From Philosopher to Cultural Icon: Reflections on Hu Mei’s “Confucius” (2010)

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, Ronald K. Frank, Renqiu Yu, and Bing Xu

Occasional Paper No. 11
March 2011

Centre for Qualitative Social Research
Department of Sociology
Hong Kong Shue Yan University
Hong Kong SAR, China

Center for East Asian Studies
Department of History
Pace University
New York, USA
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon:
Reflections on Hu Mei’s “Confucius” (2010)

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, Ronald K. Frank,
Renqiu Yu, and Bing Xu
Social and Cultural Research
Occasional Paper Series

Social and Cultural Research is an occasional paper series that promotes the interdisciplinary study of social and historical change in Hong Kong, China and other parts of Asia. The appearance of papers in this series does not preclude later publication in revised version in an academic journal or book.

Editors
Siu-Keung CHEUNG
Centre for Qualitative Social Research
Department of Sociology
Hong Kong Shue Yan University
Email: skcheung@hksyu.edu

Joseph Tse-Hei LEE
Center for East Asian Studies
Department of History
Pace University
Email: jlee@pace.edu

Harold TRAVER
Centre for Qualitative Social Research
Department of Sociology
Hong Kong Shue Yan University
Email: htraver@hksyu.edu

Ronald K. FRANK
Center for East Asian Studies
Department of History
Pace University
Email: rfrank2@pace.edu

Published and distributed by
Centre for Qualitative Social Research
Department of Sociology
Hong Kong Shue Yan University
10 Wai Tsui Crescent, Braemar Hill
North Point, Hong Kong SAR, China
Tel: (852) 2570 7110
Email: qrcentre@hksyu.edu

Center for East Asian Studies
Department of History
Pace University
1 Pace Plaza
New York, 10038, USA
Tel: (1) 212-3461827
Email: jlee@pace.edu

ISSN 1996-6784
Printed in Hong Kong

Copyright of each paper rests with its author(s).
Contents

Preface
Joseph Tse-Hei Lee 1

Let’s read The Analects after watching “Confucius”
Renqiu Yu 5

On the film “Confucius”
Bing Xu 17

The Cinematic Representations of Confucius
Joseph Tse-Hei Lee 27

Some Pedagogical Reflections on “Confucius”
Ronald K. Frank 39

Glossary 49

References 50
Contributors

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee
Professor of History, Pace University, USA

Ronald K. Frank
Associate Professor of History, Pace University, USA

Renqiu Yu
Professor of History, State University of New York (SUNY) at Purchase, USA

Bing Xu
Associate Professor, Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China and Visiting Scholar, Center for Cultural Sociology, Yale University, USA
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Preface

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee

This occasional paper originated from a panel discussion on the Chinese biographical film, “Confucius” (directed by Hu Mei, 2010), organized by the Confucius Institute at Pace University in Lower Manhattan, New York to celebrate its first anniversary on May 19, 2010. It consists of four thematic essays that address the cinematic representations of the ancient sage Confucius, the revival of Confucianism, and the formation of cultural identity in contemporary China. Renqiu Yu uses a historical framework to explain why and how this film positively portrays Confucius in the era of globalization. While Chinese nationalists appreciate the benefits of globalization like closer economic ties, stronger cross-cultural encounters and access to technological and scientific innovations, they seek to revive the centrality of core Chinese values such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism in an increasingly materialistic society. Along the same line of reasoning, Bing Xu argues that Confucianism can serve as a valuable cultural resource to reinvent the Chinese identity and to critique the crises of modernization. Joseph Tse-Hei Lee shifts the focus of attention to the political subtext of the film. As director Hu Mei reinvented certain
segments of Confucius’ life, she has deliberately depoliticized his lifelong commitment to pursue good governance and restore proper social relationships in the world. Ronald K. Frank comments on the humanistic portrayal of Confucius in the film: “picking and choosing from a multitude of conflicting sources and interpretations of Confucius’ life, the director manages to presents a plausible story about a cultural icon.” The real pedagogical value of this film lies in the director’s ability to tell a sympathetic story of Confucius and to make it meaningful to the contemporary audience. Taken together, these essays reveal that the
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

cinematic adaptation of Confucius is a highly complex cultural phenomenon, grounded in the context of specific historical conditions, the needs of media consumption, and the search for a new Chinese identity. Evidently, Confucianism and its conceptual insights still hold the key to understanding the complexity of China today.
Let’s read *The Analects* after watching “Confucius”

Renqiu Yu

The feature film “Confucius” is the latest indication of a growing trend in mainland China to confirm the relevance and significance of traditional culture in contemporary society. Such attempts at reinterpreting and representing historical figures and themes in popular culture, as part of a larger cultural discussion and debate, show an increasing Chinese confidence in their cultural resources that were cast away in the previous era. This trend of development may inspire more serious discussions and debates.

“Confucius” was produced in a time when China has been rapidly integrated into global economy and when the Chinese have been trying to cope with the challenges in the age of globalization, interdependence, and uncertainties. With so much excitement and anxiety, the Chinese have been debating among themselves about the nature of globalization and its positive and negative impacts on China. Some celebrate the obvious benefits of globalization that China enjoys: the phenomenal economic growth for more than two decades, tens of millions lifted from poverty,
more personal freedom and choices in a more open and free society, the improvement of living standards for the most at home, and the rising status of the country abroad. Others, however, are horrified by the downsides of rapid modernization and globalization: the alienation of human relations and breakdown of traditional family and communal structures, the widespread corruption, the increasing gap between the rich and poor and between the developing and developed regions, tremendous environmental pollution across the country and, as the old socialist system was demolished in the rush to a market economy, the former “masters of the country”–the workers and peasants (many now are migrant workers)–are reduced to the powerless and voiceless “vulnerable groups” (ruoshi qunti) enduring injustice in a brave new world.

