

A Synchronic Cultural Approach to Modern Chinese Shame

Benjamin Wellsand

Johnson University, USA. E-mail: benjamin.wellsand@johnsonu.edu

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

synchronic cultural approach,
Chinese culture, shame culture

How to cite:

Wellsand, Benjamin. (2022). A Synchronic Cultural Approach to Modern Chinese Shame. *English Education, Linguistics, and Literature Journal*, 1(2), 1-9.

ABSTRACT

Ferdinand de Saussure effectively identified the way that language acts in both a diachronic and synchronic approach. The present work intends to demonstrate that de Saussure's synchronic approach can be adequately applied to cultural constructs to enhance cultural dialogue and learning. Synchronic terms and general concepts will be applied to cultural terms and general concepts. The primary example used to develop this concept is the cultural construct of shame and its social expressions within the modern Chinese cultural context. First, Chinese culture will be established as a predominantly honor-shame culture and point to the common honor-shame aspects of patronage, kinship, purity, and tight culture. Then, specific examples of shame as it manifests itself within Chinese culture. These examples include the second-generation rich, leftover women, lying flat, and the general fear of losing face. The result is a rich and meaningful read on culture that will further dialogue and enhance cultural understanding.

1. Introduction

The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure identified a diachronic and synchronic linguistic approach in the 1950s. A diachronic linguistic approach involves a study of language through past to present generations and pays particular attention to the development and transformation of language through time. An example could be given of how Greek as spoken and understood in modern-day Greece is quite different from the Greek language spoken during the Greco-Roman era. Over the course of time words change their meaning, "new" words are added as "old" words pass into irrelevance, or language of one culture may borrow new ideas and concepts as it interacts with other global cultures. A synchronic linguistic approach does not mind the development of language from past to present but focuses upon language as it appears in the current dispensation or era. Language tends to take on certain forms within a specific geographical location (northern versus southern citizens) or generation (elders versus youths). One example from the United States of America could be regions that refer to carbonated beverages as soda while others refer to them as pop or the northern pronunciation of young cows as k v̄z compared to the south as kɛ:vz.

It is the writer's intent to modify de Saussure's linguistic approach by applying it to culture. While it is possible to do this from both a diachronic and synchronic approach, as demonstrated by Des Wilson in an article on the future of communication policies in Africa,

this paper will focus primarily on a synchronic cultural approach. While it will prove impossible to take a purely synchronic approach to Chinese culture that makes no reference to diachronic influences, the primary concern will be an examination of culture within the current modern context of China. The particular cultural construct under synchronic examination will be the presence of shame within the Chinese context. As China is made up of fifty-six different ethnic groups, when reference is made to the “Chinese” cultural context, it will refer to the Han majority that makes up ninety-two percent of the current national population.

2. Literature Review

2.1 China as an Honor-Shame Culture

Honor-shame cultures are collective at their core from both aspects of honor and shame. deSilva (2000) states, “Honor is a dynamic and relational concept” (p. 23). “When people fail,” writes Kurt W. Fischer (2004), “they do not simply lose their own face, but they shame all those around them” (p. 770). This cultural analysis will begin to define Chinese culture as a predominantly honor-shame based society through patronage, kinship, purity, and a tight culture.

2.1.1 Patronage

It is often assumed that legal tender is the sole means to pay for goods and services within a society. Yet one can still hear stories within the last century of Western church pastors receiving livestock in exchange for serving his pastoral duties. Today, when an individual seeks to sell a vehicle, an offer will be made for one to outright purchase the automobile or trade for another that is of interest to the seller. When one hears of patronage that treats relationships between a patron and a client as a kind of social currency it is often met with suspicion and moral questions by Western ears. Patronage is one of humanity’s oldest forms of currency recorded in the annals of history.

The most common form of patronage is when the patron who possesses a certain superior status of either social clout or financial means will have the ability to provide certain benefits to a client that does not possess such relational or monetary resources. There are known patronage cases where people of equal status can also make exchanges based upon individual needs specific to a business deal or legal transaction. As Georges (2019) notes, “Patronage is a relationship, not some legal arrangement” (p. 19). In Mandarin the term 关系 (guanxi) is the term used to refer to the patron-client exchange. Literally translated guanxi means joint (guan) chain (xi) but is most commonly translated as relationship. It is a web of connections that exist in Chinese life between friends, family, coworkers, government officials, and other greater or lesser-known acquaintances. The patron has 面子 (mianzi), also known as face, defined by Hu Hsien-Chin (1956) as honor which one possesses based upon “the kind of prestige that is emphasized in this country: a reputation achieved through getting on in life, through success and ostentation” (p. 447). Wu (2013) notes that guanxi involves factors beyond personal achievements to include association “with certain people or having particular titles or names” (p. 175).

