Framing Sociology in
Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

Geopolitics, States and Practitioners

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is wholly my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other University

Abstract

This project maps and compares how sociology as an institutionalised discipline of teaching and research has been introduced, developed and practiced in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. It sets out to interpret the observed trajectories in light of social-historical contexts. The three cases presented share some similarities in their colonial pasts, Chinese-populated demography, and development trajectories as "Asian tigers". However, they demonstrate a sharp contrast in post-war geopolitics, political context, and identity.

Three levels of analytical categories are involved in the analysis: geopolitical, state-institutional, and (collective) practitioner-level. On the one hand, this project attempts to look beyond the national container to introduce various trans-border factors (e.g. scholarly migration, foreign funding and knowledge flow) into the analytical scope under the conceptual framework of a "world system of knowledge network." On the other hand, the explanation sought is to be grounded on a sympathetic understanding of the actors and their psychological perspective.

The data analysed includes literature and archive material, bibliographic and demographic datasets, interviews with 56 sociologists stratified by bibliographical factors and a few informative talks, and some ethnographic observation in the field study.

How sociology was introduced and institutionalized in three locations along the post-war geopolitical structure will be traced. The "domestic disciplinary identity" will be explored based on a systematic bibliographic review. A survey of the various modes of public engagement of sociologists is interpreted and the thesis relates some observed patterns to contextual factors. It further assesses the impact of recent higher education reform under managerialism and academic globalism on sociology.

Abbreviation

Abbr.	Full Name	Chinese Name
AJSS	Asian Journal of Social Sciences	
CCP	Chinese Communist Party	中國共產黨
CJS	Chinese Journal of Sociology (Taiwan)	中國社會學刊（台灣）
CPU	Central Policy Unit, Hong Kong	(香港) 中央政策組
CSA	Chinese Sociological Association (Taiwan)	中國社會學會 （台灣）
CUHK	Chinese University of Hong Kong	香港中文大學
DPP	Democracy Promotion Party	民主進步黨
HKBU	Hong Kong Baptist University	香港浸會大學
HKPU	Hong Kong Polytechnic University	香港理工大學
HKSA	Hong Kong Sociological Association	香港社會學會
HKSAR	Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	香港特別行政區
HKU	Hong Kong University	香港大學
KMT	Kuo-Ming-Tang, or the Nationalist Party	國民黨
NCCU	National Cheng-Chi University, Taiwan	國立政治大學
NSC	National Science Council, Taiwan	國家科學委員會
NTU	National Taiwan University	國立台灣大學
NTU(SG)	Nangyang Technological University, Singapore	南洋理工大學
NU	Nangyang University, Singapore	南洋大學
NUS	National University of Singapore	新加坡國立大學
PAP	People Action Party, Singapore	人民行動黨
PRC	People's Republic of China	中華人民共和國
RGC	Research Grant Council, Hong Kong	研究資助委員會
ROC	Republic of China (in Taiwan '49-)	中華民國
SAJSS	Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences	
TJS	Taiwanese Journal of Sociology	台灣社會學刊
TSA	Taiwanese Sociological Association	台灣社會學會
UGC	University Grant Council, Hong Kong	大學資助委員會
UK	United Kingdom	
US	United States	

Note on Chinese Names

My respects are paid to local costume in the Romanization of Chinese names. The proper spelling was sought in the following order: (1) personal website or online profile, (2) local literature, (3) translation in local convention. In other words, no single standard was imposed, and an identical Chinese word may be Romanized differently. For instance, the Mandarin surname *Chen* (陳) is spelled in Hokkien dialect *Tan* in Singapore. Similarly, the Mandarin surname *Wu* (吳) is spelled in Cantonese as *Ng* in Hong Kong. When a full Chinese name is cited in the text, I follow the Chinese convention of placing the surname in front, followed by the hyphenated given name *without* a comma. For instance, I will write "Lui Tak-Lok" instead of "Lui, Tak-Lok" or "Tak-Lok Lui." The decision to omit the comma was made to avoid the excessive use of commas when a series of names appear. The later appearance of the cited figure will be referred to by the surname or by the surname followed by an initial combination *without* a period—for instance "Lui TK" instead of "Lui T.K.". A particular exception was Yang Chin-Kun, a professor in Pittsburg who is widely known as CK Yang and will be referred as such. If a figure has a widely known Western name, the ordering of names will follow the Western convention— for example Ambrose King, instead of "King Ambrose" or "King, Ambrose". A list of Chinese names is produced as Appendix C.

Introduction

Sociology has no uniform. If conceived as a historical current of knowledge and modes of inquiry united under a disciplinary label, sociology has its role and boundaries frequently redefined by its leading thinkers. Yet a consensus is never reached. Over time, we have seen paradigms built and deserted, leaving a community fragmented by a variety of contested issues. There has been a constant lingering between seeing sociology as science or art (Wallerstein 1991), and between considering society as fact or imagination (Delanty 1997). There has been struggles between focusing on the macro or the micro (O'Neill 1973), and between relying on numbers or narratives. We were now used to the attempts made to rewrite its intellectual genealogy, the persistent tension around its borders against neighbouring disciplines, and the ongoing disputes over its political and public roles. In tracing the geographic spreading of sociology, we see schools of thought bearing the name of particular cities, as well as ample literature on "national traditions" (Genov 1989). Both suggest that what is called sociology might be understood quite differently from place to place.

The identity fluidity and local diversity of sociology make the comparison of

histories of sociology in different locales a necessary step toward a more

comprehensive understanding of the discipline. Such comparison also has a great

potential in making contribution to the domain of sociology of knowledge. Finally,

the trajectories of sociology more or less reflect the transition in broader

historical context.

The Project: Definition and Purposes

This project took the perspective of the sociology of knowledge to compare the

institutional *framing* of sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The

thesis has three objectives: (1) to empirically map how sociology was developed

and practiced (with both intuitive and theory-driven categories) since its

introduction, (2) to induce conceptual categories and frames by contrasting the

observed patterns, and (3) to construct interpretations of the observations by

relating them to certain institutional factors and broader historical context.

