Rorty argues that while he and David Hall have much in common in their critique of the dominant metaphysical tradition of Western philosophy (what Heidegger calls “*the onto-theological tradition*”), Hall is nevertheless unable to “overcome the tradition.” He reads Hall as carrying on Whitehead’s process philosophy in the attempt to find a comprehensive metaphysical perspective from which everything can be addressed. He claims Hall is just replacing “*second problematic thinking*” with “*first problematic thinking*,” replacing the question, “how can the one be many?” with the question “how can the many be one?” But Hall is not proposing and defending a grand metaphysical theory of “the way things really are.” His so-called speculative scheme is what Hall refers to as “an exercise in the philosophy of culture,” an attempt to extend a new way of thinking, long dormant in our culture, to every area of cultural interest.

Richard Rorty has offended many, if not most, in the academy with his insistence that philosophy as we know it will continue to be irrelevant unless philosophers “get off their high horse.” Philosophers, he argues, should give up the delusory hope of ever gaining knowledge of the eternal or unchanging and give up the preoccupation with what they mistakenly conceive of as perennial problems that have no cultural boundaries, problems that are supposed to naturally occur to anyone with any philosophical sensitivity, problems that are supposed to define the very nature of philosophy for all times and for all places.

It seems to me that David Hall has demonstrated in his writings (particularly in his book on Rorty) that he generally agrees

with Rorty's negative assessment of this commonly held view of philosophy; but that he does not agree with the cultural role that Rorty seemingly by default assigns to philosophy.<sup>1</sup> He would not have endorsed what Rorty wrote in his contribution to *Metaphilosophy and Chinese Thought: Interpreting David Hall*, a collection of essays from the David Hall Memorial Conference. Rorty's contribution, "Romantics, Sophists, and Systematic Philosophers," was a response to an unpublished essay Hall had sent him ("Whitehead, Rorty, and the Return of the Exiled Poets") comparing Rorty's view with Whitehead's on the subject of what ought to be the respective cultural roles of the poet and the philosopher. Rorty wrote in his response:

As I see it, philosophy is not something that human beings embark on out of an inborn sense of wonder, but rather something they are forced into when they have trouble reconciling the old and the new, the imagination of their ancestors with that of their more enterprising contemporaries. Philosophy becomes important to culture only when things seem to be falling apart—when long-held and widely-shared beliefs, or established social institutions, or both, are threatened—when revolutionary changes are on the horizon. At such periods, intellectuals come forward with suggestions about what can be preserved from the past and what is going to have to be discarded. The intellectuals who are best at this get on the canonical list of "great philosophers." (Rorty 2005, 7)

Hall would agree that "philosophy becomes important to culture only when things seem to be falling apart." He said as much in great detail and with great insight in his early books, *The Uncertain Phoenix* and *The Civilization of Experience: A Whiteheadian Theory of Culture*. But he would not agree that all "intellectuals" should or can do is to "come forward with suggestions about what can be preserved from the past and what is going to have to be discarded"; nor would he agree with what Rorty says elsewhere, that "their job is to weave together old beliefs and new beliefs, so that these beliefs can cooperate rather than interfere with one another" (Rorty 1995,

1 The following statement from his book on Rorty expresses his agreement: "I am not plumping for a return to the grand metaphysical tradition; on the contrary, I am sympathetic with Rorty's unquiet disdain for the systematic, objectivist, ontological thinkers and believe along with him that this sort of thinking is rightly out of fashion" (Hall 1994, 134).

199). Rorty compares the philosopher to engineers and lawyers who “[are] useful in solving particular problems that arise in particular situations—situations in which the language of the past is in conflict with the needs of the future” (Rorty 1995, 199). Finally, Hall would most emphatically object to the position Rorty attributes, wrongly I might add, to Dewey that “philosophers should not try to be the *avant-garde* of society and culture, but should be content to mediate between the old and the new” (Rorty 1995, 199). It is precisely David Hall’s view that it is the philosopher, driven by an inborn sense of wonder, who is most uniquely qualified to be the *avant-garde* of society and culture, *particularly* in a time of crisis, and that this is the most important purpose of *systematic philosophy*, the role that he sees his mentor, Alfred North Whitehead, as modeling. Rorty, as we shall see, misconstrues how Hall uses the legacy of Whitehead (that is, uses his interpretation of Whitehead as a philosopher of culture) by placing both of them in the company of philosophers who cannot “get off their high horse.”

In his contribution to the Hall volume, Rorty criticizes Hall for his allegiance to Whitehead, for continuing what he sees as Whitehead’s lofty ambition to find a perspective “from which everything can be addressed”;<sup>2</sup> for trying to see “how things, in the largest sense of the term, hang together, in the largest sense of the term” (Wilfred Sellers’ famous phrase); in short for engaging in the construction of a comprehensive metaphysical theory. Rorty calls this “the ideal of universalistic grandeur.” And he reads David Hall as intimating in *Eros and Irony*, in the chapter called “The Ambiguity of Order,” that the success of this enterprise, of fulfilling the ideal, requires a solution to the central problem of metaphysics, the problem of “The One and the Many”; the question, as Hall puts it, of “how, in some final sense, each object or event in the world, and the world *per se*, can be both many and one, in itself as well as in our understanding of it” (Hall 1982a, 113).

Hall had argued that what Heidegger called “*the onto-theological tradition*,” which he and Rorty both criticize, gives priority to the

2 Rorty is quoting Robert Neville from the introduction to the series of books Neville edited on systematic philosophy (Rorty 2005, 5).

One (the unchanging Being) over the Many (the transitory things of life and nature), and thus priority to *one side* of the question, “*how can the One be many?*” Or, as Hall again puts it, “How can the one singular [or single-ordered] cosmos exemplify the characteristics of manyness or plurality?” This is the central question of what Hall calls “*second problematic thinking*,” which has dominated metaphysical speculation in the West.

Rorty sees Hall as defending “*first problematic thinking*,” a way of thinking based on the notion that there are many coexistent worlds, *kosmoi*, rather than one world, the Cosmos. Thus he sees Hall as maintaining that the focus of metaphysics should be on the other side of the problem, on the question, “*how can the Many be one?*” If it is the case, Hall writes, that “the essential traits of first-problematic thinking are to be derived from the notion that there are many worlds *in some truly important sense*, [then the] first consequence of such a claim is to render problematic the notion of World itself” (Hall 1982a, 117). Rorty seems to take Hall to mean by “there are many worlds in some truly important sense” the realist claim that there *literally is* a plurality of worlds. And thus, “to render problematic the notion of World itself” must mean that it becomes a problem how one can make rational sense of, in Hall’s words, “competing kosmoi, overlapping without harmony” (Hall 1982a, 75).<sup>3</sup> This question, *how do you fit together in a synoptic vision the co-existence of many worlds*, is for Rorty just another expression of the ideal of universalistic grandeur at work. But Rorty contends that it doesn’t matter “whether one starts from unity and tries to account for plurality or starts with plurality and tries to account for unity. For one should not do either. One should not be a ‘first-problematic’ or a ‘second-problematic’ thinker. One should not rise to the level of abstraction at which terms like ‘the One’ and ‘the Many’ are deployed” (Rorty 2005, 15). Rorty deplores the fact that, in either case, we would be engaged in speculative metaphysics, engaged in trying to find a perspective from which everything can be addressed.

3 It should be noted that Hall never said that we should reverse the tradition and make the question, “How are the many Kosmoi also one?” the main question of metaphysics. All that he is asking for is *parity*. (See Hall 1982a, 113-114.)

Rorty wishes that Hall would renounce speculative philosophy, for he believes that process philosophers make the mistake of speculating from what they claim is the self-evident *intuition* (or the direct, primordial experience) of creative advance, of the spontaneous production of novelty, an intuition that Rorty equates with the belief in a plurality of worlds. Speaking of intuition, Whitehead writes:

That “all things flow” is the first vague generalization which the unsystematized, barely analyzed, intuition of men has produced... [And] if we are to go back to that ultimate, integral experience, unwarped by the sophistications of theory, that experience whose elucidation is the sole aim of philosophy, the flux of things is the one ultimate generalization around which we must weave our philosophic theory. (As quoted in Hall 2001, 16-17)<sup>4</sup>

Rorty reads this as suggesting that the “truth is within us,” the bad idea, Rorty says “shared by the universalists and the Romantics...that we already have the truth within us and can recognize it when we see it” (Rorty 2005, 16). But, he argues, if we can purge ourselves of this bad idea, and understand that an “intuition” is really “merely a reflection of the temperamental presuppositions of exceptional personalities,” we will see that there is no need to make rational sense of “competing kosmoi overlapping without harmony” for, Rorty contends, “competing kosmoi are just reifications of competing descriptions of ourselves and our environment, descriptions that we dream up in order to serve various human purposes” (Rorty 2005, 6). And so he would argue that if we can accept the fact that no intuition, no matter how strong or deeply felt, is more in touch with the way things are than any other, this would take away any motivation to engage in systematic philosophy. In the end, these intuitions and the theories that follow from them are just products of our creative imagination, things that we “dream up.” Therefore, competing *kosmoi* should not be taken seriously, but only with a sense of irony;

4 Hall’s gloss over this, however, is “Whitehead clearly believed that the primary message of the poet was a fundamental intuition central to the experience of each of us—namely, the sense that ‘the creative advance of the world is the becoming, the perishing and the objective immortalities of those things which jointly constitute stubborn fact.’ For Whitehead poetry provides us intimations of immortality as the persistence of achieved value and thereby promote the message that ‘the creature perishes and is immortal’” (Hall 2001, 36-37).

and then we can put aside once and for all the problem of the one and the many.