2.1.2 Kinship

In Chinese culture, the family name comes before the individual’s given name as a clear demonstration of the priority (or honor) that is given to the family unit and the collective

nature by which the individual is viewed within foundational societal institutions. China is a culture that is overtly centered on kinship. "Male offspring were especially valued for their role in carrying on the family name, explains Li Liu (2007) of Beijing Normal University, "without a male heir, a family line originating from its ancestors is terminated, and the family's place in the universe gets lost forever" (p. 57). It is the cultural importance placed upon a male heir to carry on the family name that explains the resulting current skewed sex ratio (116 boys for every 100 girls born). Great financial responsibility is placed upon a son's family who is seeking to find a wife for him. 房子 (fangzi), 车子 (chezi), and 票子 (piaozi) or a house, car, and money are viewed as the 要求 (yaoqiu) or requirements that must be met in order for a daughter to agree to take a man as her husband.

There is an inordinate amount of competition in children's education that deters couples from having a second child as well. Laurie Chen (2018) reported that more than sixty percent of primary school children (up to seventy percent in larger cities) were tutored outside of the classroom and parents paid an average of 120,000 RMB (\$17,400) and up to 300,000 RMB (\$43,500) to provide such extracurricular education. There are only a handful of universities categorized as 双一流 (shuangyiliu) or "two of the same kind" that are considered to provide a quality education, among which are Peking University and Tsinghua University.

Filial piety is no surprise in the face of a culture that centers on the family. Liu (2008) explains, "Filial piety is more than just showing filial obedience to parents: most importantly, it indicates raising sons to support aging parents and having sons to continue the family line" (p. 56). This too is a practice that finds support within Confucianism as a "value that calls on adult children to fulfill obligations to respect, obey, support, and care for elderly parents" (Shea, Moore, and Zhang, 2020, p. 29). 养儿防老 (yang er fang lao) or "raise children to provide for old age" is the Chinese parental motto that shows the expectations placed upon the children to care for their aging parents.

Thomas (2018) discusses how the filial piety includes reverence expressed to all distant relatives "as members of a family across the barrier of life and death continue to play an essential role in that community and their kinship status retains its importance and authority" (l. 620). 敬祖 (jingzu) or 拜祖 (baizu) is the ancestral veneration of the deceased which can include an altar in the home where incense is burnt daily and food, drink, and spirit money are offered during the Qingming and Zhongyuan festivals. Hu Anning (2016) found that "the most popular practices of ancestor worship in contemporary China are venerating the spirits of ancestors or deceased relatives and visiting the gravesite of ancestors" (p. 176). The same study found that rituals were more likely to be carried out by middle to high income families and predominantly male members.

2.1.3 Purify

When one considers the concept of purity and pollution within an honor-shame culture, one immediately goes to the area of religious rites and rituals. However, the concept of purity, according to deSilva (2000), can include "persons, foods, times and space" (p. 331). It has suited the past and current governments of China in ease of communication and historical connection to the nation by promoting Han culture as the predominant Chinese culture. As Han-ness becomes Chinese-ness, it is not a stretch to conclude that anything that diverges

from Han language and customs is concomitantly deviating from what is Chinese. Kevin Carrico (2017) lists some of the Han-specific customs and rituals as playing a traditional instrument, like the guqin, writing calligraphy, studying classics, such as the Romance of the Three Kingdoms or Dream of the Red Chamber, paper-cutting, embroidery, archery, and traditional clothing. Carrico also learned how profound cultural things could become when he was told that 深衣 (shenyi), one type of male Han clothing, “was homophonic with the term for deep meaning 深意 (shenyi)” (p.163). Pride in and distinctions amongst Han Chinese can also surface. The ability to speak 东北话(dongbeihua) or the dialect of those living in the northeast can add credibility to a foreigner’s interaction with Chinese native to the region.