The Framing of Sociology

The term "framing" refers to the process by which the particular configuration of

contextual factors leads to an inclination towards a particular pattern of

disciplinary formation. The "contextual factors" include significant institutional

(political-economic, social, cultural, and organizational) characteristics and

historical incidents. It must be noted that some aspects of the disciplinary

formation could be seen as contextual factors that frame its future formation. To

stress the "configuration" of the contextual factors is to acknowledge the

inter-factor interaction. The word "inclination" is also carefully chosen to suggest

a more sophisticated, and moderate, version of causality and to avoid any forms

of determinism. The "disciplinary formation," the subject matter to account for,

refers to the emergence and evolution of the institutional buildings and activities

labeled with the disciplinary tag into a particular form. The aspects covered in

the following chapters include the trajectory of institutional development, the

demographic structure of the professional community, the outlook of research

publications, the discursive agenda, the public engagement of sociologists, and

impacts under recent higher education reforms.

In more concrete examples, the issues I shall discuss include the political

legitimacy for institutionally supporting this discipline, the patterns of scholarly

migration and transnational flow of expertise, identity politics and the framing of

the disciplinary identity, cultural heritage and attempts to develop indigenous

scholarship, the public interface of this profession, the mechanisms of academic

funding and evaluation and the implications of publication channels and

professional associations. Even when I came across important concepts or

theories generated at the local level, I tried to place these back into a historical

context to interpret what challenges were they proposed to respond to.

Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

The choice of the three cases reflects the author's personal interest. But it is also

justified by the current insufficiency of literature on the history of sociology in

this region,[1] and more importantly, the analytical potential promised by the

delicate mixture of similarities and differences of the three cases. On the one

hand, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore share many similarities. They were all

brought into modern history under colonial order; historically populated by

Chinese immigrants and influenced by the Chinese culture. They demonstrated

comparable trajectories of economic development after World War II (discussed

as the 'Asian little dragons' along with South Korea, see, for instnace,Vogel, E.F.

1991). The discipline of sociology was introduced and institutionalized within

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[1] See Section 5-3 for detailed survey.

each by migrant scholars; further developed under the influence of Western

paradigms. On the other hand, the three societies show clear variation in terms of

their size, geopolitical status, and post-war identity formation. The dealt with

colonial legacies differently, and are subject to distinctive modes of governance.

Considered together, the three case studies produce a meaningful

supplementation of our knowledge on the history of sociology that has long been

centred on the Euro-Anglo world. Contrasted with each other, they provide a

valuable opportunity to compare how the variant contextual factors are

associated with the development of patterns of sociology.

Levels of Analytical Categories: Geopolitics, States, and Practitioners

Deriving its perspective from the sociology of knowledge, this research is

characterised by its attempt to look beyond the state-societal container and

situate the cases in broader geographical contexts, paying attention to factors

working at the transnational level and how they interact with the domestic social

processes of each case. Geopolitics (O'Sullivan 1986; Parker 1998), a term

borrowed from international relation studies, is understood as a way of looking

at the world to consider the power relation as being embedded in the spatial

structure (size, distance, adjacency) of geographical territories. The geopolitical

gaze takes a state-centric perspective but focuses on the international and

transnational factors at work. The emphasis reflects the recognition of the fact

that sociology in the three locales has, since the start, been imported along

geopolitical power lines (colonial encounters and scholarly migration) and has

subsequently developed without ever severing the umbilical cord to external

sources of expertise, theories, categories and even the legitimacy for the

domestic studies. Moreover, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore are three island

states that have their fates deeply entangled within the post-war geopolitical

structure in East Asia. It is inconceivable to narrate their post-war histories

without making reference to the recession of colonialism, the Chinese Civil War,

confrontations during the Cold War, the economic boom in the West Pacific Rim,

and the post-Cold War competition in the knowledge economy. As we shall see in

the following chapters, many state-institutional factors considered influential in

shaping domestic sociology were, themselves, dependent on a wider

regional-structural context.

With this broader picture in mind, I also aspire to see from the perspectives of

the key *actors*, namely the sociologists of different generations, and to observe

how they interact with other agents (such as funders, administrators and policy

makers) within given historical contexts. This aspiration is emotionally rooted in

my interest and concern on people. It also reflects my intellectual conviction that

any explanation of a more complex system would be too "thin" if without a micro

foundation; examples include the social studies that explain their observations

only by demonstrating their statistical correlation with other aggregate variables

(Wan 2011:148). In other words, the sociological analysis I seek to deliver should

at least incorporate, if not be based on, an understanding of the perceptions,

motivations, assumptions, logics of action and interactions at the actor level.

Nonetheless, I do not assert an absolute form of methodological individualism in

empirical studies since the psychological data at the individual level is usually

difficult to exhaust. This is particularly true for a comparative historical project

like this one, in which our knowledge about the actor psychology behind

documented activities is always limited and can only be inferred.

The demand to look beyond the state-societal level and the aspiration to observe

the actors' perspectives forms the two pillars that stretch the "scale of gazing"

across three levels of analytical categories: the *regional-geopolitical,* the

State-institutional, and the *practitioner-level.* Each pair of adjacent levels could be

seen as a structure-agent set. Hence a State could be seen as a collective agent in

the structure of regional geopolitics, while it (along with its institutions) also

constitutes the structural environment in which individual or collective

sociologists work[1].

The Purposes: Empirical, Theoretical and Political

This project serves multiple purposes. At the *empirical* level, this research

mapped the development of sociology in the three Asian states in ways not

attempted before. It involves the generation of various datasets for the first time

and fills some knowledge gaps in our understanding of Asian sociologies. At the

theoretical level, the comparative study provides some analytical leverage for

examining the institutional and historical framing of sociology in the Asian

context. The analysis can make contributions to the theorizing in the sociology of

sociology, the broader sociology of knowledge, and Asian studies. Arguments to

be made in individual chapters might also be constructive towards the

theoretical refinement of specific issues such as the public sociology,

managerialism and academic globalism.

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[1] The state-institutional level could be further differentiated into a structure-agent pair of *state* and *institutions* if we focus on how different institutions (e.g. universities, now seen as agent) operate within particular state-framed context. But for most of the analysis, the universities will be treated as an integral part of the state-institutional complex.

