

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Great change has taken place in China during the past decade. As core values represent the most basic aspects of social life, change in some aspects of Chinese core values indicates that China is moving rapidly from being an agricultural society toward becoming a modern industrial society. China today can be regarded as undergoing a process of modernization in which basic institutions are being altered to accommodate industrial development. Change was initiated by the policy of reform and opening to the outside world in 1978, and in this sense represents politically planned change. Change in China is also evolutionary in character and is influenced by the diffusion of foreign cultural traits into the country. These foreign traits not only conflict with

traditional Chinese culture but also have impacted core values causing them to change.

In order to examine the extent to which change in core values has taken place in China during the past decade and analyse the relationships between the process of modernization and change in core values, six case studies of Chinese students at Oregon State University were conducted. Several periodicals which contain recent information and reports on the expression of value changes in China were used to complement the case studies. Anthropological sources related to the theory of culture change and modernization served as the major theoretical references.

The results of this study indicate that change has taken place in several aspects of Chinese core values: from morality to material gain, from social harmony to competition, from collective duty to individual rights and from uniformity to diversity. Social problems that have emerged in China today along with these changes are being accepted as the necessary price of China's modernization program.

CHANGE IN SOME ASPECTS
OF CHINESE CORE VALUES, 1978-1988

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I would like to present my beloved motherland- The People's Republic of China- with the gift of this thesis. In the current stage of transition China is facing great challenge and difficulties. I believe, however, my country will have the bright future.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
The Concept of Core Values	1
The Origin of The Concept	1
Values in Anthropology	3
The Meaning of Core Values5
The Culture Change Theory and Anthropology	8
The Stability of Culture	8
The Dynamics of Culture	9
Invention and Diffusion--Two Main Mechanisms of Culture Change.....	10
Research Design.....	15
The Purpose and Problems.....	15
Background and Data Collection.....	15
Sampling and Fieldwork.....	16
Chapter I.....	18
Modernization and Civilization	18
The Meaning of Modernization.....	18
Modernization--The Highest Stage of Civilization.....	21
Individual Modernization--The Key To Modernization.....	23
Modernization in China.....	25
The Burden of The Past.....	25
"Reform" and "Opening".....	27
Planned Change.....	28

Cultural Conflict in Contemporary China.....	31
The Substance of Cultural Conflict.....	31
Kinds of Cultural Conflict.....	32
Chinese Students Abroad.....	40
Background.....	40
History.....	41
Impact on Chinese Society.....	44
Chapter II Case Studies.....	46
Case Study I.....	46
Case Study II.....	51
Case Study III.....	54
Case Study IV.....	59
Case Study V.....	61
Case Study VI.....	64
Chapter III Discussion.....	68
From Morality To Material Gain.....	68
Economy First.....	71
Money Orientation.....	73
The Longing For Material Possessions.....	74
From Social Harmony To Competition.....	78
The Beginning of Competition.....	80
Equal Opportunity In Examinations.....	82
Finding Jobs Through Competition.....	83
From Collective Duty To Individual Rights.....	85
Free Choice.....	86
Realizing Individual Interest.....	89

From Uniformity To Diversity.....	91
The Different Sectors of The Economy.....	93
From Absolutism to Relativism.....	94
Pluralism.....	96
Conclusion	98
Bibliography.....	104

CHANGE IN SOME ASPECTS
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INTRODUCTION

THE CONCEPT OF CORE VALUES

The Origin of The Concept

During the past decade a relatively great change has taken place in Chinese society. Among a series of economic, political, social, cultural, ethical, and moral changes, the change of the deep structure of culture--core values may be profound and significant. The concept of core values is fundamental to any analysis of values and has a specific meaning in Anthropology.

As a term, "value" can be traced back to remote antiquity in both the Western and Eastern world. Some Greek scholars tried to search the meaning of this term in philosophical discussion two thousand years ago (Quito, 1986). It was not until the last century, however, that the systematic study of value was undertaken and evolved into a new field-- theory of value, i.e. Axiology. According to The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1987:746), Axiology

"also called theory of value, the philosophical study of goodness, or value, in the widest sense of this terms. Its significance lies (1) in the considerable expansion that it has given to the

meaning of the term value and (2) in the unification that it has provided for the study of a variety of questions-- economic, moral, aesthetic, and even logical-- that had often been considered in relative isolation."

The original meaning of the term "value" indicated the worth of something, mainly in the economic sense of exchange value, as in the work of the 18th century political economist Adam Smith. In general, the application of its meaning was broadly extended onto many different fields, especially into philosophy, psychology, and anthropology. As a result, the term "value" is bestowed with different connotations relating to emotional, ideological, economic, social or political aspects of human life and experience.

According to some research, this term made its entrance into social science around 1920s (Williams, 1968), and has been widely used, although there is little consensus on its precise meaning and proper usage. There is a variety of definitions of this term. Take some examples of recent works:

Values, Hagen (1962:113) said, are "one type of needs."

Henry (1963:14) defines values as something that we consider good such as "love, kindness, quietness, contentment, fun, honesty, decency, relaxation, simplicity."

Some scholars point out that "out of experiences may come some certain general guides to behavior. These guides tend to give direction life and may be called values"

(Ruths, Harmin and Simon, 1966:27).

Another researcher states that

"values have been variously viewed as preferences, criteria, objects, and possessions, personality and status characteristics, and states of mind that are absolutes..., inherent in objects..., present in man..., and/or identical with his behavior..." (Coughlan, 1969:170).

Inlow (1972:2) has argued that values "are the determiners that influence his choice in life and that thus decide his behavior."

Another study just calls values "the underlying preferences of individuals, the deep motives on which they base their judgments their hopes and their concerns..." (Jouvenel, 1986:275).

Values in Anthropology

The analysis of value theory in Cultural Anthropology began in the 1940s, and was based primarily on static cultural models or constructs (Keesing, 1953). Some famous anthropologists, such as Malinowski and Mead, all briefly discussed values in their research works during that period of time. Malinowski (1944:128) suggested that values

"is a new driving force which makes human beings produce, maintain, and hold in physical possession those objects which enter instrumentally into the exploitation of the environment."

He also emphasized that value is culturally determined. This might be one of the earliest indications that anthropologists

intended to examine values in culture.

Some scholars have pointed out, however, the study of values in Cultural Anthropology was pioneered by Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn, 1951; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961). According to them, values may be defined as mental constructs that enable humans to execute comparative assessments of the state of the world with regard to certain qualities: i.e., things, actions, ideas, and so forth are assessed to be more or less good, true, ethical, pleasant, or beautiful (Hutterer, Rambo and George, 1985).

Obviously, anthropologists endow value with a specific connotation. It is well known that each culture has its own way of looking at life and its own ideas about "right" and "wrong." Its way of life and ideas or world view are regarded as a culture's adaptative strategy to take advantage of its specific physical environment. World view and values are important concepts of cultural orientation. In general, value can be defined as "those things-- cultural products, standards, or ideas-- which men living in societies prize and hold as having a high importance, for them, for their group and descendants, and in themselves, over and beyond their practical utility" (Kroeber, 1948:102).

Each person has individual values. Also, there are common values held by many people in a society. Common values are often associated with different regions, social classes, or ethnic groups. In the United States people often talk

about American values, middle class values, or Indian values. People also understand that different lifestyles are attributed to different values. These different values are related to the particular environment, historical heritage and adaptive strategy of people.

The Meaning of Core Values

In opinion of anthropologists some values refer to specific actions, such as most Americans preferring red meat instead of fat. Other values, however, refer to general categories of behaviors and cover many specific instances. These values are regarded as cultural values or core values. It is possible to identify a set of core values in any culture. Core values are systematically related to each other. One viewpoint is that core values are

"the central conception and expression of desirability and/or preference from which the day-to-day decisions and choices that confront a society and its members are typically made" (Direzo, 1977:4).

The concept of core values has its own specific meaning. Core values do not simply mean what is good and bad, right or wrong; they indicate the basic needs and goals of a culture. In other words, the concept of core values comes close to the concept of "ethos" or life philosophy, social character, theme of culture, basic personality, etc.

Having compared various core values between Americans and Chinese, Hsu (1981:6) suggests that core values are "the

basic and characteristic ways in which people in each society see their past, present, and future, and define their problems and seek solutions to them." In brief, core values usually reflect the life way of a culture.

Furthermore, core values derive from past generations, representing a long heritage. Still, a culture's core values are always associated with its tradition and history, and can be called "deep structure" or "configurations" of culture (Kluckhohn, 1951). Once we identify the core values of a culture we can understand the overall culture pattern more clearly.

On the whole, the major feature of traditional Chinese culture is characterized by what is called "Grand Harmony." Historically, this means that everybody and everything are all ruled and dominated by a supreme power-- the emperor. Within this frame there is a set of related core values, such as emphasis on social harmony rather than competition; morality rather than profit; collective duty rather than individual rights; uniformity rather than diversity; permanence rather than change; stability rather than upheaval, and the like. These values merge and define Chinese culture through its long history. It is these core values that solidify ties between Chinese people and enable them to survive from generation to generation.

By contrast, the main characteristic of American culture is the emphasis on the individual (G.Spindler, 1977). The

major core values of American culture, such as emphasis on independence, individual rights, achievement orientation, and the like, are all based on this main feature. In general, core values are the more stable factors of a culture, and for the most part rather resistant to radical change. But they are not absolutely static. Under some circumstances they may change quite drastically in a short time. When the social and economic environment in which a culture's core values exist shifts dramatically, core values may change. For example, the shift of American core values from emphasis on achievement, success by the individual to a more humanistic, tolerant, relative position occurred between 1961 and 1968 (L. Spindler, 1977). This change was the direct product of change in the social environment. The Vietnam War, the radical student movement and the sexual revolution were the major symbols of that change.

Change in core values is generally associated with alterations in the social environment. Today some of traditional Chinese core values are changing because of the rapid alterations in China's social and economic setting.

THE CULTURE CHANGE THEORY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The Stability of Culture

It has been pointed out that some aspects of Chinese core values in current China have changed. It is necessary briefly to review the theory of culture change in Anthropology.

According to the general cultural anthropological view, culture is the means by which the human beings solve the problems of existence and meet their needs for survival and development. Different cultural institutions, such as kinship, marriage and family, political, social and economic organizations, religion and art, cooperate together to form an integrated cultural system. As this system is adaptive, it is rather stable. There is much evidence to demonstrate that the elements of a culture may persist for a long time. For instance, the basic architectural materials of China, brick and tile, are called "the Qin Dynasty's brick and Han Dynasty's tile." These bricks and tiles were created about two thousand years ago, during the Qin (221 B.C.- 207 B.C.) and Han (206 B.C.- 220 A.D.) Dynasties. But they are still widely used in China today.

In addition, as one of the most important traits of traditional Chinese culture, the doctrine of Confucianism was also established more than two thousand years ago. It still, however, strongly affects Chinese people today.

Furthermore, archaeologists have been able to document cultural patterns that exhibit stability over thousands of years both in their outlines and in some of their details (Smith and Fischer, 1970).

The Dynamics of Culture

Although stability may be a remarkable nature of all cultures, culture does change. Culture change is a "permanent factor of human civilization" (Malinowski, 1945:25). Some changes in culture are not adaptive. The archaeologists' record is full of cultures that disappeared. Other kinds of changes are adaptive and move up the scale of social-cultural systems into more efficient and higher level of patterns. In general, anthropologists regard these kinds of changes as evolutionary change.

Julian Steward was one of the most important anthropologists to make contributions to the study of culture change. He focused on the sequences of changes taking place within a particular culture or cultural area. He expounded his theory of multilinear evolution in The Theory of Culture Change (1955). According to Steward (1967:21), the concept of culture change in a general sense "may signify increased culture trait content and richness within an unchanging structure" or "may imply structural and ideological modifications and transformations that exhibit new

qualities."

Moreover, Steward was the first anthropologist to emphasize the relation between social-cultural systems and their environment, and he led the approach in promoting the idea that culture is adaptive. He also established the study of cultural ecology, describing cultural ecology as "a methodological tool for ascertaining how the adaptation of a culture to its environment may entail certain changes" (Steward, 1955:30).

Invention and Diffusion-- Two Main Mechanisms of Culture Change

Malinowski (1945:32) once suggested that culture change was "...the process by which the existing order of a society, that is its social, spiritual and material civilization, is transformed from one type to another." In the common anthropological view, the "processes" or "mechanisms" involved in the culture change are mainly invention and diffusion.

There are many different interpretations about the term invention. Dixon (1928) stated invention might be defined as purposeful discovery. Another study suggests that: "...all new elements which are developed within the frame of a particular culture and society are inventions" (Linton, 1936:306).

Many anthropologists also use the term "innovation"

which almost represents the same meaning as invention. Although anthropologists defined invention or innovation in different ways, the basic meaning of this concept is generally accepted, e.g. a new discovery or process developed from search, study and experimentation. Take the use of fire, for example. When the ancestors of human beings started to use fire they actually found out one of the most important inventions in human history. This is one of the most significant traits distinguishing modern humans from other primates. Also, it is one of the most important aspects of human culture leading to the evolution of civilization.

