

## Conference Abstracts

Saturday, July 11th

11.15am - 12.45pm

Menzies Common Room

### **Urban 'belonging': vectors of inclusion and exclusion in China's urban spaces**

**Convener: Sally Sargeson, Australian National University**

Chair: Wanning Sun

As China's urban spaces expand and diversify, so too do contradictions posed by coexistence of conceptual, planning, organizational and institutional patterns intended to create Communist cities, and contemporary strategies and counter-strategies of urbanization multiply. In the face of these contradictions, how is urban 'belonging' created in China?

Recent theoretical responses to this puzzle have invited us to view cities as signs and porous sites inhabiting and integrating global and local spaces. Empirical answers predominantly have pointed to either the state's planning, classification and administration of 'urban' territories and populations, or the complex processes by which various identities and sentiments are forged and experienced. In this panel, we hope to build on and extend these answers by exploring four hitherto neglected dimensions of policy and rule-making, governing and cultural practices that condition 'belonging' in different types of urban space.

Our focus spans the creation of national programs in which a uniform 'urban' subject inheres, the sub-municipal scale at which local self-government organizations attempt to manage the desires, discontents and contradictions created by urbanization and urban renewal, and cultural strategies of belonging used by contingent 'urban' residents.

Drawing on diverse theoretical and methodological approaches and findings from extended periods of field research in different provinces and cities, Andrew Kipnis examines unitary school curricula as a vehicle for the standardization of urban citizenship; Sin Wen Lau demonstrates how religion serves as an organizational principle including and excluding transnational residents in Shanghai; Sally Sargeson compares the operationalization of gender as an axis of citizenship entitlement in three urbanizing spaces; and Luigi Tomba analyzes the roles played by grassroots governments in containing social discontent in Shenyang.

**Andrew Kipnis** (Australian National University)

#### **The Making Of Urban Citizens**

China is now embarking on what is perhaps the largest nation-building project in human history. Hundreds of million of rural children are having their classroom habits regularized (guifanhua), their language standardized, and their Party-loving, patriotic sentiments enhanced so that they can become the high-quality, urban citizens that the Chinese nation needs to be strong. This paper exams the processes of standardization and citizen production in one Shandong school district with an eye on both the dynamics of governing that are entailed and the results of the efforts.

**Sin Wen Lau** (Australian National University)

#### **Forming Sisterhood: Class, Politics, Race and God in Shanghai**

This paper examines the dynamics of community formation by a group of overseas Chinese women. It discusses the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion these women use to form an exclusive Christian sisterhood. It shows how class, politics, race and faith are used to engender belonging between strangers. Contributing to the literature on overseas Chinese associations, this paper signals a shift from kinship and nationality to religion as an organisational principle in overseas Chinese communities. The data discussed in this paper is based on eighteen months of fieldwork within an unofficial Christian network operating in the city of Shanghai. The women I discuss are viewed by the Chinese state as foreigners. They followed their spouses to China, many of whom were drawn to the country for economic reasons.

**Sally Sargeson** (Australian National University)

**Differentiating gendered citizenship entitlements in new urban places**

Research has demonstrated that, to differing degrees, gender conditions citizenship in both rural and urban China. Yet we know little about how and why gender might operate as a vector of citizenship, when rural areas become urban. Drawing on a survey and interviews with women living in the expanding margins of Fuzhou, Changsha and Yuxi, and focusing on fundamental political, property, and social entitlements, this paper examines how the overtly gender exclusive principles that make women contingent citizens in villages are transferred or transformed by policies, procedures and practices governing disparate patterns of urbanization, producing significant variations in women's citizenship entitlements in different urban places.

**Luigi Tomba** (Australian National University)

**Governing Social Discontent in Shenyang's Communities**

The paper will discuss the role played by grassroots "self-government" organization in containing social discontent and managing modernization, gentrification and urban renewal in a largely de-industrializing city, Shenyang, in the traditional rustbelt of China's socialist industry. The paper maps the apparently contradictory coexistence of a process of privatization and marketization of land, spaces and social relations with the increasing visibility of governmental efforts to control social order in ailing traditional working class communities, hardest hit by the economic restructuring since the late 1990s. It is based on 150 interviews in residential communities in the city collected between 2006 and 2007.

**11.15am - 12.45pm**

**Main Common Room**

**Texts, Performances and Painting in Late Imperial China**

**Convener: Anne McLaren, University of Melbourne**

Chair: Duncan Campbell

This panel plans to address issues in the dynamics of the interaction between literature and other media such as performance and the visual arts within the context of social networks. Topics covered will extend from the late Ming into the twentieth century. Robyn Hamilton works on women's writing of the Qing period and will examine the female coterie that surrounded the charismatic author, Yuan Mei, with a focus on the painting (1792-1795) of Yuan Mei's female disciples at West Lake, Hangzhou. Wu Cuncun, who has specialised in sexuality and homoeroticism in late imperial China, will present a paper on the auto-biographical dimensions of flower-guides (huapu) eulogising actor-prostitutes in nineteenth-century Beijing theatres and linkages with theatrical reception and performances.

In a related paper, Mark Stevenson will discuss the huapu as a kind of Barthesian social text that while dependant on the theatre is not necessarily located within plays or playhouses. Anne McLaren will discuss orality-literacy dynamics in the Wu folk epics of the late imperial and early republican era and will relate these to the practice of sororate marriage in the Yangzi delta.

**Robyn Hamilton** (University of Auckland)

**Representations of elite women in eighteenth-century China**

This paper will discuss some of the mechanisms used to represent artistic Chinese women from the late 1700s. The poetic works of the group of female disciples of the famed eighteenth-century scholar-official Yuan Mei have been anthologised and some of these women have also been portrayed in a group painting. The painting “Suiyuan shisan nǚdizi Hulou qingye tu” (Thirteen female disciples of [Master] Suiyuan taking instruction at West Lake) was commissioned by Yuan Mei in 1792. This painting and its supplementary (preface dated 1795) provide an entry point for deciphering the social, gendered, and artistic codes operating in late eighteenth-century society, albeit through a visual lens. Discussion of the pictorial representation of Yuan Mei’s female students calls for an approach that includes analysis of the arrangement of the small groups and their postures, and the use of props such as clothing and the natural environment.

**Wu Cuncun** (University of New England)

**Between Catalogue and Confession: Generic Problems and the Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century “Flowerguide” Literature**

From the last years of the eighteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth the most commonly circulated writing on Peking Opera was the “flowerguide” (huapu). An ironic borrowing from flower connoisseurship and courtesan rankings, nineteenth century flowerguides were dedicated to evoking or recreating the beautiful aura of boy-actors. In this paper I will argue that the authors of huapu blended genres of biography and catalogue with theatre criticism in order to inscribe themselves as “consumers”, and in so doing contributed to establishing the consumer persona as a new mode of identification for those who had privileged access to Beijing’s theatres. I argue that this way of appreciating what the theatre had to offer emerged alongside other expressions of consumer behaviour and identification, yet its homoerotic foundations provided the literati elite with modes of consumption and literary production that allowed them to shape a consumer identity at a distance from other consumers.