2.1.4 Tight Culture

Honor-shame cultures, China included, are also typically more of a tight culture. Michele Gelfand (2018) explains the dynamics of tight and loose cultures in this way: “Broadly speaking loose cultures tend to be open, but they’re also much more disorderly. On the flip side, tight cultures have a comforting order and predictability, but they’re less tolerant” (p. 36).

There are aspects of Chinese culture that loose cultures find intrusive and extreme that define it as a tight culture. China is only one of six countries where drug trafficking offenders are regularly executed (Huang 2016). Holly Chik (2020) of Inkstone News, wrote an article documenting that eighteen of the twenty most surveilled cities in the world are located in China. Most of these cameras simply observe public behavior but some cameras broadcast license plate numbers of vehicles that fail to observe city noise ordinances and display jaywalkers’ faces on digital screens to shame the offenders. The government’s meticulous monitoring of citizens’ internet activities has been aptly called the Great Firewall.

3. Findings and Discussion

3.1 A Synchronic Linguistic Approach to Shame

The Research Methodology section describes in detail how the study was conducted. A complete description of the methods used enables the reader to evaluate the appropriateness of the research methodology. De Saussure (1966) refers frequently to units within language. “Language never stops interpreting and decomposing its units” and he felt that “interpretation [varied] from one generation to the next” (169) Cultural constructs also seem to have a tendency for consistent modification and development dependent on social class, gender, age, et. al. It is also held in the synchronic approach that the synchronic connection occurs when two similar things are present at the same moment. A linguistic example of this is the connection between British and American English. The two nations can communicate without too much complication in understandability and yet there are marked differences in the two English speaking systems. Although the cultural experiences are unique to social class, gender, age, and so on, there is still an underlying cultural construct that can be generally identified as a particular cultural construct. An example of the presence of such a synchronic cultural phenomenon can be no more evident than in a brief survey of modern Chinese shame.

Shame takes different forms dependent upon varying social status. For the average Chinese citizen, shame can be found in the social credit system. It involves both official (local

government) and unofficial (private business) systems to track citizens behavior and was implemented in 2014. Nicole Kobie (2019) writes, "China's social credit system expands [credit checks] to all aspects of life, judging citizens' behaviour and trustworthiness ... you could lose certain rights, such as booking a flight or train ticket."

Tight aspects of culture expand beyond government to other aspects of life in China. Social conformity is found within the routines of everyday life. When walking urban streets, it is common to see managers and employees dancing and singing in unison in the mornings and elderly women in traditional Chinese dress with decorative fans in hand dancing in sync to a rhythmic drum beat and clanging cymbals in the square. Anything outside of the common and established cultural norms or that has the potential to create disorder or dissent among society is automatically suspect in tight cultures.

Shame can reach to the upper echelons of society. It is quite common for the rich and famous of China to be the recipients of social media shaming. Gao Lu, wife of a deputy chair of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and late party patriarch's grandson, drove her \$350,000 Mercedes-Benz SUV affixed with license plate numbers designated to senior government officials onto the central piazza of the Forbidden City in Beijing when it was closed to the public in January 2020. Even Chairman Xi and his political figures do not drive their motorcades on these sacred historic grounds. Frank Chen (2020) writes, "Indignant netizens rushed to heap insults on the Weibo account of Luxiaobao LL, believed to be one of the women in the photos, with trolls pouncing on her in a doxing war that soon exposed her identity and high-flying lifestyle."

Adam Taylor (2013) of the Business Insider reported on a group of 富二代 (fuerdai) or second-generation rich who were criticized as rich and bored with nothing to do but "show-off their fancy lives." There were young people posting pictures of a pile of their name brand purchases and even of them falling out of their car with all of their wealth displayed in expensive handbag objects strewn on the ground around them. The critical response of Chinese netizens led to a government move to discourage such flaunting of wealth and promotion of social media idols that promoted the common life, such as the mushroom farmer, Wangjing, who shares her rural living experience.

In a collective environment, shaming is a mechanism to preserve the honor of the entire community. There is an investment in the offending individual and a communal risk remains if the offender continues in a state of shame. Reintegrative shaming treats "the wrongdoer respectfully and empathetically as a good person who has done a bad act" and seeks to hold the intrinsic value of the offending party (Ahmed, et. al., 2001, p. 4). The restoration of an offending member restores honor to the entire group.