The insights generated inevitably have a *political* dimension. The research also

aims to contribute to a critical reflection of the status quo of sociology, and to

invite normative debates on how academics should be understood and governed,

at least in the three places. This research is also produced for professional

colleagues in other post-colonial areas. I intend to introduce this study to

dialogues with comparable efforts made elsewhere. Finally, I have a specific

readership in mind: the emerging group of sociologists in China. China has, over

the past two decades gradually restored sociology as an officially recognized

discipline[1], and in recent years it has witnessed struggles and debate as to where

Chinese sociology should go. In this regard, I hope the cases of the three

Chinese-dominated societies will provide some sobering lessons.

A Historical Portrait

Historical Emergence through Colonial Encounters

Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore were all brought onto the map of modern

history by their colonial encounters. Taiwan, located on the West Pacific island

chain between Japan and the Philippines, some 150 kilometers off the Chinese

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[1] The institutionalized research of sociology was abolished in 1952 soon after the birth of communist China. In 1980, Nan-Kai University restored the first sociology department among the major Chinese universities. (Zheng, HS and Li 2003)

mainland, had attracted Dutch, Spanish and Koxinga (a loyalist of the Ming

Empire) to build settlements before its 1682 annexation to the Chinese Empire of

the Qing Dynasty, which ruled the island for two centuries and ceded it to Japan

in 1895. The British arrived at Singapore in 1819 and acquired Hong Kong Island

from China in 1842, making both places entrepôts in its imperial trading network.

Located on the tip of Malaya Peninsula, Singapore (as part of the "Strait

Settlements" that also include Penang and Malacca)was developed as a hub

linking West, India, Australia and East Asia, bringing an influx of Chinese workers

and entrepreneurs whose decedents now form its demographic majority. At the

mouth of Pearl River Delta, Hong Kong became a portal to China and this led to a

rapid growth in population. Following the outbreak of Pacific War, Japanese

troops swiftly overtook Hong Kong (25 Dec 1941) and Singapore (15 Feb 1942)

and continued ruling over both places until the War ended in 1945.

Post-1945 Trajectories: The Legacies of Wars

The post-1945 trajectories of the three places were deeply influenced by the

legacies of a series of wars including the Pacific War, the Chinese Civil War in

1945-49, the Malayan Emergency in 1948-60, the 1950 outbreak of Korea War

and the subsequent Cold War. Taiwan was in 1945 handed over to the Republic of

China (ROC) ruled by the *Kuo-Ming Tang* (KMT, "Nationalist Party," led by Chiang Kai-Shek) in accordance with the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. The island soon became the regime's last stronghold after its landslide defeat by the Chinese Communists Party (CCP) in 1949. In 1945-49, around two million Chinese troops and war refugees rushed into Taiwan. Their cultural contrast with the six million local inhabitants who had mostly grown up under Japanese rule caused many frictions and some brutal conflicts (Roy, 2003, Ch3). The KMT government spared no effort in promoting Chinese Nationalism and official ideology to convert these former colonial subject to its nationals. It also enforced Martial law in 1949 as the war against the communists was yet to be concluded (ibid, Ch4). The outbreak of Korea War gave Taiwan renewed significance. Once abandoned, it was considered by the United States in the wider context of the Cold War. Hence, American troops and aid started to arrive Taiwan, helped the KMT-regime to stabilize its post-war political and economic instability.

The British raced to take over the control of Hong Kong ahead of China (ROC), as the latter was trapped in the struggle with the communists (Tsang, S 2007:134-138). The establishment of the communist People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 placed Hong Kong in a precarious footing. Both Beijing and Taipei

(backed by US after 1950) claimed sovereignty over Hong Kong, but only used

the colony as a convenient place to spy and generate propaganda. So as not to

offend either the PRC or the US, Britain maintained impartiality on the China

issue (Welch, 1993: 441). The ongoing confrontation between the "two Chinas",

nonetheless, made Hong Kong a battleground for struggles between the right

(pro-KMT) and left (pro-CCP) camps— leading to the 1956 anti-communist riot

and the 1967 left-wing riot. Economically, an "entrepôt crisis" was experienced

as the late 1940s Chinese warfare and the 1950s American embargo against PRC

abruptly interrupted trade with China. On the other hand, the massive

immigration of Chinese entrepreneurs and workers provided the conditions for

domestic industrial development.

The British also reclaimed Singapore, but only to find its legitimacy undermined

by its failure to defend against an Asian power. Anti-colonial sentiment and

political awakening were rampant. The colonial government declared a State of

Emergency in 1948-1960 (known as "Malaya Emergency") in response to the

insurgency of the Malaya Communist Party, taking strict measures. But eventually,

a state of self-governance was granted to Singapore in 1959. The elected

Singaporean politicians chose to merge with the Malaysian Federation in 1963,

but they were soon expelled due to subsequent racial tensions, leading to the

reluctant creation of an independent Republic of Singapore in 1965. Facing a

multiracial new state, the ruling People's Action Party (PAP) enforced a series of

policies for nation-building (Hill and Lian 1995).

Economic Development

During the period between the 1960s and 1980s, all the three places

demonstrated impressive economic growth that attracted later analysis of them

(along with South Korea) as Asian "Dragons" (Vogel, 1991), "miracles" (World

Bank 1993) or "newly industrialized economies" (NIEs, see e.g. Chowdhury and

Islam 1993). The Taiwanese economy soon recovered under the planning of

Chinese technocrats, advised by American experts, on the basis of Japanese

colonial infrastructure. Taiwan laid its industrial foundations in the 1950s with

the capital earned from agricultural and textile exports (a strategy known as

"import substitution"), and took a series of subsequent measures that

successfully transformed the Taiwan export-oriented industrial economy—

including the 1958 monetary scheme on stabilizing exchange rate, 1960 tax

reward for venture on manufacturing, and the 1966 establishment of

export-processing zone (Rubinstein 1999:367). In the 1970s, Premier Chiang

Ching-Kuo announced "Ten Major Projects" to strengthen infrastructure and to neutralize the impact of the energy crisis on the economy (ibid: 373). The oil shock also drove Taiwan to focus on "strategic industries" that have "low energy consumption and high technological density"— among which, the information technology industry proved to be most successful (ibid: 374). This economic success, however, was challenged in the late 1990s as economic integration with China motivated many firms to relocate their factories across the strait.