Invention or innovation can be further divided into two different scales--primary and secondary. Primary inventions are chance discoveries of new principles. Secondary inventions are improvements made by applying already known principles. China's ancient discoveries of papermaking and gunpowder are examples of primary invention. Based on applying the principles of gunpowder, people then invented various kinds of guns and cannons; this is an instance of the secondary invention. In general, primary inventions may affect rapid cultural change and stimulate other inventions. The invention of the steam engine and other machines two hundred years ago not only led to the rapid economic development in Europe, but also advanced the level of human society-- from agricultural to industrial civilization.

Diffusion is the other main process of culture change. Linton (1936:324) defined diffusion as "transfer of cultural elements from one society to another." In brief, diffusion means borrowing cultural traits. Many anthropologists would agree that real independent invention accounts for only a small percentage of culture change. The development of human culture is primarily due to the most important inventions from elsewhere (L. Sprindler, 1977). It is argued that borrowing accounts for as much as 90% of the content of any particular culture (Linton, 1936). European colonists who came to North America borrowed not just the use of corn, squash and beans from American Indians, but also the entire Indian way of producing these crop and vegetables (Feagin, 1984). However, Malinowski (1945) regards borrowing as being just as creative as other forms of cultural invention.

In general, contact is an important factor in diffusion but not the only one. There are two types of diffusion--direct and indirect. The history of Chinese and Western cultural contact provides an example. Some Chinese cultural elements were directly spread to the West, such as the importation of sericulture into Greece in about 550 A.D. (Engels, 1964). Other elements such as Chinese papermaking were spread to the western world indirectly. The major medium for diffusion of Chinese paper was Arab trade.

Chinese cultural traits represented by the ancient

inventions such as papermaking, gunpowder, and the compass not only changed the material culture of the West, but also promoted the growth and development of capitalism. In other words, the great social-cultural change that happened in Europe three hundred years ago was associated with cultural borrowing-- the spread toward the west of Chinese cultural elements (Needham,1981).

Diffusion or borrowing is a two-way flow. The history of exchange and conflict between Chinese and foreign cultures not only indicates that foreign cultures affected the Chinese but also that traditional Chinese culture influenced the outside world, even though the impacts were different.

Nowadays, one frequently used concept to describe contemporary social and cultural change is "modernization." This refers to processes of cultural and socioeconomic change by which traditional societies move in the direction of taking on the technological and social, and cultural characteristics of industrialized nations (Poggie and Lynch, 1974). Modernization is characterized by the widespread use of advanced machines and technology in the industrialization of the production process accompanied by urbanization, participation in the world market system and etc. In brief, modernization means that a culture or a society advances from a traditional small-scale agricultural civilization to modern industrial civilization.

China is undergoing the process of modernization today. Notable changes are associated with China's modernization-- in particular changes in some aspects of Chinese core values.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Purpose and Problems

This study was designed to examine the extent to which change in core values has taken place in China during the past decade, and what are the major aspects of change. The basic purpose of the study is to account for the relation between the process of modernization and change in core values.

Several related questions will be raised and discussed. What are the main causes and driving force behind the change? Considering the impact of foreign cultures, what kinds of conflict will occur between traditional Chinese core values and the values of modernization? Is the change in core values to be regarded as spontaneous or politically planned? How is change in core values seen as adaptive? What are the main effects and significance of this change?

Background and Data Collection

A literature review provides background on changes in China's socioeconomic environment during the past decade and some specific aspects of its modernization, internal cultural conflict, and the impact of Chinese students abroad. Several other studies related to the theory of culture change and modernization are used as the major theoretical references.

Chinese students at Oregon State University are a main source of data for this study and the subjects of interviews presented below. A brief review of the history of Chinese students abroad provides the context for these interviews.

In addition, several periodicals such as China Daily, Beijing Review, and People's Daily (overseas edition) are important sources of data. They contain recent information about today's China covering a variety of areas of social life and the latest changes that have occurred. The selections from these periodicals were taken to reflect change in People's attitudes, ideas and values and ways of living and thinking. They are interrelated to complement the information gained from interviews by placing them in a broader context.

Sampling and Fieldwork

Six case studies were conducted, each one representing a Chinese student at Oregon State University. There were 154 Chinese students at the university in the academic year of 1987-1988. Most had lived in the United States for varying lengths of time from several months to five or six years. These students are the direct result of China's recent social change. Sending students abroad to study is an important component of China's policy of modernization. All these students came to the United States after China began to implement the policy of opening to the outside world ten

years ago.

According to the "Chinese Student & Scholar Association Directory, 1987-1988," the 154 students were divided into three different groups in terms of how long they had been the United States. Two students were selected from each group. This selection was not random. The author was acquainted with these students previously. It was determined that their various personal backgrounds were such that they could provide information relevant to the study.

Formal interviews, casual conversations, and participant observation were the main methods used in these case studies over the months of August and September of 1988. Each formal interview lasted approximately two hours. The atmosphere was as casual as possible in order to obtain candid responses.

The interviews focused on different attitudes and life styles comparing the past decade, when respondents were in China, with the current period of residence in the United States.

CHAPTER I

MODERNIZATION AND CIVILIZATION

The Meaning of Modernization

As previously discussed, the changes that have taken place in China during the past decade are related to the process of modernization. Therefore, it is necessary briefly to discuss the meaning of modernization and China's practices, and the relation between modernization and the change of core values.

Modernization has been widely studied by social scientists after World War II (Elsenstadt, 1973). These studies are associated with several academic fields. Political scientists point out that modernization is often used today "... as another word for economic growth or as a more palatable synonym for another elusive concept, westernization" (Weiner, 1966:3). With a sociological view, Moore (1979:1) has pointed that "...all people everywhere are subject to, and many are actively participating in, a process of social change that is modernization."

In Anthropology the growth of Urban Anthropology is directly associated with the process of modernization (L. Spindler, 1977). Nash (1965:1) states that since World War II,

"...the new nations of Asia and Africa are discovering ways of transforming traditional societies into modern ones. The process of social and cultural transformation they undertake has few analogs in past history. Modernization on this scale, and with this speed, has rarely been conceived, and more rarely carried out."

Steward was also much interested in this issue. In Contemporary Change in Traditional Societies (1967:4), he suggested that modernization is used to

"designate sociocultural transformations that result from factors and process that are distinctive of the contemporary industrial world."

He also argued that modernization means "more than culture change," because culture change is essentially cumulative when culture traits are merely incorporated into the existing pattern of a society. Modernization is, however, "evolutionary in that basic structures and patterns are qualitatively altered" (Steward, 1967:4).

Modernization in fact represents a new historic pattern of human civilization (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). In general, human civilization is the sum of all human discoveries and inventions such as language, religion, morality, science, technology, art, philosophy, and institutions including political, economic, legal, cultural and educational systems. According to the basic anthropological view, human civilization can be classified into three main categories in

terms of subsistence strategy. These are hunting-gathering civilization, agricultural civilization and industrial civilization. Human hunting-gathering civilization has been existent for some 600,000 years (Washburn and Lancaster, 1967), the history of agricultural civilization extends for about 10,000 years, whereas the industrial civilization has only existed little more than two hundred years.

On the whole, human culture and civilization is characterized by upward change, i.e. from small-scale to large-scale, from simple to more complex patterns, but the development of each culture does not follow simple unilinear evolution (Steward, 1955). For every cultural group, civilization can be created and transferred from generations to generations. A group also can absorb or reject the civilization of another group. A civilization may decline and die. The civilization of ancient Egypt and India developed very early but these ancient cultural groups later declined. Ancient Greece was the cradle of European culture, but it also declined. Therefore, there is no cultural group that is able to stand in the forefront of human civilization from the beginning to the end in history.

Each pattern of civilization produces a dual impact (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). On the one hand, the civilization restricts human abilities in survival to a certain setting. The agricultural civilization, for example. In this case, manual work is the basic trait of productive activities.

Human beings rely on this mode of production for survival. This mode of production in turn draws the boundary around human activity and limits its development.

Chinese people have existed as an agricultural civilization for a relatively long period. When other cultural groups such as Western European people moved up to a higher stage-- industrial civilization, the Chinese people's living environment became more stressed. Because the limits of agricultural civilization made the Chinese unable to compete with industrial society.

Modernization-- The Highest Stage of Civilization

There is a common view about the highest stage of civilization held by people in developing countries including China-- that industrial civilization is the same as industrialization (Li and Li, 1987). Since industrialization occurred first in Western European countries, industry there is still the most advanced in the world today. Because of this circumstance, industrialization is often equated with Westernization. In brief, this view is that industrial civilization, industrialization and westernization necessarily go together. According to this opinion, modernization should mean Westernization. However, it is perhaps based on a misunderstanding.

Although "modernization" and "industrialization" are closely associated, "They are not equivalent terms"

(Lauer, 1982:280). Industrialization, in simple words, is economic development through a transformation of the sources and quantities of energy employed (Lenski, 1966). Human and animal power is the source of energy in agricultural civilization. Industrialization is based on the fossil fuels and a factory mode of production. Thus, it is generally regarded as an economic concept. On the contrary, industrial civilization or modernization refers to the whole culture established in association with industrialization, including the political system, economic system, legal system, educational system, religion, morality, science, technology, philosophy, art, lifestyle and ways of thinking as well as corresponding attitudes, ideas and values. In this sense, modernization is a pattern of civilization. It is not the same as industrialization even though industrialization plays a key role in the process of modernization (Pelto and Poggie, 1974).

There is another common viewpoint. Some theorists, including some Chinese, think that as long as industrialization is achieved, modernization will appear along with it (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). But in fact, it may not. Some oil-producing nations such as Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia are good examples. These nations have achieved "industrialization" within a very short period of time, depending a great deal on exporting oil. The standard of living suddenly moved up to a high level, the

standard even exceeding that of most Western countries. The per capita income of these countries and their gross national product (GNP) are among the highest in the world for recent years. For instance, the per capita of United Arab Emirates' GNP was US\$ 21,830 in 1984 and in first place in the world (The World Bank ATLAS, 1987). However, these countries have experienced few changes in their political systems, educational systems, science, technology, religion, morality, art, ways of life, etc. For example, the marriage pattern in Saudi Arabia is still polygamy. These industrial economies are still part of agricultural civilizations; they have not undergone transformation to industrial civilization or modernization.

Individual Modernization-- The Key To Modernization

How are changes in traditional attitudes, values and ideas associated with the process of modernization?

Those countries mentioned above also imported advanced sciences and technology from Western countries. They introduced the most efficient methods of management and the political and educational systems from developed Western countries. But all these institutions and systems may not function well. Kindlebeger (1983) points out these Arab oil-producing countries are "rich," but still undeveloped.

We must realize that modern institutions and management methods are just abstract concepts. If people are lacking of

modern outlook, they may not make these modern institutions function well. Inkeles (1974) posed the concept of modern man and saw emerging from the process of modernization a new kind of person. It is necessary for a society to have not only advanced economies and technology, but also its people must have modern attitudes, values, ideas and ways of life and thinking compatible with modernization.

According to Inkeles (1974) the traditional person in agricultural civilization: fears social reform; puts no trust in new productive patterns and new ideas; passively accepts fate; gives obedience blindly to traditional authority; lacks efficiency; lacks creative thinking and action; and is separated from the outside world. The development of modern sciences and technology and change in the mode of production demands that people be able to accept and adapt to the change of life patterns and become modern.

When social scientists began to study the issue of modernization, they paid more attention to economic development and industrialization. There is no doubt that the economy is important in a country's development and that this is the "essential element" (Inkeles, 1974). However, the economic development or industrialization is not the only factor. There is still another important key to modernization. This is people, their ideas, values and attitudes. The modernization of people is an absolutely necessary factor in overall modernization.

MODERNIZATION IN CHINA

The Burden of The Past

China's modernization can be traced back to the last century. China indeed started to experience the process of modernization in the 1840s after the Opium War. It is indicated that China's modernization is closely associated with its modern history which extends for 140 years (Wang, 1984). China is attempting to modernize based on a deeply historical self-examination today.

China was once the most advanced nation in the world and created a remarkable ancient civilization. After the Industrial Revolution, however, Western countries rapidly transformed into modern industrial civilizations. By contrast, China stagnated for a long period and Chinese civilization gradually declined. The loss of the Opium War in 1842 was very upsetting to the Chinese people. It indicated that in comparison to western industrial civilization, China's agricultural civilization was out-of-date. From then on China actually began the process of modernization (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). It was a difficult course. China needed to change in such areas as economy, politics, education, science and some aspects of traditional attitudes, values and ideas. It also meant that in order to modernize, China should get rid of its ancient agricultural civilization and become an

industrial civilization.