There is an interesting passage in *Eros and Irony* about tempering one's gratitude to the Romantic Movement for reintroducing "the Sophistic form of first-problematic thinking into our cultural tradition" that Rorty quoted in his paper, because he saw that the passage could be taken as a commentary on his position. Hall describes the Romantics as holding that

The creative imagination is the Chaos *terminus a quo* and the World(s) is the *terminus ad quem*, the polar character of which sets the permeable bounds to meaning and existence. Those sympathetic with first-order problematic thinking ought not to be overly eager to embrace the Romantic vision, however, for because of its cloying, tendentious, self-glorifying anthropocentricity, the infinity it praises is a false infinity and the diversity it serves up often masks a totalitarianism of the first water. (Hall 1982a, 122-123)

To no one's surprise, Rorty responded by maintaining that he finds "nothing wrong with self-glorifying anthropocentricity and no need to posit something call 'the World' as an opposite pole to the creative imagination" because, Rorty argues, "all our descriptions of the world are phrased in terms that our imagination has suggested to ourselves or to our ancestors. The world is what we describe it as. It has no descriptions of its own to offer, and so is not on terms of equality with us, and is not in a position to rebuke our self-glorification" (Rorty 2005, 5-6).

Rorty must recognize that every reflective individual, as a result for the most part of socialization, has such a "description of the world," or what Rorty calls in the essay, "Private Irony and Liberal Hope," a "final vocabulary." A final vocabulary is indeed an ultimate view of the way things are, a *metaphysical view* in other words; for, as Rorty says, "if doubt is cast on the worth of these words, their user has no noncircular argumentative recourse. These words are as far as he can go with language" (Rorty 1989, 73). It is for an individual, as Hall puts it, "the final court of appeal when accounting for one's values, choices, and actions" (Hall 1994, 129). What is important for Rorty is whether we are *ironists* or *metaphysicians* with respect to our final vocabulary. Since a final vocabulary is "common sense" to

those in a society who share that vocabulary, Rorty views the metaphysical attitude as, in Hall's words, "the extension of common sense which takes a single final vocabulary with ultimate seriousness, offering it as suitable for all individuals," (Hall 1994, 131) because, so the metaphysician claims, its terms are supposed to refer to the *real essence* of things.<sup>5</sup>

An ironist on the other hand, is a *nominalist* (someone who does not believe that anything has a real essence) and a *historicist* (someone who understands the contingency of her final vocabulary). Thus an ironist is, Rorty explains, someone "who has radical and continuing doubts about the final vocabulary she currently uses...who realizes that arguments phrased in her vocabulary can neither underwrite nor dissolve these doubts... [and most important of all] insofar as she philosophizes about her situation, she does not think that her vocabulary is closer to reality than others" (Rorty 1989, 73). Therefore, irony, for Rorty, depends on there being many different ways of thinking about the world, different ways of *ordering* the world. And if there is even a hint of a *privileged order*, philosophical irony would be undermined. It should be clear now that it is because Rorty believes that we ought to choose irony over seriousness that he holds the view that philosophers are only good for being mediators between the old and the new, and that there is no point in engaging in systematic philosophy or metaphysics.<sup>6</sup>

At the end of his paper, Rorty acknowledges that he has given what Hall would call another "self-justifying narrative," a "personal self-encapsulating story," and that this is the only way he knows to

5 Hall goes on to explain that, according to Rorty, "to be commonsensical is to take for granted that statements formulated in that final vocabulary suffice to describe and judge the beliefs, actions, and lives of those who employ alternative final vocabularies." And the metaphysician, rising to defend that final vocabulary against challenges, "assumes that the presence of a term in his own final vocabulary ensures that it refers to something which *has* a real essence...; [thus] it takes the question 'What is the intrinsic nature of (e.g. justice, science, knowledge, Being, faith, morality, philosophy)?' at face value."

6 As Rorty says, "Ironists who are inclined to philosophize see the choice between vocabularies as made neither within a neutral and universal metavocabulary nor by an attempt to fight one's way past appearances to the real, but simply by playing the new off against the old" (Rorty 1989, 73).

defend his meta-philosophical position. And although, as Rorty said he hoped, Hall would have been entertained by this narrative, it seems to me that David would have preferred a different narrative.<sup>7</sup> I would contend, first of all, that in that narrative, Rorty would appear as a second-problematic thinker. David Hall maintained that “the essential traits of first-problematic thinking are derived from the notion that there are many worlds *in some truly important sense*.” But Rorty, as we have seen, does not take the notion of *kosmoi* seriously at all. To say as he does that competing *kosmoi* are just “reifications of competing descriptions of ourselves and our environments that we just dream up in order to serve various human purposes” is to deny that there are many worlds in some truly important sense.

Hall noted in the essay he sent Rorty that Rorty is “first and foremost, interested in solving an epistemological problem created by the putative inadequacies of alternative philosophical vocabularies” (Hall 2001, 16). The problem only exists if one assumes that these “alternative vocabularies” are attempts to describe the one Cosmos, the singular world. And the solution that Rorty proposes only makes sense if we accept the idea that these alternative vocabularies, alternative descriptions of the world, which provide what Hall referred to as *transcendental principles of order*, are just the products of the creative imaginations of certain individuals, the so-called “*strong poets*.”<sup>8</sup> Rorty is an example of a second problematic thinker who

7 Hall points out that Rorty himself considers a “first rate critic” of his views to be one who “constructs a dramatic narrative which contextualizes the thinker under critique in such a manner as to show that ‘the philosopher has not understood the pattern of the past and the needs of the present as well as, thanks to the critic, we now do’” (Hall 1994, 5).

8 Rorty calls individuals (who may or may not be philosophers) who are instrumental in the revolutionary changes that take place in a culture “strong poets” and “utopian revolutionaries.” Hall describes these individuals in the following way: “The strong poet is the creator of ‘de-divinized poetry.’ This kind of poetry is occasioned not by the inspiration of the muses, but molded from the inner resources of the individual ‘genius.’ The utopian revolutionary is the activist with a de-divinized consciousness. Such revolutionaries are no longer prophets acting in obedience to the will of God, but reformers who take responsibility for their decisions and actions. The strong poet and the revolutionary both maintain a critical stance toward the values of the past” (Hall 1994, 15).

happens to locate the origin of the transcendental principles that are believed to order the cosmos in certain special human agents.<sup>9</sup>

A first problematic thinker, on the other hand, assumes an *immanental world* and immanental principles. And Hall maintains, “It is the assumption of the immanent character of principles which permits first problematic thought” (Hall 1982a, 117). If we have an immanental cosmos, if there is no *external determining source of order*, then we must say with A.O. Lovejoy in his classic work, *The Great Chain of Being*, that the world we live in “has the character and range of content and of diversity which it happens to have. No rational ground predetermined from all eternity of what sort it should be or how much of the world of possibility should be included in it. It is, in short, a contingent [and I would add, temporal] world; its magnitude, its pattern, its habits, which we call laws, have something arbitrary and idiosyncratic about them” (Lovejoy 1960, 332). A first problematic thinker would maintain that the principles and the languages with which we try to describe the world, the patterns or orders that we claim all things have, are necessarily arbitrary and idiosyncratic, for they are dependent upon the particular contingent things or events that happen to exist, strike our interest, and affect our lives in some important way. They are not merely constructs of some human agency and intellect or, as Rorty prefers, products of someone’s creative imagination. This is why Hall warns against too quickly embracing the Romantic vision, for the romantics ignore the fact that while “the creative imagination is the Chaos *terminus a quo*,” the world (that is, the existing things or events we encounter) “is the [Chaos] *terminus ad quem*, the polar character of which,” Hall insists, “sets the permeable bounds to meaning and existence” (Hall 1982a, 193).

Hall wrote that “Whitehead’s problematic was how to characterize an intuition that, for a variety of reasons, had been marginalized

9 See David Hall and Roger T. Ames, *Thinking Through Confucius*, p. 13-14. Hall and Ames called this the “existential” or “volitional” perspective according to which “individuals at the peak of self-actualization become transcendental principles of determination, independent of the world that they create” (Hall and Ames 1987, 14).

in traditional philosophical discussions—namely, the intuition of flux and change” (Hall 2001, 16). Whitehead referred to this intuition, the intuition that “all things flow,” as “the first vague generalization which the unsystematized, barely analyzed, intuition of men has produced” (Hall 1982a, 193). Hall would say that this is the intuition that the immanent world is *becoming-itself*, or what Hall calls *Chaos*. As Hall puts it, “Becoming-itself is a mixture of Being and non-Being. This is Chaos. The intuition of Chaos, is its indifference to any particular order, is perhaps best described as the experience of emptiness” (Hall 1982a, 193).<sup>10</sup> “Indifference to any particular order” means that there is no one privileged order, but it does not mean that Chaos is empty of order or that it is a blank slate upon which order has to be imposed or introduced. It means rather that no one order or any number of orders can exhaust the possible visions that creatively emerge from one’s participation in the immanent cosmos. In this sense, it is the sum of all orders.

Perhaps Rorty would have found Whitehead’s systematic constructions less offensive (or not offensive at all) if he had realized, Hall maintains, that these constructions “are less concerned with getting something right than with either creating the conditions that provoke the immediate experience of flux and change, or with noting the consequences within alternative areas of cultural sensibility of holding that intuition primary” (Hall 2001, 28). In other words, systematic philosophy or what David Hall calls “the systematic phase of speculative philosophy” serves two crucial purposes. It provides a context that would encourage and facilitate the poets and prophets of our society to create and express new visions of order. But most important of all, it is what David Hall calls an “exercise in the philosophy of culture...an effort to discover a conventional phraseology rendering the poet’s suggestive language applicable to every area of cultural interest” (Hall 2001, 27). David Hall saw long

10 As Hall explains, first problematic thinking would construe Being and Non-being “as abstractions from Becoming-itself construed as Chaos. In its generic sense, “Being” is any single order abstracted from the sum of all orders” (193). Rorty would not see Being or any single order as an abstraction from the sum of all orders.

ago that this is the primary responsibility of the philosopher, for he said in his second book, *The Uncertain Phoenix*, that “it is the primary function of the practicing philosophy to articulate cultural self-understanding. And if the philosopher fails to provide such an understanding, he fails in the task that is his very *raison d’être*” (Hall 1982b, 10).