Hong Kong's manufacturing sector also grew rapidly from the 1950s as the migrant Chinese entrepreneurs brought in capital and technologies while the massive influx refugees provided cheap labouring force (Chiu, SWK and Lui 1995). The colonial administration then, however, did not engage in active industrial planning (Schenk 2008). Mounting social issues associated with the rapid industrialization and urbanization, ignited by the Chinese Cultural Revolution, led to the 1967 left-wing riots (Cheung, 2009). Alerted by the riot, Murray MacLehose, the new Governor (since 1971) made large-scale investment on housing, education, transportation, medical and social services, anti-corruption and so on, greatly improving the infrastructure for economic development (Carroll 2007:161). The 1978 reform adopted by the new Chinese

leader Deng Xiao-Ping further changed the economic role of Hong Kong. The integration with mainland China accelerated as many factories were relocated back north to costs down, while Hong Kong took strategic role as the commercial and financial service provider linking China to the world (Schenk 2008).

By comparison, Singapore's post-war economic recovery was initially delayed by the Malaya Emergency in the 1950s. The Economic Development Board was established in 1961 to promote industrial development, but its function was still hindered by the unstable regional politics. The 1965 separation from Malaysia, its major hinterland, rendered the earlier plan of "import substitution" infeasible. Hence Singapore repositioned itself in the late 1960s as a production site for multinational corporations, announcing various incentives to attract foreign investments (Ho 1995:114-115). With its strategic location and well-established infrastructure, Singapore became a major oil refinery base in the 1960s, and developed a strong electronics industry in the 1970s. These upgraded to high-tech industries in the 1980s (ibid: 116). The service industry also grew. The Singaporean port became one of the busiest worldwide, and Changi airport opened in 1981 soon became an international hub. The city state also became an Asian commercial and financial centre.

Political Transitions

The KMT government in Taiwan, dominated by mainlanders, faced relentless

challenges from the Taiwanese community despite its economic achievements.

To win more international support, it also faced pressure to improve its political

profile. In the 1970s, the KMT leaders promoted a few Taiwanese elite to higher

ranks, and opened up limited democracy, granting space for individual

candidates (Roy, ibid: 152-155). The death of Chiang Kai-Shek in 1975 further

signalled a new era. With the loosening climate, a scattered network of political

opposition known as *Tang-wei* (黨外, literally "out-of-party") emerged, calling for

democratization, the abolition of Martial Law, cuts to military spending,

improvements to environmental and welfare standards, and Taiwanese

self-determination (ibid: 158-160). This momentum grew, with setbacks, over

the next decade and led to the eventual foundation of the opposition *Democracy*

Progressive Party (DPP) in 1986. Eventually, President Chiang Ching-Kuo

abolished Martial Law in 1987 and removed restrictions on press in the next year

shortly before his death. Enormous dynamism erupted in forms of publication or

protests, leading to a wide array of political reforms. The first Presidential

Election was held in 1996, and the first DDP President was elected in 2000.

The British knew that Hong Kong would be indefensible if Beijing wanted to

reclaim it. They were aware they could keep the colony only because Beijing

founded it valuable to leave it there (Tsang, S 1997:77). The Hong Kong issue

remained untouched for three decades— so long that some Hong Kong residents

even had the wishful impression that the PRC might allow the status quo to

continue (ibid: 79). In 1979, Governor MacLehose was invited to visit Beijing and

the Hong Kong issue emerged on the agenda. In 1984, after two years of

negotiation, the Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed, announcing the fate of

Hong Kong (ibid: Ch5). The development stirred Hong Kong society, leaving in

the colony a contested sense of identity, an awareness of the absence of

democracy, and an anxiety about the future. Such anxiety was further

exacerbated by the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, leading to massive rallies,

protests and a subsequent wave of emigration. Hong Kong became a Special

Administrative Region (SAR) of the PRC in 1997. The, economic and social

integration with China accelerated, bringing both economic dynamism and public

discontent on the penetration of Chinese influence and insufficient democracy.

An annual protest is now being staged on every 1 July to demand more political

right for people in Hong Kong.

Political stability in Singapore was often credited as a factor behind its economic

success. Critics would focus on its authoritarian culture. Less well known is that,

Singapore had enjoyed vibrant political and intellectual dynamism in the first

three post-WWII decades (Barr and Trocki 2008). During the mid-1970s,

however, the climate changed. Several journalists were arrested for "stirring

sympathy for Communism," and student activists were convicted for "inciting

riots". Opposition politicians were prosecuted for either "receiving foreign funds"

or for "defamation" (Haas 1999:22-24) The government also and took control of

the media (ibid: 25) and dealt a "fatal blow" to student activism by amending the

university Constitution (Huang, JL 2008:196). Nonetheless, in the 1980s, a few

opposition politicians managed to get elected into the parliament, while the

government further introduced initiatives that, in effect, disadvantaged non-PAP

candidates[1]. The government also clashed with some foreign press, and imposed

circulation restrictions on those considered as "interfering" with internal politics.

The 1987 "Operation Spectrum," in which 22 citizens were arrested and detained

for an "alleged" Marxist Conspiracy, reminded many of the boundaries of

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[1] In 1985, for instance, the government announced that public housing upgrading will be
provided last for constituencies where non-PAP Members of Parliament (MP) was elected (Haas,
ibid: 26).Another controversial measure was the Group Representation Constituency (GRC)—
area where the MPs are voted as group. Introduced in 1988 to ensure the representation of
ethnical minorities, GRC in effect it disadvantage opposition parties because of the difficulty of
forming a team of competent candidates (Mauzy and Milne 2002:145).

agreeable conduct. Lee Kuan-Yew passed the seat of Prime Minister to Goh

Chok-Tong in 1990, but remained in the cabinet as senior minister. His son, Lee

Hsien-Loong, succeeded Goh in 2004. A few notable cases of defamation lawsuits

continued to occur. The PAP's vote dropped as low as 60% in some elections, but

has never lost more than five seats in the parliament.

Table I-1 summarised the major historical similarities and contrasts of Taiwan,

Hong Kong and Singapore discussed in this section.