For more than one hundred years China had corrupt governments and suffered invasion from foreign countries. As a result, China lost several historic opportunities to catch up with the world's advanced countries. More and more it fell into the abyss of social and economic decay. After the revolution of 1949, China launched a new economic program and established a basic foundation of industrialization. Unfortunately, under the guidance of leftists, "class struggle" was always emphasized. "Class struggle" during that period meant that under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the proletariat, which specifically indicated workers, poor and low-middle peasants and Peoples Liberation Army men, should continuously oppose various "class enemies". A series of political campaigns were launched such as the Anti-Rightist movement in 1957, in which about 400,000 intellectuals were labeled anti-party and anti-socialist rightists. The Socialist Educational Campaign from 1963 to 1965 and similar campaigns continued unbroken through the Cultural Revolution, 1966-1976 (Oksenberg, 1974). These brought about destruction to China's course of modernization (Wang, 1984). During that time, science, technology and production were rapidly developing in the rest of world. Some countries that previously had the same undeveloped status as China took-off one by one and began to move up to become mid-developed countries. These countries

included Mexico, Brazil, Singapore and the like (The World Bank ATLAS, 1987). It was not until China started to carry out a policy of "opening to the outside world" at the end of 1978 that Chinese officials finally recognized that the country was backward in economic, scientific and technological areas compared to the world standard. For instance, China's per capita GNP in 1979 was only US\$ 260, among the 30 lowest of the world's 128 nations (The World Bank ATLAS, 1981).

The Chinese people have a long history. Traditional attitudes, values, ideas and old ways of life and thinking embodied in the people over thousands of years still have a relatively strong and pervasive influence. These factors, including some aspects of core values, are major barriers to the course of China's modernization. Therefore, both in economic and productive areas, and in the idea and values realm, China's course of modernization may face relatively great difficulties (Wang, 1984).

"Reform" And "Opening"

In order to accelerate the course of modernization China started a period of policy change ten years ago. China's recent policy has two major aspects. The first is to reform the old economic and political structure and the second is to open to the outside world. In brief, these aspects are regarded as "reform" and "opening." The goal of

the policy is to alter old economic and political structures that have proved not to correspond with the demands of industrial civilization and modernization.

The policy of opening is to allow foreign investment in selected areas. China has set up four special economic zones, opened 14 coastal cities and Hainain Island, and recently opened Shandong Province and Liaodong Peninsula-- the entire east coast. These areas have a population of 200 million and their total value of production will account for 60%-70% of the nation's total (Harding, 1987). These areas will be the most developed areas in China.

The targets China hopes to achieve through this policy are: to attract international capital for new enterprises; to introduce advanced technology to quicken the modernization of existing enterprises; and to learn advanced management techniques. China has started to obtain benefits from implementing this policy. According to a new survey, progress has been made in increasing and making use of foreign capital, with US\$ 8.8 billion currently invested in 1988, 16.2% more than in 1987 (Beijing Review, February 6-12, 1989).

Planned Change

Anthropologists have referred to China's development since 1949 as a kind of planned change (Geddes, 1963). Early social-economic programs such as the Land Redistribution and

the Socialist Transformation are important examples of planned change. The Socialist Transformation campaign occurred between 1955 and 1956. It was characterized by the establishment of collectives in rural areas and the transformation of industry and commercial activity in cities from a capitalist to a socialist pattern. The central institution for both formulating and implementing these social and economic changes was the Chinese Communist Party (Ebrey, 1981). The current course of China's modernization also can be considered planned change carried out according to the new policy of reform and opening formulated by the C.C.P. and the Chinese Government.

On the other hand, China's recent course of modernization also may be regarded as an evolutionary sociocultural change according to Steward's theory of culture change (1955). The purpose of China's modernization is to develop science and technology, develop production and achieve industrializations as well as to become an industrial civilization. This means China will undergo "structural and ideological modifications and transformations that exhibit new qualities" (Steward, 1967:30).

In addition, the policy of opening has resulted in a wide range of influences from the outside world. When foreign investment and technology came in, more foreign cultural influences were also introduced into China. These new foreign influences have had relatively great impact on

some traditional Chinese attitudes, values and ideas. As a result, China's recent modernization is both planned and evolutionary in character.

CULTURAL CONFLICT IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

The Substance of Cultural Conflict

Since Chinese people make up one fifth of the total population of the world, China's modernization will greatly effect the development of human's history in general. In addition the Chinese have an ancient civilization and long cultural tradition. The course and perspective, current condition and historical significance of China's modernization has increasingly become an issue for Chinese scholars (Department of History, Fudan University, 1987).

Nowadays, more and more Chinese people, in particular many young intellectuals, realize that many of typical Chinese attitudes, values and ideas indeed do not belong to the category of industrial civilization but the category of agricultural civilization (Su, 1988). In general, the core values and ideas of Chinese agricultural civilization are so-called "feudal" values and ideas basically associated with the doctrine of Confucianism. The term "feudal" refers to a hierarchical system of social stratification which existed in China from 475 B.C. to 1911 A.D. (A Survey of China, 1987). This "feudal" system and its values and ideas dominated China for two thousand years and still has relatively strong influence in China.

In China's present state of transition, conflict is apparent between modernization and traditional Chinese

culture (Li and Li, 1987). The conflict is not confined to specific or partial aspects, but encompassed the entirety of different cultural constructions. This conflict indeed is occurring between distinct forms of civilization, i.e. agricultural civilization and industrial civilization. The traditional productive pattern of agricultural civilization and its corresponding ways of thinking, behaving and living are absolutely different from these of modern industrial civilization. As a result, when the western cultural traits come into China and impact traditional Chinese culture, there is a very strong reaction. Therefore, cultural conflict is inevitable.

Kinds of Cultural Conflict

The conflict between modernization and traditional Chinese culture occurs in various ways.

First, Chinese traditional culture conflicts with the reform of social structure. The structure of traditional Chinese society was vertically stratified and highly centralized. Although the revolution of 1949 changed the old social structure, the present social structure is still characterized by vertical stratification. In this society everyone has their direct superiors and they have to obey these superiors. Individuals and groups have no independent means of establishing their own status and rights. In the society as a whole this leads to a lack of motive for

achievement. Industrialization and modernization demand a modern social structure. The existence of cross-cutting connections is one of the important features of the modern social structure. In a modern society individuals, groups and organizations communicate widely and cooperate through economic and social contacts. Also, these individuals and groups have independent status and rights separate from a system of vertical stratification. A developed commodity economy will not be achieved without the widespread cross-cutting connections present in modern societies.

Secondly, the principle of equality is in conflict with the hierarchical principle. A modern commodity economy is characterized by exchanges of equal value. In correspondence with equality in economic exchange these should be social equality. The hierarchical principle does not fit the demand of modernization because exchanges are not of equal value; those on top receive great value. Although most ordinary Chinese people believe that "everybody is equal", this is only an expression of the traditional peasant's egalitarianism (Harding, 1987). This kind of egalitarianism characterized by dividing up the farmland into equal shares was the peasants' highest ideal in Chinese "feudal" society. In fact, this ideal was realized as a national policy in China after the 1949 revolution. However, such egalitarianism represents a kind of Utopia that was never achieved because

it negates all the differences among individuals. It is detrimental to achieving modernization.

Third, rule by law conflicts with the tradition of rule by person. It is important that modern society is ruled by law. If there is no legal system, modernization cannot be achieved, because a sophisticated legal system is also a major characteristic of modernization. A sophisticated legal system assures democratic and equal rights in a modern society. This system can enforce obligations incurred in contraction relationships including the exchange of goods and services and it also endows every individuals with the right to participate in political affairs and to vote. As a result, it helps the economy and political system function fairly and smoothly.

In traditional Chinese society, the tradition of rule by person was absolute. The emperor said: "I am the nation." The emperor's ideas were obeyed absolutely. Nowadays, this tradition still influences people's ideas. The question of choosing between personal authority and law has frequently been debated in China recent years. It reflects the condition of a legal system that is still far from perfect in China today.

Fourth, modern democratic values conflict with "feudal" patriarchal ideas. In fact, this conflict is closely

associated with the conflict mentioned above. A perfect legal system and modern democratic institution are the basic requirements of modernization.

Traditional Chinese society was characterized by a patriarchal system. The nation was seen as an extension of the family. The patriarch was the king of a family; similarly the king was the patriarch of the nation. This traditional patriarchal system was also associated with obedience, loyalty and filial piety. The individual was expected to obey and worship the authority figure absolutely and blindly. Obviously, this way is entirely different from the modern democratic principle, which recognizes every individual's independence and rights. After the 1949 revolution for almost forty years, the patriarchal principle was frequently manifest. During the Cultural Revolution it developed to such a peak that people made an idol of the nation's highest leader Mao Zedong.

Fifth, individual rights conflict with collective duty. Individual rights and personal freedom are the basic marks of the modern civilization. Humanism in the era of the Renaissance in the period in European civilization immediately following the Middle Ages was an important spiritual preparation of developing the Western industrial civilization (The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1987). Humanism had several significant features. One of the most

important was to

"help men break free from the mental strictures imposed by religious orthodoxy, to inspire free inquiry and criticism, and to inspire a new confidence in the possibilities of human thought and creations" (The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 1987).

Traditional Chinese culture is lacking of this humanistic tradition focusing on the concept of the individual, instead worshipping the group principle and collective duty. In China everybody has their own "duty." When speaking and behaving one must first consider "duty" to the authorities-- the patriarch in the family and the emperor in society. This principle limits personal freedom and individual rights and is also a major block against achieving modernization.

Sixth, the need for invention conflicts with conservative thinking. In general, the spirit of invention is a fundamental requirement of modernization. Modernization can not succeed without this spirit.

But according to Chinese tradition, people's words and deeds should follow the "ancestral code." Otherwise, they will be regarded as being immoral. This means that traditional Chinese prefer stable and unchangeable situations (Li and Li, 1987). It is not easy for Chinese people to change and accept new ideas. As with other aspects of traditional Chinese culture, this kind of conservative

thinking influences Chinese people greatly today. Any new thing is suspect and even criticized, as happened in setting up special economic zones as part of the reforms started ten years ago. On the whole, conservative ideas still function to constrain inventive spirit.

Seventh, the opening to the outside world conflicts with the attitude of ethnocentrism. Opening to the outside world is a necessary condition of achieving China's modernization. Human history has demonstrated that any society must communicate with the outside to make great progress (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). One of the important features of emerging industrial civilization is breaking out of self-sufficiency and opening the country to international communication. Industrialized countries communicate with and depend upon each other.

The implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world will be hampered by the ethnocentrism of traditional Chinese culture. In the past ethnocentrism not only prevented the Chinese from communicating with the outside world, but also hindered the process of China's modernization which started at the end of the Qing Dynasty (Li and Li, 1987). Although westerners opened China's closed door with the force of superior technology during the Opium War, it never fully awoke the Chinese from the dream of ethnocentrism. Falls of China's Westernization movement at

the end of 1800s declared that: "Chinese learning for fundamental principles and Western learning for application to mundane affairs" (Wang, 1984:4). This view reflects ethnocentrism and shows the rejection of learning from the advancement of Western culture. The Chinese cultural tradition was characterized by regarding itself as best. The idea that "Chinese morality is the first in the world" has not vanished today. If this arrogant ethnocentrism is not eradicated, China will not be able to implement the policy of opening to the outside world.

Eighth, competition conflicts with the Confucian doctrine of the Golden Mean. Competition may bring about progress while keeping egalitarianism may lead to poverty. Efficiency of production stimulated by competition is one of the most important aspects of an industrial society. Only by properly applying the competitive mechanism can people give full play to their abilities and society move to a higher standard of living.

One of the most important features of traditional Chinese culture was represented by Confucian doctrine of the Golden Mean. It was regarded as a regulating norm that rejected competition and achievement. There is a traditional Chinese saying: "A man is afraid of being well-known and a pig is scared to grow strong." Still in China today, somebody who makes progress or contributions to society is usually criticized.

Finally, material profit conflicts with the supremacy of morality. Material profit is the driving force which stimulates invention. Material profit, including the need for food and clothing, is related to the basic need for survival. As long as human beings meet their basic needs they are able to create and develop. If a person is not allowed any material profit, he will not have the necessary energy for creating and inventing.

Traditional Chinese culture was opposed to material profit. The person who pursues material profit was thought "petty", whereas the person who pursues integrity, basically meaning morality and ethics, was thought to be a "gentleman". Confucius stated: "The gentleman understands integrity, whereas the petty person knows about profit" (Ebrey, 1981:12). This traditional value developed to a peak in China during the period of the Cultural Revolution when the emphasis was on politics, ignoring production and not caring for material rewards (Howe, 1975). Holding to this kind of value, people never had the enthusiasm necessary to create and produce a new standard of living.

The topics discussed above indicate that many aspects of traditional Chinese culture, attitudes, values and ideas represent barriers to modernization. In order to break these barriers and succeed in modernization, people must modernize their ideas and values.

