

CHINESE STUDIES OVERSEAS

Kwang-Ok Kim
Seoul National University

Scope of Chinese Studies

The interdisciplinary field of area studies focusses on a physically bounded or socio-politically constructed community, combining a theoretical and often comparative approach to its social, economic, and political structures and cultural systems on the one hand, with an examination of people's lives in their contexts on the other.

I would propose within the field of Chinese studies to include Taiwan and Hong Kong as well as People's Republic of China. There has been a mistaken tendency among many Sinologists to perceive Taiwan and Hong Kong as marginal contributors to the authenticity and tradition of Chinese culture. Chinese studies scholars therefore tend to identify themselves exclusively with the study of "mainland" China. From the Beijing regime's point of view, both Hong Kong and Taiwan are geographically peripheral but politically and culturally integral parts of China. At the same time, the definition of cultural authenticity and marginality in China is still controversial and therefore a theoretical study of "marginality" itself is equally important in the field. As research in PRC was prohibited at an early stage of the revolution, these two conventionally "peripheral" regions have been the most representative objects for theoretical studies of Chinese society and culture for the past forty years.

The present paper include within its scope all societies within the PRC, Taiwan, and Hong Kong inhabited not only by the Han Chinese but also by non-Han minorities. We know that there are 56 nationalities in the Mainland and 10 ethnic groups in Taiwan. Many foreign scholars have proved the importance of minority studies by paying special attention to the importance of minority studies by paying special attention to the interaction between the Han and non-Han minorities in acculturation processes as well as in political and socio-economic problems. Though the Han Chinese are the largest in population and are predominant in cultural and political power, people distinguish the concept of "China" by referring Chinese language as "Han-yi," the language of the Han people.

Actually these minorities are less distinctively separated than before from the Han in geographic, socio-political, or economic terms. As a result of the demographic policies of the central government, the Han Chinese have, through settlement programs, come to outnumber the indigenous ethnic populations in most autonomous minority regions.

In this paper, I will focus on studies in the social sciences, although humanities disciplines of such as history, philosophy, literature, and religion, are equally important for socio-cultural understanding of a region. Accordingly, the present paper emphasizes academic achievements in the fields of anthropology, sociology, political science, political economy, and some related cultural approaches.

Historical Background of Social Scientific Studies

Before 1949

It was at the turn of the century that the Western social sciences began to be introduced to China. Yan Fu, generally regarded as the founding father of Chinese sociology, was impressed by Spencer's social Darwinism while a student at the Royal Naval College of the United Kingdom. He translated Spencer's "The Study of Sociology" into Chinese along with Huxley's "Evolution and Ethics" and Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations," and introduced the new field of sociology with his invention of the Chinese term "*chünxue*", meaning "study of the (human) group." Intellectuals of this generation such as Wu Wenzhao and P'an Guang-dan, had a strong sense of responsibility about the future of their nation. In their enthusiastic pursuit for a solution, they received their advanced education in Western countries. Many majored in political science and economics, while others became interested in anthropology, a discipline regarded at the time as a synthetic study of society, cultural tradition, history, and civilization.

In the 1930's, such intellectuals of the new generation as Fei Xiaotong and Lin Yaohua, accordingly, became anthropologists, while Chen Da became a sociologist of population and labour problems. They were influenced by such famous Western social anthropologists and sociologists as Radcliffe-Brown and Ogburn who taught at Yenjing University as visiting professors. Structural-functionalism was introduced as the main theoretical framework and community study, together with empirical investigation, was proposed as the ideal method.

Of the Western scholars who stayed in China, S. Gamble, J.L. Buck, and M. Shirokogoroff conducted social surveys which are regarded as pioneering works of scientific investigation of China at that period. While S. Gamble (1954, 1964) studied North Chinese communities, M. Fried (1953) conducted the first anthropological fieldwork by a Western student in a small county seat near Nanjing. Before then, an American Baptist missionary, D. Kulp (1925) wrote his observations about Chinese familism in Swatou area of Guangdong province. J.J. deGroot (1882–1910), a Dutch missionary, published a series of books on death rituals. It should also be noted that a British diplomat, R. Johnston (1910), contributed to the understanding of North China in general through his sketches of the social environment and institutions in the Weihai area of Shandong province.

Ethnographic studies began to be produced abroad by native scholars. X. Fei (1939) published his revised doctoral dissertation in Britain, which was the first book on contemporary China written by a Chinese scholar specifically for the Western readers. Martin Yang (1945), a Columbia trained sociologist, also published an ethnography in English about peasant life and social institution in a village near Qingdao in Shandong province. While X. Fei concentrated on economic life and activities (later with Chih-i Chang 1949), Y. Lin (1948) and M. Yang have paid much attention to traditional family and kinship institutions as the basis of sociopolitical and economic activities of the Chinese peasants.

During this period, Japanese research teams organized by the Southern Manchuria Rail Company conducted a series of investigations in several rural areas in Hebei and Shandong provinces during the periods of 1942–43. The results were published later (*Chugoku Noson Kanko Chosakankokai* 1952–58), and subsequently numerous monographs and articles appeared using data and materials provided by these investigations, dealing with such topics as laws and institutions concerning the traditional family system and kinship organizations, properties and economic activities, village administrative and power structure, and religions and rituals at the communal as well as individual levels (see R. Myers 1970; K. Kim 1976; P. Huang 1985).

1949–1970's

As the Communist regime was established in 1949, many Western trained scholars left China, and those who decided to remain were often subjected to various forms of discriminations or even persecution. The

new regime denounced all Western academic disciplines and, as they adopted the Russian educational system in 1952, abolished especially anthropology and sociology at the higher educational courses. Chen Da (1939) and others lost their job and were obliged to find work as translators. Fei and Lin were lucky enough to be given positions at the Institute of National Minorities to engage in investigations of minorities. Ma In-chou, a Columbia-trained economist, was at first allowed to stay at Peking University to become its president, but was later dismissed when the government adopted the Russian model of economic development (for more details, see S. Wong, 1980).

Under such circumstances, research was virtually prohibited, and foreign scholars were not allowed to make any kind of study in the field. Even local scholars were not allowed to do any personal academic research work except at the government's request. And the Cultural Revolution destroyed the last vestiges of scholarship. PRC was literally closed against the non-Socialist world until 1978 when the Cultural Revolution officially ended. With China no longer open to foreign scholars for fieldwork and with Chinese source materials now unavailable, students of Chinese studies, in the humanities as well as the social sciences, could only satisfy themselves by exploiting the materials collected before the close of China. Accordingly, scholarly works in literature, history, and folk culture focussed largely on the dynastic and republican periods.

In the field of social sciences abroad, political science and anthropology became the main disciplines for Chinese studies. Political scientists were mainly interested in Chinese socialism and process of socialist revolution. Political slogans, ideological campaigns, revolutionary programmes issued by the party, and innumerable other materials, were examined in order to draw a picture of how an ideology was being implemented and replacing the traditional ones (W. Hinton 1966; J. Townsend 1967; B. Schwartz 1968; S. Schram ed. 1973; J. Start 1973; C. Johnson ed. 1973).

Another trend was to focus on administration and the structure of power. Power struggles within the top inner circle and the changing relationships between the center and periphery of administration were examined from the theoretical perspective as a branch of *realpolitik* (see V. Shue 1988; P. Chang 1970; M. Oksenberg 1974; Lindbeck ed. 1971; J. Lewis ed. 1971; R. MacFarquhar 1974; H.Y. Lee 1978).

Anthropological studies, on the other hand, actively attempted to theoretically reconstruct Chinese society, and, through their fieldwork in Taiwan and Hong Kong, which had generally been regarded as culturally marginal and politically peripheral regions, anthropologists attempted to

extrapolate empirical descriptions of Chinese culture as a whole.

Studies of tradition was preferred and, in a sense, were inevitable. First, while fieldwork in the mainland was virtually impossible, scholars still had access to written materials and data about traditional period. Second, it is generally advisable to have concrete understanding of tradition before attempting a study of the contemporary or changing aspects of the society. Third, concerning the question about relationship between tradition and revolution, anthropologists have tended to believe that tradition is more stubborn than is generally realized. That is to say, although transformation of a society is inevitable, cultural tradition at the popular level might survive the transformative effects of political ideology manipulated by the government. A number of studies covering various sub-fields and historical periods under the blanket term "China" was published (see M. Freedman ed. 1970; A. Wolf ed. 1974; W. Willmott ed. 1972; M. Elvin and W. Skinner eds. 1974; etc).