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Similarities	Colonial Past, Chinese immigrant as the demographical majority "Asian Dragons" – comparable economic developmental trajectories Sociology as an imported discipline		
Colonial Role	Japanese colony, base for southern expansion	Portal to China for British colonial trade	"Asian crossroad" in British colonial trading network
Post-war Geopolitics	KMT stronghold against the PRC,	Return Colonial, Neutrality between China/Taiwan	Anti-colonial Mvt, Self-government '59 Malaysia Fed '63-65 Republic of Singapore '65-
Identity Politics	Chinese nationalism imposed by KMT Rise of Taiwanese identity, '80s- onward	Colonial de-nationalism, Rise of HK identity, '70s Struggle of HK/ Chinese identity	Multi-racial Nation-building, selective inheritance of ethnical heritage
Economic Development	Import Substitution '50 Export-Oriented IT industry	Industrial 50s-70s Integration with China Financial and Commercial Centre 80s-	Export-Oriented Strategic Industries Financial and Commercial Centre
Political Transition	Authoritarian with Martial Law '49-'87 Democratization '80s-	Sino-British Joint Declaration '84 Handover to China '97	Political Pluralism suppressed 'mid 70s- PAP Dominance
Population	23 million	7 million	3.5 million

Table I-1: Comparison of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

The Personal Pursuit

Many sociological inquiries bear the biographical marks of authors. This project was first conceived as a way to respond to the personal confusion I had when I began to consider an academic career in sociology in 2006. The perspectives adopted also reflect the broader intellectual concerns I developed in the various biographical roles I took before. In the following section, I provide a brief account of my intellectual trajectory that led to the current inquiry.

A Curve Path to Sociology

I travelled along a curved path to sociology. I was admitted to National Taiwan University with a major in chemistry after winning a Gold Medal from the 1993 International Chemistry Olympia, only to change my focus to major in psychology two years later. I liked chemistry – in particular the sense of order and beauty I experienced whilst seeing the world through the lens of chemistry. However, I soon became convinced of the greater significance of human behaviours in shaping our future, and psychology seemed key to furthering my understanding in this respect. Shifting my gaze from the molecular to the mental level, I was yet to find themes of greater scale.

I started to feel attracted to the sociological way of thinking after leaving the

campus. In just a few years, the world seemed to change rapidly. The dot.com

craze hit when I was doing my compulsory military service, and I remember how

anxious computer-illiterate colleagues were when facing the much-hailed "digital

age". Leaving the army, I witnessed the sudden rise of the discourse of

"globalization" against the worst ever economic set-back in Taiwan in 2001.

Working for a leading Taiwanese publisher, I could not help but ponder how the

explosive information supply and the resulting "scarcity of attention" would

shape our collective life. Then, of course, the shock of 9-11 and the consequent

"war on terror" both drastically challenged how the role of the United States in

the world was perceived.

To make better sense of those transitions, I read extensively and found myself

much inspired by the sort of writing that relates our everyday lives to broader

historical, politic-economic, social or technological contexts. I attended the

London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in 2002 to study for an

MSc in sociology. It was my first formal encounter with this discipline, but the

purpose then was to learn more about topical issues such as globalization, its

governance, the social aspects of media and technology and so on. It was not for

the disciplinary training of sociology per se. The sociological perspectives I

acquired, nonetheless, proved to be insightful when I took up subsequent roles as

a parliamentary assistant, election campaign manager, and writer.

My first book was published in 2006, at the age 30 and at this stage I paused to

rethink my career orientation. I reflected upon the issues that I had been

concerned with, and the roles that I had played, and I concluded that everything

centred on the common theme of the "sociological dimension of knowledge." The

things that I have been thinking and doing across the years, I found, all involved

the social mechanism or consequences of how certain forms of knowledge were

produced, distributed, accessed, mobilized, negotiated or even distorted or

exaggerated in our contemporary society. I felt compelled to look deeper into this

complex dynamic, and I started to consider an academic career in sociology.

The Academic Evaluation Dispute

I decided to become a sociologist. However, back in 2006, my knowledge about

Taiwanese sociology remained minimal. So I consulted some bibliographic

resources for hints.

Then, unexpectedly, I came across a book that struck me, *Globalization and*

Knowledge Production (Taskforce for Critical Reflection Conference 2005).The

book was an edited version of the proceedings of a conference convened in 2004,

"Critical Reflection on Higher Education Academic Evaluation (in Humanities and

Social Sciences)." The trigger for this conference was a mindless "university

ranking" published by the Taiwanese Ministry of Education in 2003 which ranked

higher education institutions solely based on statistics obtained from the Science

Citation Index (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and Engineering Index.

The original purpose was produced to show how Taiwanese universities

"perform" in the "leading" journals covered, and this manoeuvre was even

welcomed by some who have long demanded a more accountable academia. But

soon it attracted widespread concern, especially amongst humanity scholars and

social researchers, for its underlying rationale and its potential implication in the

forthcoming university evaluation. Substantial levels of criticism were raised at

the 2004 conference, based on the accusation that dependence on SSCI in either

ranking or evaluation would reduce the merits of HEIs to the quantity of one

particular type of publication, and excluded consideration of books, publications

in Chinese, teaching, and public engagement. It was argued that such practices

would prioritize a language (English) that was less suitable at capturing the

subtleties of local social life, and less accessible to local knowledge users. There

were also concerns over a perceived forced conformity to the foreign research

agenda and the subsequent loss of intellectual autonomy. The conference and its

later published proceedings only marked the beginning of a series of contestation

and negotiation between government, universities and the scholarly community

as to how academics should be governed. The contested discourses reflected two

dilemmas that troubled Taiwanese sociologists—the inherent *epistemological*

dilemma in appropriating Western sociological paradigms in researching the

local, and the newer *strategic dilemma* between pursuing internationally-

recognized excellence and the protection of academic autonomy in responding to

locally relevant issues.

Questions in Mind

The dispute was disturbing for one heading towards an academic career. The

struggle over the academic institutional design rendered any potential future as a

sociologist difficult to predict. I started to wonder what it really means, in

practical terms (in contrast to the various theoretical-normative formulation in

textbooks) to be a sociologist- in particular in the Taiwanese context. How have

Taiwanese sociologists responded to the two dilemmas and what paths have

been explored? Why was the controversial initiative taken and was there proper

justification? Moreover, Taiwan could not be the only place facing these issues.