**Mark Stevenson** (Victoria University)

**Nineteenth Century “Flowerguides” and Epitheatrical Writing**

As a form of theatre writing the “flowerguides” (huapu) of nineteenth-century Beijing expended very little ink on what took place on stage. Indeed, huapu would appear to have a very different set of purposes to that of conventional theatre criticism, even when they nominally identify with critical genres: e.g. “theatre talk” (juhua) vis-à-vis “aria talk” (quhua). Employing theorisations of sport and connoisseurship, primarily Barthes and Bourdieu, this paper explores the significance of huapu portrayals of actors for the creation of new forms of public culture. In particular the literary circulation of actors will be interpreted in relation to evocations of public space and social interaction, arguing that flowerguides defined as well as reflected emergent forms of social competition in nineteenth-century Beijing. The paper will also address the special position of theatre in public culture by introducing the field of “epitheatre” which captures the wider cultural effects of theatre beyond the boundaries of plays and playhouses.

**Anne McLaren** (University of Melbourne)

**Sororate Marriage in the Folk Imaginary of the Lower Yangzi Delta**

Sororate marriage (a man marrying a woman and then her younger sister in succession) was a relatively common if little studied practice in the lower Yangzi delta from the late imperial to the modern era. A man who had lost a young wife would commonly seek to marry her younger sister in order to avoid paying a second bride price. However, the folk form of sororate marriage was frowned upon by Confucian ideology because it offended kinship hierarchies, was arranged without benefit of parental approval and matchmaker, and involved abduction and coercion. As discussed here, a host of practices arose to legitimise the custom of sororate marriage (jiefu jie ayi 姐夫接阿姨) in the popular imagination, and it was celebrated in local folk songs and epic narratives. Drawing on perspectives drawn from oral-written dynamics, this paper will focus on an oral folk epic of the Lake Tai area dealing with sororate marriage, and will discuss the very different treatment of the same theme in late Qing written narratives.

## The Changing Landscape of Criminal Justice in China

Convener: Sue Trevaskes, Griffith University

Chair: Feng Chongyi

A number of important laws relating to criminal justice in China today have recently been amended or are in the process of change. For example, in 2007 the NPC Standing Committee passed the Drug Prohibition Law, which introduced a more comprehensive approach to addressing problems of drug use and addiction in China. In the same year, the lawyer's law was also substantially amended and in January 2007, a law was amended to return the authority to review and approve death sentences to the Supreme People's Court (SPC) in Beijing. The SPC is also in the process of devising detailed standards for which the death penalty applies to violent crime in order to improve consistency in lower court decisions.

Some commentators might see this trend towards more precise detail in laws and regulations as a decisive and positive move towards delivering on past promises of procedural justice in a country whose human rights report card has been questionable for decades. The discussions on law and practice in this panel debate the value of a teleological approach to interpreting law's empire in China which assumes that China is inevitably moving towards a rule of law simply by dint of improved detail in the law. The papers in this panel explore this issue by examining different aspects of the politics of policing and punishing crime in China.

**Sue Trevaskes** (Griffith University)

### The Politics of Judicial Reform

This paper is about the politics of punishment and judicial reform. It focuses on some of the machinations involved in managing how judges judge and how Party policy is implemented in China today. Following some developments that have occurred recently in criminal justice, particularly in relation to the death penalty, we find that the Communist Party itself is now attempting to play a more upfront and public role in how reform is articulated in the arena of criminal justice administration. This is a role that for a decade up until 2008, in the public domain at least, was arguably the self-appointed jurisdiction of XiaoYang, then President of the Supreme People's Court (SPC). Some argue that Xiao Yang's ambitious reforms attempted to go too far and too quickly. The Party's Politico-legal Committee has now stepped into the spotlight to offer a more cautious plan that while giving lip-service to promoting judicial professionalism, promises to better satisfy 'the will of the masses'.

**Hou Shumei** (University of Technology, Sydney) and **Ron Keith** (Griffith University)

### The Defense Lawyer and the Scales of Chinese Criminal Justice

Since the inception of legal reform in 1978 China's lawyer's have witnessed enormous professional change. Writing in 1978 about "law without lawyers", Victor Li noted that the US has 400,000 lawyers to serve the needs of 200 million people whereas China had a mere 3,500 lawyers to deal with a population four times the size of the US. After so many intervening years of reform, there is a new generation of lawyers working within a new professional context. Our paper, however, focuses on the position of the defense lawyer in the changing context of criminal justice reform. In 2004 there were approximately 118,000 practising lawyers in 11,691 law firms; however, in the same year, Albert Chen observed that "the greatest disappointment" of China's legal reform is "the failure to make more significant progress in protecting the basic rights of individuals, especially in the area of criminal procedure."

With specific reference to procedural justice in court proceedings this paper's analysis will attempt an analytical update of the position of the defense lawyer in light of the 28 November 2007 changes to the lawyer's law and the ongoing effort to revise the Criminal Procedural Law.

**Sarah Biddulph** (University of Melbourne)

**Reforms to drug detention policies under the PRC Drug Prohibition Law**

The problem of drug addiction has been of increasing concern to the Chinese authorities. Whilst drug addiction itself is not characterized as a criminal offence, it is seen as causing serious social harm and as being closely related to a range of criminal activities. To date, the authorities have used a range of measures to cure drug addiction including the police detention powers of coercive drug rehabilitation and, for recidivist drug addicts, re-education through labour. These strategies have not been very effective. In 2007 the Drug Prohibition Law, passed by the NPC Standing Committee, introduced a more comprehensive approach to addressing problems of drug use and addiction. This paper examines the extent to which this law reflects a change in attitude about how to address problems of drug addiction and gives a preliminary evaluation of the implementation of the law.

**Michael Dutton** (Griffith University)

**Cops and Community in China**

From a registry office in a suburban police station in Beijing through to an inner-city neighbourhood community, the Chinese police act as guides on this city tour that leads from questions of government registration into the heart of political emotion. In a series of visual exemplifications this 'paper' shows the way that politics is often grounded on affective relations and passions rather than on registers and reason. It will also point to the way in which the study of politics in the West has too often forgotten this.

11.15am - 12.45pm

Meeting Room 1

**Cultural Revolution**

Chair: Mayfair Yang

**Lisa Scharoun and Frances Tatarovic** (Deakin University)

**Visions of Utopia: Maoist Propaganda and Contemporary Commercial Advertising in Mainland China**

Since 1949, propaganda posters have been produced in China as a visual language to unite the masses. Posters and billboards portraying images of youth in minority costumes, traditional paper cuts and China's abundant workforce engaged in modernisation were meant to unite the masses through 'revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism.' These images offer interesting insight into Mao's version 'socialist utopia.' With the opening of China to foreign investment and trade in 1979, the vision of a 'socialist utopia' has changed once again. Propaganda posters are replaced with large-scale billboards featuring luxury cars, clothing and products from the West.