CHINESE STUDENTS ABROAD

Background

The course of China's current modernization will not be smooth, because China is facing two difficult tasks, not only developing its economic and technological capacity but also achieving a distinct Chinese style of modernization. There are some models of rapid modernization, such as the Middle East countries that have prospered by exporting oil. Although these countries have achieved material advances, their political and social structures, education and legal systems and ways of thinking and behaving remain at the level of agricultural civilization. They have modernized machines but lack modernized attitudes, values and ideas. Therefore, the development of China should put ideas before machines and technology. This means that from the beginning, the process of modernization in China depends on adopting workable ideas of foreign cultures and getting rid of traditional values and ideas already proven not to suit the demands of modernization.

Certainly, not all Chinese people may be ready to overcome these difficulties. However, every national population is large enough to include some individuals who can act spontaneously and quickly adapt to the requirements of the modern world (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). Chinese

students abroad may fit this category of individuals who are prepared to quickly adapt. They will strive to change and play an important role in the course of China's modernization.

In the past ten years about 60,000 Chinese have gone abroad to study in over 70 different countries (People's Daily, overseas edition, October 8, 1988), most of them in Europe and North America. The largest group is in the United States. According to a recent survey, there are about 27,000 Chinese students studying at about 1,000 American universities and colleges (International Education Association, 1988).

History

The practice of Chinese students going abroad to study has a history of more than hundred years. Within the last century Chinese who have gone abroad to study have brought back important skills and knowledge which have benefited the country's economy, politics, science, education and military. For example, the chief of commander and vice-chief of commander of the first Chinese navy fleet Ding Ruchang and Liu Buchan both studied in England at the end of last century. Also, Deng Jiaxian, China's "father of the atom bomb" was the most important of China's nuclear scientist and the architect of its nuclear industry. Deng returned to China with a doctoral degree in Physics from Purdue University in

1950. He directed 15 of China's 32 nuclear tests (Ku, 1986).

The era in which Chinese students have gone abroad can be divided into five "generations" or periods of time. Chinese who went abroad to study in the last century are the first generation. Between 1872 and 1875, the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) government sent 120 young to study in the United States. Although most of them were recalled before completing their education, many became very prominent in their respective fields. The most famous was Zhan Tianyou, a noted railroad engineer who designed China's railroad system. This generation also included Dr. Sun Yat-Sen who led the revolution which eventually overthrew the emperor of China in 1911 (Zhu, 1988).

After World War I many young Chinese traveled to France on work-study programs. This group included the late premier Zhou Enlai and China's current leader Dong Xiaoping. They and others like them were inspired by their experiences with European workers. Their organizing efforts among fellow students in Europe and their activities after returning to China were significant contributions to China's revolutionary course. This group is the second generation of Chinese student who went abroad (Zhu, 1988).

A number of Chinese students studied in the United States and Western Europe during the 1930s and 1940s, such as bridge engineer Mao Yisheng, mathematician Hua Luogeng and geologist Li Siguang. These men were all pioneers in their

field upon returning to China. Some of them are still influential in setting the course of China's modernization today. There was no exact number reported for this group, but one study indicates that approximately 30,000 Chinese studied in the United States during the pre-1950 era (Lampton, Madamcy and Williams, 1986). This group is the third generation of modern Chinese students abroad.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, many Chinese received valuable education and training in the Soviet Union and some Eastern European countries. After they returned to China, most of them became the mainstay of the nation's economic development. Li Peng, a trained engineer and now China's premier, is one of them. This group numbered about 40,000 (Lampton, Madamcy and Williams, 1986). They are the fourth generation.

Chinese who have gone abroad to study in recent years are the fifth generation. According to some Chinese government officials, they are the direct product of the present course of China's modernization. The current group of Chinese students is seen as an important aspect of China's policy of reform and opening to the outside world (China Daily, October 8, 1988).

During the period of the Cultural revolution no Chinese students were sent abroad. There was a great "broken zone" of about twenty years between the fourth and fifth groups. As China started to accelerate its course of

modernization, the government recognized a need to master advanced western science, technology and management. The government again began to send young people abroad to study.

There were 154 Chinese students enrolled at Oregon State University in the academic year 1988-1989 (International Education Office at OSU, 1988). Over 98% of this total are studying science, engineering, agriculture and forestry. Most of them are studying toward graduate degrees. They are the largest foreign student group at OSU today.

Impact on Chinese Society

The current generation of Chinese students abroad in general is focusing on such fields as computer science, computer engineering and natural sciences, as well as business and other management areas. Only a few of them are studying social sciences. About 20,000 students already returned to China at the end of their scheduled period of study. They have infused new life into the nation's scientific and economic endeavors. For instance, there are 36 presidents in the universities directly authorized by the National Education Committee. Seventeen of them were appointed recent years after finishing their study abroad and returning to China (China Daily, October 8, 1988).

As these current students return to China, they not only bring such material cultural elements as science and technology, but also and more importantly, ideas about

democratic thought and notions of efficiency and competition. Mr. Zhang Yiming and Wang Changyin, who obtained their Ph.D. degrees in the United States and returned to China in the summer of 1988, are planning to establish a stock market for China based on the methods and experiences of the American stock market (People's Daily, overseas edition, December 22, 1988). These students are truly modern as they are "...apparently open to new experiences, relatively independent of parental authority and concerned with time and planning and willing to defer gratification..." (Triandis, 1972). They are indeed a factor that may affect the present course of China's modernization. For example, trained in Physics at the University at Berkeley, Mr. Zhao Nanming shifted his focus from pure Physics to biological Physics after his returning to China. With the support of his university, he established the Department of Biological Science and Technology at Qinghua University, and now he serves as chair of the department (Lou, 1989).

To sum up, many Chinese students who have studied abroad in the last hundred years made important contributions to China's modernization. They may play an even more important role today, especially in constructing a new set of values, attitudes and ideas. Although they make up only a very small portion of the total Chinese population their effect on China's modernization will be great.

CHAPTER II

CASE STUDIES

Six case studies based on interviews with Chinese students at OSU provide an important data source of this study. Each student is seen as an informant who is "a source of information" (Spradley, 1979). Interviewing these informants is related to produce an indication of the change of core values in China today.

CASE STUDY I

Mr. Shen is a graduate student working toward his master's degree in the Department of Forest Engineering at Oregon State University. His major is Forest Engineering and he has a minor in Statistics. He has been in the United States for about two years.

Mr. Shen is 31 years old and comes from Harbin, the capital of Heilongjiang Province in Northeast China. He married four years ago, but has no children. When Shen was asked how many children he would prefer to have, he responded that "I had better have at least two kids." He indicated that one child per family is not good for either parents or child. One child will be so alone that it might affect the child's temper. "It will be safer for a family which has more than

one child," said Mr. Shen.

Mr. Shen's hometown is in the countryside in the Longjiang County. His father's family has lived there for three generations. His father was the manager of a timber yard and retired five years ago. Mr. Shen's father went to school only for six years at the primary level. Mr. Shen's parents have rather traditional ideas and values since they live in a relatively remote place. For instance, they encouraged Mr. Shen and his wife to have their child early. They are determined to have their grandson as soon as possible and at least two of them, even though the Chinese government is implementing a family planning policy which allows only one child per young couple.

Influenced by his family, Mr. Shen cultivated good habits of working hard. Beginning in his elementary school he sometimes spent all day cutting and collecting brush for his family to use in cooking. He recalled: "That was the hardest job in the world." Most people still use brush, tree branches and dry grass as their main energy source in many of China's country areas today.

After his graduation from high school, Mr. Shen returned to his hometown as a farmer. Several months later he was chosen as a teacher in a middle school run by the local people of his hometown. According to him he was very excited to have been a teacher, because "I could get paid every month, even though it was only about US\$ 10 per month."

When China reinstated the first national examination at the end of the Cultural Revolution, Mr. Shen was admitted into the Northeast Forest University as a undergraduate student. He then moved to a large city from his country hometown. He was appointed as an instructor after he obtained a B.S. degree. During his studying and teaching he lived in a students' dormitory and single teacher's living quarters. He always chose the cheapest dishes such as potato, cabbage and carrot when he went to the dining hall. Even after he married and established his own family, he still kept a simple and frugal life, He said: "I never had much money, and it was certainly not easy for me to earn more money then."

In October 1985 Mr. Shen passed an examination which was for selecting the government-sponsored students who would go abroad to study. This exam is very competitive. The average success rate is one in a hundred. "The exam was so competitive that I never thought I was able to be chosen," said Mr. Shen, "but I was lucky I was successful." After one year of language training, he came to the United States in October 1986 and went to OSU to work toward his master's degree.

Even since Mr. Shen came to Corvallis, he has been living in a basement room with an American family. Although the living conditions are relatively simple, Mr. Shen has a good environment for practicing and improving his language

proficiency. In general, the rent of a basement room is cheaper than that of other houses and apartments. Before his wife came to visit him, Shen's eating was also very simple. Chicken, potato and rice were the main foods every day. He said: "I don't have much money. The government only offers me US\$ 360 per month. Except for paying my living and eating, I hope I may save some money for the future use." Generally, the future use means that he will buy several electric appliances such as a TV set, refrigerator, VCR and many more when he returns to China at the end of his study. This is a common practice of Chinese students.

During his first winter break, Mr. Shen participated in a work program. He went to plant trees. The job was not easy because it rained almost all day long. When he returned to home every evening he was always wet. But he was really happy since he earned US\$ 44 that day. According to him, he more and more realizes the power of money, He said:

"In this society money is more powerful. I expect I will have much money. I also find out that as long as I go to work, I will earn money. The more work, the more money. I want to make money instead of saving money."

Mr. Shen also took a job during his first summer vacation and earned about US\$ 4500. In the fall he bought a used car for US\$ 1250 and a TV set. When Mr. Shen's wife came and joined him in the summer of 1987, she paid about \$400 for dental work. They felt very frustrated at that time. Then,

Mr. Shen's wife found a job in a restaurant. When she began to earn several hundred dollars a month, Mr. Shen said: "This is the happiest time for us." Gradually, Mr. Shen started to drink coffee instead of water and tea, He also began to drink beer, Today Pepsi is his daily drink.

Mr. Shen indicates that he realizes the importance of money, especially in this society. "As long as you want to work, you may turn your hope into reality." He hopes that he not only will obtain a doctoral degree but also will make more money when he finishes his study in the United States. He declares that this is "the largest change in his ideas." Shen also pointed out that: "Time is really equal to money. If you waste time in this society, it means you waste money," he said.

As Mr. Shen is a government-sponsored student, he would have returned to China at the end of his scheduled period of master's study. Although the supervisor of his department asked him to return to his former university as soon as possible, Shen still decided to continue to study in the United States for his doctoral degree regardless of the consequence. "I would continue to stay here to study toward a Ph.D. degree no matter what will happen," said Mr. Shen.

In addition, Mr. Shen said that he has gradually changed his attitude about sex since he came to the United States. When he was in China and saw some very intimate behaviors such as embracing and kissing in public he felt

rather uncomfortable. Today he has already become used to such things. He said that he saw his neighbor, a young girl, being intimate with her boyfriend every day during this summer. "I think this is very normal now, even though I might not do in this way."

CASE STUDY II

Mr. Zhou is a graduate student working toward his doctoral degree in the Department of Biochemistry at OSU. He focuses on Biophysics. He came to the United States in September 1986, almost two years ago. This case study also includes Zhou's wife Mrs. Liang. She is also a graduate student working her doctoral degree in the same department at OSU. Her major is Biochemistry. She came to this country only 20 days later than her husband.

Mr. Zhou indeed is very intelligent. At fifteen years of age, he was admitted by the Chinese University of Science and Technology, one of the most famous universities in China. Mr. Zhou obtained his B.S. degree, then went to the Institute of Physics at the Chinese Academic of Sciences to work for his master's degree in 1982. His major field concerned super-conduction at low temperatures. Three years later he obtained an M.S. degree and continued toward a doctoral degree at the same institution. If Mr. Zhou had not withdrawn from his doctoral program in China and come to the United States two years ago, he would have obtained his Ph.D. degree

last year. What is the major reason why Zhou gave up his Chinese doctoral program? According to him, "I wanted to go abroad to study. I wanted to go to America to study toward a doctoral degree, even though it means I have to change my major and start from the very beginning." During his graduate study in China, several of Mr. Zhou's friends and classmates went to the United States. From them Zhou learned much about the ways of Americans, especially American college students.

Mr. Zhou came to OSU to work for his doctoral degree, and changed his major field. "That was rather difficult but I had to get out of China, otherwise, I would regret for all my life," he said. He indicated that if he obtained a Ph.D. degree in China, it would not be easy for him to obtain permission to go abroad. He might have been forced to wait for two or more years.

When Mr. Zhou came to Corvallis, he borrowed two thousand dollars for setting up his new life. He lived in an apartment during his first year. Last year he moved to a new apartment and bought nice furniture. Mr. Zhou bought a new VCR which was worth almost \$400 and a big new HiFi set that cost almost \$500. Three months later he bought a compact disc player and now he has about 15 compact discs.