How were sociologists in other Non-Western countries reacting? Were there

some alternative models that I could draw reference from? If there were different

patterns of responses, were they related to the historical and social context?

I felt a thirst for answers to these questions, and I needed to access enlightened

judgments on the various contested issues if I was to proceed. Yet soon I found

my concerns not adequately addressed in the existing literature. By 2006 the

published material on the history of sociology in Taiwan had not included any

discussion of the impacts of higher education transition. The critical literature

raised thought-provoking points, but was often of a polemic nature and lacked

solid empirical material to sustain the claims being made. Besides, I was almost

ignorant to sociology in other places. It seems that I could only answer the

questions by carrying out a research project.

The Project and Personal Pursuit

Here my career confusions and my intellectual interests met. I was accepted into

University of Warwick in 2006 with a research proposal titled *Negotiating*

Western Sociology in East Asia and the Challenges of Academic Globalization:

Comparison of Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The idea was to compare how

contemporary sociologists in these three places responded to the two dilemmas

outlined earlier, and to interpret the observed patterns in light of the historical

contexts and institutional factors. The title was later revised to *Framing Sociology*

in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore: Geopolitics, States and Its Practitioners (1)

to bring in more historical depth so that the observed patterns could be

accounted for more adequately, (2) to avoid the simple dichotomy between

"Western Paradigm" and "Asia" (3) to drop the problematic geographic unit "East

Asia", (4) to downplay the emphasis on recent higher education transition

(academic globalization) and (5) to highlight the interplay of factors at the three

levels of analysis— geopolitical, state-institutional, (collective) practitioner-level.

It was anticipated that the project would make academic contributions at

empirical, theoretical and even normative levels. But in the end I saw it as a

process of self-cultivation— a journey that enables me to think through a wide

array of issues fundamental to my discipline. A personal reflection is included in

the Epilogue of the Thesis.

Structure of the Dissertation

The first chapter elaborates on the theoretical maps upon which this project is pursued. Sociology will first be defined as a "historical entity", and, operationally, an "institutional entity", for the purpose of the project. The chapter will subsequently situate the study within the tradition of the sociology of knowledge and will review the various attempts to theorise social sciences in an Asian context before introducing the over-arching frame of "world system of knowledge network". Later, precedent discussions will be related to a reconsideration of the characteristics of colonial modernity in Asia. The second chapter details the methodological considerations. Besides introducing and justifying the research design and methods employed, this chapter also covers a number of ontological and epistemological issues. In particular, I will sketch a framework of "ontological layers of social reality" (perceived, social-constructed, performed, and materialized) for the proper anchoring of the diverse empirical material I sought to analyse. The last two sections of the chapter will elaborate in more depth upon two methodological particularities of the project; the power relation between the researchers and the informants, and the tricky issue of securing confidentiality (and its potential clash with the "ethics of credit").

The following five chapters are allocated to a substantial analysis of the empirical cases. Chapter Three traces how sociological knowledge and expertise were introduced to this part of the world via the colonial order. It reviews, first, the status of sociology in the four major powers that are influential in the region (Japan, China, UK and the US). It also reviews the traces of sociological investigation and teaching in the three pre-war colonies. Finally, the chapter explored the post-war migration of sociologists and social anthropologists from China, the UK and the US. Chapter Four sketches the *institutionalization* and maps the *cohort structure* of sociologists of Taiwan, Singapore, and two leading universities in Hong Kong (CUHK and HKU). Chapter Five features a systematic review of four types of bibliographic resources; domestic sociological journals, edited collections of sociological studies of the domestic society, historical and reflexive writing of domestic sociology, and normative- epistemological reflections of the application of Western paradigms. The observed pattern was analysed by profiling the "*domestic disciplinary identity*" of each place and this will be further related to the broader context of post-war identity politics.

Chapter Six[1] focuses on the public interface between the sociological community

and the public sphere. Starting from a critical review of Burawoy's scheme

(2005), this chapter proposes an elaborated and revised "sorting template" for

the systematic review of various modes of *public engagement* in the three places.

To account for the observed pattern, I will discuss three particular contextual

aspects: the presence of critical mass, institutional factors and intellectual

tradition. Chapter Seven assesses how recent higher education reforms

characterised by both *managerialism* and *academic globalism* are reshaping

intellectual life, and the professional outputs, of sociologists. The responses of

sociologists in these cases will also be compared, and related to numerous

established theses relating to for example domestic disciplinary identity and

tradition of public engagement outlined in earlier chapters. Before leaving the

chapter, I will develop a critique of the implications of both ideologies.

The Concluding chapter summarises major finding and arguments from the

empirical chapters. It further relates the empirical observations to the theses of

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[1] Between the current chapter, five and six, there was originally another projected chapter titled
'Negotiating the Western Paradigms'. This chapter was unfortunately not included in the current
version due to time constraint. I shall seek to incorporate the chapter in a later version revised
for formal publication.

"world system of knowledge network" and "colonial modernity" discussed in

chapter one, and revisit the subtitle with an extended discussion about the

dialectic between geopolitics, state and sociologist. Direction for future research

will also be suggested. In the end, the Epilogue included a personal account.

Ch1. Theoretical Maps

This chapter provides a rough theoretical "map". The word "map" was

deliberately chosen to reflect how I understood the connection between the

theoretical construct and my empirical research. A map is an abstracted,

simplified, form of representing empirical reality. It is drawn with purpose and

presumptions and it is useful because its omission, and even distortion, brings

more cognitive clarity[1]. A map invites a "gaze" on both the map itself and the

world it projects. A first time tourist follows a published map. An explorer, on the

other hand, could only draw a rough map before the expedition, and revise it

along the journey. All these characteristics are applicable to theories.

There are maps of different scales and functions published, ranging from grand

atlases and city centre map, to detailed hiking trail finders. This metaphor is still

applicable to theories and their use in empirical research. Theory could be the

testable propositions often seen in positivistic projects with well-defined

questions, conducted following the Popperian doctrine of scientific knowledge

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[1] The underground maps , for instance, is useful because it represent the relative positions of
stations in a simplified way that requires the distortion of the actual geographical proportion.