A group of cultural nationalists has emerged to address these issues and has called for reexamination of traditional culture and confirmation of basic Confucian values, which they see as useful for building a fair and just society and for maintaining a Chinese identity in a time when foreign things seem to engulf China. Some of them argue that China’s problems are caused by a convergence of the worst of capitalism, the worst of the Chinese traditional culture, and the worst of the socialist system.¹ To remedy it, they call for a return to the fine essence of traditional Chinese culture. They stress that they do not reject modernization; rather, they want all the benefits of modern technology and scientific innovations. At the same time they want to remain Chinese with core Chinese values.
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

What are the core Chinese values that survived the ages and that should inform contemporary Chinese in their effort to build a modern identity? Almost all cultural nationalists point to Confucianism. In contemporary China, however, many Chinese would readily admit that they do not know much about Confucianism and Confucius himself. Those who grew up in the 1950s-1970s can still clearly remember the officially sponsored criticism of Confucianism as “the ruling tool of the reactionary slave-owner class” and “the ideology of feudalism.” Such political rhetoric can now be seen as the ruling tool of the government authorities for thought control in those years. Naturally there is a need for the people who have survived the Maoist era to learn, unlearn, and relearn. The younger generation today enjoys a more open and free environment to study the classics, of which the Confucian texts are the core.²

The emergence of cultural nationalism can be seen as a backlash to both the negative aspects of globalization and the radical anti-traditional ideology of the Maoist era (1949-1976), and this clearly expresses a strong faith in the relevance and significance of traditional culture in today’s China. The movie “Confucius,” as part of this relearning movement, tries to humanize Confucius and portray him as a man. Such an approach is courageous in the Chinese context since it repudiates at once two powerful legacies: the first is a two-thousand-year-old tradition of deifying Confucius since the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.); the other is the strong, radical anti-traditional movement in the twentieth century to demonize Confucius and Confucianism. Within China, given the residual influence of
these two legacies and a new taste for entertainment products shaped in the mass consumer culture during the last two decades, the movie’s approach to present Confucius as a man in a commercial venture may receive all kinds of reactions including negative criticisms. However, the movie itself as well as the controversies and debates it caused may inspire many people to read the original texts of the Confucian classics and to assess the movie’s artistic treatment of Confucius’ life and career, and this outcome of learning and relearning would be a great achievement.

Viewing “Confucius” from outside of China, I find it an admirable attempt at relearning and understanding Confucianism in contemporary China and I believe that the movie can be used in the classroom of non-Chinese students to inspire and stimulate interesting discussions and further reading of the original Confucian texts. First of all, I admire the movie’s efforts to present a historical Confucius, who lived in the chaotic period of the Spring and Autumn (770-476 B.C.), based on a fairly faithful reading of the classics that recorded Confucius’ life. The historical figure emerged in the movie is essentially a respectable person who was determined to build a political order based on the moral principles that he developed from China’s historical experiences and who, while enduring many frustrations and setbacks in his endeavors, remained an idealist with an unshakable faith in the human potential of creating a better society. The first half of the movie highlights Confucius’ ambitions, visions, and accomplishments as a politician in the state of Lu, and the second half depicts Confucius’ traveling in different states, trying to persuade the
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

various rulers to accept and experiment his political theory. While serving as the Minister of Justice in his own state of Lu, the movie shows that Confucius acted as a visionary and courageous statesman with remarkable political and diplomatic skills, and began to take decisive measures against the three aristocratic houses whose increasing power had threatened the state’s political order and social stability. Though his struggle against the three aristocratic houses failed due to unfavorable circumstances and he was forced to leave his own state, Confucius held on to his beliefs and ideals. There are many scenes in the movie that portray Confucius as a committed idealist who never gave up his faith and idealism in a time of hardship, despair, and helplessness. In a scene, Confucius was admonished by Laozi, the founder of Daoism. In several scenes, Confucius and his disciples encountered cynics whose ridicules of Confucius echoed Laozi’s admonition. Confucius refused to follow Laozi’s advice earlier on, and he of course ignored those who parroted Laozi. There may be endless debates in some circles about the possibility of a historical encounter between Confucius and Laozi, but the scene of such a meeting in the movie is a remarkable artistic imagination based on popular stories passed from generation to generation, and it suggests that Confucius’ commitment to activism and idealism was a conscious choice made after interacting with other approaches such as Laozi’s passivism and pessimism. All these serve to highlight Confucius as an idealist, someone “who keeps working towards a goal the realization of which he knows to be hopeless” (zhì qí bù kě er wèi zhī), in the language of Confucius’ contemporary, a gatekeeper in the state of Lu.³
But Confucius is not an impractical philosopher or unrealistic dreamer. He had experiences in government and he knew politics well; he developed his ideas and ideals not only from learning and synthesizing the past knowledge but also from his own experiences in real politics. He had many setbacks and frustrations, but he never allowed personal setbacks and frustrations to weaken his confidence and faith in the applicability of his political ideas. When he failed in his attempts at political reform in his own state of Lu, he traveled to other states to seek opportunities to experiment his political theory. Although he insisted on conducting politics in a virtuous way, he was entirely capable of analyzing different political situations objectively and realistically and he could be flexible and adaptive as the situation required. In this respect, the movie’s treatment of Confucius’ meeting with Nanzi provides a very interesting case for discussion and critical reading.

Confucius’ meeting with Nanzi is a familiar story. According to The Analects, when Confucius and his disciples came to the state of Wei, Nanzi, the royal consort of the Duke Ling of Wei, invited him to a meeting in her palace. Confucius accepted the invitation and met with Nanzi. Zilu, one of the disciples, expressed his displeasure since Nanzi had a bad reputation, and Confucius vowed that he did not do anything improper. The movie’s treatment of this episode is interesting and provocative since it created scenes and dialogues to fill in the gaps in the historical records; such artistic imaginations are clearly intended to entertain the audience, but a
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

discussion of the episode in the movie could lead to inquiries into a lot more questions beyond entertainment.

One may first ask why Confucius, someone known for his integrity and moral principles, answered the summons of a woman of bad reputation. Many Confucian scholars who had deified Confucius in their mind had trouble with this story, and they simply refused to believe it. To them, this story is incompatible with the image of Confucius as a perfect Sage who would not do anything like this. Nevertheless, the story is recorded in such classics none other than *The Analects*, the indisputably most important cannon of Confucianism, and *Shiji* (the Records of the Grand Historian) by Sima Qian, a respected and trusted chronicle of the Chinese history from the ancient time to the Han dynasty. The movie suggests that Confucius went to the meeting because, as he explained to his disciples, he understood that Nanzi actually had real power in Wei. Then, why did a woman with a bad reputation enjoy real power? Is it simply because of her feminine charm as suggested by so many stories in the popular culture? Furthermore, when Confucius went to see Nanzi, did he simply give in to the political power that Nanzi held or did he just fulfill the ritualistic requirement of his time? Or is it possible that Confucius might hold some respect for Nanzi as a skillful politician and might have some curiosity about her? When Confucius is treated as a man, not a sage or a demon, such questions can and should be raised.
But the existing historical records are too scarce to offer clear answers to these questions. It is obvious that the movie made artistic interpretations and expanded on the insufficient historical records. If one raised a question of whether the movie director had taken too much liberty at interpreting the historical records and indulged too much in creative artistic imaginations, one might (I would like to say, should) develop a desire to read the original texts in *The Analects* and *Shiji* to find one’s own answers to these questions. How about reading *The Analects* after watching “Confucius” if the cinematic representation of Confucius seems intriguing? As a professor, I admit that I get very excited about this possibility.