M. Freedman and W. Skinner were the most important figures in the field of Chinese studies. While emphasizing the dynamics and diversity of Chinese society, Freedman (1958, 1966) pioneered the theoretical construction of the traditional social system and structure based on kinship, lineage, marriage network, center-periphery relationships, central government and local society, and socio-political functions of economy and religion. W. Skinner (1964-65) proposed the model of marketing structure as the basis of political and economic fabric of Chinese local societies.

Generally speaking, studies on the Chinese social structure and cultural system have been made within Freedman's theoretical framework. Since the 1960's, most American sinologists have taken Taiwan as their object of study. Thus, A. Wolf (1970, 1974) and M. Wolf (1968, 1972) carried out fieldwork in rural areas focusing on kinship and family life; E. Martin (1973) examined the relationship between varieties of death cults and diversified principles of social organization, while M. Cohen (1976), B. Pasternak (1972), N. Diamond (1969), and S. Harrell (1982) tried to test Freedman's model through analysis of kinship and lineage institution in adaptive practice to environmental elements. S. Sangren (1987) and R. Weller (1987), focusing upon communal ritual, tried to understand the relationship between the state authority and the peasant worldview. B. Gallin (1966) who was the first American anthropologist to come to Taiwan, carried out his fieldwork in a community in central Taiwan to understand regional politics and economic activities and organizations. Also D. Jordan (1972) studied folk religions in a southern Tai-

wanese community.

As the U.K. was the first to recognize the Communist regime of the Mainland, it was difficult for British students to obtain permission for a long term stay in Taiwan. In addition, the British in general were not interested in Taiwan as a proper part of Chinese culture. Therefore, S. Feuchtwang (1974a, b) was the first British student to be allowed to do fieldwork in Taiwan in early 1970's. Kwang-ok Kim (1980), then a student at Oxford University, was benefited from his Korean nationality for his fieldwork among the mountain people and the Han Taiwanese in the late 1970's. Another British scholar was S. Thompson (1988), who conducted research on religion and ritual in a rural community nearly a decade after Feuchtwang's visit.

The history of academic studies of Taiwan go back to the early part of this century, when Japanese scholars conducted many ethnological investigations on the customs and folk life of the Han and non-Han aborigines in the island before and during the Japanese colonial occupation.

The Taiwan colonial government and Imperial University of Taipei undertook the most active and detailed investigations on the aborigines (see Taiwan Soutokufu 1913-1921, 1915-1922; Okamatsu 1918-21; Okada 1942 etc.). At the same time, Ino (1928), Kataoka (1921), Masuda (1939), Suzuki (1934), Ikeda (1944), and Okada (1937) were engaged in the study of the Han Taiwanese. Mostly they were interested in religions, folk customs, and social organizational institutions including the family system (as to the early works on Taiwanese aborigines see K. Kim 1980, and especially on the Japanese works see Suenari et al. eds. 1994).

On the basis of such earlier works, anthropologists of the next generation began to undertake fieldwork from the middle of the 1960's. The results included the works of Suenari (1983), Matsuzawa (1976), Shimizu (1992) on the aborigines, Kani (1970) on the fishing village, Matsuzono (1973) on a lineage trust in Taipei, and Suenari (1977) on lineage trusts in a farm village. They were all single articles except for Ishida's (1985), which is a collection of his sociological surveys of village shrines of the Han Chinese (about the review concerning Japanese studies on Taiwan, see Suenari et al. eds. 1994).

Meanwhile, Hong Kong was regarded as an alternative subject to mainland China. In New Territories, which was previously a part of Guangdong province, one can find several large and well preserved lineage organizations so that it is the ideal place for testing Freedman's theoretical framework. Being a British colony, it is also more favourable for anthropological research. H. Baker (1968) was the first British scholar to

conduct an extensive historical analysis of local lineage organizations and activities in a community in New Territories, which Freedman had to give up due to ill health. Among American anthropologists, J. Potter (1968) studied peasant economy; and J. Watson (1975) analyzed lineage. D. Faure (1986) reexamined Freedman's model through his own analysis of historical materials concerning a rural village in New Territories. M. Segawa (1991) also examined lineage and village in New Territories.

While most studies were concentrated on old lineage villages with historical materials in New Territories, C. Osgood (1975) studied a newly established urban community in the Hong Kong area. J. Brim (1974) and J. Hayes (1977) also studied the Hong Kong areas, combining anthropological and historiographic approaches.

In addition to the studies on rural areas focusing on lineage organization, B. Ward (1985) pioneered the study of the socioeconomic life of the boat people. Since the later 1970's, sociologists and anthropologists have studied socio-cultural problems in the context of industrialization, population growth, and urbanization. E. Cooper (1980) studied the influence of urbanization on the traditional handicraft industry while F. Leeming (1977) examined the street and social environment. A. Wong (1972) studied activities of a local association in Hong Kong social and economic life. As the number of people actually born in Hong Kong has come to exceed half of the total population, Hong Kong is no longer a migrant society. Thus, people began to investigate the nature of the social structure of Hong Kong (see S. Wong 1988; F. Blake 1981).

Apart from studies in Taiwan and Hong Kong, some ideologically oriented Western scholars were allowed to visit mainland China. J. Robinson (1969), an economist at Cambridge, J. Myrdal (1965), a Swedish economist, and W. Hinton (1966), an American, were among those to uncover the mystic veil of China from the positive point of view on the process of social revolution in the form of collectivization program, the Cultural Revolution, and commune system.

However, W. Geddes (1963), and Australian anthropologist, paid a short visit to the village which Fei studied a generation ago and revealed the fact that the situation had not so radically changed in terms of the economic status of the peasant, family life, and other related customs. A. Chan, J. Unger, and R. Madsen (1984), M. Whyte and W. Parish (1984, 1985) also attempted a kind of indirect observation: Through interviews with refugees from the mainland, they attempted to identify significant changes in the social structure of village and communal life. But at the same time, they cautiously pointed that the traditional social and cultural

system had still not completely disappeared. To what extent these traditional elements were still viable being not clear, they reserved to conclude that the Chinese revolution scheme had been successful in eliminating all the traditions.

Since the 1980s: Contemporary China

As China opened its door to the world after the Cultural Revolution in 1978, many sinologists shifted their eyes from Taiwan to mainland China. Political scientists and economists began to conduct empirical research in order to distinguish political rhetoric from social reality. It soon became clear that, despite the significant degree of revolutionary transformational processes during the past forty years, traditional elements are still at work in every aspect of both the public and private spheres. In the fields of social structure, family life and lineage organization, and religions and rituals, we can see an increasing revival of traditional culture at various levels, a process much facilitated by the success of the current economic reforms and consequent rapid economic development.

Under the guidance of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Arthur and Margery Wolf were allowed to conduct a series of "travelling" researches in several places in 1980. A. Wolf focussed upon population problems and M. Wolf (1985) on changes in women's lives. B. Pasternak (1986) attempted to undertake joint research with Chinese sociologists on families in Tianjin, on the basis of which his Chinese colleagues developed their own research project on families in five urban communities. He also conducted jointly with Peking University a project on the ecological change and adaption process of the Han Chinese in Inner Mongolia. M. Cohen (1990) carried out fieldwork in a rural village in North China on family and population before he launched a series of research projects in Shanghai and Szechuan. Helen Siu (1989) was fortunate enough to be allowed to do fieldwork in her parents' native village, and Jack and Sulamith Potter (1990) were able to extend their work in a rural community in Guangdong, focusing on how Chinese peasants were influenced by the revolution. Huang Hsu-min (1990) described the relationship between the state and society through the eyes of a party secretary in a village near Xiamen, Fujian.

Socio-economic aspect of life in urban area had also been studied. H. Gates has been carrying out research on business women in Chengdu, Szechuan; and L. Rofel (1989) studied factory workers in Hangzhou.