There must be some irony in the fact that the way he discovered to articulate a new cultural self-understanding based on first problematic thinking was to find a window to another cultural heritage that was a model for this way of thought and life, a window that was to become a mirror to re-examine and revolutionize his own tradition. He could not have found this window without the partnership and the friendship of Roger Ames. Finally, the difference between Richard Rorty and David Hall is that David never forgot that philosophy was founded on and is sustained by the sense of wonder, for he understood that “what makes us human is not our capacity for unquestioning faith, nor our ability to establish truths about the nature of things. We are human because we experience wonder, awe, astonishment—because we are *open* to experience” (Hall 1982b, 8).

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# Clearing a Fertile Middle Ground: Locating David Hall among Richard Rorty and Robert Neville

Robert Smid

The fundamental anxieties occasioned by seeking but not finding, journeying but not arriving, can be allayed if we say to ourselves, “there is no answer, and those who believe that there is are fools.” We can easily avoid this anxiety by claiming, “I have the answer, and those who disagree with me are fools.” But the response which leads one to say “Asking the question is the answer, but only because there an unrealized, perhaps unrealizable answer which makes my question a real question” is closest to the proper philosophic response. (Hall 1982a, 56)

Those who are familiar with David Hall’s work know that—aside from Roger Ames, with whom he worked extensively for over twenty years—two of his most important philosophic dialogue partners were Robert Neville and Richard Rorty. These two can be understood to mark opposite ends of a spectrum of philosophic ideas, with Rorty maintaining an unbending skeptical nominalism on the one end and Neville arguing for a robust Scotistic realism on the other. Hall is usually taken to side for the most part with Rorty in this debate, and—allowing for some idiosyncratic differences—this is largely true. The association is made all the easier by his self-identification as a “nominalist-pragmatist-historicist” (1999, 287), terms that Rorty uses to describe himself and his own project.

My purpose in this paper is to challenge this association: I argue that, while Hall takes on much of Rorty’s nominalist rhetoric (espe-

cially late in his career), his project is more consonant with realist commitments than he lets on. I maintain that his explicit association with Rorty is more for the sake of rhetorical effect than for the sake of substantive agreement. In short, I find that Hall is actually closer to the median between Rorty and Neville than he may at first appear.

Let me be clear: I do not think that Hall is a consummate realist; he is what I will call a “reluctant realist”—one who remains aware of the shortcomings and limitations of any claim to universality, but who is ultimately unwilling or unable to surrender the drive to describe reality accurately, systematically, and philosophically. I do not think that Hall was prepared to give up on truth entirely, and he was thus unable to follow Rorty completely. Far from this being a weakness, however, I will argue that this stance enables him to carve out a difficult yet productive middle ground between Rorty and Neville, one that has significant implications for the development of his approach to comparative philosophy.

### Historical Context

Historically, it makes good sense that there would be a vibrant interchange between Hall, Neville, and Rorty. All three are the products of the Yale philosophy department just past the mid-century: Rorty earned his Ph.D. in 1956, Neville in 1963, and Hall in 1967. Thus, they shared teachers and mentors, including Paul Weiss (Rorty’s dissertation supervisor), John E. Smith (Neville’s supervisor), and Robert Brumbaugh (Hall’s supervisor). In many respects, then, while it would take some time for the three of them to enter into conversation with one another, their respective philosophic projects were nonetheless developed in conversation with common influences. This can be seen in their mutual emphasis on original, constructive philosophy; the strong influence of the American Pragmatists and Process philosophers; and the persistent specter of Plato (and, to a lesser extent, Aristotle) lying in the shadows of their own work.

Granted, each of them developed these influences in different and distinctive directions, but this is precisely what makes their interchanges so vibrant and interesting. Neville and Hall certainly found this to be the case, and they spent much of their professional careers

working through the issues arising from their common heritage. As Neville writes, "For at least twenty-five years David Hall and I have argued over whether we are in fundamental agreement or disagreement; we have each held both sides of the issue at various times, and have never come to consensus" (1999, 324). They consistently reference one another in their respective publications, and it is clear that their ideas—however different—are at least in part the products of an ongoing conversation. As Hall writes, "The value of Neville's speculations for my own thinking has been unexcelled throughout my entire professional life. So valuable, in fact, has been his persistent illumination of the path I didn't take, it is certainly the case that, had he not existed, I would have been required to invent him!" (1999, 287). To what extent Neville's is a path not taken for Hall is precisely what I hope to call into question.

In contrast to Neville, Rorty was a more recent interest for Hall. Their mutual interest has to do less with any commonality of paths taken than with the place to which their paths seem to lead. In contrast to Neville's Scotistic realism, Hall seems to embrace a more skeptical nominalism akin to Rorty's. Neville attributes this difference—half in jest—to Hall's encounter with two schools of thought: the Chicago Aristotelianism of Richard McKeon prior to his doctoral work and the Analytic philosophical commitments of A.C. Graham thereafter (1999, 325). Regardless of the extent to which these encounters influenced Hall's thought, they do identify an important historical commonality on his part with Rorty. Like Hall, Rorty also completed his master's work at the University of Chicago, studying under Aristotelians like McKeon; likewise, Rorty was heavily influenced by the Analytic tradition, though in the context of the Princeton philosophy department rather than in the form of Sinology and philology. One might say that it was these influences that brought them to respond differently to the Platonism prevalent at Yale and to the Analytic influence rising there with the appointment of Wilfrid Sellars and others.

I include all of this historical information not because I believe that it will somehow provide a causal explanation for the development and character of Hall's philosophic project. I do, however, think that it provides important context for understanding that

project and its importance, and I believe that Hall—as a philosopher of culture—would be among the first to affirm this. Neville, for the most part, maintains continuity with the guiding influences of his Yale education (though not uncritically), and chides Hall for “being seduced” by other influences (1999, 325). Rorty, by contrast, leaves most of his Yale influences behind (though, again, not uncritically), and chides Hall for remaining loyal to them (2005, 16-7). Hall, it seems, is caught in the middle, cultivating radical and unorthodox interpretations of his Yale influences, neither embracing them wholeheartedly nor leaving them altogether behind. Understood in this context, it should be easy to see why I suspect that Hall is closer to the median of Neville and Rorty than is commonly supposed.

### Hall, Rorty, and “Default Nominalism”

I begin this investigation with Hall’s relation to Rorty, both because it is a far more readily acknowledged feature of his work and also because it is a feature that clearly interested Hall himself—especially toward the end of his career. Indeed, he produced no more sustained treatment of a single figure than he did in his *Richard Rorty: Prophet and Poet of the New Pragmatism* (1994). In that text, Hall takes great pains to present Rorty from a genuinely Rortian perspective, both to demonstrate his own understanding of Rorty and also to provide the most authentic representation of Rorty’s work (1994, 10).

Yet this is not to say that he presents an uncritical rendering of Rorty; to the contrary, he writes at the outset of the book that

I really haven’t any opinion as to the final import of my treatment of Rorty except to say that, though I began with the hope that I might serve as *amicus curiae*, siding neither with the prosecution nor the defense, I soon found myself hopping back and forth between exuberant praise and testy complaint. It is a sign of Rorty’s potential importance that, with respect to his most central commitments, half-measures of either praise or blame seem insufficient. (1994, 7)

It is perhaps most accurate to say that, throughout the book, Hall uses Rorty as a sounding board for the development of his own thought. Clearly, there is enough agreement among them to make Hall’s study of Rorty a productive encounter, but he also disagrees with Rorty at certain key points.

Prior to teasing out the subtle differences between them, one is first struck by the strong similarities between Hall and Rorty, exemplified in the fact that Hall is mainly sympathetic with Rorty's philosophical project. For example, when he describes the latter's nominalism as a "default nominalism," one must take care to remember that he is talking about Rorty's project and not his own. The nominalism he describes is "default," he explains, because it is less an intentional choice among alternatives than a response to the perceived failure in the late modern world of one of the alternatives: namely, philosophical realism. As he writes,

The search for either a general ontology (*ontologia generalis*), which advertises the unity and coherence of the world by expressing the Being of beings, or a science of first principles (*scientia universalis*), which characterizes things by appeal to general principles ordering the whole and underwriting our knowledge of it, has collapsed into a resigned anarchy embarrassed by any invocation of "essences" or "objective principles." The beginnings of misology are to be found in the frustration of any attempts to find a sense of the whole through either an ontological or a cosmological route. (1994, 203)

As should be clear from the way Rorty's default nominalism is presented, Hall sees his own project as continuous to a large extent with Rorty's project. The terms *ontologia generalis* and *scientia universalis* are taken from his own earlier *Eros and Irony* (1982a), and it is but a small step to suggest *ars contextualis*, or "art of contextualizing," as a preferred alternative (as he later would, with Ames; see 1987, 200). Moreover, the misology he describes—which he defines as "the hatred of arguments based upon a sense of having been let down by them on numerous occasions" (202)—is clearly a sentiment that he shares with Rorty; it leads to a similar sense of anarchy in his own work, as indicated in the subtitle to *Eros and Irony: A Prelude to Philosophical Anarchism*.