The word for "face" in this context moves from the Chinese simplified character 面子 (mianzi) to 脸 (lian). Mianzi has been explained above as an honor obtained by "reputation achieved through getting on in life, through success and ostentation" (Wu, 2013, p. 447). Lian, on the other hand, moves into the moral realm of developing one's honorific character. 丢脸 (diu lian), or a loss of face, "is a condemnation by the group for immoral or socially disagreeable behavior" (Hu, 1956, p. 448). It is possible for one to regain mianzi after one has lost it as an individual can find a new status position elsewhere. Lian, unlike mianzi, is much harder to regain after one loses it.

Another aspect of social distinction can occur in relation to one's geographical location. Friends have shared that they have witnessed individuals who were not able to speak like a 上海人 (shanghairen) or a native to Shanghai that resulted in exclusion from group conversation for it. Ma Li (2018) demonstrates that throughout Chinese history the hukou and similar policies have made greater or lesser social distinctions between the Chinese people. The Qin Dynasty had the 保甲 (baojia) as a national determiner of taxation and military drafting. The 户籍 (huji) was a household identification in this time period that later developed into what is now known as the hukou. The Chinese government during the famine of the 1930s used the hukou to prohibit rural dwellers from fleeing to the cities where food rations were larger. The urban hukou became a coveted identification that could, during the Mao-era, only be obtained through military service, university acceptance, or marriage (Ma, 2018, p. 40). The COVID-19 pandemic has created a rural migration of migrant workers back to their hometowns where living expenses and salaries are typically lower. This raises fears of widening income inequality within the country (Cheng, 2021).

Women can experience a shame all their own. The highly competitive nature in higher education has conditioned both sexes to pursue the greatest quality of education and the highest paid positions obtainable. A student must place his or her entire life on hold and focus all one's attention on study and this means that marriage is often placed on the backburner. According to The Sixth National Population Census of the People's Republic of China, nearly 12 million men and 6 million women between the age of 30 and 39 were unmarried and it was estimated that by 2020 there would be 30 million bachelors. For women this has proven to be a greater social problem than for the men. Roseann Lake (2018) shares a conversation she had with a friend, Zhang Mei, who was in her thirties and had fallen into the 剩女 (shengnü) or leftover women category. The character 剩 (sheng) signifies "leftover" and is the same one used to refer to remnants left from an evening meal. The pressure to marry is very great as any woman at this stage in life is nearing the end of her marrying and reproductive prime, according to Chinese thought. Pressure during holidays with the family is very stressful and had left Zhang Mei feeling at a loss with the upcoming Chinese New Year celebrations. Roseann offered the idea of a rent-a-boyfriend that she had heard about where Chinese men could be rented out for the holiday for a fee. During class, they did a search of 租 (zu) or rent and found that the predictive text offered girlfriends, boyfriends, cars, lovers, girlfriend services, and wedding clothes in that order. Rates for a boyfriend were determined based upon the time of year, distance traveled, a need to smoke, kiss, hold hands, or drink. There is a high probability of frequent experiences of shame and endless creative ways by women to escape it.

These are just a few of the numerous examples of how shame acts synchronically within modern-day Chinese culture. Further demonstrations can be given of shame felt among the elderly whose children do not provide proper care as they age as their children are more prone to live in larger Chinese cities and even immigrate to other countries in search of the 中国梦 (zhongguomeng), or the China Dream, where one can seek out their personal aspirations while concurrently contributing to the revitalization of the nation. Entire villages of elderly have sought to recoup their honor by finding alternate care. Tang & Shea (2020) tell of a rural village in Jiangxiang where the local government recognized the need to ensure the financial support of the elderly. Villas for all 186 native-born families were built

and sold for a subsidized price where the “remaining profits went into the village collective fund, as did profits from the collective agricultural, tourism, and industrial ventures” within the same village (p. 108-109). In this scenario, “financial support for seniors is coming from collective village revenue, rather than from their children” (p. 125). One could go on to speak of shame placed on the younger generation who fail to carry on their ancestral duties of performing the ceremonial rites of what is known as 敬祖 (jingzu) or 拜祖 (baizu); the shame of children to pass college and postgraduate examinations; or the shame placed on major corporations through the social media trend 躺平 (tangping), or lying flat, for the stressful 9-9-6 work environment. Shame is an intricate part of modern Chinese culture and is present on numerous cultural levels.