Meanwhile, CASS and its U.S. counterpart, the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the PRC (CSPRC or CSSC), led by M. Oksenberg, opened a model village in Zouping county, Shandong province, where foreign scholars are allowed to make a short visit for their research. J. Farguhar and Huang Hsu-min carried out a research project on the health care system (see Huang Hsu-min 1988), and J. Oi (1989) successfully exploited this opportunity for her study on the relationship between the state and peasant in the contemporary economic spheres. A. Kipnis also did fieldwork for his doctoral thesis on revival of peasant culture in the village.

Until the opening of China to Western social scientists, the PRC had been assumed to have undergone a drastic and radical transformation. The Cultural Revolution in particular was thought to have completely eliminated the traditional elements which had survived the early phase of revolution. However, the revival or re-invention of tradition in contemporary social, economic, and ritual life soon began to be discussed. Discovering the continued existence of folk traditions in popular culture and manipulation of private networks in the socio-economic space, scholars (A. Anagnost: 1987, K. Kim: 1991, M. Yang 1989) began to analyze the tension and contested power between the state authority and people's tradition. Thus tension between state and society was proposed as a key to understanding the contemporary Chinese social and cultural scenes.

Issues and Theoretical Trends

Political Rhetoric and Social Reality

Untill recently, scholars of Chinese studies have shown a tendency to focus on politics. Some concentrated more on revising and enriching our understanding of socialism and the revolutionary process. Others focused on selecting and perfecting *realpolitik* models of the regime's policy-making processes at national, provincial, and local levels.

Those whose subject was "the revolution" tended to study the party more than the state. Party ideology, especially Maoist ideology, party behavioural norms, the party's "mass line" work-style, and party propaganda were studied for what they could reveal about the essence of the revolutionary process (V. Nee and D. Mozingo eds. 1983; J. Townsend 1967; S. Schram ed. 1973; C. Johnson ed. 1973).

Scholars whose subject was "the regime" yielded a rich variety of con-

ceptual frameworks or part-theories of the dynamics of elite politics. Although some of this work took the form of general, descriptive, or institutional studies, it was still essentially concerned to chart the formal organization of the Chinese party, state, and policy making procedures (see D. Barnett 1967; D. Lampton 1974).

Most of these studies were approached from the top-down perspective and, therefore, were not so successful in understanding what actually transpire among the people who are the subject of political manipulation by the state. Although scholars were careful to distinguish between political rhetoric and social reality, this was not so easy in practice, especially when empirical observation was virtually impossible. Some scholars in the field of political sociology (see M. Whyte 1974) tried to understand the political process at the popular level through interviews with some selected refugees.

Political scientists began to realize the importance of the relationship between economics and politics and thus turned their attention to the analysis of the economic sector (see D. Solinger 1981; Perkins et al. 1977).

Recent studies display the discrepancies between the communal ideals of social organization articulated by the party/state and the real-life practices within social groups and subsystems—the villages, offices, work teams, and classrooms—in which the Chinese people actually live and work. Since the fundamentals of contemporary Chinese social organization and differentiation were not fully studied, direct observation through fieldwork is extremely important.

Tradition is found to have been redefined and reproduced in modern situations (see A. Walder 1986; R. Madsen 1984) and therefore, studies on peasant society and culture are proposed for a full understanding of the politics and processes of social transformation in China. Already, studies of popular culture and popular protest by social historians (i.e., E. Perry and C. Wong eds. 1985) and anthropologists (i.e., A. Anagnost 1987, 1994; K. Kim 1991; S. Feuchtwang 1989a, 1989b) have revealed that popular political heterodoxies and subcultures of resistance have been manipulated by people over many decades in the face of the party/state's attempts to enforce its own cultural hegemony.

It should be noted that almost all local communities in China, except some more recently settled ones in peripheral areas, have changed very little demographically speaking, since geographical and social movement was rather strictly prohibited by the governmental policy. Even local Party cadres are generally recruited from the native members of their

respective communities. Therefore, in local-level politics and administration, such underlying socio-cultural elements as family ideology, social relationships, customary behavioural and moral codes and so on, are all working, albeit in informal ways. Therefore, empirical analysis of the interactions between state and civil society should be attempted for a comprehensive understanding of Chinese social reality. Regional unit with definable social, cultural, geographical, or economic boundaries, should be analyzed using a multidisciplinary approach.

Up to the present, however, any in-depth empirical study of such political issues has been "discouraged" by the Chinese authorities. Instead, foreign scholars have been guided to study the official apparatus for implementation of state ideology and policies. Economists on China mainly deal with topics like international trade relation, construction of industrial complexes and special economic zones at the macro level. Only a small number of industrial geographers and scholars of economic planning have dealt with regional resources allocation and industrial structure.

Before the 1980's, scholars were mainly concerned with the relationship between state politics and economic structure. The main subject of study was to analyze the process of socialist collectivization and manipulation of the inherent individualism among the people. Since 1980, in addition to the changing aspects of economic policies, scholars have become interested in the quantitative analysis of the practice of market economy at the national level, as well as in the experimental application of private business and share-holding systems (see Lee Keun 1991). But micro-level and qualitative examinations of specific local areas or communities is yet to be attempted. While numerous case studies have been done by local scholars led by Fei Xiao-tong (1989) on small town enterprise and rural industrialization, to date foreign scholars' research in the field concerned have been sparse. Along with H. Gates' research on women entrepreneurs in Chengdu, Szechuan, O. Bruun (1992) studies private business households in the same city, focusing on the relationship between contemporary business and the bureaucracy. In the study of small town enterprise and rural industry, one needs an extensive understanding of social structure and cultural background in the area concerned. Such information is difficult to acquire, especially in a society like China where long-term fieldwork is not facilitated. Here, political scientists and economists need to adopt sociological and anthropological perspectives while the latter need the former's knowledge.

National Unity and Local Diversities

In the study of China, there have always been arguments over the question of generalization and regional variations as China is a vast area with varieties not only in terms of physical environment but also in the social and cultural background of the regions concerned.

Sociological and anthropological studies have concentrated on the south and southeastern regions, which include Shanghai and provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong. In comparison, North China has been relatively neglected, with only a few studies on Hebei (M. Cohen 1990), Inner Mongolia (B. Pasternak), Tianjin (B. Pasternak 1986), Shandong (K. Kim 1991; K. Nakao 1990; N. Diamond 1983), and Northeast (Y. Yan 1993; L. Nie 1992; M. Han 1993). This regional bias raises the issue of the relationship between ideal model and local variation of the Chinese culture.

In another sense, the academic concentration upon southeast China was encouraged by M. Freedman's theory of lineage development. One can easily find materials on lineage organization and lineage village in the Lower Yangtze region, while these patterns are regarded as not well developed or very weak in North China (see T. Fukudake 1946). However, it is found that lineages are ubiquitous though the patterns and degree of practice are different. And principles of social structure and communal solidarity beyond kinship and lineage are also found to be important even in contemporary social life. It has been implied that socio-economic networks based on affinal ties and intervillage relationship through regional religious activities are more distinctive in North China or where lineage is not so well developed (see T. Fukudake 1946; K. Kim 1976). In this regard, we should take it more seriously into consideration that the Chinese have kinship on the one hand and communality on the other before we draw a rough generalization or a socially and culturally monolithic picture of China.

At the present stage, research in China appears to be deeply influenced by the general political atmosphere and regional facilities: Center-periphery theory is more aptly applied in explaining the Chinese case. It is commonly admitted that south China is more attractive for foreign scholars due to the lively and liberal atmosphere and local people's perceptive attitude toward foreigners (see M. Wolf 1985). On the contrary, north China is under the direct political control of the central government and thus foreign researchers often face difficulties by the regulation

-bounded attitude of a rigid bureaucracy.

Politics of Folk Culture

Folk culture (*minsu*) or folk tradition (*minjan chuantong*) has been a politically sensitive field in China during the past forty years. At first, most so-called "folk tradition" was denounced as an anti-revolutionary feudalistic legacy or as unscientific superstition. Under the banner of such slogans as "scientific socialism" (*kexue shehuizu-i*), "let's destroy the four olds campaign" (*p'ossujio*), and the more recent "construction of socialist spiritual civilization" (*shehuizu-i jingshen wenming jianshe*), traditional socio-cultural institutions, especially folk customs, rituals, and rites have been under severe attacks. Temples and shrines of various religions were closed, destroyed, or converted to public use, i.e. into public gardens, kindergartens, waiting rooms at local bus terminals, and village recreation centers. Ancestral tablets and genealogical books were confiscated and burnt because they were considered to be symbols of feudalism and family egoism.