According to *The Analects*, Confucius had a very low opinion of Nanzi’s husband, the Duke Ling of Wei, but recognized the fact that he was able to keep his power for a long time because he appointed competent people to the key positions in his government:

> When the Master spoke of the total lack of moral principle on the part of Duke Ling of the Wei, K’ang Tzu commented, “That being the case, how is it he did not lose his state?”

Confucius said, “Chung-shu Yu was responsible for foreign visitors, Priest T’uo for the ancestral temple and Wang-sun Chia for military affairs. That being the case, what question could there have been of his losing his state?”5
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

This passage shows that Confucius had a perceptive grasp of the complexity of real politics: the virtue-less Duke Ling of Wei did the virtuous thing by appointing talented and competent officials to run the government and therefore, he enjoyed power for a long time. This is an objective and cool-headed analysis of the reality made by Confucius, who certainly would like to see a virtuous ruler making virtuous policies. In other words, although in theory Confucius always taught that politics should be conducted in a virtuous way, in reality he was perfectly capable of analyzing and understanding the complexity of real life and politics.

Therefore, it should not be a surprise if Confucius recognized Nanzi’s role in the policymaking in the state of Wei given her influence on—perhaps control of—the Duke Ling of Wei. So when Confucius went to see Nanzi, he actually met a powerful and skillful politician who happened to be a beautiful and manipulative woman with a bad reputation. Indeed in the movie, Nanzi is depicted as a seductive woman who nonetheless had respect for Confucius. Yes, she is seductive, but the seductiveness she radiates on the screen is a special kind derived from her appreciation and admiration of Confucius’ teachings. Thus, the movie suggests a possibility of mutual respect and admiration between Confucius and skillful politicians (male or female) with flaws but nonetheless capable of making good policies. Such suggestion is a modern creative interpretation, a controversial one to be sure, but an imaginative one that helps to present Confucius as a man.
Ultimately Confucius chose not to cooperate with Nanzi (one can easily imagine Confucius’ disapproval of Nanzi’s seductive way of recruiting people), but his decision was made after his meeting with her, based on a close-up observation of and his personal encounters with Nanzi, not based on rumors, secondhand information, other people’s opinions, or rigid doctrines, as his disciple Zilu seemed to have done. In this way, the movie is successful in depicting Confucius as a man who is often put in difficult situations and must make difficult decisions, and who learns and evolves in responding to all kinds of challenges, not a sage who is programmed to be right in all situations all the time.

If we are able to use the movie “Confucius” in classroom to provoke critical reading (and re-reading) and analysis of the original texts in The Analects and other classics, we may, along with our students, find that the more we treat Confucius as a man, the more respect we have for his unique qualities that distinguish him from ordinary people. Confucius is the founder of the Doctrine of Confucianism, but he seems to be much less dogmatic than was imagined to have been by those dogmatic Confucian scholars in the last two thousand years.
Notes


On the film “Confucius”

Bing Xu

Compared to books, films tend to have special advantages in communicating their message to an audience, often relying on intuition, subtlety, and suspense. To Western audience, Hu Mei’s “Confucius” (2010) may appear to lack these elements, and therefore be less exciting than some recent smash-hits of the biopic genre like Mel Gibson’s “The Passion of the Christ” (2004) or Alejandro Amenabar’s “Agora” (2009). Still, “Confucius” qualifies as a worthwhile period picture and as an all-around “good movie.” However, for someone familiar with the spirit of Confucian thought, the film might have some aftertastes. Here, I would like to express my feeling of the aftertastes in three interrelated aspects.

The Culture Hero as a “Homeless Dog”

In the scene of his exile, Confucius calls himself “a homeless dog” (sang jia quan). This is a reference to a passage in the Shiji, the “Records of the Grand Historian” of Sima Qian (ca. 145-86 B.C.). The Chinese words for both “home” (jia) and “dog” (quan), like their English equivalents, can have a
variety of different meanings. Thus, the word *jia* (house) can imply home, family, and clan, reflecting the significance of familism as a basic feature of traditional Chinese culture. Dogs (*quan*), on the other hand, though regarded as loyal companions for hunting and guarding property were not “pets” in the modern sense of the word. In colloquial Chinese, however, the image of a dog is not necessarily positive, calling somebody a dog is a curse that implies disrespect and disgust towards the addressee. If Confucius calls himself a “homeless dog,” this is clearly in self-mockery, implying that he lost the crucial social signifier of a common Chinese—his belonging to his family, and moreover, like a barking dog, he often annoys other people when advocating his philosophy.

How could the Chinese people, whose culture is deeply influenced by Confucius, also call him a “homeless dog?” This is the topic of a recent discussion in mainland China, which was triggered by the publication of a book written by Li Ling, a noted philologist of Peking University, entitled *Sang jia gou: Wo du Lunyu* [Homeless Dog: My Reflections on *The Analects*] (Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2007). On one hand, the book is criticized by some scholars and fans of the “guoxue (Chinese classics) fever” as showing a lack of respect to Confucius and catering to the masses with a “vulgar” title. On the other, the book is defended by Li Ling and his supporters as being good at interpreting the original meanings of the words and sentences in *The Analects*. It is especially valuable in the context of the *guoxue* fever in recent years in mainland China, where quite a few people, including scholars, lack philological training and expertise in classical
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Chinese language. Furthermore, this approach focuses on Confucius as a human instead of ascribing divine features to this genius. As the debate went on, the book actually won two public media prizes: the “Book of the Year 2007” awarded by the Southern Weekly, and the “Book of the Year in Social Sciences” given by the New Beijing News. Wining these two prestigious Chinese book prizes indicates that this work is popular with the general public and is accepted by serious scholars of humanities and social sciences.

The popularity of the book among casual readers and scholars can be understood in the context of the secular cultural tradition pioneered by Confucius. Confucius contributed greatly to transforming the focus of ancient rituals on magic dimensions of the divine to a more overtly secular one based on the cultural psychology of ren (benevolence). It is this particular cultural psychology of ren that focuses on the emotions in everyday life. In the long Chinese tradition with secular implications, humor occupies an important position. Confucius spent most of his life traveling like a homeless dog to advocate the doctrine of ren, whose aim was to find the spiritual home of the Chinese people. Confucius is regarded as a sage in Chinese culture, not a god. The humor of the homeless dog begins from the secular level, but its implications reach the transcendental level.
The Potential of a “Negative” Doctrine

In an early scene of the film, a slave boy is being chased by a group of soldiers, as he is trying to escape from being buried alive with his former master as a funerary slave. The boy is eventually saved by one of Confucius’ disciples and hidden in Confucius’ house. After a rather dramatic debate, Confucius tries to persuade the Duke of the Lu Kingdom that a system of human funerary sacrifice should be banned: “Do not impose on others what you do not desire to yourself.” This sentence is also referred to by some Western sinologists as the “Golden Rule” of Confucianism. Why is this phrase elevated to such a lofty position of significance? This should be understood in the contemporary multicultural context where “dialogue” is an important principle.