In order to conceptualize this change in visual culture, artists from Deakin University in Melbourne, Dr. Lisa Scharoun (Lecturer of Graphic Design) and Frances Tatarovic, have created a series of images that utilize similar themes of Maoist era propaganda posters and questions the view of utopia in both eastern and western cultures. The images reference techniques and the visual language of contemporary commercial photography. Within the artworks, the past and present visual culture of China is juxtaposed to create a dialogue between the icons of the Maoist vision and the contemporary visions of utopia.

**Lara Vanderstaay** (University of Queensland)

**Revolutionary in more ways than one: the subjectivity of the female revolutionary in 1930s and 1960s Chinese film**

Women's physical bodies have often been a focus of attention in Chinese cinema, yet their subjectivity has not been so frequently examined. One common image of women in second and third generation mainland Chinese cinema is the revolutionary. This paper will examine how the representation of the subjectivity of female revolutionaries in Chinese film changed between the 1930s and 1960s. Specific films being investigated in this paper are *Daybreak* (Sun Yu, 1932), and *The Red Detachment of Women* (Xie Jin, 1965). I discuss how the narrative, camera shots and mise-en-scène used in depictions of the two films illustrates female subjectivity and how these cinematic techniques differ in each film.

Both Sun and Xie have been seen as directors who not only focused on women but did so in a way distinctly sympathetic to them and the specificities of their situation, particularly in pre-1949 China. This paper will examine whether the representation of female subjectivity through the bodies of female revolutionaries in Sun and Xie's films does in fact exemplify this sympathetic attitude.

**Lingling Mao** (Nottingham Trent University)

#### **Revisiting the Cultural Revolution generation of Chinese women**

In China, the sea change in the social and political life in the last sixty years has afforded different generations with very different life experiences, producing a society that is now deeply marked by strong generational cleavages. This paper looks into the generic images of the Cultural Revolution generation in the West, and calls into question the commonplace understandings that generalize about millions' people's diversity experiences in that period. It brings to light the many alternative lives of Chinese either unrepresented or represented only within a one-dimensional taxonomy of 'dark-age'. It pays special attention to the 60s generation, who have witnessed and experienced more historical upheavals than any other generations in Chinese modern history; yet, as they came into the world during the years the Culture Revolution was about to start or just started, this generation was often firmly tied with a political generation – the Cultural Revolution generation, loosely defined as 'unlucky' or 'lost'. The 60s generation, thus, falls into a 'limbo', its identity blurred and gone astray.

Through this paper, I hope to contribute to the understandings of multi-dimensional nature of the Cultural Revolution generation.

## International Relations

Chair: Bruce Jacobs

**Pradeep K Taneja** (University of Melbourne)  
**Sino-Indian Relations in the 21st Century**

Over the past decade or so, it has become commonplace for the world's media to bracket India and China together, either in a positive light, as driving world economic growth or, in a negative way, as contributing to every modern day problem from climate change to rising food prices. What is often ignored, however, is the state of their bilateral relationship. The fact remains that despite regular high level visits and rapidly growing economic and commercial ties between the two countries, China and India remain distrustful of each other and unable to solve their long-standing boundary dispute.

This paper surveys the India-China relations over the past 9 years and argues that the main impediment to better relations between the two Asian powers is mutual ignorance. Given their huge populations and geographical proximity, the level of cultural engagement between the two countries is minuscule. The average Chinese citizen knows little about India's great civilisational achievements in the fields of art, music, literature, religion and philosophy, nor do they have any meaningful appreciation of its modern day political institutions and cultural achievements, save the occasional encounter with a Bollywood film. It is equally, if not more, true of the Indians' poor understanding of China's ancient civilisation and its enormous contribution to the world of ideas, music and fine arts, although admittedly there is better awareness of China's more recent economic progress that has served as a foil to India.

The paper explores some of the reasons for this mutual ignorance and recommends a greater emphasis on people-to-people and civil society exchanges between the two countries. It also calls for enhanced cooperation in education, science, sports and culture.

**Duanfang Lu** (University of Sydney)  
**Exporting Chinese Modernism: Reading the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall, Colombo, Sri Lanka**

This paper examines the development and reception of building projects in Third World countries as part of China's foreign aid programs through the case study of the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH), Colombo, Sri Lanka. Since the founding of the Third World coalition at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955, China has consistently identified itself with the Third World and considered strengthening cooperation with other Third World nations its basic foreign policy. Extensive Chinese architectural export began in 1956 as part of overseas aid programs within the Cold War context. In the decades that followed, Chinese architects built construction projects ranging from major national buildings to factories in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. BMICH was built to honour the memory of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, the former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka as an outright gift from the Chinese government.

This paper provides an account of the design, construction, and reception of BMICH. It documents the unique ways of management and skill transfer during the building process, highlighting the entanglements of different knowledge systems within transnational contexts. It also provides a reading of BMICH as an important symbol of the new republic and a welcoming civic centre of Colombo.

**Czeslaw Tubilewicz** (University of Adelaide)  
**Taiwan's New Foreign Policy: Diplomatic Truce or Surrender?**

In May 2008, Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou proposed a new diplomatic strategy, known as a 'diplomatic truce'. It envisaged the end of cross-Strait competition for allies, the suspension of the practice of using economic resources as foreign policy instrument and a dialogue with China on Taiwan's international space, including its membership in international organizations. This paper will discuss the evolving content of a 'diplomatic truce', its execution, the responses from China and Taiwan's allies and its impact on Taiwanese foreign aid. It will also reflect upon the merits of the domestic criticism of President Ma's foreign policy and the role 'diplomatic truce' plays in the KMT government's efforts to radically improve cross-Strait relations.

By examining the impact of a 'diplomatic truce' on Taiwan's international standing and its claim to de jure sovereignty, the paper will consider whether there are sufficient grounds to conclude – a year after the new diplomatic initiative was unveiled – that Ma's diplomatic strategy has resulted (or is likely to result) in a genuine cross-Strait diplomatic truce, where both governments of divided China agree on a peaceful coexistence on the international arena, rather than in Taipei's unilateral renunciation of its long-standing claim to sovereign statehood.

**Roger Irvine** (University of Adelaide)  
**China in 2019 and Beyond**

The paper will provide some observations – drawn from the author's PhD research – on the difficulties experienced in forecasting national futures, especially in the case of China. It will comment on the range of views available in the extensive public literature about possible future outcomes for China. These views will be considered in the context of the various futures methodologies encountered in that literature; including the exercise of expert opinion, trend analysis, statistical modelling, scenario construction and the study of actors' strategies. Noting the bifurcation of expert opinion on China's future between optimists and pessimists, consideration will be given to the view espoused by Orville Schell that Mao's 'lens of contradiction' is particularly appropriate for the study of China's future.

The paper will also argue the case for greater attention to be given to analysis of China's future direction within the field of Chinese Studies in Australia. In the author's view, although speculation about the future is fraught with difficulty and needs to be approached with great caution, it is a necessary preoccupation given the need to use all available means to address the formidable challenges of the 21st century.