It is only since the 1980's that folk tradition has become officially recongnized in China as a subject of legitimate academic work. Yet a certain selectivity still remains to exercise a constraining influence upon scholarly inquiry. As politically sensitive areas are not permitted to be studied, foreign scholars are encouraged to do research on "local history" about economic development, family life, folk rituals on agricultural and other economic production, food, and customs of material life of the traditional period.

Japanese scholars have organized several joint research teams with Chinese counterparts to conduct long term projects on peasant customs and popular culture in certain provinces. A research team carried out a three-year project on peasant customs in the early 1990s in North China including areas of Shandong, Hebei, Tianjin, and Beijing (see Sasaki 1990, 1991, 1993) while another team led by Suzuki carried out joint research on customs and rites around rice cultivation in the lower Yangze region (see A. Fukuda ed. 1992). Historians like J. Escherick (1987) also conducted field researches in order to reconstruct social history of a particular region.

With the support of the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation, which covered all the necessary expenses of 1.5 million U.S. dollars, Taiwanese scholars launched a three-year joint research project with scholars of the mainland on folk customs in 1993.

Despite its political and social importance, studies of folk tradition in contemporary China have not yet achieved either the quality or quantity that the subject deserves. Local folklorists are mostly occupied with "excavating" old customs from the old people's memories and from written materials of the past. S. Feuchtwang (1992) suggests a new perspective to interpret structure of state rituals in the context of the implementation of state authority down to local levels. K. Kim (1991) discusses the emulation of tradition between the state and peasants at the local community level in contemporary Shandong, and M. Han (1993), a Chinese student at Tokyo University, reports the revival of lineage activities in the service of economic interest in a village of Anhui. Also, J. Jing, a Chinese Ph.D. candidate at Harvard, has conducted fieldwork among a lineage community in Gansu of the Kung surname, descendants of Confucius, to observe how they are reviving lineage rituals and restoring their connection with their ancestor through pilgrimages to Confucius' temple in Chufu in Shandong.

The Han and Non-Han Chinese

Throughout Chinese history, the relationship between the Han and non-Han ethnic groups has been one of the most important questions for national political integration. Since the People's Republic of China is composed of 56 different ethnic groups, the issue of ethnicity and "national" minorities continues to be of fundamental significance. This is why the post-1949 regime recognized the importance of ethnology (*minzuxue*) by establishing the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing and by launching extensive investigation on minorities.

Minority studies were first conducted in order to prove the Marxist evolutionary scheme of civilization and to investigate such practical issues as political economy, health, and population, to establish a sound social basis for political policy (see K. Kim 1985). The Chinese government has primarily been concerned with such questions as how to define nationalities, how to achieve national integration among the minorities, and how to maintain harmonious relations between the Han and non-Han peoples.

In 1988, Burton Pasternak and Xiao-tong Fei carried out a joint research project in Inner Mongolia largely focusing on the problem of environmental adaptation by the migrant Han Chinese and the influence of changes in the subsistence economy upon the native Mongolians (see Ma Rong 1992).

Foreign scholars have mostly been engaged in ethnicity studies (see C. Chiao and N. Tapp eds. 1990). They are also interested not only in the question of cultural assimilation among the minority groups, but also in the relationship between the state and the ethnic identity of national minorities. Focusing on the issue of how minorities define "China" and themselves, scholars have examined whether they regard themselves as distinct from or identical to the Chinese, or how they perceive the interaction between themselves and a nation dominated by the Han.

M. Suzuki (1990) analyzed the meaning of the dragon symbol among Miao people in Guizhou to show cultural similarities between them and the Han. Through her study of the Miao people in Yunnan province, N. Diamond (1988) suggested that the word "*miao*" was invented by the Han out of their Han-centrism, by which means the Han degraded non-Han people. D. Gladney (1987a, 1987b, 1991) revealed that regional sub-branches of one ethnic group of Hui express different meanings of Hui identities as a result of ecological, economic, and social adaptation in their respective regions. D. Wu (1990) discovered that the Bai people in Yunnan, who have themselves largely sinicized through active adaptation, have recently revived their Bai ethnic identity. H. Yokoyama (1990) provides an interesting study suggesting that, although they are culturally identified with the Han, the Bai people in Yunnan manage their ethnic identity through manipulation of a folk religion which they have invented by borrowing from the Han. L. Schein (1989) also revealed that the Miao in Guizhou have sense of double belonging to the state and their revived ethnic identity (for a short overview on minority studies, see S. Harrell 1990).

Yunnan, Guizhou, and Guangxi regions are frequented by scholars for minority studies. Studies on the Yao and Yi nationalities are especially popular among foreign anthropologists. An international association for Yao study has been organized at the initiation of Chiao Chien. While T. Takemura (1981) studied the Yao people, S. Harrell and N. Diamond engaged in the study of the Miao, and H. Yokoyama has done research on cultural conditions among the Bai in the region concerned.

Non-Han Chinese in Taiwan, the aborigines or mountain people, were extensively studied by Japanese scholars during the Japanese colonial period. Since the Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek took over the island after the Second World War, Chinese scholars, under the aegis of Academia Sinica, have conducted systematic investigation of them through anthropological fieldwork.

Since the 1990's, however, local anthropologists have launched many

projects on Han Chinese and minority studies have become relatively de-emphasized. While K. Kim (1980) conducted fieldwork to examine how the aborigines maintain their traditional culture in the face of the Han Chinese, J. Shepherd (1993) analyzed the historical process of sinicization of another mountain people. J. Shimizu (1992) has also studied extensively the changing aspects of a Taiwan plains aboriginal culture. These studies have attempted to develop a theoretical understanding of how sincization has been achieved through contact with the Chinese.

Patterns and Facilities of Contemporary Studies

Mainland China

A foreign scholar working in China is required to do research work as a joint project with a Chinese counterpart. Before it is actually launched, the proposal must be approved by the State Committee of Education, an often time-consuming process. Any kind of field trip must be arranged by Foreign Affairs Division, the administrative department in charge of matters concerning foreigners. Also, long-term fieldwork in one locale is discouraged, usually a visiting scholar is required to stay at a nearby guest house and to pay short visits to villages or to conduct interviews with people as (usually) arranged by the local authorities. The visiting scholar is asked to cover all expenditures, including his Chinese counterpart's salary and research expenses. As a foreigner, he or she is required to pay expenses at a special rate applied differently from the Chinese citizen.

In China, academic research work is under the supervision of administrative organizations. It is often hampered by Chinese bureaucracy which treats the foreigner as a "guest" and expects the "guest" to know how to be a good "friend." Under the lingering shadow of the Mosher controversy, Chinese authorities have attempted to patronize foreign scholars' work lest it should engender another "unnecessary" misunderstanding of China. Problems arising from this peculiar "custom" have been experienced by foreign scholars doing fieldwork in China (see A. Thurston and B. Pasternak eds. 1983; M. Wolf 1985).

N. Diamond, while teaching English at Shandong University for a semester in 1983, attempted a personal visit to the village which was the model of M. Yang's book in 1945. Since she did not go through all the required administrative procedures to get permission, her act caused a

serious concerns. Her personal experience with regard to this incident was eventually described in very critical terms by herself (see N. Diamond 1983a, 1983b).

In mainland China, studies in politically sensitive regions such as Tibet and Xinjiang are still strictly controlled, with only guided tours being arranged within limited areas. Sometimes villages of minorities near urban areas are allowed to be visited, but longterm fieldwork is still not possible. Korean scholars T. Kwon and S. Han conducted a field survey in Yanbian, the Korean minority's autonomous region, but the data they needed were not permitted to be taken out of China. Also, a Korean Ph. D. candidate in anthropology at the University of Washington reported that she was checked by the local security authorities. A Japanese anthropologist, Dr. H. Yokoyama, working on the Bai ethnic group in Yunnan province, had to conduct interviews with the natives for almost a year as they were introduced by the local authorities at a hotel, before she got permission to do fieldwork in their community.