This sentence occurs twice in The Analects, however, neither is in the same context as what appears in the film. Some historians believe the phrase might have occurred in many other situations. Still, for this to be called a “Golden Rule,” it should have been applicable to many different situations, and for that the evidence is scarce. However, the rich meanings and implications of the Golden Rule are difficult to interpret in modern Chinese, let alone in English. So the direct translation of this sentence in the subtitle cannot fully express all possible implications. In the following, I would like to try to make the interpretation a little bit richer through a comparison between the spirit of Confucianism and that of Christianity.
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Since the May 4th movement (1919), many Chinese scholars liked to draw comparisons between the modern Western and the traditional Chinese culture. Some argued that Chinese traditional culture seems to be more “feminine,” “soft,” “moon-like” or negative while the (modern) Western culture could be considered more “masculine,” “hard,” “sun-like” or positive. In fact, if we look deeply into each cultural system, Western and Chinese, within the traditional Chinese culture, Confucianism is often viewed as more “masculine,” “hard,” “sunny” or positive than Daoism. Within the system of the Western culture, one might argue that Christianity takes a special position in telling people to be humble, or in transforming the “hard” deposition of the “natural” human being into the “soft” personality led by God. Taking the “positive” or “negative” position of Confucianism or Christianity in Chinese or Western cultural system into consideration, one might still argue that Confucianism is “softer,” and more “moon-like” or negative than Christianity. The sentence mentioned above is important for cross-cultural analysis. First, it does not tell people that they should directly persuade others to accept what they themselves desire. Christians would like to persuade other people to believe in their God and follow their religious teachings. Second, the mild and delicate manner it suggests might be associated with the image of the moon, while the positive mission of Christians might be associated with the image of the sun, which might symbolize their God. These cinematic representations sharpen people’s understanding of cultural differences between East and West.
Can we find a principle for the communication between different cultures? Can we prevent the “clash of civilizations” predicted by Samuel P. Huntington\(^1\) or the use of unilateralism as a reason for one country to attack another? In contemporary social theory, “dialogue” is emphasized to answer these questions. I think that the spirit of the sentence mentioned above is compatible with that of dialogue and is condensed with countless historical experiences.

Furthermore, the feature of multiculturalism exists in the relationships not only between countries but also between peoples within a country, for it is common for different cultural ideas to penetrate one country in the global age. So, the spirit of the sentence is also inspiring in the context of contemporary ordinary life. According to the occurrences of the sentence in *The Analects*, the spirit of the sentence can be characterized as the principle of loyalty and consideration. The loyalty here refers to the holistic reality which embodies a truth but at the same time remains open to interpretations from different angles, and the consideration here means trying to understand others from their points of view instead of imposing one’s own views on others.

**The Transcendental in “This World”**

Both the (self-) mockery and the “negative” or implicit doctrine in Confucianism are related to the world view of “one world,” which is
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

different from the sharp distinction between “this (secular) world” and “other (sacred) world” in the Christian tradition.

The underlying assumption of an eternal, omniscient, and partly personalized God is related to the sharp distinction of the sacred and the secular and the linear moral improvement of people. In traditional Chinese thought “Heaven” is not a distinct entity, even though its role in Chinese traditional culture is not dissimilar to that of God in Christianity. The Chinese word “Heaven” has both the natural and the transcendental meanings, and the relationship of the two meanings is decidedly not linear. Human beings live in the “natural” world with spiritual significance which is indefinitely extensive because it is covered by an indefinitely extensive Heaven. Both (the indefinite) Heaven and (the definite) human exist in “one world.” This world view is also expressed as the “unity of Heaven and man” (tianren heyi).

This notion of “one world” or “unity of Heaven and man” developed well before both Confucianism and Daoism. The two schools made outstanding contributions to furthering the interpretation of that notion. One great contribution of both schools is to transform the image of Heaven as magic or even anthropomorphic into an image which is open to rational interpretation. This makes possible an image of the world that unites Heaven and man, and a relationship between the natural and the transcendental that is dialectic instead of being linear.
On one hand, Confucianism argues that human beings are different from other animals in that the former can improve by moral self-cultivation while the latter cannot. Thus human beings can, and should, make a special contribution to continuous process of the creation of the world. On the other hand, Daoism argues that what is cultivated by human beings themselves is not necessarily an improvement over what is natural. Cultivation might have the aspects of alienation. By this logic, then going back to “the nature” is also a kind of moral “cultivation.” But the two schools do not exclude each other. Daoism discusses “going back” from the starting point of the cultivation interpreted by Confucius, where xin (mind or heart) and qing (emotions) are key concepts. And Confucianism takes the description of Daoism as part of the “natural” background of the self-cultivation of human beings. Thus both schools pursue the inclusive understandings in the dialectic way.

“The secular” exists between “the natural” and “the transcendental.” In the image of “one world,” there is not a sharp distinction between “the secular” and “the profane” as the founder of sociology Emile Durkheim argues in the Jewish and Christian backgrounds. Two thousand and five hundred years ago, Confucianism advocated that human beings should realize the principle of the world in their ordinary lives in the social relationships from near to far. Only five hundred years ago, as contemporary social theorist Charles Taylor argues, the affirmation of everyday life occurred in Christianity as a reform and was accepted by the modern Western societies.² It is in the context where there is a dialectic
relationship between “the secular” and “the profane” that the (self-) mockery of a “bereaved family dog” and the “negative” doctrine of loyalty and consideration can be fully understood.

Charles Taylor shows considerable anxiety about a tendency of the modern Western culture, which accompanies the affirmation of ordinary life. He calls it the tendency “to stifle the spirit.” In the end he sees “a hope implicit in Judaeo-Christian theism and in its central promise of a divine affirmation of the human.” But in Chinese traditional culture, in which Confucianism plays an important role, the spiritual transcendence is never given up while every life is affirmed. There is a possibility that ordinary life and spiritual edification may be united without either being wholly abandoned. Could this possibility provide another solution to the modern crisis mentioned by Taylor? To me, there is not a definite answer now, because Chinese people have not constructed a modern identity which could be expressed by some clear concepts. People in the West often use the concept of individualism to express their modern identity. Nevertheless, I think Confucianism is a valuable cultural resource to solve Taylor’s modern crisis.
Notes

1 Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations,” Foreign Affairs 72, no.3 (Summer 1993).