1.45pm - 3.15pm

Menzies Common Room

### **The Local Power Nexus**

**Convener: Hans Hendrichske, University of New South Wales**

Chair: Bruce Jacobs

The panel takes up Prasenjit Duara's (1988) concept of 'power nexus' and extends Jean Oi's (1989) work on village government into the present local-level corporate environment. We are particularly interested in formal and informal governance structures and institutions and aim to interpret the interplay between local Party, local government and local business as a form of multi-level governance. By operationalising the limited notion of informality proposed by North (1990), we argue that the negotiated 'local power nexus' provides a better explanation for state-enterprise interaction than the private-public dichotomy proposed by Yasheng Huang (2008). The panel contributions will expand on the following observations.

Territorial levels of decision making have become contested through local level legislative and regulatory competition. Decision making at various territorial levels is characterised by the increased participation of non-state actors. The role of the state is being transformed as local state actors develop new strategies of coordination, steering and networking. Hierarchical accountability and legitimisation have become challenged and are being reasserted locally.

**Hans Hendrichske** (University of New South Wales)

**Graeme Smith** (University of Technology, Sydney)

**Ivan Cucco** (University of Technology, Sydney)

**Nolan Sharkey** (University of New South Wales)

## The Erotic Chinese Body

Convener: Howard H. Chiang, Princeton University

Chair: Wu Cuncun

This panel studies the sexual politics and cultural history of the Chinese body. Topics to be covered include the historiographic refiguring of body practice in relation to changing norms of knowledge, the cultural negotiation of sexual identities and narration, and evolving modes of cinematic representation in China after Mao. Panelists include Howard H. Chiang (Princeton University), Hongwei Bao (University of Sydney), and Jacqui Godwin (University of Sydney). Titles of proposed presentations are, respectively, "Between Eunuchism and Transsexuality: Sex-Alteration and Carnal Trans/Formations in the History of Sinophone Culture," "Bodies in the Ruins of the Palace: Queer Politics and Ethics in Cui Zi'en's Films," and "Chinese Cinema after Mao: 1979."

**Howard H. Chiang** (Princeton University)

### **Between Eunuchism and Transsexuality: Sex-Alteration and Carnal Trans/Formations in the History of Sinophone Culture**

This paper offers some historical insights on carnal trans/formations in Sinophone culture. Through the prism of sex-alteration, I discuss how meanings of sex, gender, life, and human nature changed from late imperial to post-socialist China. Among the topics to be touched upon include early modern accounts of hermaphroditism and sex transformation, the rise of a nationalistic discourse of anti-castration, the introduction of Western biomedicine and sexology, the reconfiguration of norms of truth in relation to the politics of life, and the emergence of transsexuality in post-colonial Sinophone communities. A unifying thematic preoccupation is the historical problem of Chinese modernity and its associated broader processes of the reconfiguration of the Chinese body.

**Hongwei Bao** (University of Sydney)

### **Bodies in the Ruins of the Palace: Queer Politics and Ethics in Cui Zi'en's Films**

As the first openly gay public persona in mainland China and as one of the best known gay activist, writer and filmmaker in the Chinese-speaking world, Cui Zi'en's independent films are, in Chris Berry's (2004) words, 'droll, pointed and pleasantly perverse'. Deeply influenced by Christianity and postmodernism, Cui endeavours to construct a new queer politics and ethics with the narratives and techniques of his films. In these films, as he deconstructs a heteronormative world by 'pulling down the Palace', he also experiments on constructing a new world. The politics and ethics of the body prevail in his postmodern theological philosophy. The bodies in his films are profane, carnivalesque and meanwhile connecting to each other with certain inescapable responsibilities. These bodies deconstruct the disciplinary and monotonous regimes of sexualities, identities and communities; yet they are also deeply humanistic. Thus the tensions and reconciliations between deconstruction and reconstruction, and between anti-humanism and humanism best characterise his films and his queer politics.

In this paper, through the textual analysis of some of Cui's representative works such as *Men and Women* (1999), *Ten Commandments* (2001), *Feedboys Ayaya* (2003), and *Shitou and That Nana* (2004) as well as through my interviews with him in 2008, I examine the representation of bodies in his films. Reading through the lens of Mikhail Bakhtin (1965), Gilles Deleuze (1977, with Felix Guattari) and Emmanuel Levinas (1961), I discuss Cui's queer politics and ethics based on the centrality of the corporeal, as well as the world he envisages beyond 'the ruins of the Palace'.

**Jacqui Godwin** (University of Sydney)

### **Chinese Cinema after Mao: 1979**

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, an intricate and remarkable cultural journey was undertaken within the vehicle of film, and it has gone largely unnoticed. What came before was three decades of revolutionary cinema, with stirring nationalist music scores, heroic lead characters and intensely didactic narratives. After 1976, it became possible, at least for a time, to speak of errors. The exemplary worker-peasant-soldier hero gave way to more complex leading characters. The inner spaces of the psyche and heart were made manifest through new cinematic techniques, and love emerged to take centre stage. This journey took just a few short years to unfold, and laid a foundation for the later wave of 'New Chinese Cinema'. However, the recognition of change has often only begun with "Yellow Earth" in 1984, missing earlier transformation.

This paper looks at the world of mainland Chinese film in **1979**, focusing on the shifting play of new articulations of bodies, **sexuality**, and **subjectivity**, and the relationship these changes had with the vividly unfolding political events of the late 1970s, including the beginning of reform initiatives, the re-emergence of Deng Xiaoping, and the voicing of anger and grief about injustices during the Cultural Revolution.

## Political controls and social change in the People's Republic of China (1)

Convener: Elaine Jeffreys, University of Technology, Sydney

Chair: Elaine Jeffreys

This panel examines processes of social change and changing political controls in the People's Republic of China.

**Xiaoping Fang** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **Reinterpreting the Role of Barefoot Doctors in Chinese Villages**

Medicine and health in rural China under socialism after 1949 were associated with 'barefoot doctors' (chijiao yisheng), who were health workers in Chinese villages under the people's commune system from 1968 to 1983. Barefoot doctors have attracted the attention of scholars and social commentators for three reasons. First, they were related to the political ideology of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), in that they presented a revolutionary image of providing medical services while walking barefoot in rice paddies (following calls to improve health in rural areas). Second, the barefoot doctor program was regarded inside and outside of China as an efficient and low-cost medical model built around easily available indigenous medicines, as demonstrated by achievements in basic health indicators from 1949 to 1983. Third, the absence of medical welfare for villagers and the worsening of rural health situations under the market economy in present-day China have led to renewed interest in the barefoot doctor program.

While available scholarship tends to focus on barefoot doctors from the perspective of public health, this paper instead analyses the issue from the perspective of the social history of medicine, and contextualizes barefoot doctors as a new kind of village healer in the social history of Chinese health.

**Louise Edwards** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **Gendered Militarization — The Evolving Story of the Girl Martyr, Liu Hulan**

In the winter of 1947 a 14-year old girl from a small Shanxi village was beheaded — Liu Hulan was yet another victim of the bloody Chinese Civil War of 1946-49 in which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Nationalist Party vied for control over the country. Her membership of the CCP and active involvement in its armed struggle against the Nationalist Party drew her into danger as the village came into Nationalist hands. Within weeks of her execution, the CCP mobilized the story of Liu Hulan to rally support for its campaign. Mao Zedong himself declared that hers was 'A great life and a glorious death' (Sheng de weida; si de guangrong) and personally penned calligraphy of this epithet that now grace the various memorials and materials constructed and produced in her honour. Defiant in the face of death and resistant to her captor's demands that she recant her communist beliefs, the peasant girl Hulan has been hailed as a glorious communist martyr for over sixty years.