Yet to make such a close association between the default nominalism attributed to Rorty and the position taken by Hall would be to overlook Hall's careful placement of his own philosophical project in *Eros and Irony* relative to Rorty's. He writes there that

[Rorty's] pragmatic conception of the world eschews cosmology by rejecting the notion of the world as the vague object of theoretical articula-

tion, accepting that whatever coherence the world has is a consequence of currently unquestioned beliefs. I have accepted as an essential part of the enterprise of philosophic understanding the first concept of the world as a balance to the second. The world is both the indeterminate something which serves as the putative goal of enquiry and, equally, the set of determinations that exist at various levels of articulation from the lowest level of mere association related to the unshared contents of our imaginations to the intersubjective ideas and convictions that form our cultural *communis sensus*. (1982a, 145)

In other words, he agrees with Rorty that any accounts of the world are going to be enmeshed in the historically contingent language of the culture within which it was formed; however, he disagrees with Rorty insofar as he maintains that these accounts are not *merely* contingencies but rather attempts to articulate a common object of interpretation.

This difference from Rorty is a crucial one, as it incorporates an element of realism into the nominalism that characterizes Rorty's project. In Hall's terms, this is the "eros and irony" that constitute his philosophical anarchism: "the eros which lures toward completeness of understanding" (1982a, xv), and the irony that is "the recognition of that self-referential inconsistency which, beyond our powers to explain why, constitutes a primary fact about our world" (56). Thus, Rorty considers himself a "liberal ironist," one who prefers liberal culture but rejects out of hand the availability of any ultimately compelling argument for such culture, while Hall, as an "erotic ironist," also maintains doubts about the defensibility of any proposed cultural goods but nonetheless feels compelled to cultivate their defense to whatever extent possible. In sum, while his ironic side is sympathetic with Rorty's project, it is his erotic side that compels him to persist in the quest for philosophic understanding.

It is this—the quest for philosophic understanding—that constitutes the crux of the differences between Hall and Rorty. In Rorty's account of his differences from Hall, he writes that

If you believe that there is a natural kind of human activity called 'philosophy,' and that this activity centers around discussion of the relation between the One and the Many, then Whitehead is the most useful antidote to Plato's bias toward monism. *But I do not believe that there is such a*

*natural kind*, or that the problem of the One and the Many is a profitable topic of discussion. (2005, 5)

Hall, for his part, did believe that there was a natural kind of human activity called philosophy; he believed it was not only the product of a natural, erotic human drive but also that its cultivation was the responsibility of human cultures. It is important for human beings to develop a well-founded account of their world, even if those accounts were doomed to inadequacy and irresolvable contradiction with other possible accounts. Hall was explicit about his identification as a philosopher—specifically, as a speculative, systematic philosopher of culture—and defended that role against the critiques of Rorty and others.

### Hall, Neville, and Scotistic Realism

In the context of Hall's differences from Rorty—especially insofar as they entail an element of philosophic realism—it is instructive to bring his relation to Neville into the conversation. In relation to Hall, Neville is Rorty's photo negative: he shares with Hall his appreciation for eros but does not share his appreciation for irony. Yet, in contrast to his work on Rorty, Hall generally elides his similarities with Neville, focusing instead of their differences from one another; this is true especially toward the end of Hall's career, as his interest in Rorty increases. Indeed, Hall often sounds like a consummate Rortian in his interactions with Neville—a tactic that typically obscures the important differences between him and Rorty described above.

For his part, Neville's response to Hall's critiques—and his critique of Hall in turn—has been to point out the more erotic elements in Hall's work and to suggest that he is inconsistent insofar as he claims to embrace a thoroughgoing nominalism. For example, he points out that

...treating Western and Chinese cultures as having sharply different traits, so sharp as to apply with great generality, is a Western move. Philosophy of culture of the sort that Hall employs is a Western, objectifying, distancing, and ultimately violent manipulation of traditions to fit one's categories. This is why I say he is a Western reductionist. (1999, 327)

Neville's words here are, of course, sharp ones, but should be understood in the context of intellectual sparring among friends. Here he argues not only that Hall also has realist commitments (albeit surreptitious ones), but also that only Hall's commitments are subject to the critiques he leveled against Neville's realism.<sup>1</sup> He makes a similar claim about a moral realism underlying Hall's broader project as well (2005, 31-33). Holding aside for the moment who is the better realist, Neville's basic point is clear: there are realist bones under the skin of Hall's nominalism.

Incidentally, Rorty made a similar critique of Hall when he wrote that "one should not be either a 'first-problematic' or a 'second-problematic' thinker. One should not rise to the level of abstraction at which terms like 'the One' and 'the Many' are deployed" (2005, 15). For Rorty, as a nominalist, such abstractions are precisely the problem, and Hall's insistence on entertaining them betrays his unwillingness to follow Rorty all the way down the path of nominalism.

### Navigating Eros and Irony

It is instructive that both Rorty and Neville find that Hall harbors some lingering commitments to realism—especially given that Hall himself insists, particularly toward the end of his career, that he is a "nominalist-pragmatist-historicist" (1999, 287). Neither Rorty nor Neville deny the presence of a strong nominalist streak in Hall; what each questions is the completeness or consistency of that streak. Rorty acknowledged that he and Hall "had enough in common to have made good dialectical foils for one another" (2005, 4), but he also that noted Hall's limitations in maintaining a belief in a "natural kind of human activity called philosophy" (2005, 5). Likewise, Neville argued that "in terms of the elliptical context for philosophy with [the two foci of moral order and aesthetic openness], Hall

1 Specifically, he charges that Hall is a realist of an Aristotelian variety, continuing a joke originally raised at the annual meeting of the Highlands Institute for American Religious and Philosophical Thought in 1996. Consistent with this, he writes almost ten years later that "the practice of comparative philosophy of culture that consists of describing distinct cultures by a categorical scheme of traits of the West versus traits of classical China is a very Aristotelian procedure. ... What a logical, coercive thing to do to living traditions!" (2005, 30).

surely thought of himself as on the aesthetic and chaotic side. ... I believe, however, that in the end he did inhabit and balance both foci. In fact, I think the moral side, the ordered visions of a cosmos within which chaos can be safe, was perhaps his greater love" (2005, 33).

Both Rorty and Neville argue that Hall's tenuous balancing of eros and irony compromises the strength of his philosophic project. I am not convinced that this is the best rendering of Hall's position; rather, I argue that Hall successfully maintained a simultaneous commitment to both nominalism and realism, each within their respective spheres. I contend that this dual commitment not only doesn't weaken his project but moreover endows it with a distinctive and insightful perspective that can prove instructive for the practice of philosophy—and for comparative philosophy in particular.

Hall maintained that the world is, at its most basic, chaos, which he defined as "the noncoherent sum of all orders" (1982a, 177). He had doubts that there was any unifying order to the cosmos, and thus argued that the world must consist instead of many *kosmoi*, each exemplifying its own order. This is clearly not the unified cosmos described by Neville; as Hall writes, "I believe that the claim of the Western theorist to universality, or adequacy, must finally be found false in the face of the very real outsidedness of the Chinese tradition" (1999, 286). Yet it is also not the inaccessible cosmos posited but *not* described by Rorty; the unified cosmos is *false*, not simply "uninteresting," suggesting that an alternate rendering of the cosmos would be perhaps more ... true? For Hall, the cosmos is a plurality of *kosmoi* that has its own metaphysics, if only a metaphysics of being unable to be ascribed any (other) definitive, overarching metaphysics.

This view of the cosmos has the simultaneous benefit of denying purchase to any assertion of order over and against other assertions of order, while nonetheless enabling the development of each of these assertions of order. Even if the orders are ultimately noncoherent, they are orders nonetheless, and therefore their ordering principles—that which makes them "ordered"—can be described in better or worse ways. Applied philosophically, this is to say that there is a real incommensurability among philosophical traditions (1999,

271), but that each tradition can nonetheless be described in better or worse ways from the perspective of that tradition. It is for this reason that Hall, in conjunction with Ames, has been so concerned to lay out a more accurate understanding of the Chinese tradition for Western scholars. What this means is that, while it is not appropriate to take one site of order and apply it to all others, it is entirely appropriate—even obligatory—to cultivate each approach to order as adequately as possible. The first of these claims constitutes Hall's nominalism, exemplified by his persistent doubt that any order attributed to the cosmos can characterize the cosmos as a whole; this is the ironic temperament that he shares with Rorty. The second, however, constitutes his realism, exemplified by his insistence that it is possible to get a given tradition's rendering of that order wrong, that it is conversely possible to get it right, and that it is moreover important to get it right; this is the erotic drive that he shares with Neville. Moderating between Rorty and Neville—between eros and irony—Hall can perhaps be said to maintain a commitment to interpreting reality well, but with little confidence that it would be possible to ultimately moderate among the variety of viable interpretations.

The irony in all of this should be evident. Hall is asserting arguments for order in multiple cosmoi while at the same time arguing for an order to these cosmoi that is chaos. There are a number of assertions here about reality that Hall takes to be more than mere narratives. Hall does not simply tell a story about the world for all those interested enough to listen; he makes an extended argument about the world and gives the reader reasons to accept it. Likewise, on a smaller scale, he argues for certain renderings of order within specific traditions and argues against those who would render it differently. This is a strong irony even for one who maintains an ironic temperament—and yet this is precisely the irony that Hall maintains throughout his work.

I suggested earlier that Hall maintained a much stronger sense of irony than Neville; here I would like to strengthen the case and argue that Hall maintains an even stronger sense of irony than Rorty. Both Rorty and Hall express deep-seated doubts about the purchase of any rendering of order to describe the world itself truly. For Rorty,

this simply amounts to an abrogation of any attempt to “tell the truth” to mere name-calling; Rorty is content to tell his own narrative, employing a new “final vocabulary” that will hopefully change the terms of the debate for the current generation and make his perspective appear commonsensical to the next.