The Cinematic Representations of Confucius

Joseph Tse-Hei Lee

As China becomes increasingly globalized in the early twenty-first century, the recent release of “Confucius,” a film produced by veteran female director Hu Mei, has provoked much discussion about the relevance of Confucianism to contemporary Chinese society.¹ This essay addresses several thematic issues discernible in this film such as the humanization of Confucius, Confucius’ idea of harmony, and the rich diversity of Confucianism.

The Humanization of Confucius

Director Hu Mei creatively depicts certain segments of Confucius’ life from middle age until his death. She has taken liberty to portray Confucius, the founder of Chinese civilization, as a competent military commander, a skillful politician, an original thinker, and a sensitive man. Clearly intended to dramatize the story of Confucius, these cinematic representations are not in line with history. The film is mainly concerned with popular entertainment as one can see in the director’s meticulous
efforts to recreate major battle scenes. China is the primary market for this film and the producers seek to capitalize on the revival of popular interest in Confucius.

Recent scholarly research has shown that as a historical figure, Confucius was never closely connected with the rulers of his time and he was quite marginal to their ambitious political and military campaigns. Compiled after his death, The Analects throws light on Confucius’ relations with his disciples. There are many intense intellectual dialogues between Confucius and his followers. The second half of the movie about Confucius’ teachings may be slightly closer to history but Hu Mei has not further elaborated the intimacy of such intellectual relationship. The scenes in which Confucius drank and danced with his students, mourned the death of the most virtuous student Yan Hui, and became ill and was looked after by his followers are deeply moving and tearful. Such dramatization is a key to humanizing Confucius as an emotional and easily accessible person. Given the concern with popular entertainment, Hu Mei has not fully addressed the historical context in which Confucius and his disciplines lived in a world deep in crisis and they tried to search for the meaning beyond this troubled reality. She seems to have underestimated Confucius’ determination to create a virtuous polity, pursue good governance, and restore proper moral, social and political relationships in the world.
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Confucius’ Idea of Harmony

Hu Mei portrays Confucius as a humanitarian figure who values humility and prefers harmony to confrontation. The scene in which Confucius opposed the ritual of burying slaves alive with their deceased masters gives a more humane understanding of personal virtues and social rituals. Such a burial practice was bound to contradict Confucius’ idea of ren (仁), which can be translated as benevolence and compassion. Since Confucius considered harmonious social relationship to be the foundation of good governance, a proper ritualistic order ought to be restored so as to promote compassion in the world.

In Confucianism, there is a holistic approach to integrate the moral, political, and religious dimensions into the existing familial-social structure and cosmological universe. Confucian thinkers do not advocate the autonomy of the political and religious domains or the contemporary Western idea of church-state separation. While politics and morality are two sides of the same coin in Confucianism, the moral authority is thought to be of prime significance. The political authority should be subordinated to the moral authority, and the religious world can only be understood after a great deal of moral advancement. Once the rulers and the ruled pay attention to their moral cultivation, everything will fall in place. The idea and practice of rites (li) such as sacrifices, funerals, marriages and other ceremonies are essential for sustaining various forms of human relations, from the family to the state. For example, ancestral worship is an important ethical duty for people to respect parents after their death.
Praying and making sacrifices to ancestors only express one’s filial piety to the parents. The rituals are not performed to gain any favors and assistance from the dead. Therefore, the best way to reach the spiritual universe is through moral cultivation. Everyone should be devoted to upholding the ideal of a gentleman (junzi), starting with personal cultivation, putting the family in good order, serving the state, and bringing peace to the world.\(^4\)

Here, one should not jump to the conclusion that Confucianism endorses authoritarian rule. The Confucian idea of harmony highlights the coexistence of unity and diversity, and the Confucian polity is built on moral leadership and example, not submission to absolute power and force.\(^5\) Confucius develops the idea of tianming (the Mandate of Heaven) to explain the origin of political authority. Tian (Heaven) is not an absolute deity as the Judeo-Christian God, but it represents the highest moral authority on earth. When political failures are caused by the moral bankruptcies of earthly rulers, the Mandate of Heaven will change to ensure that the most virtuous would govern the world through moral leadership and example. The idea of tianming empowers the people and provides them with a frame of reference to critique the authoritarian rulers. This principle of moral meritocracy constitutes the basis of political legitimacy, even though it is seldom practiced in the long history of China’s hereditary monarchy.\(^6\)
The Rich Diversity of Confucianism

As with other world philosophies and religions, Confucianism is so diverse that people can pick and choose whatever they like. Today, different people draw upon Confucius’ teachings for various purposes. The famous writer Yu Dan refers to *The Analects* in her popular prime-time television lectures and self-help books on how to live a happy life. In an inspirational mode, Yu Dan adapts many Confucius’ ideas for the tired and stressed-out moderns, weaving his ancient sayings together with her own experiences. Some intellectuals turn to Confucianism for ideas to fight social injustice and reform the one-party state. Those with a more ambitious political agenda would rather use Confucianism to support the authoritarian rule of the Communist government and to justify the current rhetoric of “China’s peaceful rise” and “building a harmonious society.” But such political rhetoric lacks theoretical substance and reveals nothing about the reality of contemporary China. The pro-independence uprisings in Tibet and Muslim-dominated Xinjiang, the escalation of social conflicts and labor unrests, the problem of church-state tensions, the rise of popular activism, and the cries for democracy in Hong Kong and Macau indicate that the country is still plagued with growing internal grievances. In December 2008, China’s most prominent intellectual dissident Liu Xiaobo published Charter 08, a pro-democracy manifesto that denounced government corruption and called for democratic reform of the one-party system. The incident had impelled the officials to jail Liu for eleven years, but he was later awarded the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize. Beijing countered the Nobel Peace Prize with the Confucius Peace Prize in order to promote China’s
view on peace and human rights worldwide. This reveals Beijing’s
determination to use Confucianism as a new weapon in the battle of ideas
and to rebrand China as an alternative development model based on non-
interference, freedom from Western hegemony, and a more dominant role
for the state. But these efforts failed to keep dissidents in check. On
February 20, 2011, political dissidents and human rights activists organized
simultaneous protests in thirteen cities across China and called for a
“jasmine revolution” modeled on the popular uprisings sweeping through
North Africa and the Middle East. On February 27, the protests spread to
over twenty cities. Unless Beijing can resolve these political, social,
economic, and ethnic discontents from within, it will be impossible to
articulate a new Chinese identity for its peoples.

Watching this film from outside of China, I find its political subtext to
be problematic. At the end of the film, Confucius returned to his home
state of Lu on the condition that he avoided any political engagement and
focused on teaching and writing. While Confucius was critical of the ruling
authority, he could not avoid the path of compromise and cooptation. His
strong emotional attachment to the state of Lu is consonant with the
growing popularity of Chinese patriotism. This ending is very ironic
because a careful reading of The Analects suggests that Confucius was
always keen to serve the state in order to promote moral advancement and
create a ritualistic society on earth. To Confucius, a long and active political
career was more fulfilling and attractive than being an armchair scholar.
Hu Mei seems to imply that intellectuals ought to focus on scholarship
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

rather than politics. If this is the case, the Chinese government can easily use this film as a tool of propaganda to maintain the status quo and to co-opt the intellectuals.