At the present stage, American and Japanese foundations are most active in establishing so-called cooperation networks in China. While scholars from European countries mostly carry out research at the individual level, Americans and Japanese tend to do large synthetic research projects involving the participation of experts of various disciplines. For joint research and academic exchange activities, foreign institutions prefer to establish relationships with scholars at CASS and universities, where they established Centers for American or Japanese studies. These Centers provide students and scholars from the respective counterpart country with useful connections for research and with study facilities.

Western institutions have supported numerous small-scale and short-term research projects over vast areas of China. Since 1990, many long-term and large-scale projects have been launched by American universities and Japanese foundations. Some are carried out with a specific research topic such as agricultural folk customs or rites of passage within a certain regional area like Jiangsu province or Hebei province. Others are organized for the synthetic study of a certain area from various perspectives such as social structure, environment, industry, population, economy, local history, literature, arts, or folk tradition and folklore.

Journals like *China Quarterly*, *Modern China*, and the *Journal of Asian Studies* are leading international forums to deal with all subjects about China in the field of humanities and social sciences.

Regional Specialization

At the present, there are few attempts to undertake regional studies within China. The majority of studies in the fields of politics and economics are made on the basis of general surveys at the macro level and mainly depend upon the governmental data and statistics. Also research conditions vary according to the local social and political atmosphere, the degree of modernization, access to materials and data, availability of trained academic counterpart, and so on.

In addition to local conditions, geographical areas are selected with a view to the interest of the supporting body in specific research topics. It is interesting to see that most studies are concentrated in central or east China, including Jiangsu, Shanghai, Zhejiang, and in the coastal regions of Fujian and Guangdong in south China. Perhaps these are the most advanced regions of China in terms of economic development and cultural prosperity so that the government feels it ideal to open them for foreign scholars, and to attract foreign investment to further their development. At the same time, as Freedman puts it, these areas are far from the central government and therefore people are more flexible in dealing with non-political matters including academic cooperation with foreign scholars.

Until the PRC was announced in 1949, most Western countries, especially the U.K. and U.S.A., had established political and economic connections over the areas mentioned above. In this regard, Anglo-American scholars have benefitted from the heritage of mutual relations with their Chinese counterparts, and from the materials and knowledge they had previously accumulated about the regions.

In addition to such favourable research conditions and facilities, central and southeast China have been preferred because these regions are considered to have preserved more traditional socio-cultural institutions than other parts of China. In search of "traditional" aspects of society, scholars would try to further investigate inner regions like Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Shanxi and Shaanxi, but to date Chinese authorities have been reluctant to allow foreign scholars to get access to the "backward" regions.

Guangdong and Fujian are the provinces that have produced the majority of overseas Chinese. Homecoming visits and investments by these *huachiao* have increased and are vital to local economic development, and thus these regions are more favourable to foreign contact. Scholars

pay academic visits to these provinces to deepen their understanding of overseas Chinese.

In addition to central and east China, the Japanese became active in their empirical studies on north China, including Hebei and Shandong, and the northeastern region that was once called Manchuria. These areas are mostly studied by Chinese students doing doctoral study abroad.

Taiwan and Hong Kong

As the mainland increases its attractiveness for academic research, Taiwan and Hong Kong have become relatively marginalized. However, these two regions appeal in a new way with favourable research conditions and funding. Culturally they are constituent parts of China and, in a sense, more significant for the study of traditional Chinese culture. Sangmee Bak (1994) has studied how women employed in white collar jobs strategically manipulate the Chinese culture of gender in their male-dominated workplace in Taiwan. Also, as economic and political interactions between the mainland and the two regions increase, some anthropologists and sociologists continue their studies in the regions concerned. In preparation for China's takeover of Hong Kong, both scholars on China and the business community of Hong Kong are concerned about possible social and cultural conflict between the two parts. Therefore, they have launched a major research program on south China including Hong Kong, in which anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, economists, and other students of cultural studies participate. Meanwhile, J. Watson and R. Watson have revisited the communities in the New Territories and extended their previous studies in the context of the newly-revived social and economic relationships between the region and the mainland.

With funding from the CCKF (Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation), Academia Sinica, and the Pacific Cultural Foundation, the Taiwanese are also spreading their influence on Chinese studies abroad and promoting the study of Taiwan as a part of "China." Since the Han people in Taiwan originate and have living relatives in the mainland, especially Fujian or Guangdong, scholars like A. Wolf and M. Suenari have extended their studies of Taiwan to include its relationships to the mainland. A. Wolf, in collaboration with Taiwanese anthropologists, has launched a vast project on places in southern Fujian where the people called *minnanren* (men from southern Fujian) in Taiwan, originated. M. Suenari has also extended his study on the Hakka people in Taiwan to their original places in

Guangdong province. M. Segawa (1992) examined Hakka people in Guangdong focusing on their ethnicity. As Taiwan and Hong Kong are capitalist and industrialized while mainland China is socialist, under-industrialized, and agricultural, most foreign scholars are more concerned with the structural transformation of socialist China.

Japanese Approach to China

Japan is a leader in Chinese studies in the length of its involvement in the field, the number of scholars, the quality as well as the quantity of scholarly works. But because most of the local scholars' works are published in Japanese, they have not been fully recognized by the Western academic communities.

Since Sino-Japanese relations became normalized in the 1970's, Japanese scholars began to resume the research begun a generation ago, mainly in the northeast (Manchuria) and north China, including Hebei and Shandong provinces. They have also expanded the scope of their empirical studies to the lower Yangze region, including Jiangsu and Zhejiang, and to south China mainly in Guangdong province, mainly through joint research projects with local Chinese Scholars.

Topics of their studies vary, including local history of economy and industry, regional social structure, nature of lineage organization, ethnicity, folk tradition and popular culture, and so on. They are also engaged in minority and ethnicity studies in southwest China and studies of the Hakka people in Fujian and Guangdong (see Suenari et. al. eds. 1994).

The Institute of Developing Economies, the Institute of Oriental Cultures at Tokyo University, and the National Museum of Ethnology are among many institutions active in area studies, and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science and the Japan Foundation, together with many other private foundations, are the main funding agencies for overseas research.

Chinese Studies in Korea

In Korea, "area studies" have remained relatively undeveloped, and studies of socialist countries in particular have been the victims of Cold War ideology. It is only recently that the study of "foreign" countries was encouraged at all. North Korean studies were impossible until the late 1980s, and remain severely restricted even today. Area studies have instead been focused on the United States and Japan because these two

countries are perceived as being the most closely related to the national interest.

Such a situation has naturally had its major impact on the social sciences. Interestingly, "social science" in Korea has been predominated by political science and economics, a narrower intellectual focus than is found in other countries. And though Chinese studies in Korea have mainly focused on politics, materials on China have remained classified, a fact that has significantly retarded the field. Thus, despite the increasing awareness of China's political and economic importance to Korea or its inherent intellectual interest, Chinese studies in particular remains in its infancy.

The study of China also suffers from the inadequate way in which area studies have been conceptualized by those in a position to aid the development. In general, area studies have fluctuated in the service of changing governmental perceptions of the national interest. The government and business communities have shared a singleminded and short-term view about the relationship between the nation and the outside world. Thus area studies have tended to follow the political issues or economic possibilities of the moment. The government first emphasized the study of Africa when the president visited some of the countries on that continent in the early part of the 1980s, and South America when there was a problem of Korean immigrants in Brazil. Then, as the USSR and Eastern European socialist countries went into crisis, the national concern shifted there. There followed China, and finally Southeast Asia, perhaps in response to improving economic possibilities in these regions. Each country was highlighted for only a couple of years, and small numbers of scholars attracted by funding possibilities began work that waned as that funding evaporated. Thus the number of area specialists who could be said to have actually committed themselves to the study of one particular area has been small, and the quality of work poor.

The field has also struggled against a number of structural weaknesses. Infrastructure remains poor, the libraries, research institutions, funds, advanced research technology such as computer networking, databases and so on, remain seriously undeveloped in comparison with Japan or the United States. In addition, scholars suffer from lack of the kind of rigorous training in language, culture, and history that are considered to be the cornerstones of successful area studies scholarship in the West. In general, there has not been the degree of communication and intellectual cross-fertilization between the humanities and social sciences that can deepen the insight of scholars into the cultural meaning and significance

of factual material.