This paper explores the various ways the CCP has mobilized Liu Hulan and examines how Hulan's image has been mobilized in broad social contexts as part of a process of militarization of Chinese society over the course of the first three decades of the People's Republic of China's existence.

**Carolyn Cartier** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **The Debate over Neoliberalisms in China and Regional Governmentalities**

Intellectual debates over the PRC's evolving political economy have been concerned with ideas about what is neoliberalism, how it has emerged in China, and the different positions about it among leading scholars of the Chinese academy. The Chinese debate took shape in the 1990s in response to widespread negative impacts of irrational marketization brought on by Deng Xiaoping's consequential southern tour; while a substantial critique of neoliberalism has resounded across the Left in the international academy and informed the critical China scholarship, especially among scholars working on migrant workers and the urban underclass. Yet other arbiters of China scholarship find the neoliberal critique misplaced, and search instead for particular cultural explanations to forms and contexts of social and economic conduct.

At the crossroads of these issues, this commentary examines the differences in perspectives on what is neoliberalism in the contemporary PRC and extends the discussion based on examinations of Foucault's (2008) recently translated lectures from the *Collège de France* (1978-79), which substantially expand his exposition of governmentality through analysis of its particular neoliberal forms. This early discussion of neoliberalism opens up our critical possibilities for analysis of state-society relations, especially in regard to processes of territorialization and the use of technologies of power to define and regulate populations and at different scales, which this discussion extends to include China's special administrative and autonomous regions.

## The Culture(s) of Chinese Media

Convener: Lauren Gorfinkel, University of Technology, Sydney

Chair: Tina Schilbach

This panel comprises of four presentations covering different aspects of the culture(s) of contemporary media being produced in the People's Republic of China (PRC).

Themes that run through this panel concern media representation of China as a nation, Chinese culture, and the place of China in the global community, as well as imbedded values and techniques of the Chinese media and its practitioners.

**Gong Qian** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **Living Red: Production and Consumption of Revolutionary Culture in Linyi**

Gong Qian will be examining the continuing, and increasingly sophisticated and complex, propagation of revolutionary culture through the media, revealing a trend of an enmeshing of official history with local memory.

**Frances Guo** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **China's International Media Push**

Frances Guo will use Chinese media coverage of the unexpected Western protests during the Beijing Olympic torch relay as an example to examine China's reactions to Western media, its cultural nationalism, and its efforts to export Chinese culture.

**Lauren Gorfinkel** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### **Televised Songs of Ethnic Minorities and the Nation in China's Olympic Year**

Lauren Gorfinkel will be examining interweaving narratives between media spectacles and regular Chinese music-entertainment television programming, and presenting findings on the projection of a China in the year it celebrated Olympic glory.

**Sheng Tong** 圣童 (澳洲导报: 总编助理, 执行主编, 高级记者)

### 中西方电视传媒文化基础问题分析

传媒在硬件上似乎是不存在差距, 这是科学的和技术上的含义, 因此没有人的观念的问题。但是, 任何的传媒, 特别是电视这样影响巨大的传媒, 都无法逃避人的文化观念上的意识形态上的影响, 比如文化价值观念的影响。

中西方电视传媒之间根本的不同就在这个文化价值观念的不同上。

中国的文化价值观念属于封建 (专制) 分封的价值观念, 而西方当下最普遍的价值观念是贡献的价值观念, 尽管它常常是被迫下的贡献或者客观意义上的贡献, 而非主动态度上的贡献或者非主观意义上的贡献。

这两种价值观在现实世界中常常体现在以下几种角度: 第一, 是先劳作后取酬还是先取酬在劳作的问题; 第二, 工作时间与业余时间是不是分开的问题; 第三, 是以法律为底线还是以道德为底线来评价的问题 (这个问题同时也涉及民主与法律制度是否健全的重要问题)。

恰恰是因为这些不同, 使得中国电视传媒与西方电视传媒在社会工作中呈现出了完全不同的反映。而中国电视传媒在借鉴西方电视传媒技巧的问题上, 就会有极不科学的选择现象, 结果出现了不伦不类的问题。比如, 香港娱乐界“艳照”事件的娱乐性与伤害性并举的问题, 甚至这里都涉及到了司法问题。

Sheng Tong, drawing on personal experience as a media practitioner in China and Australia, contemplates fundamental problems in and differences between Western and Chinese television media cultures and their contributions to society, significantly pointing to the influences of contrasting moral and legal values.

## Nationalism

Chair: Delia Lin

**Fengyuan Ji** (University of Canterbury)

### **Linguistic Engineering in Hu Jintao's China: The Case of the 'Maintain Advancedness' Campaign**

Linguistic engineering is the attempt to affect people's attitudes and beliefs by manipulating the language that they hear, speak, read and write. It takes a 'pluralistic' form in democratic societies; it took a totalitarian form in Mao Zedong's China; and it has taken yet a different form under Mao's successors. This paper deals with linguistic engineering under the most recent of those successors, Hu Jintao, focusing on the great 'Maintain Advancedness' (bao xian) campaign of 2005-2006. It shows how Hu used this campaign to establish his ideological supremacy, making Party members at all levels use prescribed linguistic formulae to acknowledge his authority and express his thought. The paper argues that the campaign was an effective instrument of Party discipline, that it affected the attitudes of many Party members, and that it has continued to set the terms of political debate.

**Guo-qiang Liu** (Deakin University)

### **From Class Struggle to a "Harmonious Society": - China's Ideological Transformation**

Ideology, which has been expressed in explicit rhetoric, permeates the society in China over the last 60 years. It is visible everywhere, and it is regarded as something extremely important in China's political and social life. During this period of time, China has always claimed to have a mainstream ideology based on Marxism-Leninism and be sticking to it. However, a close look will reveal that this country is not always driven by Marxist-Leninist ideology, and ideology has changed from time to time, in its shape and intensity, over four generations of leadership. This paper will outline China's ideological transformation from Mao Zedong's "Class Struggle", to Deng Xiaoping's "Initial Stage of Socialism", Jiang Zemin's "Three Represents" and Hu Jintao's "Scientific Outlook to Development in a Harmonious Society". It will then discuss the role of Marxist-Leninist ideology in establishing, sustaining, consolidating and re-establishing political legitimacy by the Chinese Communist Party.

**Damien Kinney** (Monash University)

### **From 'Saying No' to being 'Unhappy': an exploration of nationalist idioms and narratives in contemporary China**

*China Can Say No's* appearance in Chinese bookstores in 1996 is regarded as a key moment in contemporary Chinese nationalism. Its authors and others have capitalized on that book's popularity with more nationalist/patriotic works in the present decade, including 2009's *Unhappy China*. Both books pre-suppose American arrogance and ignorance to be major stumbling blocks to Chinese development and to the restoration of national pride. The paper is a three-fold exploration: it analyzes the language used by the 'Say No Club' of writers and others who write in a similarly aggressive, nationalistic idiom. Second, it contends that the background narrative of China's 'national humiliation' (*guochi*) at the hands of Western and Japanese imperialism helps to explain the ongoing popularity of this particular way of speaking and writing about China's place in the world. Third, it considers some of the critical responses to Say No-type nationalism that have emerged from non-nationalistic standpoints.