Hall, in conjunction with Ames, has postured taking a similar tack. They write that “our project is not at all to *tell it like it is*; we merely wish to present a narrative which is interesting enough and plausible enough to engage those inclined to join the conversation” (1995, xx, emphasis original). At the same time, however, they have argued vociferously against Neville’s characterization of the cosmos and his rendering of the ancient Chinese philosophical tradition. Even beyond Neville, it is a clear concern of theirs throughout their collaborative works to stop—and to correct—those who are getting the Chinese tradition wrong—those who are telling it like it is *not*.

Again, it is instructive that Rorty does not attempt any such engagements. With respect to Neville, Rorty has never published any critical response to his work, and there is little evidence that he has even read any of it. More broadly, while Rorty does draw on some figures from the history of philosophy and is moderately concerned to speak intelligently about them, he draws on those he can use to provide support for his views; ultimately, if he provides a “strong misreading” of these figures that is nonetheless compelling for the view he wants to advance, so much the better.

Hall and Ames, for their part, are not content to allow the proliferation of “strong misreadings” of the Chinese tradition or of the proper provenance of philosophy itself (e.g., transcendence)—and yet they maintain that they seek not to “tell it like it is,” and that their perspective can have no ultimate purchase over the perspectives of others. Theirs is indeed a profound irony, one that makes Rorty’s ironism look little more than a fleeting gesture. A better rendering of their position, I argue, can be found in *The Uncertain Phoenix*, where Hall writes that

In ages of uncertainty philosophic thinking progresses, haltingly, through the gradual enlargement of understanding; attempts to reduce the intellectual anxieties attendant upon the variety of conflicting truth-claims

through an overly confident employment of dialectics can serve us no better than does the skeptical accession to the Protagorean Principle. My arguments are, for the most part, to be construed as seeking neither to establish truths nor to claim that no such establishment is possible. The burden of the speculative philosopher is to present a vision of sufficient coherence, complexity, and generality that it may serve as a context within which more specialized assertions of the skeptics and constructive dialecticians may find meaningful engagement. (1982b, xv-xvi)

Between the constructive dialectics of Neville and the Protagorean skepticism of Rorty, Hall maintains the difficult middle ground, letting go neither the drive toward completeness of understanding nor the doubt that such understanding will be achieved.

### **Implications for Comparative Philosophy**

In the same way that Hall embraces an ironic temperament that mediates between Rorty and Neville, this same, mediating strategy enables him to embrace comparative philosophy in a way that neither Rorty nor Neville are able. I have made reference to many of Hall's comparative remarks throughout this paper; here I aim to pull them together and consider their implications for comparative philosophy. Of the three of them, I will argue, it is only Hall who can take seriously comparative philosophy as a worthwhile or distinct sub-field within philosophy.

Rorty, for his part, has made clear his willingness to do away with comparative philosophy in the same way that he is willing to do away with philosophy in general. As he argued in a paper in 2005 at the East-West Philosophers' Conference, comparative philosophy is simply another manifestation of the assumption that there are "enduring problems" that philosophy is concerned to address; comparative philosophy is simply the consideration of the ways in which different cultural traditions have dealt with these same problems. For Rorty, there are no "enduring problems" in philosophy, and the sooner comparative philosophers realize this the sooner they can stop wasting their time on less than helpful—and less than possible—endeavors. The best that comparative philosophers could hope to do is realize the futility of their task, close up shop, and go home.

Neville, by contrast, has been far more willing to engage compara-

tive philosophers on a more productive basis, and has produced a number of publications that are traditionally associated with comparative philosophy. Yet even when he takes on the moniker of “comparative philosopher,” Neville does not ultimately consider what he is doing to be comparative in any distinctive sense; rather, he views all philosophy as comparative, insofar as it calls on philosophers to incorporate insights from every available source. Comparative philosophy is thus distinguishable only insofar as it incorporates insights from the furthest available sources. As he argued in *Boston Confucianism* (2000), while Confucius may be less familiar to Western readers than Plato or Kant, the task of interpreting the former is not fundamentally different than that of interpreting the latter. An adequate philosophical system would incorporate the insights of all of them.

Finally, Hall does maintain a commitment to comparative philosophy, and to an understanding of that subfield that is neither dismissed with philosophy more broadly nor subsumed underneath it. Rather, for Hall, comparative philosophy constitutes the proper site for all philosophical reflection. On the one hand, it allows for the cultivation of a greater understanding of each of the philosophical traditions, while on the other hand it prevents the interpretation of any one tradition from being co-opted by the prevailing interpretation of another. Hall is explicit about his concern “to struggle against any sort of metaphysical colonization of China, which is no less suspect than are the commercial, political, or technological incursions that are its concrete correlates” (1999, 272).

What Hall’s example suggests is that, if one is to take comparative philosophy seriously as comparative philosophy, one must recognize that philosophical traditions do cultivate their own sense of order, but also that one must at least consider the possibility that these traditions are sufficiently distinct that their renderings of order cannot be subsumed into a larger, overarching order. Overemphasizing either the similarities or the differences among philosophical traditions leads to the eradication of comparative philosophy; Hall’s simultaneous commitment to eros and irony allows him to remain faithful to both, and thus to remain faithful to comparative philosophy as a worthwhile and distinct subfield of philosophy.

### Conclusion

Throughout this paper, I have argued that Hall occupies a middle ground between Rorty and Neville, maintaining both nominalist and realist commitments, each in their own sphere. Yet, at the beginning of this paper, I suggested that Hall is ultimately best considered a “reluctant realist.” At this point, the claim should appear questionable, especially in light of Hall’s own self-description as a “nominalist-pragmatist-historicist” (1999, 287). Surely, a more adequate description would depict him as a recalcitrant nominalist, an erotic nominalist, or some other questionable variety of nominalist.

To answer this question, I return to where the paper began: with the history behind the conversations among Hall, Rorty, and Neville. As Neville pointed out, Hall’s education at Yale was characterized by a realist emphasis, while his later work was characterized by a growing interest in nominalism akin to that presented by Rorty. *Eros and Irony* bridges these two interests and still stands as the most complete statement of his philosophical anarchism. As far as I know, Hall found no reason to recant his claims in that text, and thus it would be a mistake to distinguish between an “earlier” Hall who was more of a realist, a “later” Hall who was a nominalist, and a “middle” Hall in *Eros and Irony* who marks the transition. Rather, I propose that Hall maintained both of these emphases throughout his work.

Because his later career was characterized by his growing interest in nominalism, and because nominalism was then—and is still now, judging by Rorty’s dubious status in the academy—a tenuous philosophical position to undertake, Hall made its defense and application a primary focus of his philosophical work. This focus is made explicit in his conversations with a consummate realist like Neville (it is from one of these interactions that I have taken his self-identification as a “nominalist-pragmatist-historicist”), but it can also be found in the careful and detailed appraisal he gives to Rorty’s nominalism in his book-length study. In other words, I maintain that Hall’s self-identification as a nominalist is more for the sake of rhetorical effect than it is an accurate representation of his philosophical position, reflective of his most recent and most pressing philosophical concerns.

If this reading is correct, then as instructive as it is for Rorty and Neville to point out Hall's lingering commitments to realism, these critiques are beside the point. Realism is a part of Hall's thought no less than nominalism, just as eros is a part no less than irony. The latter of these two polarities is emphasized simply because this is what stands in need of most defense in the current context. Understood in light of Hall's alternate self-description as a philosopher of culture, this reading makes a lot of sense: a philosopher of culture seeks to articulate cultural importances, looking in particular to those importances currently overlooked in the current cultural milieu (1982a, 41). This is but a large-scale cultural version of what I am arguing he has done with Rorty and Neville: giving voice to the insights and interests currently overlooked in the current philosophical climate.

What, then, is the point of suggesting that Rorty is a "reluctant realist"? As one may now suspect, my purpose in doing so is likewise rhetorical. In contrast to Hall's own concern with the direction of philosophy in the current cultural context, my own concern is simply to cultivate a better understanding of Hall's philosophical project itself. Because Hall's nominalism—his ironic temperament—has been more readily recognized by his interpreters, it is my hope that by emphasizing his realism—his erotic drive—I can contribute to a more balanced awareness of Hall's broader philosophic project.

Hall's philosophic project, as exemplified in his work with Roger Ames, has an important contribution to make to the study of comparative philosophy. It would be a mistake to let the rich project he laid out in *Eros and Irony* be reduced to a Rortyan nominalism or a Nevillian realism. In the same respect, it would be a mistake to let either Rorty or Neville have the last word in the interpretation of Hall. Surely, they—along with other close friends and colleagues—should have the first word, but they have had that first word; they offered this at the conference in memory of Hall's life and work, held at Trinity University in 2003, and many of their insights—recorded in *Metaphilosophy and Chinese Thought* (2005)—have been incorporated into this paper.

Yet what began almost thirty years ago as a localized conversation among fellow Yale alumni has now—by virtue of its vibrancy,

creativity, and fruitfulness—become a conversation that includes us all as well. Hall's mediation between realism and nominalism, between eros and irony, still has important contributions to make, and if Hall were still with us I am confident that he would have more insights to offer. In his absence, however, it is our responsibility to continue the conversation. What, exactly, Hall would want us to do with his project after his passing is precisely the question I have been asking throughout this paper.

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## Book Reviews

Thornton, Songhok Han and Thornton, William H. *Development without Freedom*. New York: Ashgate, 2008. 246 pages.

*Development without Freedom*, by Songkok Han Thornton and William H. Thornton is a well-timed and provocative book. It puts forth a compelling argument as to why development without democracy may be the dominant model today and why this model of development may make this the Chinese century. The book, however, holds out hope for what the authors call the “concurrence” model by referring to the work of Amartya Sen. Sen has insisted over the past few decades that democracy *is* development and that it is possible to imagine a world where the two co-exist. The authors, however, remain critical of Sen’s politics and want to rescue the present trajectory of mal-development through a “Senism” of the left. Such Senism, the authors suggest, would pose a serious challenge to the neo-liberal agenda, by directly advocating a new politics which embraces the basic propositions of Sen but separates from his politics. Whether such a world is possible remains to be seen.