The study of China, as that of the USSR, was initiated mainly out of the nationalistic concern for the Korean minority populations in the area. Since the 1990's when Russia and China opened their doors to Korea, scholars have visited northeast China and Central Asia for their own researches on the Koreans living there. However, mostly these researches tended to consist merely of interviews conducted during short period of travel. Because of such unsystematic and superficial surveys, results mostly remain as anecdotal accounts of personal experiences. This was perhaps inevitable considering that those who were lucky enough to be "allowed" to visit the once restricted areas were journalists and politically oriented scholars.

In Chinese studies, scholars trained in the fields of anthropology, sociology, or regional economy and politics are very small in number. K. Kim has been conducting ongoing fieldwork in rural Shandong since 1990, which is the only one case of empirical study of the Han society of contemporary mainland China by a Korean anthropologist. T. Kwon and S. Han (1993) jointly conducted a survey on Koreans in the Yanbian Autonomous Region in collaboration with the local Yanbian University, and K. Chang (1990), a young sociologist, completed his Ph.D. thesis on rural population using indirect materials. In addition, a few economists at universities and governmental institutes paid short visits to some selected areas to examine investment facilities for Koreans. Although political scientists flourish in Korea, China specialists among them are very small in number, and even these scholars have concentrated on the analysis of a particular individual like Mao Zedong, without further analysis of the political context either at national or local level.

Empirical studies of Taiwan have been attempted by K. Kim (1980, 1993) and S. Bak (1994) only. In a word, area studies are least developed, and empirical understanding still in its infancy, in Korea.

Prospects

It is understood that recent studies on China by foreign scholars are biased in favour of the fields of local politics and economy. Their interests lie in the impact of socialist collectivization system and the implementation of market economy on peasant's socio-cultural life. Still, we need more detailed studies on specific certain regional community, covering not only environment, population, industrial structure, and political

systems, but also social structure and cultural institutions.

As mentioned earlier, empirical studies of China are still at the beginning stages. This is because China was only recently opened for investigation and as such, conditions for academic research by foreign scholars are not well facilitated. Communities or local societies are not fully studied both in the context of regional distribution and in quantity. Each researcher must rely upon his own ability in collecting all the necessary materials because statistical data is inaccurate as well as incomplete, or difficult to obtain even if available. A comprehensive and empirical understanding is therefore not yet possible.

It is also necessary to understand local history because, due to the state's strict control of geographical movement of people, peasants remain participants in a traditional historical world as well as within the social, political, and economic parameters of a modernization-state. And therefore, the social reality is still partially moulded by the traditional social networks, worldviews, and ethics.

Local dialects are so different from each other that effective communication is sometimes almost impossible without the official language, *butonghua*. Also there is a deeply rooted regional exclusiveness and competition among provinces. Actually, the Chinese tend to be region oriented rather than state centered. The phase and degree of recent economic development varies from region to region and thus, local difference in economic status is threatening the national integration.

Thus, studies focusing on particular regions are necessary in order to add depth to the national level studies usually adopted by political scientists and economists. It should be noted that the traditional conflict between regional autonomy and state authority continues in many forms, and "China" may thus perhaps best be understood as an imagined community covering all its regional and ethnic variations.

It remains a question how to resolve the discrepancy between foreign and local scholars on the theoretical issues raised by the study of China. My personal impression is that Western scholars are more interested in the structural principles of society as they focus on family system, lineage and village organization, and their practice in the fields of politics and economy. On the contrary, local intellectuals are more inclined toward the practical solutions of the problems of economic and social development as suggested by the state. Rural industrialization, small town enterprise, and private business are the fields with which local scholars are most concerned. They seem not to consider the importance and function of underlying culture. In this regard, local scholars are more inclined

to politics and state ideology than are their foreign counterparts.

As in the case of other area studies, it is prerequisite to master the Chinese language. As mentioned above, people use their local dialect except official meeting where non-local personnels are present. For the economist interested in the analysis of statistical data or the political scientist concerned with political structure and system, language problem may not be so serious. However, if they want to talk with peasants and urban peddlers on issues like economic adaptation to the newly introduced social and political environment, or to conduct interviews with factory workers in their everyday life context, language ability if he wants to understand such issues as the actual process of decision making at local level politics and how a political issue is presented for the public discussion.

Bureaucratic patronizing over the academic research is also a burden. It is only through fieldwork that one can distinguish lived social reality from the imagery of state discourse. Since a research place or a unit of analysis is mostly arranged by the authorities, and since it is usually selected among the "model" or "ideal" units, one should always be conscious about the question of peculiarity and generality.

Needless to say, studies based on official economic and political data may be misleading. More than this, however, we should be careful not to be misled by our overemphasizing the importance of politics and economy. That is to say, we have to realize the illusiveness of the power of revolution. Despite vehement efforts by the government to achieve a radical change in Chinese society, it has been found that the "revolutionary" programs could not completely destroy the traditional social institutions which are deeply embedded in the everyday life of people.

Understanding of traditional regional institutions as they are practiced both at the formal and informal levels and in public and private space, are still important in the study of contemporary China. In this regard, analysis of social relationships and networks, value systems, and ethical and moral codes embedded in cultural traditions should be made in the study of politics, economy, culture, and society.

Again, most studies are on contemporary phenomena based on personal experiences. However, we must not forget that China is a nation of a long history and complex civilization. Therefore, social scientists also need to be equipped with proper understanding of historical processes and must recognize the importance of civilization. Though the Chinese pursue social interests, economic success, and political power on the basis of personal strategies, they are still members of a "Chinese" culture

which certainly guides individual behaviour. Without proper understanding of the principles and meanings of Chinese social relationships (*guanxi*), emotional mutuality (*ganching*), sense of relatedness (*yanfen*), sense of fairness (*gongping*), manner or proper behaviour (*limao*), face (*mienzi*), and rationality (*heli*), one cannot understand Chinese behaviour and modes of thought in the fields of political, economic, and social life.

Interrelationships between history and structure, cultural tradition and modernity, regional variations and the national unity, principle and morality in strategy, are all important conceptual frameworks for Chinese studies. Here humanities and social science should cooperate. Theory-building scholars tend to treat Chinese phenomena as raw material to be separated from their cultural contexts, while non-theoretical scholars flatly describe personal experiences at a merely empirical level.

To conclude, there should be more empirical studies as contemporary China was but recently started and "China" is a vast area of cultural, social, and ethnic variety. Theoretically, confrontation between the state and the society, between socialist ideology and capitalist strategy, between communalism and individualism, and between morality and practice should be scrutinized in the context of people's lived reality.