**Yang Huei Pang** (National University of Singapore)

### **ROC "Counteroffensive" by 1959? – Taiwan, National Identity, and Chiang Kai-shek's visions for the recovery of mainland China**

For much of the 1950s, ROC President Chiang Kai-shek, isolated at his island redoubt of Formosa, focused his energies on formulating a viable “counteroffensive” plan to reclaim mainland China. One of such draft plans even forecast a counteroffensive in the timeframe of mid 1958-59. A main part of this vision was to attract US military sponsorship; for the generalissimo was cognizant of ROC conspicuous lack of military strength to conquer mainland China. However, these tedious bureaucratic exercises in “counteroffensive” plans formulation had unintended results for Taiwanese outlook, identity, and economy. One, the focus on creating viable military plans shifted to an indirect discursive exercise for Chiang’s subordinates across the spectrum of the ROC bureaucracy in stating the impossibility of returning to mainland China.

Chiang’s subordinates finessed the criticism by strenuously proclaiming their loyalty. Two, Chiang Kai-shek’s admonishment “毋忘在昔” Wu Wang Zai Ju (Forget Not the time at Ju) which was the clarion call for ROC’s mainland counter offensive had unwittingly transformed into a more sedentary form of national identity for the average Taiwanese; one that stressed more on economic and spiritual rejuvenation rather than an actual bloody recovery of mainland China. Finally, US material aid focusing on economic development on Formosa dealt the death blow to any mainland ambitions of Chiang. Paradoxically, the more Taiwan developed economically by means of US aid, the more Taiwanese mutedly distanced themselves from Chiang’s quixote dream of reclaiming mainland China. Thus, in one of the more poignant twists of the Cold War, Chiang’s leadership in “counteroffensive” plannings did much to distance the island state from the mainland than “reclaiming” it.

3.45pm - 5.30pm

Menzies Common Room

## Environment and governance

Chair: Thao Nguyen

**Tao Chiu Lam and Carlos Wing-hung Lo** (Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

### **Systemic embeddedness: reform and change of the environmental protection system of Guangzhou**

System (*xitong*) is an important organizational construct in China’s political and administrative life, and figures prominently in the seminal works on China’s political and administrative institutions of Doak Barnett, Michel Oksenberg and Kenneth Lieberthal. However, most existing studies view *xitong* either in functional term linking the same functional units from the central to the bottom, or in the sense of clustering of bureaucratic functions to facilitate overall leadership. This paper argues that, in addition to the functional system and the system clustering several bureaucratic functions, a third type of system encompasses administrative organs, service organizations and in many cases economic enterprises. Like the other two systems, this system does not fit with formal organizational boundaries, but it nevertheless constitutes an important institutional reality in China’s political and administrative landscape and holds important implications for understanding the Chinese state and policy making.

On the basis of a thorough analysis of the evolution of the environmental protection system of Guangzhou, the provincial capital city of Guangdong Province, this paper examines how the system works and the relationship among the constituent units – the administrative organ, service organization and economic enterprises - in the system. We argue that, probably more than the other two systems, there are a high degree of interaction in terms of personnel movement and resource flow among the units within the system, with the administrative organ holding a commanding position.

Despite the much publicized reforms to liberate the economic enterprises and service organizations from the grips of the administrative organ in recent years, the environmental protection system has continued to be an institutional terrain with substantial flows of resources, personnel and powers. The service organizations and economic units in the system have gained some operational autonomy, but they are still fundamentally attached to, and dependent on, the environmental protection bureau. This is because the administrative organ not only continues to have nomenclatural authority over the other organizations in the system, but also has proprietary claims over them. In other words, reforms and rhetoric notwithstanding, we argue that this system is embedded.

**Evelyn Chia** (Australian National University)

### **State intervention on perceptions of environmental/civic responsibility in forest governance**

Community governance has been touted in recent years as a new compromise between the twin extremes of state-regulation and market measures in environmental governance. Likewise there has been a proliferation of literature regarding how under certain conditions community governance can out-perform the state in environmental governance. This paper seeks to contribute towards the understanding of 'community governance' as it exists within China's top-down interventionist system, and a system whereby community self-governance is heavily circumscribed by power relationships between the state and local communities.

The case study is of a township in Yunnan that has since 1998 been under a logging ban, and since 2003 been included in the Three Parallel Rivers World Heritage Site. As such, the local governments and villagers bear heavy responsibility for forest governance and conservation but receive little aid from the central or provincial governments to perform its conservation work. The township was also heavily reliant on logging before 1998 as revenue and has thus since the logging ban been unable to provide for much of the public goods that it had previously.

The paper examines how state-community relationships of responsibility and rights (and lack thereof) impact on villager idea of civic responsibility in forest governance.

3.45pm - 5.30pm

Main Common Room

### Space, power and identity in contemporary China

Convener: David Bray, University of Sydney

Chair: Derrick Kwan

The forms and meanings of lived spaces (residential, commercial, public etc) in China are changing rapidly as the physical environment is subject to endless rounds of reconfiguration and reconstruction. New forms jostle with the old creating complex and contingent assemblages of space, power, meaning and identity. Space is critical not simply because things happen in space, but rather because spatial formations affect the very possibilities of how things can happen: spatial forms structure the ways in which power, meaning and identity are ordered, presented and enacted. This panel will focus on emerging spatial forms across a range of contexts (urban, rural, ethnic) in order to enrich our understandings of the multifarious ways in which the built environment becomes both a strategic resource for governmental interventions and a site of resistance to those interventions and to the discourses they embody.

Based on recent fieldwork undertaken in particular places (village, theme park, residential compound), the papers in this panel offer significant new case studies on the implications of contemporary spatial change at the local level in China. This panel seeks to go beyond recent focus on the spectacular and monumental aspects of urban development (Beijing Olympics, Shanghai Expo, landmark architecture etc), to explore some of the more mundane, but, we believe, more significant transformations of everyday lived spaces. In doing this we reject assumptions implicit in the urban/rural binary; arguing that critical spatial change is occurring as much in rural and semi-rural areas as in urban centres.

David Bray (University of Sydney)

#### Master Plans and Model Communities: redesigning urban life in contemporary China

One of the less noted paradoxes of contemporary China is that the demise of the planned economy has been accompanied by an *increase* in the influence of town planners, architects and urban designers. This trend bespeaks an alignment of governmental and professional commitment to purposefully shape the urban environment for social and political ends. In residential areas a new style of gated compound - the *xiaoqu* (小区) ('small district') - has come to dominate the suburban landscape at the same time that a new form of local political organisation - the *shequ* (社区) ('community') - has been established to govern and service the urban population. It is by no means fortuitous that these two basic units - the spatial and the political - increasingly seem to exactly coincide: on the contrary, it demonstrates that Chinese authorities employ spatial planning and residential design strategies as crucial elements in implementing their objectives for urban development and urban governance.