"I like music. But when I was in China, I did not have enough money to buy even a good tape recorder. Now I am able to buy a good HiFi set,"

said Zhou. Sometimes he and his wife go fishing. They paid

about \$360 to buy a fishing permit. Mr. Zhou indicated that they wanted to enjoy their new life in America, and that they would like to have a little more comfortable life.

This summer Mr. Zhou moved to a two-bedroom apartment. "We are going to have a baby," said Zhou. He also traded in his car last month for a better one. "It is a good car that has air conditioning, power steering and power windows. In brief, it is more comfortable than my old car," said Zhou. Mr. Zhou and his wife don't like cooking every day as most other Chinese students. They often go out to eat, and they are not careful with expenses. Mr. Zhou indicated that from their assistantships they earn about \$1500 each month. This allows a comfortable life style. However, Mr. Zhou and his wife complain that there are not many places in Corvallis where they can go for enjoyment. They said that sometimes they wanted to go to a movie, but that there were only a couple cinemas in this small town and not many movies. This situation is not as good as in China.

Mr. Zhou understands that China is ruled by personal influence while the United States is ruled by the power of money. Last August Mr. Zhou and his wife went back to China for their vacation. They bought family members and themselves many electric appliances such as color TV sets, refrigerators, VCRs. These items were worth a total of US\$ 5000. During their forty days vacation period they also spent about 7000 Yuan (US\$ 1890), that almost equals three

years of salary for both if they were working in China.

Mr. Zhou indicated that there is less need to study in this society than in China. Sometimes he has not taken full advantage of available time to study. Moreover, both Mr. Zhou and his wife indicated that they prefer a comfortable life, but they don't want to enjoy the American style of romance.

Mr. Zhou and his wife would like to stay in the United States as long as possible. After graduation from their Ph.D. study, they intend to find jobs in this country. In addition, they prefer to have two children. "The government advocates one thing, but our choice is another," said Mr. Zhou.

CASE STUDY III

Mr. Zhao, a graduate student working toward his doctoral degree in the Genetics Program at OSU, is the third case study. Mr. Zhao is one of the earliest of the Chinese students who came to Oregon State University. He has already resided in Corvallis for over five years. According to him, when he first came to OSU, there were only about twenty Chinese students in Corvallis. Today, the number of Chinese students is almost ten times as much as that five years ago.

Mr. Zhao is 31 years old this year. He is from Qingdao, one of China's most famous coastal cities. As this

city was once Germany's colony in the early period of this century, the foreign influences were relatively strong there. In general, the residents of this city are much more open and modern as well as more ready to accept outside ideas than the residents of China's interior regions. Mr. Zhao exemplifies this characteristic. When he was in his teens, his dream was "to be a professional art soldier." He can play several kinds of instruments, such as trumpet and clarinet. When Mr. Zhao was approaching his high school graduation, some army and navy units accepted him. But eventually, he was appointed to a factory as a laborer. He said: "I was really disappointed at that time. I knew I was not a good student in high school. I just wanted to join the army and play." Three months later he changed his job and was put in charge of the factory arts club because of his talent.

According to Zhao, he was admitted into the Shandong Ocean College due to the influence of some good friends. They reviewed for classes and prepared for the national college entrance examination given at the end of 1977. After passing the examination he started to study hard in college. He was especially interested in English, and he organized an English study club for improving his speaking proficiency.

"Certainly, I never forgot my favorite activity--playing musical instruments," said Mr. Zhao. He was the head of the arts division of the student association for two years during his college days.

After passing an examination, Mr, Zhao was selected as a government-sponsored student to go to OSU for graduate study. He obtained a M.S. degree in Oceanbiology in 1985. Then he changed his major to Genetics for his doctoral study. He said: "Genetics is more modern than my old major." Mr. Zhao is rather active among Chinese students at OSU. He was the president of Chinese Students and Scholars Association at OSU during the 1986-1987 academic year. He also participated in the campaign for the presidency of OSU foreign student association that year. In the meantime, Mr. Zhao plays the clarinet in the OSU student band.

Mr. Zhao got married to Mrs. Zhang just before his coming to the United States. They were classmates in different departments when they studied in China. One year after Mr.Zhao came to OSU, Mrs. Zhang entered the Department of Chemistry to work toward her doctoral degree. She is an excellent student, as she was awarded the national graduate student honor in chemistry in 1986. This couple lived with an American family until they had their second baby in the spring of 1987. They wanted a good social environment to improve their language skill. "That was very helpful for us to improve our English and to know American life and culture," said Zhao.

In the Spring of 1987 Mrs.Zhang gave birth to her second baby-- a boy. Mr. Zhao and his wife are the first Chinese student couple to have their second child in Corvallis.

When Mr. Zhao was asked about the Chinese government policy limiting each couple to have only one child, he said that their first child (a girl) was in China and could not come to join them, so his wife always thought about her and almost went crazy. In addition, he indicated that two children are perfect for a family. "I don't want to be restricted and I will do anything I wanted from my childhood," said Mr. Zhao, "Certainly, our second child is a boy. But if he were a girl I still think that is good. In brief, I believe two kids are perfect."

Following Mrs. Zhang, several other Chinese student wives have given birth to a second child this year. Still some families that already have one child are talking about this and plan to have more children in the future.

Mr. Zhao lives a relatively comfortable life. When he goes shopping he buys everything he wants. "We don't care about saving money too much," said Mr. Zhao. Like many other Chinese students he has a car, VCR, HiFi set, video camera and much more. He indicated that he had taken video pictures of his wife's delivery of their second baby.

Mr. Zhao also talked about the importance of money. Last July his advisor's research grant ended suddenly. He was worried about supporting his family only on his wife's assistantship. "I had to go to work regardless of the kind of job, otherwise, we would not survive," said Mr. Zhao. He went to work at a Chinese restaurant as a waiter, and worked

there for two months until he found a new research job on the university campus. As a waiter, he earned a lot of money even though the work was not satisfying. He realized the great importance of money during this time. He said: "You won't do anything without money."

When Mr. Zhao was asked about plans at the end of studying, he talked about his vacation to China last spring. He would like to return to China after it is proved there are good conditions for his work and research in China. However, when he went back to China and visited his college, he was really disappointed. He said:

"Most of faculty of my former department don't expect me to go back. They feel that I might threaten their positions and careers so they were very indifferent when we met each other. On the other hand, it will not be easy for me to open and run my own company after my going back to China."

Consequently, he indicated that he would see what would happen in the future. "If things become better and better, I would like to go back to serve my motherland. Otherwise, I prefer to stay here longer in order to further my career." This seems to be a very common view held by Chinese students who are still at OSU.

CASE STUDY IV

The fourth case study is a newcomer, Mr. Song. He came to America in January 1988 and has been here only a few months. Mr. Song is now a graduate student working for his doctoral degree in the Department of Industrial Engineering. Although he obtained a M.S. degree in China, he was required to take most master's level courses in his new department. Of the six student interviewees for this study, Mr. Song is the only one who is purely self-sponsored.

Mr. Song is 31 years old and from Shanghai, China's largest city. When Song graduated from his high school he went to a professional skill school for two years. Then, he was appointed to a factory as a professional worker for two years. He was admitted into The Eastern China Chemical College at the end of 1977. Having obtained a bachelor's degree, Mr. Song continued his graduate study and obtained his M.S. degree in 1985. He was appointed as an instructor in the same university after completing his graduate study.

In fact, Mr. Song 's career developed much easier than that of many other Chinese young people of the same age. Mr. Song did not go to the countryside, nor did he work in a factory. Song was an instructor in a college before he came to America. However, Mr. Song was never satisfied with his work and life in China. He planned to go to the United States to study three years ago, and applied for admission into an

American university. According to him, the university where he taught did not allow him to apply and even hindered him. But he said: "I didn't have any other choice. I have to go abroad and I don't want to lose this last chance."

His university forced him to postpone his trip to the United States, so Mr. Song missed the winter term of 1988. In the spring, he finally became a graduate student at OSU.

Mr. Song indicates that the largest difficulty he faces is money. He is a self-sponsored student. His relatives supported his first term tuition and living expenses. Then he had to pay by himself. In other words, he had to find financial aid from the department of the university. He feels lucky that his department offered him an assistantship starting in summer term. In addition, he also works at a restaurant as a part-time cashier. Mr. Song said:

"I also intend to enjoy a comfortable life. But I am not able to live that kind of life since I don't have much money. I really envy those who are sponsored by the government. I have to survive and study by depending on myself."

He only obtains about two hundred dollars per month from his assistantship. But he said, "I won't worry about paying my tuition any more." Moreover, Mr. Song also wants to save some money in order to pay back his relatives for their loan.

Mr. Song frankly said that coming to the United States to study was both an advantage and a disadvantage. The advantage was that he would study for an advanced degree and

gain more knowledge as well as learning about a great country. In the contrast, the disadvantage was that he had to give up something. Among these six persons in this study, he is the only one who is still single. He indicated that he is already 31 years old, but has not found a girl friend. When he was in China he was always busy studying and applying to go abroad so that he did not take marriage into consideration. Now he is in America, and it is not easy for him to find a proper girl friend. Therefore, marriage will be postponed. Finally, Mr. Song indicated that he does not feel bound to his former Chinese college now. "I tried my best and came out; I paid everything by myself so that I would not be restricted any more," said Mr. Song.

CASE STUDY V

Mr. Feng is a graduate student working toward his doctoral degree in the Department of Soil Sciences at OSU. Although Mr. Feng has been in Corvallis only three years, he is also one of the earliest Chinese students to come to the United States to study. Mr. Feng came to this country in December 1982 and went to Cornell University to work for his master's degree. In the spring of 1985, Mr. Feng obtained an M.S. degree and then transferred to OSU. He has been in the United States for five and half years. This case study includes Mr. Feng's wife, Mrs. Li. She is also a graduate

student working for her doctoral degree under the guidance of the same advisor. She came to OSU in the fall of 1985.

Mr. Feng is 31 years old and comes from Xiaoyi County, Shanxi Province, Northern China. His father is an officer of the county government. In general, as this province is located far inside China, the people of this region are relatively conservative. However, since Mr. Feng has already left his hometown for more than ten years, he does not have this characteristic of conservatism. Mr. Feng was also among the first group of students admitted into universities after the end of the Cultural Revolution. He obtained his bachelor's degree in agriculture from Beijing Agricultural University in January 1982. After he passed the national exam, he was chosen as a government-sponsored student to go abroad to study at Cornell University. His wife was allowed to continue her graduate study at the same university. She obtained her M.S. degree in 1985. After Mr. Feng transferred to OSU, his wife also came to Oregon State University to work toward a doctoral degree.

Although Mr. Feng and his wife don't have as much money from their assistantships as some Chinese students, they live a very comfortable life. Although they come from a relatively conservative region in China, they know how to enjoy a good life. Early last June, they moved to a two-bedroom apartment to prepare for their coming baby. They have a new TV set, VCR, HiFi set and a video camera. Mr. Feng bought a

one-year-old car in 1986 and paid \$3600. This was the most expensive car bought by a Chinese student at that time. Feng said: "That is a good car. More money, more safe."

After having been away from China for almost four years Mr. Feng and his wife went back to China for vacation in August of 1987. According to Feng, "that was a real disappointing vacation." He indicated that before that trip he had not understood China. In comparing China and America, he said: "China is too backward." He also felt that Chinese society was lacking in efficiency and that the progress of the whole society was so slow. Mr. Feng complained there were a lot of dissatisfying things in China today. For instance, although he and his wife wanted to check into a hotel, the hotel asked them to show their marriage certificate. Otherwise, they could not check into the same room.

Mr. Feng indicated that when they were in China they felt rather constrained. On the other hand, Feng said American society was too commercial and paid too much attention to money. If one wants to advance in this society he has to have more money. If one wants to advance in Chinese society he has to have more authority and power.

When this study was being conducted, Mr. Feng's wife gave birth to a boy. Feng is so excited that he always hugs his newborn son. Mr. Feng states that they will have at least two children in the future. He will keep his baby's birth certificate safely. "If China will not register our second

child, the United States will do it based on this document," said Mr. Feng.

CASE STUDY VI

All the previous persons interviewed for this study are male. This sixth and last is a female. Mrs. Fu is a graduate student working toward her doctoral degree in the Department of Chemistry at OSU. Her major is Radiation Chemistry. She came to Corvallis in September 1987, and has been in the United States almost for one year.

Mrs. Fu is 34 years old and she is from Beijing, the capital of China. Her hometown is in Zhengzhou, the capital of Henan Province. Her parents are highly educated. Her father is a professor and her mother is an associate professor at the same medical university. Influenced by her family, Mrs. Fu wanted to be a doctor from early in her childhood. Since she grew up during the Cultural Revolution, she entered a factory as a worker after graduation from the middle school. Then she was only 16 years old.