References

- Anagnost, Anne. 1987. "Politics and Magic in Contemporary China." *Modern China* 13(1).
- Anagnost, Anne. 1994. "The Politics of Ritual Displacement," in C. Keyes et al. (eds.) *Asian Visions of Authority: Religion and the Modern States of East and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Bak, Sangmee. 1994. *Professional Women's Work, Family, and Kinship in Urban Taiwan: A Case Study Conducted At a TV Station*. Ph.D. Thesis. Harvard University.
- Baker, Hugh. 1968. *A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheng Shui*. London: Frank Cass.
- Barnett, Doak. 1967. *Cadres, Bureaucracy, and Political Power in Communist China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Blake, Fred. 1981. *Ethnic Groups and Social Change in a Chinese Market Town*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Brim, John. 1974. "Village Alliance Temples in Hong Kong," in Wolf, A. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bruun, Ole. 1992. *Business and Bureaucracy in a Chinese City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Chan, Anita, Unger, Jonathan, and Madsen, Richard. 1984. *Chen Village: The Recent History of a Peasant Community in Mao's China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chang, Kyung-sup. 1991. *The Family and Developmental Socialism: On the State-Peasant Family Symbiosis in Contemporary China*. Ph. D. Thesis. Brown University.
- Chang, Parris H. 1970. "Research Notes on the Changing Loci of Decision in the CCP." *China Quarterly* 44.
- Chen, Da. 1939. *Emigrant Communities in South China*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chiao, Chien and Tapp, Nicholas (eds.) 1990. *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China*. Hong Kong: New Asia College.
- Chuugoku Noson Kanko Chosakankokai 1952-58. *Chuugoku Nounson Kankou Chosa (Survey of Customs of Chinese Rural Villages)*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten (in Japanese).
- Cohen, Myron. 1976. *House United, House Divided: The Chinese Family in Taiwan*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cohen, Myron. 1990. "Lineage Organization in North China." *Journal of Asian Studies* 49(3).
- Croll, Elizabeth. 1981. *The Politics of Marriage in Contemporary China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeGroot, J.J. 1892-1910(1987). *The Religious System of China*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Diamond, Norma. 1969. *K'un Shen: A Taiwanese Village*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Diamond, Norma. 1983a. "Model Villages and Village Realities." *Modern China* 9(2).
- Diamond, Norma. 1983b. "Taitou Revisited: Prospects for Community Restudies," in Thurston, Anne and Pasternak, Burton (eds.) *The Social Sciences and Fieldwork in China*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Diamond, Norma. 1988. "The Miao and Poison: Interactions on China's Southwest Frontier." *Ethnology* 27(1).
- Elvin, Mark and Skinner, William G. (eds.) 1974. *The Chinese Cities Between Two Worlds*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Escherick, Joseph. 1987. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Faure, David. 1986. *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in Eastern New Territories*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Fei, Xiao-tong. 1939. *Peasant Life in China*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Fei, Xiao-tong and Chang Chi-i. 1949. *Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fei, Xiao-tong. 1987. *Rural Development in China: Prospect and Retrospect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 1974a. *An Anthropological Analysis of Chinese Geomancy*. Vientiane and Paris: Vithagna.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 1974b. *Religion and Society in Northern Taiwan*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of London.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 1989a. "The Problem of 'Superstition' in the People's Republic of China," in Benavides, G. and Daly, M.W. (eds.) *Religion and Political Power*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 1989b. "The Study of Chinese Popular Religion." *Revue Européenne des Sciences Sociales* 27.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. 1992. *The Imperial Metaphor: Popular Religion in China*. London: Routledge.
- Freedman, Maurice. 1958. *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*. London: Athlone Press.
- Freedman, Maurice. 1966. *Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung*. London: Athlone Press.
- Freedman, Maurice (ed.) 1970. *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Fried, Morton. 1953. *Fabric of Chinese Society*. New York: Octagon Press.
- Fukuda, Ajio (ed.) 1992. *Chuugoku Kounan no Minzoku Bunka* (Folk Culture of China South of the Yangzi River). Sakura: National Museum of History and Folklore (in Japanese).
- Fukudake, Tadashi. 1946(1957). *Chuugoku Nouseon Shakai no Kouzou* (Structure of Chinese Peasant Society). Kyoto: Taigado (in Japanese).
- Gallin, Bernard. 1966. *Hsin Hsing, Taiwan: A Chinese Village in Change*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gamble, Sidney. 1954. *Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Gamble, Sidney. 1964. *North China Villages*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Geddes, William 1963. *Peasant Life in Communist China*. Washington D.C.: American Association of Anthropologists.
- Gladney, Dru. 1987a. *Qing Zhen: A Study of Ethnoreligious Identity Among Hui Muslim Communities in China*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Washington.
- Gladney, Dru. 1987b. "Muslim Tombs and Ethnic Folklore: Characters for Hui Identity." *Journal of Asian Studies* 46(3).
- Gladney, Dru. 1991. *Muslim Chinese: Ethnic Nationalism in the People's Republic*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Han, Min. 1993. *Social Continuity in a Village in Northern Anhui: A Response to Revolution and Reform*. Ph.D. Thesis. University of Tokyo (in Japanese).
- Harrell, Stevan. 1982. *Ploughsharing Village: Culture and Context in Taiwan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Harrell, Stevan. 1990. "Studies on the People's Republic of China by North American Cultural Anthropologists." *Bunka Jinrui* 8.

- Hayes, James. 1977. *The Hong Kong Region: 1850-1911, Institution and Leadership in Town and Countryside*. Hamden: The Shoe String Press.
- Hinton, William. 1966. *Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in A Chinese Village*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Huang, Philip C.C. 1985. *The Peasant Economy and Social Change in North China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Huang, Shu-min. 1990. *The Spiral Road*. Boulder: The Westview Press.
- Huang, Shu-min. 1988. "Transforming China's Collective Health-Care System: A Village Study." *Social Science and Medicine* 27(9).
- Ikeda, Toshio. 1944. *Taiwan no Katei Seikatsu [Family Life in Taiwan]*. Taipei: Toto Shoseki Taikoku Shiten (in Japanese).
- Ishida, Hiroshi. 1985. *Chuugoku Nounson Shakai Keizai Kouzou no Kenkyu [History and Economy of Chinese Rural Society]*. Kyoto: Koyo Shobo (in Japanese).
- Johnson, Chalmers (ed.). 1973. *Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Johnston, Richard. 1910. *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Jordan, David. 1972. *Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kataoka, Iwao. 1921. *Taiwan Fuuzokushi [Manners and Customs of Taiwan]*. Taipei: Taiwan Nichinichi Shimposha (in Japanese).
- Kim Kwang-Ok. 1976. *Inter-Village Relationship and Affinal Ties in North China*. M. Litt. Thesis. University of Oxford.
- Kim, Kwang-Ok. 1980. *The Taruko and Their Belief System*. D. Phil. Thesis. University of Oxford.
- Kim Kwang-Ok. 1983. "Policies and Studies on Minorities in China." *Sino-Soviet Affairs* 7(1).
- Kim, Kwang-Ok. 1991. "Resurgence of Tradition and Socialist Civilization Movement in China." Paper presented at the Annual ASA Conference held at the University of Cambridge.
- King, Ambrose Y. and Lee, Rance P. (eds.) 1981. *Social Life and Development in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Kwon, Tae-hwan and Han Sang-bok. 1993. *Chungkuk Yenbyon eu Chosonchok [Koreans in Yanbian, China]*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press (in Korean).
- Kulp, Daniel. 1925. *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lampton, David. 1974. *Health, Conflict, and the Chinese Political System*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lee, Hong Yung. 1978. *The History of The Cultural Revolution: A Case Study*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, Keun. 1991. *Chinese Firms and the State in Transition: Property Rights and*

- Agency Problems in the Reform Era*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Leeming, Frank. 1977. *Street Studies in Hong Kong, Localities in a Chinese City*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, John (ed.) 1970. *Party Leadership and Revolutionary Power in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lin Yao-hua. 1948. *The Golden Wing, A Sociological Study of Chinese Familism*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Lindbeck, John (ed.) 1971. *China: Management of a Revolutionary Society*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Ma Rong 1992. *Migrant and Ethnic Integration in Rural Inner Mongolia*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- MacFarquahr, Roderick. 1974 and 1983. *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Madsen, Richard. 1984. *Morality and Power in a Chinese Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Martin, Emily. 1973. *The Cult of the Dead in a Chinese Village*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Martin, Emily and Gates, Hill (eds.) 1981. *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Masuda, Fukutoro. 1939. Taiwan no Shuukyoku: Nousei no Chuushintokushu Shuukyoku Kenkyu [The Study of the Religion of Formosa] Tokyo: Yokendo (in Japanese).
- Matsuzawa, Kazuko. 1976. "Toubu Paiwanzoku no Kazoku to Shinzoku" [Family and Kin in Eastern Paiwan]. *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 1(3).
- Matsuzono, Makio. 1973. "Taiwan Kanzoku no Sei to Saishi Kougyou" [The Clan of Han Chinese in Taiwan and Their Corporate Property for Ancestor Worship]. *Sha* 4(2) (in Japanese).
- Myers, Ramon. 1970. *The Chinese Peasant Economy*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Myrdal, Jan. 1965. *Report From a Chinese Village*. New York: Random House.
- Nakao, Katsumi. 1990. *Chuugoku Sonraku no Kenryoku Kouzo to Shakai Henka* [Power Structure and Social Change in Chinese Villages]. Tokyo: Ajia Seikai Gakkai.
- Nee, Victor and Mozingo, D. (eds.) 1983. *State and Society in Contemporary China*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Nie, Lili. 1992. Ryuuho: Chuugoku Touhoku Chihou no Souzoku to sono Henyou. [The Liu Village; Lineage and Change in Northeastern China]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (in Japanese).
- Oi, Jean. 1989. *State and Peasant in Contemporary China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Okada, Yuzuru. 1937. "Sonraku to Kazoku-Taiwan Hokubu no Sonraku Seikatsu" [Village and Family: Village Life in Northern Taiwan Villages].