The authors develop their thesis by analyzing the cases of South Korea, Thailand, Philippines, Japan, India, and China. The book squarely condemns the “Washington Consensus” which they contend is now being replaced by the “Beijing Consensus”. In many ways, they argue, the former paved the way for the latter, the Beijing Consensus being the more pernicious of the two. The book reserves special vitriol for Henry Kissinger, Richard Perle, Jeffrey Sachs and Lawrence Summers. Most of them appear multiple times in the

country-case studies and they are made to share the blame for advancing a model of development that is both supremely destructive to human rights and also environmentally disastrous. Through the chapters the authors hammer home the point that the Sino-globalist model of development is beneficial only to the political-military elites in the East Asian countries it studies and the global corporations in the U.S. and West would profit by it.

Singapore and Lee Kuan Yew's propaganda of "Asian values" are held up as examples of the persistence of wrong ideas about economic development and global interaction. Yew promotes the policy of growth with social harmony, rather than Western style democracy as the model best suited for Asia. It was Sen who thoroughly debunked Yew's notion and laid the intellectual foundations of what the authors call Senism. According to the authors, Sen completely rejected the notion that democracy is a uniquely Western notion and thus an uneasy transplant in Asia, the most populous continent. The authors, armed with this conclusion, vigorously challenge Singapore's model, a model that has served as the intellectual foundation for the Chinese model of mal-development, and which has the potential of becoming the dominant model both in Asia and the world at large.

The authors are correct in pointing out that the Singaporean model has been used and continues to be used to cast doubt on the importance or necessity of democracy for economic and social development. Yet China seems hardly to have needed Yew's help in charting its path, even aided as it has been by globalists and Western apologists. It is easier for the authors to build the case against China and the authors have paraded out the political costs of the Chinese model of development. While the book has a formidable amount of research citation a better organized accounting of the stark costs of this model of development may have been more forceful in awakening the reader to the destructive nature of both the Washington consensus and the Beijing consensus. Additionally, as the present financial crisis has shown, without a crisis that hits home, people even in liberal democracies do not reconsider priorities. While the book is very helpful in understanding the importance of Sen's ideas it is less potent in its mission of calling for a Senism of the left. Such a mis-

sion, it seems, can only be advanced through something rather blunt such as a prolonged crisis. Only such an event holds the potential for populations to recognize the costs of letting the elite, whether in Washington or elsewhere, determine the direction of their lives. However, this excellent book, vigorously engages the reader with the possibility of a different model of development informed by Sen's humane alternative. No criticism can detract from the general importance of this book, and one can learn much from it without being persuaded by everything the Thorntons write.

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Margaret MacMillan, *Nixon and Mao: The Week that Changed the World*. New York: Random House, 2007. 405 pages.

James Kyngé, *China Shakes the World: A Titan's Rise and Troubled Future—and the Challenge for America*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2006. 270 pages.

Napoleon once remarked, "Let China sleep, for when she wakes, she will shake the world." Napoleon's words seem eerily prescient today, especially when one considers that only four decades ago China was convulsed in the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. There was complete chaos throughout China, most colleges and universities were either closed or being used as propaganda centers by the Red Guard battalions, and there was very little contact with the outside world. Relations with its former ally, the Soviet Union, were so bad that their respective armies were exchanging deadly gunfire along the Amur River frontier and leaders on both sides talked of the inevitability of war. But by 1969, while the Cultural Revolution still dominated China and war loomed with the Russians, Chinese leaders like Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai came to the conclusion that China needed to head in a new direction in order to avoid internal collapse.

At the same time Richard Nixon, who took office in early 1969,

and his chief foreign policy advisor, Henry Kissinger, concluded that some thaw in relations with “Red” China could be beneficial to the U.S. Cooperation with Beijing might help in ending the Vietnam War and in strengthening the American position vis-à-vis the Russians. Both China and the U.S. began sending signals to each other, at first so faint that they could hardly be recognized by the other, but by 1970 and early 1971 a top secret dialogue began between Nixon and Chinese leaders. China’s invitation to the U.S. ping-pong team in 1971 and Kissinger’s clandestine visit to China that summer paved the way to Nixon’s historic visit in February 1972. Nixon’s mission served as the catalyst that has led to the opening of China to the rest of the world and the nation’s current economic revolution.

Margaret MacMillan, author of another brilliant book, *Paris 1919*, provides excellent details of the process that led up to Nixon’s actual visit. She also explores the history of Sino-American relations from the perspectives of both sides. While expressing admiration for the Chinese, MacMillan demonstrates the brutality of the Mao regime, noting how even Zhou Enlai was responsible for many deaths and imprisonments. She shows the utter secrecy involved in the negotiations between Nixon and the Chinese, so secret that many of Nixon’s close advisors and key American allies were kept in the dark.

Macmillan reveals that the Americans, hoping to gain the trust of the Chinese, gave them sensitive intelligence on Soviet military developments and how explicitly they promised to withdraw U.S. forces from Taiwan and, eventually, South Vietnam.

James Kynge, a highly trained Sinologist and for many years the China bureau chief of the *Financial Times* in Beijing, provides a penetrating look at China more than three decades after Nixon’s mission. Napoleon’s sleeping tiger has awakened—and is ravenously hungry. Kynge takes the reader back to the start of China’s current revolution in the 1980s and meticulously traces Beijing’s steady though somewhat haphazard growth path ever since. Kynge provides fascinating explanations for China’s rise and shows how many of the usual explanations are in fact myths. He tries with success to reconcile China’s greatest problem—a Communist government trying to manage an open market capitalist economic revolution.

Kynge is at his best when he deals with China's very profound systemic weaknesses, which include rampant fraud, a huge environmental crisis, a hopelessly corrupt banking system, faltering government institutions, and the world's most rapidly aging population (an unintended result of the one-child policy). He clearly indicates that China's rise will falter unless it can cope with all of these problems. Kynge also shows how China's voracious demand for foreign natural resources is causing major problems in other parts of the world—for example, China's insatiable demand for soy and its willingness to pay high prices for the product is causing many Brazilian farmers to cut down hundreds of acres of precious rain forest to grow soy for the Chinese. Kynge begins the book with a detailed description of how China's purchase of a German steel factory drastically changed the lives for everybody in the German city.

Taken together, MacMillan and Kynge's books provide a superb portrait of China's progress (or lack thereof) from the days of the Cultural Revolution to the present. Using these books in tandem would provide students in any history course on modern China with a superb overview of the country's contemporary history. Both books are superbly researched, written in a lively simple manner and are highly recommended.

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# 13<sup>th</sup> National Conference of the Asian Studies Development Program

March 8-10, 2007

Crowne Plaza Hotel - Seattle, WA

Host Institution: Central Washington University,  
Ellensburg, WA

ASDP is a joint program of the University of Hawai`i and The East-West Center

## **THURSDAY, MARCH 8, 2007**

**1:15PM- 4:00PM, Parkside Room, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor**

Association of Regional Center's Directors Meeting (lunch provided)

**2:00PM-6:00PM, Executive Boardroom, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor**

ASDP National Conference Registration

**5:30PM-7:00PM, Parkside Room, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor**

ASDP National Conference Opening Reception (no host bar)

## **FRIDAY, MARCH 9, 2007**

**9:00AM-5:00PM Executive Boardroom, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor**

ASDP National Conference Registration

## 9:00AM-10:30AM

A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Outreach in Asia*, Session Chair: Karen Buckley – University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

“*Educating Girls in Baltistan*” Robert Irwin, Julia Bergman, Joy Durighello, and Abdul Jabbar - City College of San Francisco

“*Spiritual Capital: Building Character Brick by Brick by Building Schools for the Impoverished Children of India*” Ashok Kumar Malhotra – State University of New York at Oneonta

B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Issues of Law and Business in Asia*, Session Chair: George Brown - Slippery Rock University

“The Case of Malaysia: The Practice of Shari’a & State Gendering of Social Justice” Debra Mubashshir Majeed - Beloit College

“Confucianism and Copyright: How China’s History, Culture and Economic Development Affect Intellectual Property Piracy” David J. Moser - Belmont University

“A Gaijin’s Experience Of Doing Business In Japan” Greg Cant and Terry Alkire - Central Washington University

C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*New Works in the Field: Sacred Words: A Sourcebook on the Great Religions of the World*, Session Chair: Mary F. Sheldon - Washburn University

Jeffrey Dippmann - Central Washington University

Ronnie Littlejohn – Belmont University

Karen Turcotte- Central Washington University

Respondent: Terry Bilhartz – Sam Houston State University

## 10:45AM-12:15PM

A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Teaching and Learning About China and America*, Session Chair: Roger Ames - University of Hawaii at Manoa

“Deliberative Dialogue and Daoism” James Highland - University of Hartford

“Searching Across Disciplines: Linking History, Literature and Religion in China Studies Curriculum” Andrew Buchman - The Evergreen State College

“Seeking the Way: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Teaching China” Rose Jang - The Evergreen State College

B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*The Russian Far East*, Session Chair: Paul Dunscomb - University of Alaska Anchorage

“Indigenous Peoples of the Russian Far East: Current Conditions and Prospects for Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies” David Yesner - University of Alaska Anchorage

“Surviving Indigenous Cultures in Post-Soviet Russia: Problems and Tendencies” Alexandra A. Maloney - University of Alaska Anchorage

“Nivkhi, Oil, and Justice on Sakhalin Island” Jeremy Tasch - University of Alaska Anchorage and Graeme Auton - University of Redlands