(Popper 1959; 1963). Theory could refer to the heuristic devices employed in interpretive projects, or the sensitizing concepts in the grounded approach. Theory of course includes the conceptual framework that has guided the collection of data and formulation of a meaningful narrative grounded in observations. Theory, at its most fundamental level, includes the ontological and epistemological question about how I position myself and my project in relation to the social realm of the subject matter.

The multiple layers of theoretical gazes could all be relevant to any project, but their relative importance, nonetheless, varies based on the nature and scale of the particular project. This inquiry, as the first historical-comparative project attempted of its subject (the framing of sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore), was *not* pursued with a motif to answer any pre-defined theoretical question— although testable propositions did emerge and were sometimes tested (to a variety of satisfactory degree) during the fieldwork. Its purpose was (1) to observe the empirical patterns, (2) to induce some conceptual themes and frames by contrasting the recorded pattern, and (3) to construct interpretations that can lead to future debate. The entire research process was characterised by constant traveling between the empirical realm and the theoretical imaginaries.

The empirical observation often led to the formulation of new propositions and revisions of the previous conceptual map, which, conversely, guided the search for new evidence in the collected materials. This reciprocal process gradually refined the conceptual map for a "closer" match to empirical observations, "tightening-up" the logical links between the two spheres. It continued up until the date of writing, revealing some patterns never observed before while leaving some gaps to be explored in future.

Of the various scales and versions of maps, this chapter only aims to identify the source of inspiration that I begin with, and to outline the broad conceptual framework and major themes that remain constant. I shall first define sociology as a *subject matter,* and then anchor the project in the traditional *sociology of knowledge.* I will next reviews various meta-theories about the state of Asian social sciences, before I move on propose a "world system of knowledge network" as an overarching frame to fix the deficiencies of the earlier-reviewed literature. I shall ultimately introduce *modernity* as a pivotal concept in this project and elaborate on the links between Asian sociologies and colonial modernity in respective countries.

Meta-theoretical issues are not addressed in this chapter, but are instead

considered in the methodological chapter. Specific propositions that emerged

and were tested in the research process will also be covered in later chapters.

1.1 Sociology as Subject Matter

What is Sociology? Numerous thinkers involved in its development have

provided various definitions. August Comte first proposed the word *sociologie* to

replace his earlier term *physique sociale* to designate the new science "which

bears on the positive study of the totality of fundamental laws proper to social

phenomena[1]". Following Comte, Durkheim (1938) made great efforts in

establishing sociology as a discipline devoted to the study of objective, thing-like

"social facts". Weber approached social life   from a subjective point of view,

hence he defined sociology as a science which aimed to "interpret the meaning of

social action and thereby give a casual explanation"(Weber 1978:7). Giddens

added some historical depth, describing the main focus of sociology as "the study

of the social institutions brought into being by the industrial transformations of

the past two or three centuries"(Giddens 1982:9). Definitions of this sort sought

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[1] Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive.* Vol. 4, *La partie dogmatique de la philosophie sociale,* Paris,
1908 [1838], p 132. fn. 1. Cited in Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, (Frankfurt Institute for
Social Research 1972)1972, p12, fn 1.

to draw a *normative* boundary of this discipline by defining its meta-theoretical

core – either in terms of its subject matter, epistemological style, methodology or

objectives. For the purpose of this project, however, no definition of this sort is

drawn. At a conceptual level, I observe sociology as a *historical entity* of

intellectual activities – a collection of knowledge and activities of inquiry that is

embodied under a common disciplinary tag that is repeatedly redefined in both

intellectual and institutional ways. In empirical research, I narrow the scope of

investigation to the writing, activities, and views of a "core circle of sociologist"

defined by their *institutional affiliation*. I shall elaborate on both decisions later.

1.1.1 Sociology as Historical Entity

Observing sociology as a historical entity involves two conceptual concessions

from adhering to any versions of conventional definition. The first is a

constructivist turn – that is, I reframe myself from adhering to any *real* definition

of sociology and accept the multiplicity of how this definition could be

theoretically-constructed. This stance allows me to examine most scholarship

claiming to be sociology. The second step is a *historical* turn[1]— that is, I notice

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[1] The Gulbenkian Commission on the Restructuring of Social Sciences (chaired by Wallerstein) also took a similar historical approach in their report, 1996, Ch1.

the constant practice of disciplinary genealogy-compiling that not only produces varied versions of historical views of the discipline, but also makes reference to works of earlier authors who rarely identified themselves as "sociologists" (or even perished before the birth of the term). This stance allows me to compare versions of historical narratives and discuss the politics of inclusion/exclusion.

The historical trajectory of sociology can be mapped at four interrelated layers. The first involves the evolution of *categories* and *theories* along the intellectual milestones such as key thinkers, ground-breaking works that led to new paradigms and significant academic events in which fundamental issues were debated. The second involves the expansion and transition of an *institutional basis* that include departments, institutes, professional associations, journals and even sources of funding and mechanism of the academic evaluation. The third involves the accumulation of *sociological knowledge* (empirical and mid-range theoretical) generated through substantial research in various topical areas. The last involves the shifting patterns of *professional practices* that are manifest in research, dissemination, teaching and public engagement. If sociology is imaged as a virtual persona, the four layers roughly correspond to its spirit (theory), body (institution), knowledge (knowledge) and behaviour (practice).

An historical account of the first layer can be found in the opening chapters of

many sociology textbooks whereby the origin of the discipline is conventionally

traced back to a list of European thinkers. Other examples include Abraham's

(1973) attempt to trace the "origin and growth of sociology"; a recent book to tell

the "story of sociology" by McLennan (2011); and the various volumes that

review the development of sociological thoughts and theories (e.g. Aron 1965;

Callinicos 1999). In Asian countries, however, the history of domestic sociology is

generally narrated from the second layer and detailed attention is paid to the

founding of major departments, associations, publication platforms, and projects

for research or intellectual exchange[1]. These institutional bases were often

considered prerequisites for the research and teaching of this imported

discipline to emerge in a significant sense. In the third layer, systematic reviews

of sociological studies by sociologists bounded in any geographical or

institutional unit requires, first, a sufficient quality of research already produced

to make such an undertaking possible, and second, a sense of community or

collective identity being formed to warrant the *review unit* legitimate. The recent

collections *The Making of Singapore Sociology* (Tong and Lian 2002) and

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[1] See, for instance, the historical accounts of sociology in Taiwan by Martin Yang, 1976, Michael
Hsiao 1987, in Hong Kong by Rance Lee, 1977, 1987, 1993, in Singapore by Benjamin, 1991, Peter
Chen, 1991, and Stella Quah 1995. See also 4.1.2 for more detailed review.