In the final analysis, the film “Confucius” provides much food for thought about contemporary China. Director Hu Mei should be congratulated for her efforts to humanize Confucius. By transforming Confucius from a sage to an ordinary man, Hu Mei has made some of his ancient teachings more easily accessible to the audience. But the Chinese state is determined to appropriate Confucianism as a new cultural force against the West. After all, the state can no longer employ Chairman Mao Zedong as a political icon because of the pains and sufferings that he caused during the Great Famine (1958-1962) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).¹⁶ Perhaps the critical intellectuals and political activists ought to apply the Confucian principle of good governance to evaluate the changing mood of the country. They should also draw on Confucius’ insights to develop what Robert P. Weller calls a new and “alternate civility,” which might foster political change and defend the civil society against complete incorporation by a powerful state.¹⁷ In a similar fashion, the Chinese leaders should take seriously Confucius’ idea of political legitimacy to assess their own leadership qualities and skills. They need to move beyond Han-Chinese nationalism and envision a more cosmopolitan and inclusive identity for the country. Otherwise, the idea of tianming may become a fulfilling prophesy in the early twenty-first century.
Notes


5 Daniel A. Bell (ed.), Confucian Political Ethics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), x; Joseph Chan, “Territorial Boundaries and Confucianism” and “Confucian Attitudes toward Ethical Pluralism,” in
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Bell (ed.), Confucian Political Ethics, 61-84 and 113-138.


9 Ying-Shih Yu, Democracy, Human Rights and Confucian Culture, The Fifth Huang Hsing Foundation Hsueh Chun-Tu Distinguished Lecture in Asian


From Philosopher to Cultural Icon


Some Pedagogical Reflections on “Confucius”

Ronald K. Frank

Feature films dealing with historical subject matter will inevitably run into the problem of trying to balance entertainment value with notions of “historical accuracy,” however one would define that term. It appears impossible to please a general audience looking for intriguing plot lines, striking visual effects, and drama without offending the intelligence of professional historians who will head for the exit muttering something about “taking excessive liberty with the material” or worse. Filmmakers have in the past shown a wide array of approaches to historical topics, from the almost documentary, for example Roger Spottiswoode’s and Koreyoshi Kurahara’s made-for-cable “Hiroshima” (1995), to the blatantly and enthusiastically falsifying–Quentin Tarantino’s “Inglorious Basterds” (2009) comes to mind.

In recent years there has been a veritable boom in film-centered history courses on university campuses across the United States, and questions of accuracy and artistic license are being discussed in a variety of academic settings.¹ Robert Rosenstone’s pioneering approach of assessing a
historical film “not in terms of how it compares to written history but as a way of recounting the past with its own rules of representation”2 has legitimized the use of feature films as meaningful teaching tools. Books on the subject sport clever titles such as “Past Imperfect” or “Reel History,” trying to appeal to both scholarly and popular audiences, just like most of the movies they are dealing with.3 Using feature films to introduce students to a particular historical time period or subject matter can be both rewarding and challenging: a (moving) picture might be worth a thousand words, but for it to work as an instructional tool a high degree of critical analytical thinking is required of the student audience. Biographical movies represent a special challenge, since historical personages have likely been appropriated for use in “national histories,” many of which predate the advent of the medium of film. To be sure, biopics often play a significant part in creating and perpetuating the myth of “national heroes”; perhaps one of the best-known early examples is Sergei Eisenstein’s “Alexander Nevsky” (1938), still critically acclaimed despite its obvious political subtext.

With the release of acclaimed director Hu Mei’s “Confucius” in early 2010 teachers of East Asian history now have at their disposal a two-hour epic that seems to pack it all: a star-studded cast, striking visuals, intriguing plot developments, computer-generated battle scenes, and of course any number of references to The Analects. A film purporting to present the life story of the philosopher most closely associated with the
formulation of Chinese, and by extension East Asian, civilization can be an
indispensable teaching tool, indeed one that works on several levels.

First, one might ask to what extent any depiction of a much-
allegorized cultural icon such as Confucius can ever be considered
“historically accurate.” The film seems to take its inspiration mostly from
chapter 47 of Sima Qian’s (145-86 BC) “Records of the Grand Historian”
(Shiji), the most detailed traditional account of the philosopher’s life. As
can be expected, Sima Qian’s biography, being several centuries removed
from Confucius’ lifetime, contains many romanticized and downright
hagiographic elements. As with any founder of a religious or philosophical
tradition, Confucius’ life becomes an allegory of his teachings, his
wanderings a journey of self-improvement, his behavior exemplifying the
quest to “become human” (to borrow Roger Ames’ phrase) by interacting
with and teaching others.4 The point of such an account is never to present
a factually accurate narrative, but rather to serve as an illustration for the
values we associate with Confucian thought. In this sense the biography of
the founder becomes part of the canon, it is authentic not in the sense of
factual veracity but of faithfulness to the teaching. The “authentic
Confucius” is the sage, rather than the man.5

The film covers the pivotal years of Confucius’ life, from the early
stages of his career as a magistrate in the Kingdom of Lu (traditionally
dated to 501 BC), his travels, and his eventual return to Lu in 484. Many
elements in the story are all-too-familiar, his failure to reign in powerful
clans of the kingdom by forcing them to dismantle their city walls, his skill as a military strategist and diplomat during the meeting of the kings of Lu and Qi in 500 BC, and even, in a flashback, his purported meeting with Laozi in 518. While the historicity of these events is questionable, they do represent cornerstones of the traditional narrative. Thus the serious historian might cringe at the sight of a sagely Laozi backlit on a mountain top dispensing wisdom to a fresh-faced Confucius, but this apocryphal story fits well into the broader context of the popular image of different schools in Chinese philosophy. This is perhaps the least plausible scene of the entire film, but for this very reason it represents a great teaching moment. By contextualizing Confucius as one of several key contributors to Chinese core values this scene can become the starting point of a discussion on religious and philosophical syncretism and the creation of linear traditional narratives. Herein lies perhaps the greatest value of the film for classroom use: by not shying away from including questionable, apocryphal, and downright spurious accounts, “Confucius” manages to represent a faithful portrayal of the persona of the sage in traditional Chinese historiography and popular perception.