“The Politics of Population in the Russian Far East” Diddy Hitchins - University of Alaska Anchorage

C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Lapses of Being: Intimacy, Co-Creativity, and Place*, Session Chair: David Jones - Kennesaw State University

“*Laozi, Nietzsche, and Neruda: Conversations in the Twilight*” Chris Aflague - Kennesaw State University

“Kudzu Kongzi: a Rhizomatic Zhongyong 中庸” Paul Boshears - Kennesaw State University

“*Unearthing the God of Place: Identity and Place within Popular Forms of Chinese Religiosity*” John A. Sweeney - University of Hawaii at Manoa

**12:30PM-2:00PM Parkside Room, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor**

ASDP National Conference Luncheon

Welcome from ASDP National Conference Hosts: President Jerilyn McIntyre - Central Washington University

Keynote Address: “Planning for a Change; Envisioning Alternative Futures For Northeast Asia” Karl Kim - University of Hawaii at Manoa

**2:00PM-3:30PM**

**A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Chinese And Japanese Art and Artists in the West*, Session Chair: Lawrence E. Butler - George Mason University

“*Global Visions: Contemporary Chinese Artists in the West*” Kimberly Allen-Kattus - Northern Kentucky University

“*Chinoiserie and the Migration of the Chinese Garden Pavilion to the West*” Susan Scott - McDaniel College

“*Life Interrupted: The Internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II--Can it Happen Again?*” Nancy Chikaraishi - Drury University

“*Van Gogh and Japonisme: Transcultural Perspectives*” Ileana B. Leavens - Seattle Central Community College

**B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Exchanging Culture and Values in Asia*, Session Chair: Hong Xiao – Central Washington University

“*The New Wave of Asian Intercultural Dynamics*” Minjoo Oh - University of Mississippi

*"Inclusive Democracy and Economic Inequality in South Asia: Any Discernible Link?"* Udaya R. Wagle - Western Michigan University

*"Sustainable Livelihood—Approaches and Strategies"* Madhuir Natoo - K.J. Somalya College of Arts and Commerce

*"Teachers' Perceptions on Teaching Moral Values in Japan"* Setsuko Buckley - Whatcom Community College

### C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Finding Meaning and Virtue Across Cultures*, Session Chair: Jeffrey Dippmann - Central Washington University

*"Cultivating the Seeds of Virtue in Mencius and Thoreau"* Ron Morrison – University of New England

*"Groundlessness in Wittgenstein, Rinzai, and Nishida"* Joseph Johnson – Kennesaw State University

*"Ren Xing and What it is To Be Truly Human"* Dennis Arjo – Johnson County Community College

### 3:45PM-5:15PM

#### A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Teaching Undergraduates*, Session Chair: Marthe Chandler - DePauw University

*"Using Cultural Activities in an 'Introduction to Asian Studies' Course"* Armand Policicchio - Slippery Rock University

*"Pedagogical Issues and Suggested Remedies for Teaching Asian Philosophies and Religion to Community College Students: Attending to the Needs of At-Risk Students"* Elizabeth M. Hodge - Gavilan University

*"Strategies for Teaching Chinese Pinyin: Leaving out, Matching up, and Focusing"* Liuxi Meng - Kennesaw State University

*"Planning a Teaching Module on South Asian Civilization and the Political Dynamics"* Pramod Mishra – University of Delhi

**B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Cultural Interactions Past and Present*, Session Chair: Heping Chin - Drury University

*“Asian Immigration and Demographic Revolution—the Houston Experience”* Howard Bodner - Houston Community College - Central

*“Heroes of the Common Life in China Men”* Qingjun (Joan) Li - Middle Tennessee State University

*“Polarizing Popular Culture: Early Conflicts from Asian Colonial Era Comics”* Robert S. Petersen - Eastern Illinois University  
*“Bravo Nebru! Poland’s Friendship with Non-Aligned India”*  
 Nameeta Mathur - Saginaw Valley State University

*“Anchor and ship: Admiral Zheng He as culture hero in the Straits of Malacca”* Lawrence E. Butler - George Mason University

**C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Mountains and Rivers and the Great Earth: Ecological Musings on Buddhist Conceptions of Self and World*, Session Chair: Stephan Johnson - City College of San Francisco

*“Not for Pity’s Sake: Dogs and Frogs - Evolution and Karma”* David Jones - Kennesaw State University

*“On the Detached Observer of Blossoms: Zen and the Question of Nature”* Jason Wirth - Seattle University

Commentary, John Sweeney - University of Hawaii at Manoa

**SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 2007**

**9:00AM-12:00PM, Executive Boardroom, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor**

ASDP National Conference Registration

**9:00AM-10:30AM**

**A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Teaching Japan in the Undergraduate Classroom*, Session Chair: Paul Dunscomb - University of Alaska Anchorage

*“Teaching the History of Japan through Vicarious Travel in the Undergraduate Classroom”* Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen - University of Central Oklahoma

*“Koans in the Classroom: Some Challenges in Teaching Chan and Zen Buddhism”* Robert Feleppa & Yumi Foster - Wichita State University

*“Teaching About Japan Today”* Richard S. Stewart - Choate Rosemary Hall

#### B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Films About Asian Topics*, Session Chair: Susan Clare Scott - McDaniel College

*“The Artistic Significance of Classical Chinese Gardens”* Ray Olsson - College of DuPage

*“Beggars of Lahore”* Sheba Saeed - Birmingham University

#### C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Remembering David Hall: Reflections on a Philosophical Anarchist*, Session Chair: Chenyang Li - Central Washington University

*“David Hall and Richard Rorty on what is Philosophy Good For”* Ewing Chinn - Trinity University

*“From Wonder to Embarrassment: David Hall and the Irony of the In/finite”* Brook Ziporyn - Northwestern University

*“Locating David Hall: Between Default Nominalism and Scotistic Realism”* Robert Smid - Boston University

Commentary, Roger Ames - University of Hawaii at Manoa

10:45AM-12:15PM

#### A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

*Leaping Cultural, Temporal, and Social Divides in Literature*, Session Chair: Kimberly Allen-Kattus - Northern Kentucky University

*"Dancing From The Tale of Genji to Fairy Tale: A Transcultural Model"* Fay Beauchamp - Community College of Philadelphia

*"The Spoils of Poynton: Reading Henry James in the Light of Seng Zhao (Zhao Lun) and William James"* Shudong Chen - Johnson County Community College

*"Karnad's The Fire and the Rain: A Post-Modern Play for the Global Audience"* Lakshmi Gudipati - Community College of Philadelphia

*"Duong Thu Huong: Politically Compromised or Compromisingly Crazy?"* Faith C. Watson - Community College of Philadelphia

#### B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

***Comparative Perspectives in Philosophy/Religion***, Session Chair: Elizabeth M. Hodge - Gavilan College

*"The Epistemology of Sight and Hearing in Classical Greece and China"* Marthe Chandler - DePauw University

*"The Wise, the Li, and the Virtuous Shuffle"* Stephan Johnson - City College of San Francisco

*"The Philosophy and Psychology of 'Contemplative Science'"* Stephen J. Laumakis and Gregory Robinson-Riegler - University of St. Thomas

*"Understanding America's New Buddhism: A Comparative Approach"* Jim Deitrick - University of Central Arkansas

#### C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

***Poster Session***, Session Chair: Roberta E. Adams – Fitchburg State College

*"The Deictic Origin of the Ethnonyms Kitan and Hi"* Penglin Wang - Central Washington University

**12:15PM-1:45PM**

Lunch Break (on your own)

**12:15PM-1:45PM**

ASDP Alumni Chapter Board of Director's Meeting, Regatta Grille, Crowne Plaza Hotel

**1:45PM-3:15PM****A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Learning from Diversity: Multiculturalism in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei*, Session Chair: Joe Overton – University of Hawaii-Kapiolani

*“Comparative Social Work Practice: A Look at Singapore and the United States”* Alana Atchinson - Slippery Rock University

*“Teaching World Economic Issues in the General Education Curriculum with a Focus on Asia -- Country Study: Malaysia”* Koushik Ghosh - Central Washington University

*“Politics in Ethnically Divided Societies: Malaysia and Singapore in Comparative Context”* George P. Brown - Slippery Rock University

*“An Economic Study of a Country with Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei as Models”* Paul Briggs - Windward Community College

*“Teaching Basic Concepts: Society, Culture, Ethnicity, & Identity Using a Thematic on Food Practices in Singapore, Malaysia, & Brunei”* Michele Marion - Paradise Valley Community College

**A. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Asian Religions and Ethics in Life and Literature*, Session Chair: Liuxi (Louis) Meng - Kennesaw State University

*“From Darkness into Light: Korea's Sokkuram as Culmination of Buddhist Caves Across Asia”* Lisa B. Safford - Hiram University

*“Confucian and Buddhist Values in Nguyen Du's The Tale of Kieu”* Mary F. Sheldon - Washburn University

*“Following the Way of Ahimsa and Treading Lightly upon this Earth”* Swasti Bhattacharyya - Buena Vista University

*"Principle and Circumstance: Learning from Mencius how to Live Well"* Peter Meidlinger - Drury University

**B. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*The Challenge of Teaching "Foreign" Cultures: A Roundtable Discussion Based on the Experience of Historians from the University of Alaska Anchorage*, Session Chair: Howard Bodner - Houston Community College - Central

*"Teaching East Asia from the 'Outside'"* Paul Dunscomb - University of Alaska Anchorage

*"Teaching American History, Living American History"* Songho Ha - University of Alaska Anchorage

*"Issues in Teaching Native American History"* Elizabeth James - University of Alaska Anchorage