Through case studies in a number of *xiaoqu*, this paper aims to uncover how recent trends in urban residential development have given rise to new spatially grounded modes of local governance.

**Hongguang He** (University of Sydney)

**Building a "New Socialist Countryside": space and governance in an Anhui village**

Rural space in China has undergone profound reconfigurations and reconstructions since the reform era began in 1978. The latest round of change was initiated in 2006 when the central government launched a new policy known as *Building a New Socialist Countryside*. Based on a case study of a village in Anhui, this paper analyzes three types of rural space and delineates the logics behind their transformations in the past two decades. The paper argues that while spatial transformation underpins many significant changes in rural social, economic and political structure, new forms of space continue to bolster collectivized rather than individualized forms of subjectivity. In addition, although political power has been devolved through the processes of rural de-collectivization, state power remains manifest in the ongoing spatial remaking of the village environment.

**Jordan Nagel** (University of Sydney)

**Hui out West: Space, Representation and Identity in Yinchuan**

Focussing on religious and cultural sites located in and around Yinchuan, capital of the nominally Hui Autonomous Region of Ningxia, this paper examines the diverse ways in which the minority Hui minzu are represented in spatial formations. Beginning with a comparative analysis of several Yinchuan mosques, this paper shows how changes in spatial layout and decoration reveal important transformations in conceptions of Hui identity and its relationships to religion, ethnicity and the Chinese state. The second part of the paper examines two quite different manifestations of Hui identity: a Hui Culture (theme) Park and Hui Museum located on the outskirts of Yinchuan.

Through comparative analysis of these various sites, this paper argues that there is not one but several different discourses of Hui identity marked out in diverse spatial formations which compete with one another, and exist in constant negotiation and tension with the state's minority policies. The paper concludes that spatial formations play a crucial role in framing and bolstering particular discourses of religion, history and culture, thereby placing limitations on the extent to which agency can be effective in the production and reproduction of ethnic identities.

**Beibei Tang** (Australian National University)

**The Paradox of Self-identity and Self-governance among Gated Communities Residents in Urban China**

This paper questions prediction of China's democratic potential based on rising numbers of self-organized home owner organizations, in particular, among gated community residents. For gated community residents to constitute a democratizing force, existing scholarship expects two causal links: first, middle class identity formation; and second, collective action. Examining in-depth interview data of 82 gated community residents of Shenyang, this paper proposes a typology of home ownership acquisition, and argues that different access to home ownership led to a divided class identity. This paper also analyzes the election and operation of self-organized home owner organizations, and concludes that the neighborhood-level democratization among gated community residents is unlikely to lead to further democratization in urban China.

Although a commonly recognized collective identity based on property right relations has been formed, the hypothesis that China's new home owners might engage in collective action to demand democracy is challenged, due to the absence of a common basis for identity and interaction, and the unwillingness to challenge state authorities. This paper argues those reasons are essential for explaining political dynamics in transitional contexts where the identities and interests of new social groups are variously shaped by their relations with the state and the market.

3.45pm - 5.30pm

Library

## Political controls and social change in the People's Republic of China (2)

Chair: Carolyn Cartier

**Susette Cooke** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### 'Religious Work': Governing Religion in Reform-era China

Religious work has been an aspect of Party governance since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), influenced by the historical legacy of state-religion relations in China but crafted through Marxist ideology which treated it as a social phenomenon destined for inevitable withering-away on the road towards socialism. But religion, like many social and cultural phenomena released from the repression of the Maoist era, emerged with unexpected vitality amidst the economic development and social diversification generated by the post-1978 reform and opening up policies.

The PRC government has subsequently re-tooled religious policy, and the specifics of religious work, to take more tolerant account of rapidly growing numbers of religious believers without relinquishing party-state oversight of religious practice, or the Party's ideological commitment to atheism. Drawn into an evolving discourse of civilization and national culture, religion is now embedded into the Party's vision of China's development for the twenty-first century under the guiding principle of 'mutual adaptation of religion and socialist society' (yu shehuizhuyi shehui xiang shiying). At the highest levels of political doctrine, where Hu Jintao's 'building a socialist harmonious society' currently contextualizes the acceptable modes of social activity, religion finds itself admitted to active contribution to the new national project. Governing religion in the PRC is thus situated at the shifting interface between maintaining Party legitimacy and developing civil society.

**Elaine Jeffreys** (University of Technology, Sydney)

### Exposing Police Corruption: China's Virgin Prostitutes Cases

This paper examines media publicity surrounding prostitution-related police corruption and malfeasance in the People's Republic of China (PRC) during the early to mid 2000s, as exemplified by the story of Ma Dandan and other 'virgin prostitute cases' (chunü maiyin an). The paper contextualizes media publicity surrounding prostitution-related police corruption with reference to the problems associated with police-led campaigns against prostitution. It then examines media coverage of the story of Ma Dandan and six other 'virgin prostitute' cases, which were published between February 2001 and July 2004. These cases focused public attention on some of the problems associated with the policy of cracking down on prostitution, especially police corruption and abuse of power. Finally, the paper discusses changes to the PRC's prostitution laws and associated police procedures that were introduced in 2004 and 2006. These changes aimed to halt police corruption and abuse of power stemming from the arbitrary fining of those categorized as minor prostitution offenders.

Although it is too early to assess the long-term utility of these changes, I conclude that media coverage of prostitution-related police corruption has abated and ongoing efforts to strengthen the legality and internal supervision of police enforcement work in the PRC have placed new limits on the potential for prostitution-related police malfeasance.

3.45pm - 5.30pm

Meeting Room 1

## Media and Policy

Chair: Michael Keane

**Bonnie Liu** (Queensland University of Technology)

### Competition and Innovation: Private Television Production Companies in China

As most people know, all mass media are state-owned in China, television stations being no exception in belonging to the enormous state system. But to date, with economic reform in the broadcasting system and China entering into the World Trade Organization (WTO), the television industry has greatly expanded and the television market has matured with more and more competition. The players in China's television industry have changed from a monologue of state-owned TV stations to stations playing multiple roles, with growth of production companies and overseas television companies -- although the TV stations still occupy the majority of China's television production market. Private television production companies are becoming more and more active in this market. In this paper, I will analyze the development process in China and discuss whether the emergence of this group means for the whole China's TV industry.

**Henry Siling Li** (Queensland University of Technology)

**Popular culture beyond the fortress: knockoff mobiles, fake celebrities and user-created videos**

This paper introduces an emergent form of popular culture, "shanzhai[literally mountain village]" culture. It explores the rise of "shanzhai" from a term used to refer to knockoff shams to a metaphor for a grassroots culture of rebellion and creativity, and concludes with a brief discussion of the genetic relationship of "shanzhai" culture with previous forms of popular culture.