A biography of any founder of a philosophical or religious tradition tends to be a normative rather than a descriptive text. For example, the point of placing Confucius at the pivotal and potentially disastrous meeting of the two kings of Lu and Qi in 500 BC (the so-called Jiagu convention) is not so much to prove that he was actually there as it is to point out what an exemplary official ought to be capable of. The film
includes several episodes that show Confucius as a skillful military commander, exemplifying the adage that a minister must combine knowledge of the arts and culture (wen) with that of military matters (wu). Even though Confucius himself reportedly made light of the practical military skills of archery and charioteering, the very first phrase of The Analects poses the rhetorical question, “Having studied, to then repeatedly apply what you have learned—is this not a source of pleasure?” The film reflects this aspect of its protagonist’s image rather well; Confucius is depicted as a capable and principled administrator, someone whose quest for self-improvement is motivated by the inherent altruism of “authoritative conduct” (or “humanity,” ren), someone for whom “wisdom” (zhi) is a constant and continuing process of realization, not a static condition in and of itself. The sage does not just know, he acts; he does not just teach, he practices. The film succeeds in conveying this essential message of Confucian thought and in this lies its most important value as a teaching tool: it becomes the visual carrier of a historical message that lies at the heart of traditional Chinese socio-political thought. Thus our initial question about “historical accuracy” in this biopic is rather beside the point. In the story of Confucius’ life the verifiable historicity of events is vastly less important than their significance in the creation of the image of the sage. By following traditional accounts, questionable though they may be, Hu Mei presents the viewer with an accessible visual narrative reflective of classical Chinese historiography.
However, “Confucius” also manages to represent a convincing picture of everyday life in late Spring-and-Autumn period China. Through scenes such as the sacrifice of slaves at a funeral or the suffering of commoners under the heavy-handed rule of aristocratic clans, students can get an appreciation of the human dimension of ancient Chinese history that no book can convey. Once again, the question is not one of 100 percent factual accuracy, but rather one of plausibility. Lavish set designs, intricate costumes, and high production values ensure that the viewer comes away with a vivid and realistic picture of a turbulent time in Chinese history. Granted, other films have achieved the same, perhaps none as well as Chen Kaige’s epic “The Emperor and the Assassin” (1998), but in “Confucius” the depiction of society’s ills must take center stage, since it is that very society that the protagonist intends to reform. Confucius himself was a practical philosopher and thus always concerned with social context, the film succeeds in conveying that.

In the latter half of the movie the focus shifts from Confucius the magistrate to Confucius the teacher. More time is devoted to the portrayal of his most famous students, and of course the dialogue is peppered with any number of references to The Analects. Confucius’ travels around the eastern Chinese states in the first two decades of the fifth century BC were indeed most likely the time when his school crystallized. To be sure, one has to look past several instances of rather obvious poetic license on part of the director, such as the dramatic death of Confucius’ favorite disciple Yan
Hui or the flirtatious advance of Lady Nanzi, neither of which has any apparent basis in either fact or tradition.

When he finally does get invited back home to Lu Confucius agrees to come under one condition, namely that he be allowed to “just teach and not be troubled with politics.” This is perhaps the one serious shortcoming in an otherwise very promising film, but it too represents a great teaching moment. With a few lines of dialogue the director manages to undo much of the narrative that has been created up to that point. As anyone with even a rudimentary knowledge of the Confucian canon can attest, the juxtaposition of “teaching” and “politics” as incompatible exercises is completely meaningless in the context of Confucian thought. Confucius himself once remarked, quoting from the Book of Documents (Shujing), that “in being filial I am employed in governing. Why must I be ‘employed in governing’?” It is tempting to try to explain this incongruous turn of the script in the context of the modern Chinese political system. Indeed the movie as a whole may very well serve as the starting point for a discussion of the appropriation of historical personages by modern nation states in general, and the appropriation of arguably one of the greatest conservative thinkers of all time by a self-professed revolutionary regime in particular.

As we see Confucius literally wrapping up the “Spring and Autumn Annals” before an excessively computer generated Middle Earth-like vista with a waterfall and hear his last words that “the world will come to know me through this book,” we are tempted to ponder what contribution this
movie will make to the image of the Sage. In many ways the film succeeds beautifully in recreating in a visual medium a traditional narrative that itself has become part and parcel of the Confucian canon. Yet by allowing perceived or real demands of audience satisfaction on one side and government censorship on the other to trump those of historical plausibility, in the end the film is ultimately not entirely satisfying. Still, we can learn a lot from it, if we follow the Master’s admonition to learn while thinking critically.¹⁰
From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

Notes


5 It is also the title of the most recent biography in English. See Annping Chin, The Authentic Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics (New York, Scribner, 2007).


7 The Analects 1.1, Ames and Rosemont, Jr., The Analects of Confucius, 71.

8 See Roger T. Ames’ interpretation, Ames and Rosemont, Jr., The Analects
of Confucius, 48-51.


## Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jia</td>
<td>家</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junzi</td>
<td>君子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>礼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qing</td>
<td>情</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quan</td>
<td>夫</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ren</td>
<td>仁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruoshi qunti</td>
<td>弱势群体</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sang jia quan</td>
<td>丧家犬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiji</td>
<td>史记</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shujing</td>
<td>书经</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tian</td>
<td>天</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tianming</td>
<td>天命</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tianren heyi</td>
<td>天人合一</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wen</td>
<td>文</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu</td>
<td>武</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xin</td>
<td>心</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhi</td>
<td>智</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhi qi bu ke er wei zhi</td>
<td>知其不可而为之</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


From Philosopher to Cultural Icon

from http://hosted.ap.org/dynamic/stories/A/AS_CHINA_JASMINE_REVOLUTION?SITE=MOSPL&SECTION=HOME&TEMPLATE=DEFAULT.


Fingarette, Herbert. *Confucius: The Secular as Sacred*. Chicago, IL:


From Philosopher to Cultural Icon


Roquemore, Joseph. *History Goes to the Movies: A Viewer’s Guide to the


From Philosopher to Cultural Icon


Zhu Yiting 朱贻庭. *Rujia wenhua yu hexie shehui* 儒家文化与和谐社会
Social and Cultural Research
Occasional Paper Series

1. Jessica WADE, China’s Good Earth: From Urbanization to Rural Development under Hu Jintao’s Administration (December 2007).


3. Joseph Tse-Hei LEE, China’s Third World Policy from the Maoist Era to the Present (March 2008).


China Information
A Journal on Contemporary China Studies

Editor Tak-Wing Ngo
University of Macau, China

China Information is a refereed journal dedicated to timely and in-depth analyses of major developments in contemporary China and overseas Chinese communities. The journal encourages discussion and debate between different research traditions, offers a platform to express controversial and dissenting opinions, and promotes research that is historically sensitive and contemporarily relevant.