**3:30PM-5:00PM**

**A. Yosemite Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Program Building*, Session Chair: Ronnie Littlejohn - Belmont University

*"Beyond Facts: Service-Learning and Asian History"* Sylvia Gray - Portland Community College

*"Leveraging Asian Studies"* Patricia Johnson and Monish Chatterjee - University of Dayton

*"Toward a Theory of Study Travel: Understanding the Personal Impact"* Michael Fairley - Austin College

*"A Corpse With Feet and Macbeth: Two Case Studies on Introducing Asian Drama and Themes into the Theatre Production Season at Linfield College"* Janet Gupton - Linfield College

**B. McKinley Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor**

*Cultural Representations in the Asian Performing Arts*, Session Chair: Robert Y. Eng - University of Redlands

*"From Early Wuxia Films to Kung Fu Hustle: Teaching Chinese History and Culture with Celluloid"* John Aden - Wabash College

*"Perceptions of the Foreigner in Asian Theater"* Arlene Caney - Community College of Philadelphia

*"Cultural and Political Discourse on Chinese Television Documentaries: **River Elegy** (1988) and **The Rise of Great Nations** (2006)"* Robert Y. Eng - University of Redlands

*"Individual Salvation in the Korean World View: **Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter ... and Spring**"* Youngtae Shin - University of Central Oklahoma

*"Using Asian Popular Culture in the Classroom"* Jayson Chun - University of Hawaii at Manoa

#### C. Crater Lake Room, 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor

***Problems for the Young, the Very Young, and the Elderly in Asia***, Session Chair: Nameeta Mathur - Saginaw Valley State University

*"Sitting on the Moon: Post-partum Care in modern Taiwan"* Hue-ping Chin - Drury University

*"Pregnancy Complications among Married Adolescent Women in India"* Pralip Kumar Narzary - Fakir Mohan University

*"Japan's Population: Trends and Implications for the Future"* Mohammed D. Turay - Savannah State University

6:00 PM-9:00PM

#### Ballroom, Lobby Level

ASDP National Conference Dinner and Theater Production

***NOH TELLING: An Evening of Japanese One-Acts***  
Presented by Central Washington University's Theatre Arts Department, Scott Robinson, Chair and directed by George Bellah

## Registered Participants

John Aden, Wabash College  
Roberta E. Adams, Fitchburg State College  
Chris Aflague, Kennesaw State University  
Terry Alkire, Central Washington University  
Robert L. Allen, Central Washington University  
Kimberly Allen-Kattus, Northern Kentucky University  
Gail C. Ambuske, Hiram College  
Roger Ames, University of Hawaii  
Dennis Arjo, Johnson County Community College  
Alana B. Atchinson, Slippery Rock University  
Graeme Auton, University of Redlands  
Linda Beath, Central Washington University  
Fay Beauchamp, Community College of Philadelphia  
George Bellah, Central Washington University  
Julia Bergman, City College of San Francisco  
Swasti Bhattacharyya, Buena Vista University  
Terry Bilhartz, Sam Houston State University  
Karen Blair, Central Washington University  
Howard P. Bodner, Houston Community College -Central  
Paul Boshears, Kennesaw State University  
Paul Briggs, Windward Community College  
George Brown, Slippery Rock University  
Andy Buchman, The Evergreen State College  
Betty Buck, East-West Center Education Program/ ASD  
Karen Buckley, University of Wisconsin - Whitewater  
Setsuko Buckley, Whatcom Community College  
Lawrence Butler, George Mason University

Dona M. Cady, Middlesex Community College  
Greg Cant, Central Washington University  
Kitty Carlsen, South Puget Sound CC  
Arlene Caney, Community College of Philadelphia  
Marthe Chandler, De Pauw University  
Monish Chatterjee, University of Dayton  
Shudong Chen, Johnson County Community College  
Wendi Chen, Minneapolis Community & Technical College  
Nancy Chikaraishi, Drury University  
Hue-ping Chin, Drury University  
Ewing Chinn, University of Texas in San Antonio  
Jayson Chun, University of Hawaii  
William Coleman, Central Washington University  
Bobby Cummings, Central Washington University  
Jim Deitrick, University of Central Arkansas  
David Dixon, Missouri State University  
Jeffrey Dippmann, Central Washington University  
Paul Dunscomb, University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Joy Durighello, City College of San Francisco  
Robert Eng, University of Redlands  
Mark Esposito, Black Hawk College  
Mike Fairley, Austin College  
Robert Feleppa, Wichita State University  
Mary Forestieri, Lane Community College  
Yumi Foster, Wichita State University  
Geoff Foy, Central Washington University  
Michele Fugiel, Gates Foundation  
Koushik Ghosh, Central Washington University  
Vaswati Ghosh, Paradise Valley Community College  
Sylvia Gray, Portland Community College  
Harriette Grissom, Independent Scholar  
Lakshmi Gudipati, Community College of Philadelphia  
Janet Gupton, Linfield College  
Song-Ho Ha, University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Hazel Hahn, Seattle University  
Peter Hershock, East-West Center, ASDP

James Highland, University of Hartford  
Diddy Hitchins, University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Elizabeth M. Hodge, Gavilan College  
Gail F. Hughes, St. Cloud State University  
Nancy Hume, Community College of Baltimore County  
Robert Irwin, City College of San Francisco  
Abdul Jabbar, City College of San Francisco  
Rose Jang, The Evergreen State College  
Joseph T. Johnson, Kennesaw State University  
Patricia Johnson, University of Dayton  
Stephan Johnson, City College of San Francisco  
Stephan Johnson, City College of San Francisco  
David Jones, Kennesaw State University  
Karl Kim, University of Hawaii  
Keith Krasemann, College of DuPage  
Ashok Kumar Malhotra, State University of New York at Oneonta  
Sawa Kurotani, University of Redlands  
Stephen J. Laumakis, University of St. Thomas  
Mike Launius, Central Washington University  
Ileana B. Leavens, Seattle Central Community College  
Chenyang Li, Central Washington University  
Qingjun Li, Middle Tennessee State University  
Ronnie Littlejohn, Belmont University  
Robert Lossman, College of Lake County  
Debra Majeed, Beloit College  
Alexandra A. Maloney, University of Alaska, Anchorage  
Michele Marion, Paradise Valley Community College  
Nameeta Mathur, Saginaw Valley State University  
Jerilyn McIntyre, Central Washington University  
Peter Meidlinger, Drury University  
Vernon Meidlinger, Central High School  
Kent Mitchell, Middlesex Community College  
Louis L. Meng, Kennesaw State University  
Marji Morgan, Central Washington University  
Ronald Morrison, University of New England  
David J. Moser, Belmont University

Debbie Ockey, Fresno City College  
Raymond Olson, College of DuPage  
Thomas O'Toole, St. Cloud State University  
Joseph L. Overton, University of Hawaii-Kapiolani  
Robert Petersen, Eastern Illinois University  
Ann Pirruccello, University of San Diego  
Armand Policicchio, Slippery Rock University  
Katherine Purcell, Trident Technical College  
Gordon Ring, East-West Center  
Greg Robinson-Riegler, University of St. Thomas  
Sheba Saeed, University of Birmingham  
Lisa Safford, Hiram College  
Roy Savoian, Central Washington University  
Susan Clare Scott, McDaniel College  
Phil Seder, Portland Community College  
Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen, University of Central Oklahoma  
Mary Sheldon, Washburn University  
Youngtai Shin, University of Central Oklahoma  
Robert Smid, Boston University  
Reg Spittle, Stade Center Community College District  
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Jane Stone, South Puget Sound CC  
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Jason Wirth, Seattle University  
Albert Wong, The University of Texas at El Paso

Hong Xiao, Central Washington University

David Yesner, University of Alaska, Anchorage

Bang-Soon Yoon, Central Washington University

Brook Ziporyn, Northwestern University

## Submission and Journal Information

*Editorial Office.* Correspondence regarding manuscripts and editorial matters should be directed to David Jones, Atlanta Center for the Development of Asian Studies, #2206 1000 Chastain Road, Kennesaw, GA 30144-5591. The editorial phone number is (770) 423-6596. Electronic correspondence is preferred: [djones@ksuweb.kennesaw.edu](mailto:djones@ksuweb.kennesaw.edu).

*Book Review Office.* Correspondence regarding reviewing books should be sent to Ronnie Littlejohn, Book Review Editor, Fidelity Hall 313, Belmont University, 1900 Belmont Blvd. Nashville, TN 37212-3757. The phone number is 615-460-6494. Other contact information is 615-460-6914 (Fax) and <[littlejohnr@mail.belmont.edu](mailto:littlejohnr@mail.belmont.edu)>. Reviewers are responsible for obtaining their own copies of any books they wish to review.

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Papers should include an abstract following the title, author's name, and institutional affiliation and prefacing the introduction.

Papers should also include a Reference section that follows immediately after the conclusion. References should be listed with author's family name first, followed by given name, publication date, book or article title, publication place, and publisher:

Ames, Roger T. and Rosemont Jr., Henry. 1998. *The Analects of Confucius: A Philosophical Translation*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Articles should use inclusive language, and use the author-date system of citation. Submissions with either (or both) a content or theoretical pedagogical focus are welcomed. All communication between the editor and authors will be done electronically, including sending and receiving attachments. Send papers to:

David Jones, Editor  
East-West Connections: Review of Asian Studies  
djones@ksuweb.kennesaw.edu

*Statement of Purpose.* East-West Connections: Review of Asian Studies provides an official record of the annual national conference of the Asian Studies Development Program of the East-West Center in Honolulu as well as making available a forum for scholarly activity. The journal also provides a forum for the exchange of ideas and findings of Asian Studies content related materials and theoretical pedagogical techniques and curricular contributions. The journal is the on-going commission of the Association of Regional Centers of the Asian Studies Development Program.

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