4. Conclusion

One can clearly see that modern Chinese shame works well in supporting the idea that Ferdinand de Saussure’s linguistic synchronic approach can be applied culturally as well as linguistically. There is still room for the concept of a cultural synchronic approach to be even further developed with de Saussure’s terms of signified and signifier that create the complete sign. The word’s (or signifier) value is attained through its connection to the concept (or signified) (1966: 67). For example, the presence of leftover women is a cultural expression that finds its value as it makes its connection with the greater concept of shame that ties all such expressions together. This concept of shame is most commonly expressed by either the Chinese term 羞辱 (xiuchi) or 耻辱 (chiru). Shame is a cultural necessity that moves the Chinese culture, obviously not perfectly but with notable effectiveness, toward greater accountability and more cohesive social conformity. Cultural application of de Saussure’s synchronic approach will assist in connecting, at first glance, disparate social experiences and aid in comprehension of the cultural concept (or signified) behind the social expression (or signifier).

References

- Ahmed, E., Harris, N., Braithwaite, J., & Braithwaite, V. (2001). *Shame Management Through Reintegration*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Chan, J. (2019). Online Public Shaming is Here to Stay—Here’s What You Can Do About It. Linkfluence.
- Chen, F. *Forbidden City: ‘Benz Intruder’ Sparks Doxxing War: Wife of Grandson of Party Patriarch Flaunts US \$350K SUV in Piazza Off Limits Even to Xi Jinping’s Motorcade*. January 20, 2020. Asia Times. <https://asiatimes.com/2020/01/forbidden-cibenz-intruder-sparks-doxxing-war/>.
- Chen, L. *Chinese Parents Spend up to US \$43,500 a Year on After-School Classes for Their Children*. December 4, 2018. South China Morning Post. <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/2176377/chinese-parents-spend-us43500-year-after-school-classes-their>.
- Cheng, E. *‘Reverse Migration’ is picking up in China as workers give up on big cities*. June 6, 2021. CNBC. <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/06/28/reverse-migration-is-picking-up-in-china-as-workers-leave-big-cities.html>.
- Chik, H. *China is Home to 18 of the 20 Most Surveilled Cities in the World*. Inkstone, 2019. https://www.inkstonenews.com/society/china-home-18-20-most-surveilled-cities-world/article/3094805?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_content=article

- Chiu, J. *China has an Irrational Fear of a "Black Invasion" Bringing Drugs, Crime, and Interracial Marriage*. March 30, 2017. Quartz. <https://qz.com/945053/china-has-an-irrational-fear-of-a-black-invasion-bringing-drugs-crime-and-interracial-marriage/>.
- Fischer, K. W., Li, J., & Wang, L. Q. (2004). The Organisation of Chinese Shame Concepts. *Cognition and Emotion*, 18 (6), pp. 767-797. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02699930341000202/2004>.
- Foult, T. (2004). "Chanyuan qinggui and Other 'Rules of Purity' in Chinese Buddhism." In Wright, D. S. & Heine, S. (eds.), *The Zen Canon: Understanding the Classic Texts*, pp. 275-312. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Gelfand, M. (2018). *Rule Makers, Rule Breakers: How Tight and Loose Cultures Wire Our World*. New York, NY: Scribner.
- Georges, J. (2019). *Ministering in Patronage Cultures: Biblical Models and Missional Implications*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.
- Giskin, H. (2001). "Written and Spoken Chinese: Expression of Culture and Heritage." In Giskin, H. & Walsh, B. S. (eds.), *Chinese Folktales and the Family*, pp. 123-138. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- Hu, A. N. Ancestor Worship in Contemporary China: An Empirical Investigation. 2016. *China Review*, 16 (1), pp. 169-186. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43709965>.
- Hu, H. C. (1956). "The Chinese Concepts of Face." In D. G. Haring (ed.), *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*, pp. 447-467. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Kraft, C. H. (1996). *Anthropology for Christian Witness*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Lake, R. (2018). *Leftover in China: The Women Shaping the World's Next Superpower*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Lau, T. L. (2020). *Defending Shame: Its Formative Power in Paul's Letters*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Liu, L. (2007). "Filial Piety, Guanxi, Loyalty and Money: Trust in China." In I. Marková and A. Gillespie (eds), *Trust and Distrust: Sociocultural Perspectives*, pp. 51—77. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.
- Mascolo, M. J., Fischer, K. W., & Li, (1997). "Dynamic Development of Component Systems of Emotions: Pride, Shame, and Guilt in China and the United States." In Davidson, R. J., Maslach, C. & Leiter, M. P. (2003). *The Truth About Burnout: How Organizations Cause Personal Stress and What to Do About It*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Ma, L. (2018). *The Chinese Exodus: Migration, Urbanism, and Alienation in Contemporary China*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications.
- O'Brien, Danny. China's Global Reach: Surveillance and Censorship Beyond the Great Firewall. October 10, 2019. Electronic Frontier Foundation. <https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2019/10/chinas-global-reach-surveillance-and-censorship-beyond-great-firewall>.
- Pattison, S. (2011). "Shame and the Unwanted Self." In Jewett, R., Alloway, Jr. W. L., & Lacey J. G. (eds.), *The Shame Factor: How Shame Shapes Society*, pp. 22-51. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books.
- Pickle, L. S. (2001). "Written and Spoken Chinese: Expression of Culture and Heritage." In Giskin, H. & Walsh, B. S. (eds.). *An Introduction to Chinese Culture through the Family*, pp. 9-40. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- Roberts, J. A. G. (1992). *China Through Western Eyes*. Portsmouth, NH: Alan Sutton Publishing.