Among the six cases, Mrs. Fu is the only one who was in the Worker-Peasant-Soldier (WPS) categories when she did her undergraduate study. At the age of 20 she was recommended into Beijing University--China's most famous university. From 1966 to 1976 the national examination for admission into universities was not held. Mrs. Fu recalled: "During that

period we did not learn much in professional courses. We often participated in political activities and class struggle meetings. We even did not have any examinations." In fact, she did not have a valid, official undergraduate transcript. After her undergraduate study she returned to her former factory as technical staff person in January 1978. That summer China reinstated the examination for being admitted into graduate study. She passed that examination and was admitted to her Alma mater to work for her master's degree in Radiation Chemistry. According to Mrs. Fu, during that time, the WPS students were looked down upon in Chinese society. (Actually, this situation still exists today.) She said:

"I had to pass that examination to become a graduate student and change my social status. Competition was very strong, but I had to take part in that challenge."

Mrs. Fu obtained her M.S. degree in 1981 and was appointed into the Institute of Physics in the Chinese Academy of Sciences as a research assistant. According to her, she quickly dropped the label--WPS student.

During the period of her graduate study, she got married to Mr. Wu, a former classmate when she was doing her undergraduate study. Unfortunately, her husband had returned to his old work unit when they graduated in 1978. Although they were married, they still had to live in two places. They now have been separated for eight years. Two years after they

got married they had a baby boy. As her husband and Mrs. Fu need to work, they put their child in his grandparents' home in another city. Consequently, the three members of her family live in three different places. In China this kind of arrangement represents a large social problem. Although the Chinese government has brought thousands and thousands of separated couples together during the past ten years, there are many couples still separated because of the need for jobs and studies.

Mrs. Fu indicated that when she was in China she felt real constraint. She said: "I always felt alone. I was never satisfied. I lived by myself for a long time. It was not too good for a female." Her husband and Mrs. Fu could visit each other twice each year. She said: "We paid much of our salaries to the railroad company." She indicated that as a result she did not have much money. Even if she wanted to buy some good dishes for dining room in China, she had to consider whether the price was too expensive.

Mrs. Fu has been America for one year. She said:

"The greatest change for me is that now I don't feel constraint any more. Although I still live by myself, I don't feel alone."

According to her, she feels very happy and satisfied with her new life. She said that she did not have too much money, but she was able to enjoy what she wanted. She bought a new TV set and then a car. She started to apply for her husband and

son to come to join her last June. They obtained their passport in early October of 1988. Mrs. Fu expected that her family would get together in the United States around Christmas break. She feels that her largest worry now is the amount of reading required for examination at the university.

Mrs. Fu is a very open person compared with the other Chinese. According to her, ballroom dancing is her favorite activity. When she was in China she did not have many chances to go dancing. "Now I like to dance and can go to any kind of dancing party," said Mrs. Fu. "Sometimes I even invite friends to have a small dancing party in my apartment." Mrs. Fu indicated that she prefers to get together with male friends. She said: "If a female does not have several good male friends it means that she is really lacking in fascination and is too miserable." She frankly indicated that she had some good male friends when she lived in Beijing alone. "If I had not had them, how could I have spent those years by myself," said Mrs. Fu.

Today Mrs. Fu also has some good male friends among the Chinese students. According to her, many Americans completely separate sex from love, whereas Chinese may connect these two things too tightly. "It should be dealt with according to a proper perspective in between the American and Chinese ways," said Mrs. Fu.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

Studies have suggested that rapid sociocultural change brings unpredictable effects (Rokeach, 1979). Through briefly analyzing the six cases and referring to some periodicals and papers such as Beijing Review, China Daily and China Reconstructs, it has been shown that change in some aspects of Chinese core values has already taken place during the past decade. The change that has taken place in various aspects of Chinese core values is analyzed below.

FROM MORALITY TO MATERIAL GAIN

The relation between morality and material gain has been an issue of concern both in China and abroad for a long time (Li, 1985). The French materialist Holbach regarded material gain as the beginning of morality and argued that material gain was the unique driving force of all human actions (Topazio, 1956). An opposite view about the relation between morality and material gain was manifested in "the controversy about integrity and profit" in ancient China. It has been previously mentioned that Confucianism treasures morality. Adhering to moral standard was regarded for thousands of years in China as more important than

material gain in life. This doctrine of regarding morality as superior to material gain is an important aspect of traditional Chinese core values. Confucius suggested that when the gentleman "sees the chance for profit, he keeps in mind the need for integrity" (Ebrey, 1981:14). A person who pursues material gain is thought to be "giving way to carnal desires." Other Confucianists even advocated that one should conserve integrity but absolutely exterminate material desire (Chang, 1979). Contrary to this literary and philosophical tradition, many ordinary Chinese hope to become prosperous by worshipping the God of Wealth (Marshal Zhao). This god is one of the many gods, such as the Kitchen God, the Dragon God and the God of Agriculture, found in Chinese folklore. Despite this focus on wealth in poorer rural areas, the elite's idea of looking down upon material gain still deeply influences Chinese society. As an old Chinese saying goes: "To die of hunger is minor but the forfeit of one's integrity will be major."

This traditional value exerted a great influence on Chinese society when political-moral principles were advocated during the relatively long period after the revolution of 1949. The slogan "politics in command of the economy" was regarded as the strategy for China's development (Gray, 1974). The hope was to achieve China's modernization by depending only on moral and political ideology without encouraging individual initiative to improve productivity and

raise the standard of living.

The desire to pursue material gain by an individual was thought to be immoral in China at that time (Li and Li, 1987). Poverty was regarded as glory, whereas wealth was seen as shame. Poverty was once regarded as an important symbol of the socialist and revolution, while wealth was a symbol connected with capitalism and revisionism that were criticized and attacked (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). This value was particularly evident during the period of the Cultural Revolution. There was a popular saying: "We would rather take the socialist straw than need the capitalist seedling." This slogan spread throughout China at that time (Li and Li, 1987). It serves as an illustration of paying great attention to politics but looking down upon economies, production and material gain.

Since 1978 when the policy of reform and opening to the outside world was initiated, a tremendous change has taken place in this aspect of Chinese core values. Some aspects of the change are unbelievable not only to the foreigners but also to Chinese themselves. In a sense, Chinese people have never showed such a great interest in material gain as they are today. The move away from emphasis on morality toward material gain might be the greatest change in traditional Chinese core values today.

Economy First

Economic development gave way to frequent political movements in China during the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The purpose of those political movements was to strengthen political-moral principles. Nowadays, the economy has overtaken politics as the central focus of national attention. Economic development has become the dominant theme in China. Thousands upon thousands of Chinese people have gone out of their way to become involved in business. Engaging in business may perhaps be the most popular occupation in China today. As a recent saying goes: "Everyone is now engaging in business." Many officials have retired from their positions to become involved in business. For example, the former Secretary of the Communist Youth League of Shanghai University retired from his official position in order to open his own photo studio in the spring of 1988 (People's Daily, overseas edition, May 12, 1988). His action had an immediate impact on society. Some thought he was stupid because he gave up his official occupation to start a private business that was still seen as very risky by many Chinese people. However, this person indicated that he would prefer his new career because he could give full play to his professional knowledge in society (People's Daily, overseas edition, May 12, 1987).

Traditional Chinese society was divided into four different social ranks: official, peasant, artisan and

businessman. Becoming an official was seen as the first choice and highest in social rank during ancient times and also during the three decades after the revolution of 1949. Confucius stated: "Study well to become an official." To become an official had been regarded as the only correct path for intellectuals throughout Chinese history. Some intellectuals would rather die with no accomplishments to their names than become businessmen after failing to become officials because business was the last choice and lowest rank. Over the past decade, however, many market stalls have appeared on university campuses across China. They are usually run by students themselves (Lou and Feng, 1988). In the Hunan Medical College, for example, 20 commercial groups were formed by students from March to July of 1988, and out of a total student body of 2,000, some 200 were involved in business activity of one form or another. Even some academic groups and societies have started commercial trading (Lou and Feng, 1988).

A recent survey of the People's University of China in Beijing similarly revealed that about 40% of students had taken part in commercial activity, while 10% of them were engaged in regular business (Lou and Feng 1988). A graduate student at Fudan University in Shanghai said:

"A doctoral hat can't produce fried beef pies. The primary task for today's college students is to learn how to support life, rather than how to appreciate it" (Lou and Feng, 1988).

Mr. Zhou, one of the interviewers for this study, indicated that he had a strong desire to open his own company when he returns to China after he finishes his study at the United States. "This company will be a combined institute including both research and business," said Mr. Zhao.

Money Orientation

Traditionally, Chinese people regarded money as an "external thing," but today money is an incentive to most. Recently an overseas Chinese who had lived abroad for a long time returned to China, and said:

"No matter where I go, what most people are talking about is money. I never thought that the Chinese were so interested in money that they are even more interested than the people in Paris" (People's Daily, overseas edition, June 4, 1988).

Foreign observers also describe the current tendency of Chinese people to give preference to money: "The talk on Beijing street is of money" (Sommer, 1989).

The six persons interviewed for this study have not hidden their acquisitive attitude toward money and material wealth. They all prefer to have much money and a more comfortable life. Mr. Shen, for example, is from the countryside in China. He had been living a simple and frugal life until he came to the United States. He never had much money before. Now Mr. Shen has two goals. The first is to obtain a Ph.D. degree, and the second is to make as much

money as possible. He said that recognizing the importance of money was the largest change in his outlook.

Mrs. Fu said that when she had wanted to buy some good dishes to eat for dinner in China she had to consider if the price was too expensive. Now, she says: "I am able to enjoy what I want." She also says: "I will ask my husband to go to work and make money when he comes to join me later." In addition, Mr. Zhao states simply: "You won't do anything without money."

A self-employed individual, Wang Xingji in Beijing, China, is reported to have said: "I admire all the rich people in the world because I consider money to be a symbol of success." (Chen, 1989)

The Longing For Material Possessions

Confucian ethics have seen the Chinese people adopt a puritanical attitude towards recreation in their already restricted life. According to this doctrine, one eats to survive and buys clothes to keep warm. The pursuit of additional pleasure is considered unnecessary. As Confucius said: "When he eats, the gentleman does not seek to stuff himself. In his home he does not seek luxury" (Ebrey, 1981:13).

Nowadays, many Chinese people have become fed up with what they see as a simple and dull life. They are beginning to pursue a better life. Almost all urban families aspire to

obtain the new "three bigs"--color TV, refrigerator and washing machine. Only in a short period of time the rate of ownership of TV sets (including black-white and color), recorders and washing machines among urban residents in China has reached 95%, 47% and 51% respectively (People's Daily, overseas edition, July 28, 1988). According to the same report, the rate of ownership of washing machines among Beijing's residents is even higher than among Japanese people. The demand created by many wealthy families who wanted to buy VCRs caused the price of a VCR to jump 80% in Beijing's market in the fall of 1988 (People's Daily, overseas edition, Nov. 13, 1988). Moreover, a few very rich families have private cars and others plan to buy a car. The increased Chinese people's craze for consumption certainly reflects the change in their attitude toward material gain. A wealthy person states:

"Every month I myself spend 1000 yuan (US\$ 270) on eating, drinking and sometimes dancing. I like to have dinners with friends in restaurants. Besides, I smoke heavily, but only imported cigarettes like Kents, Marlboros and Winstons. A carton of Marlboro cigarettes costs 100 yuan (US\$ 27), which is almost a month's salary for government employees" (Chen, 1989).

Many Chinese students in the United States are striving for a better material life. For instance, Mr. Zhou bought a VCR which was worth about \$400 and a big HiFi set that cost about \$500. He also bought a compact disc player,

saying: "I like to enjoy the real music." Sometimes, Mr. Zhou and his wife go fishing. They paid about \$360 to buy a fishing permit. Like many other Chinese students, Mr. Zhao and Mr. Feng not only have TV sets, VCRs and expensive tape recorders, but also own video cameras. Both recorded the process of their new baby's birth.

In addition, as the policy of reform and opening to the outside has unfolded during the past decade, millionaires have emerged. Becoming rich through individual work, these people are still few in number but their ranks are expanding very quickly (China Youth News, March 8, 1989). On the eastern outskirts of Shenyang, capital of Liaoning Province in northeast China, farmer Liu Gui's transport team has accumulated fixed assets worth 3 million yuan (US\$ 800,000). It made profit of 800,000 yuan (US\$ 216,000) in 1986 and 1 million yuan (US\$ 260,000) in 1987. Mr. Liu also resolved to raise his team's fixed assets to 10 million yuan (US\$ 2,700,000) by 1990 (Beijing Review, March 21-27, 1988).

The change in this aspect of Chinese core values is very significant when considered in the context of Chinese history, and in particular the history of the People's Republic of China. Historically, the desire for prosperity was important for Chinese families, but now the desire for material gain is important for individuals. Society and group considerations are gradually becoming less important. Individual material gain is viewed as the driving force

toward social development. It is this inside motivating force that fuels China's modernization.