Recent Contents Include

• June 4 and Charter 08: Approaches to Remonstrance Pitman Potter (vol. 25, no. 2)

• Earthquakes and civil society: a comparative study of the response of China’s non-government organizations to the Wenchuan earthquake Britton Roney (vol. 25, no. 1)

• Fiscal freedom and the making of Hong Kong’s capitalist society Leo F. Goodstadt (vol. 24, no. 3)

• Regulating private affairs in contemporary China: private investigators and the policing of spousal infidelity Elaine Jeffreys (vol. 24, no. 2)

• Digitized parody: the politics of Egao in contemporary China Haomin Gong and Xin Yang (vol. 24, no. 1)

Free online sample copy available!
http://cin.sagepub.com

Subscription Hotline +44 (0)20 7324 8701 Email subscription@sagepub.co.uk

www.sagepublications.com
The emergence in Hong Kong of a world-class social science journal written mostly in Chinese testifies to the rise of a truly international social science, and the increasing importance of Hong Kong as an academic and cultural crossroads.

Prof. Andrew J. Nathan  
Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science  
Columbia University, New York

---

**2010年春/夏号 ■第38期**

- **香港研究**
  新聞報道量對香港選舉投票率的影響  
  令香港家族企業脫胎換骨的股市力量

- **中國的憲政與民主**
  中國憲法中關於「人的尊嚴」的論述  
  偶像崇拜的變遷與民主化進程

- **全球化與勞工**
  中國勞動教養之流變•困境與出路  
  全球化與台灣社福外勞的引入 [研究札記]

---

**2010年秋/冬季號 ■第39期**

- **電影電視的社會含義**
  從中國主旋律電影到有主旋律意識的商業電影  
  日本電視劇在香港 [研究札記]

- **中國的制度變革與挑戰**
  中國的城市轉型與單位制社區變遷 [研究札記]  
  司法獨立與司法民主：孰能實現司法正義？ [研究札記]  
  中國堅定積極分子的形成 [研究札記]

---

**書評專欄**

- **東亞研究**
  熱帶醫學與殖民統治：殖民時期新加坡的預防瘧疾政策

---

**全球多種重要的論文索引系統收錄學報論文**

- America: History and Life  
- CSA Sociological Abstracts  
- Historical Abstracts  
- Hong Kong Journal Online  
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences  
- International Consortium for the Academic Publication  
- ProQuest  
- Scopus  

**中外期刊引文索引影像系統**

- 中文期刊引文索引影像系統  
- 香港中文期刊論文索引

---

**主辦**: 香港城市大學當代中國研究計劃  
**出版**: 香港城市大學出版社  
**地址**: 香港九龍塘連之路香港城市大學教學樓  
**傳真**: (852) 2788 7328  
**網頁**: http://www.cityu.edu.hk/rccp/hkjournalss.html  
**電子郵件**: rchkjsc@cityu.edu.hk
NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Social Transformations in Chinese Societies, previously known as the Hong Kong Journal of Sociology, is the official journal of the Hong Kong Sociological Association. It welcomes submission of quality research articles, research notes, review essays, and book reviews addressing the social, cultural, political and economic aspects of Chinese societies (including China, Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Singapore, and other overseas Chinese communities).

Submission:
Authors should submit their manuscripts either by post or electronically (preferred mode) to the Chief Editor: Tai-lok Lui, Sociology Department, University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong. Email: tloklui@hku.hk.

The submission should contain: 1) a cover letter giving the address, e-mail address, telephone or fax number of the corresponding author, the title of the manuscript, and an abstract (150-200 words); 2) three typewritten copies of the manuscript; and 3) a copy of the manuscript on CD Rom. Alternatively, both the cover letter and the manuscript can be sent as attached MS-Word or PDF files if electronic submission is chosen.

The Journal does not accept manuscripts that have already been published or are under consideration for publication in any other journal or book. Contributors are responsible for obtaining permission for any extensive quotations, reproduction of research materials, and images. They are also responsible for ensuring the accuracy of their contributions.

All submissions will be subject to anonymous review, normally by two reviewers, and the final decision will be made by the Editors.
Marginalization in China: Recasting Minority Politics

Edited by Siu-Keung Cheung, Joseph Tse-Hei Lee, Lida V. Nedilsky

Siu-Keung Cheung is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Hong Kong Shue Yan University. Joseph Tse-Hei Lee is Professor of History at Pace University, New York. Lida V. Nedilsky is Associate Professor of Sociology at North Park University, Chicago.

Palgrave Macmillan

This collection of historical and contemporary accounts of minority formation debunks popular misconceptions about China’s highly centralized state and seemingly homogeneous society. Drawing on archival research, interviews, and field work, it documents how state and citizens meet in a politics of minority recognition and highlights China’s growing awareness of rights.

Praises for Marginalization in China

“Under China’s regime of graded citizenship, ‘minorities’ are variously defined by ethnicity, class, gender and geography. Such state-imposed labels and their marginalizing effects are being vigorously challenged by minority strategies for recognition and rights. The authors of Marginalization in China make a compelling case that the struggles of minorities are at the forefront of an emerging Chinese civil society.”—Aihwa Ong, Social Cultural Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley

"This book has a diversity of topics and supplies rich detail on a variety of groups in Chinese society. That is what makes it unique."—Merle Goldman, Professor Emerita of History, Boston University and Research Associate, Fairbank Center, Harvard University

“Like every major society in the post-Cold War era, China struggles to find national unity in the midst of ethnic, religious, and regional diversity. This timely new book gives us a fresh look at these struggles, and new consideration of the political, social, and moral challenges they pose. It is especially valuable for providing a historical context for present-day challenges.”—Richard Madsen, Distinguished Professor of Sociology and China Studies, University of California, San Diego

“Marginalization in China prompts readers to rethink many central issues: how minority groups refashion state-imposed labels; how nation building is shaped by the contention between state structures and indigenous agencies; and how identity formation and interest representation are negotiated along conflicting class, gender, religious, and ethnic lines. This is a rich and thought-provoking book that should be read closely and one that deserves a wide audience."—Tak-Wing Ngo, Leiden University, The Netherlands

“What makes this volume innovative is its rather broad conceptualization of ‘minority.’ This is one of the first English language volumes to provide a wider analytical gaze at the politics of social marginalization, making an important contribution to the academic discourse on multiculturalism.”—James Leibold, Politics and Asian Studies, La Trobe University, Australia
Reviews


“This paper, with its rich empirical data, robust methodology, and strong theorization, should be recommended to all researchers on transnationalism and contemporary migration.” – Prof. Manying Ip, University of Auckland, New Zealand, Asia Pacific World


“This is a modest, informative work that sheds light on the early history of missionary schools that created the foundation for the modern school system in China.” – Dr. Rie Kido Askew, Monash University, Australia, Asia Pacific World