- de Saussure, F. (1966). *Course in General Linguistics*. Charles Bally, Albert Sechehaye (eds.), Wade Baskin (trans.), and Albert Reidlinger. New York: The Philosophical Library.
- Schaaf, J. (2001). "Written and Spoken Chinese: Expression of Culture and Heritage." In Giskin, H. & Walsh, B. S. (eds.). *Jia 家, "Family," and the Chinese House*, pp. 163-194. Albany, NY: State University of New York.
- Seok, B. (2017). *Moral Psychology of Confucian Shame: Shame of Shamelessness*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Shea, J., Moore, K., & Zhang, H. (eds.). (2020). *Beyond Filial Piety: Rethinking Aging and Caregiving in Contemporary East Asian Societies*. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.
- deSilva, D. A. (2000). *Honor, Patronage, Kinship & Purity: Unlocking New Testament Culture*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.
- Tang, Y. & Shea, J. (2020). "Old-Age Support in Rural China Case Study of the Jiangxi Model for Community-Based Filial Piety." In Shea, J., Moore, K., & Zhang, H. (eds.) *Beyond Filial Piety: Rethinking Aging and Caregiving in Contemporary East Asian Societies*, pp. 92-142. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.
- Taylor, A. *Chinese Rich Kids Post Photos of Their Bank Accounts Online After 'Sex Party' Feud*. April 12, 2013. Business Insider. <https://www.businessinsider.com/china-fuerdai-show-off-bank-accounts-2013-4>.
- Ten Elshof, G. A. (2015). *Confucius for Christians: What an Ancient Chinese Worldview Can Teach us about Life in Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Thomas, I. (2018). *Jesus: The Path to Human Flourishing*. Midview City, Singapore: Graceworks Private Limited.
- Vanhonacker, W. R. (2014). Guanxi Networks in China: How to be the Spider not the Fly. *The China Business Review*, 31 (3), pp. 48-53.
- Wilson, D. (1989). *Towards a Diachronic -Synchronic View of Future Communication Policies in Africa*. 3 (2), pp. 26-39. ACCE.
- Wu, J. (2012). *Saving God's Face: A Chinese Contextualization of Salvation through Honor and Shame*. Pasadena, CA: WCIU Press.
- Yang, J. W. & Knight, A. (ed.). (2015). *Racism in China: Mao's War on Racial Tolerance and Multiculturalism: Does the Chinese Communist Party, Try to Secure Their Power by Promoting Racist and Anti-Multicultural Values?* Publisher Unknown.
- Zhang, D. H. (2019). The Problem with Chinese Universities? Not Enough Dropouts. January 15, 2019. Sixth Tone. <https://www.sixthtone.com/news/1003440/the-problem-with-chinese-universities-not-enough-dropouts>.
- Zhang, M. (2020). 'Too Busy to Do Anything Else': How Caregiving and Urban Sojourning Impact the Aging Experience of China." In Shea, J., Moore, K., & Zhang, H. (eds.). *Beyond Filial Piety: Rethinking Aging and Caregiving in Contemporary East Asian Societies*, pp. 194-229. New York, NY: Berghahn Books.