Certainly, some think that this change has gone too far. Some excesses have emerged, such as money worship, materialism and neglecting public interest. For example, when a girl fell into a river in Chengdu, the capital of Sichuan Province, in the summer of 1987, there were a lot of people crowding and watching on the bank of the river, but nobody saved her. Someone even asked: "How much will I be paid if I save her?" (People's Daily, Dec. 10, 1987). However, in human history there is no development or progress that comes without a price. These excesses that have emerged in China today are being accepted as the necessary price of social development, cultural change and achievement of modernization.

FROM SOCIAL HARMONY TO COMPETITION

Previously, it has been pointed out that the dominant feature of traditional Chinese culture is the concept of "Grand Harmony" as based on the Confucian ideology.

The primary aspects of this concept are harmony and stability which sum up the Chinese nation's spirit and outlook on the world. Chinese people do not think about nature as an independent object because of the emphasis on maintaining "harmony with nature." This value requires people to restrain themselves and not stand out as individuals in bringing about change. There is a traditional Chinese proverb: "A bird that lift its head will be shot first." Another is: "A rafter which extends out will be damaged first." These reflect the traditional Chinese idea of social harmony which is opposed to competition and individual achievement. Although there was the "contention of a hundred schools of thought" during the Spring and Autumn and War State period (770 B.C.-221 B.C.), this was the only specific instance in ancient Chinese history when the ideal of social harmony was challenged by official policy (Li, 1988).

Competition is a "prominent feature of most developed nations" (Lauer, 1982). It is seen as a leading feature of modern industrial societies and a basic prerequisite of modernization. Competition stimulates creativity, enhances the scientific and cultural standard of a society, and

promotes the development of social production (Chang, 1988). As in win-lose situations like a game of football, the principle of competition is that "the superior is allowed success and the inferior is allowed failure." If there is no competition in a society, the result should be that the superior will not succeed and the inferior will not fail. People have neither the motivation to produce nor the pressure of losing their jobs.

The competition mechanism was indeed never established in Chinese society (Li, 1988). Although there was an institutionalized examination system in ancient China, it was based in favor of those from wealthy families who could afford to invest in private education. It was not open freely and equally to everybody. In ancient China, social harmony was both the major feature of social organization and the most prominent aspect of traditional core values. In the modern period before 1949, China was dominated by warlords, bureaucrats and foreign invaders. Equal and free competition was never allowed to emerge. After the revolution of 1949, an extremely centralized social and economic system was established which also rejected free competition. This economic system was described as "eating from the same big pot." (Li, 1988). It reflected the idea of egalitarianism. It was not unusual for five or even more people to do a job that could easily be done by only three. People did not worry about losing their jobs; nor did they have the enthusiasm to

be creative. Under this system everything was decided by the higher authorities. In this case, the traditional concept of the "Grand Harmony" was connected with the highly centralized political system (Li, 1988).

The modern history of the world has shown that no nation is able to modernize if it does not go through the process of developing a commodity economy and does not employ the competitive mechanism. China is no exception. Social harmony that was always regarded as the orthodox value is now being challenged by competition.

The Beginning of Competition

The responsibility system is one of the most important features of the policy of reform and opening to the outside world. Some 5,000 state-owned and large collective enterprises in Beijing were reducing their labor forces in the interests of greater productivity and efficiency in the winter of 1988 (China Daily, December 22, 1988). Before this reduction, the Beijing Second Motor Vehicle Plant had 7,231 workers, but only 2,033 of them, working an average of 4.6 hours in each eight-hour shift, were actually producing anything (China Daily, December 22, 1988). This was the result of the "iron rice bowl" or permanent job tenure and the system of "eating from the same big pot." The reduction of factory employees, including directors and workers, proceeded according to the principle of "more opportunity for

able people." Many employees not regarded as able lost their jobs (China Daily, December 22, 1988).

Personal relations among Chinese people are becoming more competitive than before. In a Beijing survey, people were asked: "There is an open position for which you and your friend are both qualified, but only one will be chosen. What will you do?" The result indicated that the response of "I will try to obtain this position by myself" was 27% of the total respondents. It was higher than the response of "giving this position to my friend"--21% (Beijing Night News, August 22, 1987).

The persons interviewed for this study showed the same competitive attitude. Mrs. Fu indicated that because she was a Worker-Peasant-Soldier student, who was looked down upon in Chinese society, the only way to change her social status was to be admitted into a graduate school. She passed the examination, became a graduate student and obtained a master's degree in 1981. Therefore, she changed her social status. Moreover, Mr. Zhau went back to China for his vacation in the spring of 1988. When he went to his former department at the university, his colleagues and director were rather indifferent. "I finally felt that they would not welcome me to return to my department because I might threaten their positions," said Mr. Zhao.

Equal Opportunity In Examinations

In a sense, all the six persons interviewed for this study may be regarded as winners of the earliest competitive event in China. Mr. Shen, Mr. Zhou, Mr. Zhao, Mr. Song and Mr. Feng all obtained good scores and were admitted into different colleges and universities when they took part in the restored university entrance examination at the end of 1977. They also realized the significance of this event. Mr. Zhao recalled that the examination was extremely competitive because there had not been such an examination in China for ten years. Those who took the examination did not want to fail given this chance. This was particularly true of the older students who had waited for a decade during the Cultural Revolution. Almost 9 million young Chinese participated in the 1977 examination. Their ages ranged from 16 to 32 years. Three months later about 100,000 people were admitted into universities and colleges (Zhao, 1988).

Also, the graduate program entrance examination in the fall of 1981 was the first for selecting government-sponsored students to study abroad, and the competition was much stronger. Only one in a hundred of the total candidates taking this examination were selected. As a result of this examination, Mr. Zhao and Mr. Feng were immediately given approval to study abroad as government-sponsored students as soon as they finished their undergraduate studies.

The restoration of the national university entrance examination introduced the competitive mechanism which gradually spread to various areas of Chinese society. Chinese people also start to adapt to and get used to this way of viewing their life. Preference for competition is becoming a new Chinese value. For example, the members of the 13th Chinese Communist Party Central Committee were elected differentially in the fall of 1987 (People's Daily, overseas edition, November 3, 1987). Electing differentially means there is more than one candidate for certain position. There had been no election of this kind for the National Congress in the People's Republic of China for almost forty years. This first differential election was seen as an important breakthrough.

Finding Jobs Through Competition

In the area of finding employment, the traditional Chinese value is that free choice is unimportant. One must obey authority and accept any assignment unconditionally. Unconditional obedience to authority was to keep society in order and harmony. Confucianism thought that everyone had a own proper position in the family. By each person keeping to this position, the family would exist in order and harmony. Also, if each family lives in order and harmony, the whole society will be in order and exist in "Grand harmony" (Hung, 1979).

During the three decades until 1978, the popular slogan was "I will do what the Party (the Chinese Communist Party) assigns to me." Although the idea of an individual considering the needs of the society is still advocated, more and more Chinese, and in particular young people, prefer having the freedom to choose their own jobs that may allow them to fully realize their individual talent. Actually, many institutes, factories, companies and even some government institutes have already begun to choose their employees through public competition. For example, the Beijing Trade Center needed 100 skilled employees in December 1988, but about 10 thousand people lined up in a cold wind and waited to apply for these positions (China Daily, December 10, 1988). Also, about 900 people applied for 30 official positions of the Ministry of Civil Affairs last October (People's Daily, overseas edition, October 25, 1988). When an employment agency in Chengdu advertised opened positions in the fall of 1988, applicants were asked: "What is your ideal working environment?" About 70% responded with "competition" "high efficiency and high pay" (People's Daily, overseas edition, October 7, 1988).

In sum, making use of the competitive mechanism is regarded as an important step in the process of China's modernization, and also reflects the change in Chinese core values from social harmony to competition.

FROM COLLECTIVE DUTY TO INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

It is well known that most Oriental cultures, including traditional Chinese culture, are characterized as group-oriented, family-oriented or situation-centered (Hsu, 1981). Family is seen as the basic unit of the Chinese society. In other words, family is the fundamental cell of the whole social organism. Based on such a situation-centered cultural tradition, emphasis on collective duty rather than individual rights is a very important aspect of traditional Chinese core values.

The family-oriented nature of traditional Chinese culture was gradually formed in the context of Chinese agricultural civilization that existed for over several thousand years. The nature of Chinese self-sufficiency is that each family is a basic unit and that there is little contact among various families. The patriarch who is relatively rich in productive experiences becomes the authority in the family (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). Confucius stated that: "When your parents are alive, serve them according to the rules of ritual and decorum." (Ebrey, 1981:16). Under this family-oriented social structure, the first duty of an individual is to show piety, or respect the patriarch and obey his authority. This duty was essential and could not be changed.

Since China was dominated by feudal patriarchal social structure for several thousands of years, the ideas and values associated with the tradition are deeply rooted. After the revolution of 1949 ideas of emphasizing collective organization were prevalent for about three decades. Individual rights and individual self-awareness were not fostered at all. Individual initiative was seen as egoism and was always criticized under any circumstance.

In general, collective duty demands that the individual be responsible for others and for society in order to achieve unity between the individual and society. Under the circumstance of the centralized state power, however, there are many situations where responsibility is found lacking (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). The first reason for this is that members of society are not given their individual rights. The second is that members of society are lacking in self-awareness. In brief, a person who does not exist as an individual won't recognize responsibility to society.

Free Choice

One Chinese person recently is quoted as saying: "I am now doing what I wanted to do and I am able to achieve it." (People's Daily, overseas edition, February 3, 1988). Although this statement is simple, it reflects an aspect of change that has taken place in China today. Chinese people

freely expressing their personal goals was prohibited in the past when complete obedience to the authorities was required.

Today more and more Chinese people, and especially many young people, have realized that the development of society finally depends on every individual's inventiveness and effort, not just the knowledge of a few authorities (Zhan, 1988). Chinese people today have started to enhance their self-awareness and strive for their right to free choice.

Mr. Zhao and Mr. Zhou, two persons interviewed for this study, both changed their fields of study after they went into doctoral program at Oregon State University. Mr. Zhao shifted his major from Oceanography to Genetic Engineering when he started his Ph.D. program in 1985. He said:

"I am familiar with my old major field, but I am more interested in my new field. Changing my major is a wise choice. I could not consider only my responsibility to my former college in China, I also had to consider my own interest and future."

Mr. Zhou changed his major from Physics to Biophysics. He indicated that since he did not obtain financial support from the Chinese government he did not owe anything to the nation. Changing his study field was his own business.

In general, Chinese students abroad have more opportunity to choose freely because they are out of Chinese government's direct control. But even inside China free

choice is increasing. For instance, recently when one company advertised open positions, many people applied. Young people who were under 30 years old made up 80% of the total applicants (People's Daily, overseas edition, November 2, 1988). One of the applicants observed that:

"The college where I am working has good working conditions but there are too many faculty members. I am 28 years old and just at the age to be creative, but I do not have the opportunity. When the opportunity comes I will become old. Opportunity is far away from us young people. Therefore, I want to find for myself what I have been missing for a long time" (People's Daily, overseas edition, November 2, 1988).

Chinese people have started not only to choose their jobs, but also to choose their way of life. They have started not to respect collective duty in some significant ways. For example, like many Chinese people, all of the six interviewees for this study strongly prefer to have at least two children, even though the Chinese government is implementing the policy of one child per family. Mr. Zhao was the first Chinese student to have a second child at Oregon State University. He said: "I don't want to be restrained and I will do whatever I have wanted to do starting from my childhood." He added: "Two kids are perfect in a family." Mr. Zhou never questioned that he and his wife would have two children. "The government advocates one thing, but our choice is another."

Realizing Individual Interest

It has been mentioned that the Chinese people are striving for their own self-awareness and self-interest as never before (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). Today, it is accepted that the interest of an individual does not necessarily go against the state or the collective interests of the society.

One decade ago all Chinese people were supposed to embrace the values of communism, and they were supposed to work wholeheartedly for the country and not ask for any compensation. The popular slogan "hard work first, enjoyment later" reflected this idea (Hsu, 1979). The history of the People's Republic of China shows that this doctrine was unrealistic and not beneficial to social progress. However, along with a revitalized commodity economy, huge income gaps between people and the sudden rise of speculators and profiteers are, to some extent, the consequences of Chinese people learning to care more about their individual interest.

Mrs. Fu said:

"We should consider our responsibilities and duties to our country, but now I am much more concerned about my interest and future. My family has been separated for eight years. If I did not come to the United States, who knows how long it would take for my family to get together. I must consider the interest of my family."

In another case, a graduate student decided to go to the

Hainan Province and join a private company after his graduation, because that company offered its employees higher pay. He complained:

"My wife and I are both graduate students. We have worked for five years but we are not able to buy a color TV set and refrigerator. In contrast, my brother-in-law is just a laborer but he already has everything. It is said that intellectuals should be satisfied with being poor. I don't believe it. I will strive to pursue my own interest and material gain" (People's Daily, overseas edition, November 2, 1988).