- Minzohugaku Kenkyu 4(1) (in Japanese).
- Okada, Yuzuru. 1942. *Mikai Shakai ni Okeru Kazoku* [The Family in Primitive Societies]. Tokyo: Kobundo (in Japanese).
- Okamatsu, Santarou. 1918-1921. *Taiwan Banzoku Kanshuu Kenkyuu* [Study of the Customs of the Taiwan Aborigines]. Taipei: Taiwan Sotokufu [Taiwan Colonial Government] (in Japanese).
- Oksenberg, Michael. 1974. "The Chinese Policy Process and the Public Health Issue: An Arena Approach." *Studies in Comparative Communism* 7(4).
- Osgood, Corneliuss. 1975. *The Chinese: A Study of a Hong Kong Community*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Pasternak, Burton. 1972. *Kinship and Community in Two Chinese Villages*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pasternak, Burton. 1986. *Marriage and Fertility in Tianjin, China: Fifty Years of Transition*. Papers of the East-West Population Institute No.99. Honolulu: East-West Center.
- Perkins, Dwight, et al. 1977. *Rural Small-Scale Industry in the People's Republic of China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Perry, Elizabeth and Wong, Christine (eds.) 1985. *The Political Economy of Reform in Post-Mao China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Potter, Jack M. 1986. *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant: Social and Economic Change in a Hong Kong Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Potter, Sulamith and Jack M. Potter. 1990. *China's Peasants: The Anthropology of Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, Joan. 1969. *The Cultural Revolution in China*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Rofel, L. 1989. *Eating Out of One Big Pot: Hegemony and Resistance in a Chinese Factory*. Ph.D. Thesis. Stanford University.
- Sangren, Steven. 1987. *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Sasaki, Mamoru. 1990. *Chuugoku no Ie, Mura, Kamigami* [Chinese Family, Village, and Gods]. Tokyo: Toho Shoten (in Japanese).
- Sasaki, Mamoru. 1991. *Kindai Chuugoku no Shakai to Minshuu Bunka* [Society and Popular Culture of Modern China]. Tokyo: Toho Shoten (in Japanese).
- Sasaki, Mamoru. 1993. *Chuugoku Minshuu no Shakai to Chitsujo* [Society and Order of the Chinese People]. Tokyo: Toho Shoten (in Japanese).
- Schein, Louisa. 1989. "The Dynamics of Cultural Revival Among the Miao in Guizhou," in Chien Chiao and Nicholas Tapp (eds.) *Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups in China*. Hong Kong: New Asia College.
- Schram, Stuart (ed.) 1973. *Authority, Participation and Cultural Change in China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schram, Stuart (ed.) 1985. *The Scope of State Power in China*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Schwartz, Benjamin. 1968. *Communism and China: Ideology in Flux*. Cam-

- bridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Segawa, Masahisa. 1991. *Hakka: Kanan Kanzoku no Ethnicity to Sono Kyoukai*. [Hakka: Ethnicity and its Boundary Among the Han in South China]. Tokyo: Fukyuosha (in Japanese).
- Shepherd, John R. 1993. *Statecraft and Political Economy on the Taiwan Frontier 1600–1800*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shue, Vivienne. 1988. *The Reach of the State*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Shimizu, Jun. 1992. *Kuvalan Zoku Kawariyuku Taiwan Heichi no Hitobito* [The Kvalan: A Changing Plains Aboriginal People in Taiwan]. Kyoto: Akademia Shuppankai (in Japanese).
- Siu, Helen. 1989. *Agents and Victims in South China*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Skinner, William G. 1964–65. "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China, Parts I. II. III." *Journal of Asian Studies* 24(1, 2, 3).
- Solinger, D. 1984. *Chinese Business under Socialism: The Politics of Domestic Commerce, 1949–1980*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Starr, John. 1973. *Ideology and Culture: An Introduction to the Dialectic of Contemporary Chinese Politics*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Suenari, Michio. 1977/78. "Kanjin no Sosen Saishi" [The Cult of Ancestors in Taiwan]. *Seishin Studies* 50. Tokyo: University of the Sacred Heart (in Japanese).
- Suenari, Michio. 1983. *Taiwan Amizoku no Shakaisoshiki to Henka* [The Change of Social Organization of the Ami in Taiwan]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press (in Japanese).
- Suenari, Michio, John Eades, and Christian Daniels (eds.) 1994. *Perspectives on Chinese Society: View from Japan*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
- Suzuki, Michio. 1990. "Appearing of Dragon: Worldview of the Miao, Guizhou, China." *Bunka Jinruigaku* 8.
- Suzuki, Seiichiro. 1975(1934). *Taiwan Kyuukan Kankon Sousai to Nenchuu Gyouji* [Old Customs in Rites of Passage and Annual Rituals in Taiwan]. Taipei: Taiwan Nichinichi Shimposha (in Japanese).
- Taiwan Soutokufu 1913–1921. *Banzoku Chousa Houkokusho* [Research Report on the Aborigines]. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government (in Japanese).
- Taiwan Soutokufu 1915–1922. *Banzoku Kanshuu Chousa Houkokusho* [Research Report on the Customs of the Aborigines]. Taipei: Taiwan Colonial Government (in Japanese).
- Takemura, Takyuji. 1981. *Yao-zoku no Rekishi to Bunka: Kanan Tounan-Ajia Sanchi Minzoku no Shakaijinruigaku-teki Kenkyu* [History and Culture of the Yao: A Social Anthropological Study of a Hill People of South China and Mainland Southeast Asia]. Tokyo: Koubundo (in Japanese).
- Thompson, Stuart. 1988. "Death, Food, and Fertility," in James Watson and

- Evelyn Rawski (eds.) *Death Ritual in Late and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thurston, Anne and Pasternak, Burton (eds.) 1989. *The Social Sciences and Fieldwork in China: Views from the Field*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Townsend, James. 1967. *Political Participation in Communist China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Walder, Andrew. 1986. *Communist Neo-Traditionalism: Work and Authority in Chinese Industry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ward, Barbara. 1985. *Through Other Eyes: Essays in Understanding Conscious Models Mostly in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.
- Watson, James L. 1975. *Emigration and the Chinese Lineage: The Mans in Hong Kong and London*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Watson, Rubie S. 1985. *Inequality among Brothers: Class and Kinship in South China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watson, Rubie S. and Ebrey, Patricia B. (eds.) 1981. *Marriage and Inequality in Chinese Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weller, Robert. 1987. *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Whyte, Martin. 1974. *Small Groups and Political Rituals in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Whyte, Martin and William Parish. 1978. *Village and Family in Contemporary China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Whyte, Martin and William Parish. 1984. *Urban Life in Contemporary China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Willmott, William E. (ed.) 1972. *Economic Organization in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Arthur P. (ed.) 1974. *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Arthur P. 1970. "Chinese Kinship and Mourning Dress," in M. Freedman (ed.) *Family and Kinship in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Arthur P. 1974. "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," in A. Wolf P. (ed.) *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Margery, 1968. *The House of Lim*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Margery. 1972. *Women and the Family in Rural Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wolf, Margery. 1985. *Revolution Postponed*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wong, Aline K. 1972. *The Kaifeng Associations and Society of Hong Kong*. Taipei: The Oriental Cultural Service.
- Wong, Siu-lun. 1980. *Sociology and Socialism in Contemporary China*. London: Routledge and Kagan Paul.

- Wong, Siu-lun. 1988. *Emigrant Entrepreneurs, Shanghai Industrialists in Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.
- Wu, David Y.H. 1990. "Chinese Minority Policy and the Meaning of Minority Culture: The Example of the Bai in Yunnan, China." *Human Organization* 49(1).
- Yan, Yun-Xiang 1993. *The Flow of Gifts: Reciprocity and Social Networks in a Chinese Village*. Ph.D. Thesis. Harvard University.
- Yang, Martin. 1945. *A Chinese Village: Taitou, Shandong*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. 1986. *The Art of Social Relationships and Exchange in China*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California at Berkeley.
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. 1989. "The Gift Economy and State Power in China." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31(1).
- Yokoyama, Hiroko. 1992. "Separation from the 'Tu' Category," in Nakane Chie and Chiao Chien (eds.) *Home Bound: Studies on East Asian Societies*. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Studies.