**Longqing Lance Wang** (Macquarie University)

**Beyond the Boundary: Media-Broker Diplomacy in the Cross-Strait Relations**

Since 1949, the Taiwan Strait has figuratively evolved into a political, ideological and cultural barrier between China and Taiwan as a legacy of the Chinese Civil War. Consequently, *the cross-strait relations* has been termed to capture the sensitivity and complexity of the relationship between these two rivals in the Chinese speaking world. From the perspective of international communication, the cross-strait relations may be redefined as a process of *communication and diplomacy* which has been substantially transformed by the media over the past six decades, culminating with two significant media events in the late 1980s and 1990s when the emergence of media brokers played a pivotal role of breaking political deadlock and facilitating the cross-strait détente.

Theoretically informed by the new research ideas of Naren Chitty's Matrix Framework (2000, 2004) and Eytan Gilboa's conceptual model of *Media-Broker Diplomacy* (2000, 2005), this paper aims to revisit the cross-strait relations within both a wider globalised and a narrower media-broker context and hence reveals a media-and-politics dilemma within which by going between the boundaries of dual political frameworks the media brokers produced positive impact on the cross-strait relations whereas by going beyond the boundary/norms of journalism their journalistic independence was greatly challenged and weakened.

**Yong Liu** (Fudan University)

**New Challenge: the Industry verse the Independent**

This paper will introduce the current filmmaking status quo in Mainland China, covering both the establishing Chinese movie industry and the shrinking independent filmmaking field. Actually, it's hard to define these two systems in China clearly in this period of time; but there are a few figure can show the Chinese movie industry is growing up: over 3.3 billion RMB box-office revenue in 2007, domestic movies income is 54.13%, the fifth consecutive year over imported foreign movies; the new year-spring festival season box-office income is 500 million, much over the amount of 300 million in 2006. (quote from CBNEWS Daily, Jan, 14, 2008) Also from the same source, the biggest film distribution company in China, China Film Group, is considering to do its IPO in 2008 and will become the first Chinese film company as INC listed companies in stock market (CBNEWS Daily, Jan, 14, 2008). Besides, more and more private film production and distribution companies, such as, Huayi Brothers, Polybona Film Distribution, Paige Media Investing Inc, play in the growing market and become stronger and stronger.

Meanwhile, the independent Chinese films are almost vanishing from the mainstream movie theatres, most only can be seen in the morning or early afternoon show time in theatres; instead, they are more found from the DVD sellers on street stands or DVD rental stores. However, independent films in China are not dead yet, most of the former Chinese independent filmmakers (also called underground filmmakers) make movies with government permissions; unfortunately, most of their films fail in the market, although they still were awarded by the main festivals in Europe. They face the new challenge from the domestic moviegoers in the commercialized film market, unregulated without rating system.

Some people suggest setting the rate-system for the movie theatres as the US has conducted for decades. The government has held serious experts hearings about it, but has not made a decision yet. Before the market changes, the Chinese independent films are reaching viewers mostly through pirate DVDs. This is only the positive side of the piracy in China. Additionally, the pirate DVDs of Hollywood movies try to match their release time to the theatre premiere in the US or Europe. It is part of the reasons that the imported Hollywood movies box-office has been decreased for 5 consecutive years in China. This is not to say the Hollywood influence is decreasing on Chinese filmmaking and moviegoers; on the contrary, its influence is increasing, because most of the Chinese epic commercial movies win the market these years are made by the Hollywood-coded device, from the production style to the promotion strategy, except the much lower budget.

In a word, this is a transforming commercializing film market needs to be regulated, not just to be limited; otherwise, the independent films are hard to survive, though this time they mostly struggle with the pro-money market, instead of the government censorship, which never disappears in China but can ban less and less in this global stage.

3.45pm - 5.30pm

Meeting Room 2

### Contemporary Philosophy and History of Ideas

Chair: Stephanie Hemelryk Donald

**Jon Eugene von Kowallis** (University of New South Wales)

#### Re-reading Lu Xun's Early Essays in the Shadow of the Beijing Olympics

In 1907, after dropping out of medical school at Sendai 仙台, Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881-1936) wrote five essays using an archaistic classical prose style influenced by that of the anti-Manchu philologist Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1868-1936) in *Subao* 苏报, for whom he nurtured a life-long admiration, mainly due to the latter's uncompromising oppositional stance vis-à-vis the powers that be in China. Lu Xun's early essays span a wide range of topics from European intellectual and literary history to the history and philosophy of science. They show him to be a cosmopolitan anti-nationalist who championed the potential of the genius within the individual, rejecting both the cult of the masses and the materialistic aspirations of the mercantile classes. Here we also see the basis of his humanism, grabbism (*nalai zhuyi* 拿来主义) and respect for religion. In fact, the early essays provide a manifesto for the rest of Lu Xun's literary career, one to which he adhered throughout the 1920s and 30s.

Rather than ask what Lu Xun's fate would have been had he lived into the present era, this paper speculates on what his assessment would have been of contemporary China.

**David Kelly** (University of Technology, Sydney)

#### Freedom in China Revisited: Li Shicen, Wang Ruoshui and Qin Hui

Li Shicen (1892-1935) a Nietzschean philosopher prominent in Shanghai in the 1920s and 30s, marks a high-water mark for freedom (*ziyou*) conceived as a Chinese value. Starting with some new research on Li, the paper traverses the later adventures of *ziyou* in the hands of the humanist Marxist Wang Ruoshui (1926-2002), coming to its present revaluation by Qin Hui (1953-), one of the PRC's leading public intellectuals.

**Chiu-yee Cheung** (University of Queensland)

#### Nietzsche's Knowledge of China and Chinese Culture

In the past, Nietzsche scholars trained in Chinese studies have done some interesting research on the comparative studies between Nietzsche and Chinese philosophy. Since the end of the 20th century, works have been done on Nietzsche's reception of Chinese culture with some interesting discoveries. Adrian Hsia and the author have published a paper on this issue. This paper is an update and revision of our previous research.

**Delia Lin** (Griffith University)

**Amnesia and Memory: Does Classical Ideology Matter?**

In China's quest for modernity since the early Republican era, classical ideology such as Confucianism has either been seen as the spectre of a reactionary and repressive past whose memory ought to be erased, or the quintessence of an ageless ancient wisdom whose remembrance ought to be restored. Today, revitalisation of Confucianism as a political ideology and social ethic is called upon by not only the government, but also by social scientists and educators. This calls for a critical and nuanced examination of relevance of Confucianism to current day political thinking in China.

This paper offers a three-layered reading of classical Confucianism as a political ideology and examines its relevance to the *suzhi* discourse in post-Mao China. The three layers are (1) the Utopian perspective, (2) the approach to realising the utopian ideal – combing politics and education into one and (3) the psychological foundation of Confucianism – the sense of shame (*chigan*). It argues that the three-layered framework forms the basis of the paradigm of *suzhi*. Based on the case of *suzhi*, this paper further argues that contemporary China's focus on enlisting civilising programs such as *suzhi* in the quest for modernisation and national development echoes millennium-old Confucian governance principles. This paper draws particular attention to the psychological foundation of Confucian governance principles and argues that when advocating for reviving Confucian values, it is important to take into account the psychology of Confucianism.