Obedying the patriarch in the family and concern about parents are important features of collective duty in traditional China. Confucius stated: "When your parents are alive, do not go rambling around far away" (Ebrey, 1981:14). Today, many Chinese are increasing their self-awareness and asserting individual rights in a variety of social situations. For instance, in 1986 two groups of young people succeeded in rafting the entire length of the Changjiang (Yangtze River) for the first time. Four young people died during this expedition (Wen, 1987). According to the traditional values home and family were the center of life. Even a peaceful or profitable journey might be considered disobedience to the family, parents and collective duty. The rafters not only challenged nature but also challenged traditional values.

FROM UNIFORMITY TO DIVERSITY

In general, change in the value of uniformity is connected with the change discussed above. The central function of the "Grand Harmony" is to keep all the people being the same kind of life and to prevent variety and diversity which are regarded as threatening (Cao, Li, and Chang, 1988).

After the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a highly centralized economic and political structure was established. In the economic area, this centralized structure demanded that people conform to a single pattern, i.e. a highly centralized planned economic system. Moreover, a commodity economy was regarded as being in absolute conflict with the planned economy. The market mechanism was rejected under this system. Consequently, the implementation of a planned economic system separated the price of a commodity from its real value. China's economy was lacking the driving force of individual material gain at that time.

In the political area, state power became extremely centralized. Obedience to central authority as embodied in the subjective will of the leader was stressed. The top leader Mao Zedong was seen as the absolute authority, and his thought was regarded as the absolute truth and the unique guiding ideology for the whole country. Others had to

learn it and act according to its principles. For example, there was a publicity campaign, "learn The Chairman's thought," during the period from the late 1950s to the late 1970s. Mao's thought was also studied as a branch of social sciences in institutions of higher education.

Under the circumstance of the highly centralized economic and political system, individuality was suppressed. The diversity of people's interests, desires and abilities was not considered. People were required to think and live according to a unified pattern. During the period of the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960), which was a nationwide program designed to hasten industrial and agricultural production through decentralization (Thornton, 1982), all farmers were organized into communes. They worked together and ate in public dining halls. This unified pattern reached extremes during the period of the Cultural Revolution. There were only a couple of songs sung in public and few books sold in bookstores. Also, there were only eight "model operas" in the whole of China. Tens of millions people dressed only in blue and gray colors. The value of seeking uniformity and eliminating diversity was reflected in these observable social traits. All things were thought of as a single, generalized and absolute unity (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988).

Nowadays, the traditional idea of uniformity is being replaced by the valuing of diversity.

The Different Sectors of The Economy

Before the policy of reform and opening to the outside world was brought about in the end of 1978, the highly centralized planned economy was the only organizational form in China. Since 1978, however, the reform has brought diversified forms of public ownership including both state and collectively owned enterprises. This period has seen the growth of the private sector as well. The commodity economy has upgraded the role of market regulation and broken away from the absolute egalitarian distribution system. As the number and income of the individually owned enterprises have increased, they have become an important supplementary part of China's economy. According to statistics, by the end of 1987, China's licensed self-employed accounted for 4.1% of the total work force. The total numbers of self-employed individuals were about 25 million by the end of 1988 (Beijing Review, Feb.27-Mar.5, 1989). In the same year, urban and rural individually-operated industry produced a total output value of 50.239 billion yuan (US\$ 13.49 billion), 3.6% of the national figure (Beijing Review, Feb.27-Mar.5, 1989).

The development of different economic sectors indicates that the economic interests of Chinese people have changed in every respects--making them more varied, complex and diversified. People involved in different economic sectors and social categories have different interests and

values. As one self-employed individual in Beijing said:

"Our profession is getihu (being self-employed individuals). We must work hard to make our living. Otherwise, nobody pays us. That's the difference between you and me. As a journalist, you have your social status and people respect you (although I know the salary is low), but I still enjoy my life more. I can budget my time and my goal is to earn money" (Beijing Review, Jan.30-Feb.5, 1989:33).

From Absolutism To Relativism

China was ruled by an autocracy that wielded absolute power before the revolution of 1949. As a traditional saying described: "Everywhere under vast Heaven, there is no land that is not the king's. To the borders of those lands, there are none who are not the king's servants." (Bodde, 1981:16). Also, Confucianism survived as the ruling doctrine, which did not leave much room for other schools of thought. During the three decades after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, Marxism was the guiding ideology, and Mao Zedong was the great leader of the country. Both were regarded as omnipotent and insuperable.

Now the nation has shifted to a belief in relativism. More and more Chinese people have realized that there is no absolute theory or doctrine, and that no ideology and theory reaches a point at which it can not be improved (Cao, Li and Chang, 1988). Some who still hold "orthodox Confucian ideas" complain that there is a "theoretical

vacuum" in China today. This view reflects the change from a single dominant ideology to various theories and doctrines existing together. A Chinese movie "Red Sorghum" won the Golden Bear award, the top prize at the 1988 Berlin International Film Festival. However, this movie received a mixed response from the public in China. Some admired it as an excellent movie while others criticized it severely (China Reconstructs, May 1988). When these views conflicted with each other, the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party and government did not interfere. If some of them expressed their views about this movie, this only represented their personal attitudes, not the final judgment. This case demonstrates that relativist ideology is taking hold in China today (People's Daily, Dec.29, 1988).

In addition, according to a new report, different attitudes frequently show in China's political life. The national People's Congress adjourned its annual session on April 4, 1989 with a lot of "no votes." One measure to give special privileges to the city of Shenzhen (the first Special Economic Zone in China), attracted a record 274 "no" votes and 805 abstentions, compared with 1,609 in favor (The Oregonian, April 5, 1989). While the outcome of the vote was never in doubt, voting seemed to take on new significance when it was no longer unanimous. It reflects a new democratic trend toward tolerance of diversity in the development of China's political and social system.

Pluralism

Ideological emancipation and implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world have showed the Chinese that Japanese, Europeans and Americans within their societies have quite diverse lifestyles and hold values that may be incompatible. Not only do they survive, but actually they prosper and are able to reach higher levels of achievement. As a result, Chinese people have learned to abandon conformity and permit the freedom to choose different ways of living and thinking.

Fashion trends in China today have changed to reflect the new diversity. Only a few years ago people could easily distinguish between overseas Chinese and locals because of the brightly colored clothing and fashionable hairstyles sported by the former. Also, it was not easy for a foreigner who just arrived in China to distinguish the sexual identity of a Chinese seen from a distance. Blue, green and gray were the main colors of Chinese clothing, and a basic uniform was the style for both sexes at that time (China Reconstructs, October 1987).

In this case fashion reflects one aspect of core values. The dull color and style of Chinese clothing corresponded to a single, monotonous and unified way of life. In the late 1970s Chinese people started to break away from the old conformity and show any concern for style and variety in clothing (China Reconstructs, October 1987).

Moreover, their demand for literature and art is now becoming more diversified (People's Daily, overseas edition, November 2, 1988). Chinese people are no longer willing to read the same book and to watch the same opera many times over.

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented above suggests that a dramatic change in some aspects of Chinese core values has taken place since China started to implement the policy of reforming its economic and political system and opening to the outside world at the end of 1978. This change has greatly impacted Chinese society and will influence the course of China's current modernization program.

Core values are deeply rooted in a specific economic and political environment. The economic and political structures in China that represent the basic environment in which Chinese core values exist are changing because China is undergoing modernization. Thus, the process of modernization is the major cause and driving force behind the change in core values today.

The policy of reform and opening to the outside world was formulated and implemented by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government after the 3th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in December 1978, which formulated the responsibility system in the rural areas and later shifted similar reform into urban areas (Harding, 1987). In this case, change was caused by a large social-economic and political project planned by political leaders--politically planned sociocultural change according to the general anthropological view.

It has also been mentioned previously that the goal of China's current modernization program is to develop China's productivity, to achieve industrialization and to move China up to a higher level of civilization-- from an agricultural society to an industrial society. As this change implies structural modifications and transformations that result from internal processes the course of China's modernization program can be regarded as an evolutionary in nature (Steward, 1967). In addition, change in some aspect of Chinese core values comes from external sources by the process of diffusion. Since the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, foreign cultural elements, including material and spiritual traits, have been introduced into China and greatly impacted the society. For example, the competitive ideal, democratic ideal and the notion of efficiency are all the results of the European and North American influences. The process of diffusion might be the key factor in the change in Chinese core values. Furthermore, the change in some aspects of Chinese core values may be explained by Steward's theory of Cultural Ecology. The basic intent of this theory is to "understand the effect of environment upon culture" (Steward, 1955:30). When the economic and political environment alters, change in core values will occur in order to adapt to the changed environment. Thus, the change in Chinese core values is also adaptive in character.

China has been impacted by foreign cultures while

implementing the policy of opening to the outside world. Some traditional Chinese attitudes, values and ideas conflict with the imported attitudes, values and ideas of Western cultures. This conflict is between two distinct forms of social organization -- agricultural civilization and industrial civilization. Traditional Chinese core values have already become the barriers working against China's modernization program. This means change in some aspects of traditional Chinese core values is necessary for the success of China's modernization program.

Modernization is not an abstract slogan but has a specific relationship to industrialized society. It can be seen as the second "phase" of the Industrial Revolution (Poggie and Lynch, 1974). Industrialized society is the most complex pattern of civilization in human history. Industrialization involves not only science and technology, factories and a commodity economy, but also a comprehensive social organization including corresponding political and economic structures and their associated ideas. These include individual property ownership, respecting individual rights, and guarantee of democracy and legal protection. This social pattern contrasts with the ancient agricultural social pattern.

In order to achieve social as well as material modernization, there are two points that need to be stressed. The first is to open to the outside world instead of closing the door and rejecting the communication with foreign cultures.

Every cultural group has its own history and reality, with both strong and weak points. As long as a cultural group is able to absorb the good qualities and elements from other cultures, it will benefit its own development. The history of the world development has demonstrated this point. If there had not been cultural interchange and diffusion ideas among the city-states along the Mediterranean in ancient Europe, there would have been no ancient Greek and Roman civilization; if there had not been frequent communications and influences among various states on European continent, there would not have been a Renaissance in history. Also, if the Meiji Restoration in 1868 had not brought about the mixing together between the Eastern and Western cultures, Japan would not have developed vigorously; if there had not been cultural and academic exchanges between the Americans and Europeans and a policy allowing immigration, the United States would not be prosperous today. In addition, if there had not been communication between traditional Chinese culture and Indian Buddhism in ancient times, culture and academic life would not have flourished in the Tang Dynasty (618 A.D.- 907 A.D.). As long as a culture communicates and opens to the outside world, it can bring about development and prosperity, whereas to close the door and reject contact with the outside world only results in stagnancy and retrogression.

The history of social development has demonstrated that as long as individuals have rights and are allowed to be

creative, a society will develop and achieve. The history of China's development after the 1949 revolution illustrates this point. Actually, the change in Chinese core values discussed above may be connected with this point. As traditional Chinese culture is characterized by the "Grand Harmony," it requires that everyone must be dutiful and obey the patriarch and emperor, must follow uniform ways of thinking and behaving and must pursue collective goals while eliminating any individual material desire. In contrast, as long as one has individual rights, it is possible to compete with others, exercise independent judgment and strive for material gain. The guarantee of individual rights may be the most important aspect of China's current modernization program.

The process of modernization in China has been accompanied by social problems despite its overall success. Too many people now are obsessed with money and private gain to the extent they will do anything to benefit themselves at the expenses of others (China Reconstructs, March, 1989). The public has expressed shock at the number of officials at various levels who have used their positions to engage in profiteering and speculation. For example, about 40,000 persons were kicked out of the Chinese Communist Party in 1988. Most of them were accused of various kinds of corruption (China Daily, February 5, 1989). Many young people seem to have no ambition but to make money and acquire luxurious consumer goods. This situation has led many Chinese people to worry about the

country's future. However, we must realize that the implementation of new policies must pay a price. In human history there is no development or progress that comes without a price. Social reform in the United State in the last century brought about The Civil War (Krans, 1959). As China is in a state of transition, many traditional ideas and values have become out-dated but as yet a new set of core values has not been completely formed. This circumstance has caused a series of imbalances experienced by society. These, however, are being accepted as the necessary price of China's modernization program.

The significance of the rapid sociocultural change in China including change in some aspects of Chinese core values is relatively great when considering the context of Chinese history. Under the circumstance of a "super-stable" structure over thousands of years before 1978, there were few changes in basic ways of Chinese life, and in particular core values, even though change in the rest of the world had developed much faster. The extent of change in the Chinese way of life during the past ten years, as it is compressed in time, may exceed that during the thousands of years before 1978. The change in some aspects of Chinese core values indicates that Chinese culture is facing a fundamentally structural transformation, i.e. from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization. Basically, if such change is associated with a process of natural history, it has set China on a new and irreversible course.

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