Interlocution-A Thematic History of Taiwanese Sociology, 1945-2005 (Shieh 2008)

fall into this category. Finally, some surveys of the practices of sociologists (their

ways of doing research, publishing, teaching or public engagement) were

undertaken by either academic administrators, professional associations, or

individual academics interested in professional issues[1].

1.1.2 Sociology as Institutional Existence

In this inquiry I operationally define my scope of investigation in *institutional*

terms (such as in departments, institutes, association, conferences and journals

bearing the disciplinary name) to empirically focus on the composition, activities,

and intellectual output of those who constitute the *core circle* of sociologists.

Occasional reference will be made to those outside the "core circle" (such as the

pioneers prior to the establishment of the first department, foreign scholars, or

scholars in other departments), but such reference is made only to those whose

works were cited within the "core circle" as influential to the current state of

domestic sociology. This prioritization of the institutional status reflects

considerations on several fronts. First, the institutional establishments have a

concrete and visible form of existence compared. In tracing trajectories in other

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[1] See also 4.1.2

layers, we often need to rely on the institutional tag (for example the publications

of scholars affiliated to sociology departments) to filter out the material relevant.

Sociologists certainly remember the early European thinkers who wrote before

the institutionalization of sociology (e.g. Marx, Weber) but left a significant

legacy to this discipline. However, their works could not have been canonized if

sociology had not been institutionalized as a legitimate discipline in the first

place. Second, as mentioned in the previous section, in Asian countries where

sociology was introduced, the history of sociology often starts with the history of

its institutionalization. By adopting the institutional definition of sociology,

further, I avoid the issue associated with imposing an external researcher-

standard and accept how sociology is practically defined in local contexts. Third,

when we consider "the sociology of a country," what we have in mind is usually

the works of scholars affiliated to the institutions there. Perhaps we can expand

this to include the academic events held, and the journals or books published

there. All the *links* between the geographical locale and the portion of

sociological scholarship bearing its name are *institutional*. In comparison, where

an empirical study is conducted and where sociological knowledge is to be

consumed are seldom considered as criteria for labelling particular works with a

national tag.

1.2 Sociology of Knowledge

The historical trajectories of sociology at the four layers shall be mapped to
provide the empirical basis for analysing their *framing*. "Framing" in this context
refers to the process by which the particular configuration of contextual factors
leads to inclinations towards a particular pattern of disciplinary formation. The
words "formation" and "trajectories" both imply a sequential transition of
patterns (in the four observable empirical layers) and may sometimes be used
interchangeably; although the former implies more about the internal dynamics
that led to the transition, while the later refers primarily to the observable
transitional path. This research question has an affinity with the broad tradition
of the sociology of knowledge (and some of its later derivatives).

1.2.1 The German Origin: Scheler and Manheim

The sociology of knowledge emerged as a new field of study from the Weimer
Germany when the post-WWI disillusion, repeated political crisis, and a
prevailing "tragic consciousness[1]" drove various thinkers, in particular Max
Scheler and Karl Manheim, to reflect upon how human thoughts were connected

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[1] Lenk 1987, see also Meja and Stehr 1990, 4

to the social context. The idea bear the legacy of Marx, who used (1977 [1859] ,

Preface) the concept pair of *Basis* (Base, e.g. economics, state, race) and *Überbau*

(Upperbuilding, e.g. ideas) to argue that human consciousness was determined

by one's social location in the economic structure. Marx also made a critique

(1932 [1846]) of *ideology* as distorted consciousness that conceals

contradictions in the interest of the dominant class and therefore needs to be

"unmasked". The concept of ideology was refined by later Marxists like Lukasc

(as a projection of the ruling class's consciousness) or Gramsci (as a product of

cultural hegemony). The Marxist doctrine of ideologies became so prevalent in

Weimar Germany that political parties often used this conceptual device to

"unmask" the positions of others as interest-bounded ideology, eroding any

confidence in the objectivity of knowledge claims. This was the crisis that the

sociology of knowledge was to overcome[1].

The invention of the term *Soziologie des Wissens* (sociology of knowledge) was

generally credited to Max Scheler, who proposed the field as a part of his broader

vision of the "sociology of culture"(1980 [1960], Ch1). He formulated a new

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[1] Manheim, *Ideologie und Utopie,* 1929, p108. Cited in Meja & Stehr, 1990, p5, en 21. The English
version *Ideology and Utopia* deleted this introductory section about Weimer political context.

discipline for the "…analysis of those regularities of the social processes and structures that pertain to intellectual life and to modes of knowing[1]" as an attempt to transcend the relativity of historically and socially bounded knowledge (Berger and Luckman 1967:7-8). Scheler (ibid: Ch1) began elaborating over the new field with an outline of "three possible basic relations that knowledge has to society": (1) The knowledge that members of a group have of one another and the possibility of their mutual understanding is an element that co-constitute "human society." (2) Any group has a knowledge of its own existence, no matter how vague, and a knowledge of generally accepted values and ends (e.g., there is no class without class consciousness). All knowledge somehow determines the nature (*Sosein*) of society. (3) All knowledge is also conversely determined by society and its structure (1980). The latter two points suggest that Scheler noted the reciprocal shaping of knowledge and society. But he might be best remembered for his stance in the third aspect— the thesis that the *Realfaktoren* (real factors, e.g. race, state and economy) regulate the emergence of certain *Idealfaktoren* (ideal factors, e.g. idea, theory), facilitating or impeding their generation and diffusion, but *not* determining their content and

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[1] Summary by Meja and Stehr, 1990, p67

validity. [1] This thesis recaptures Marx's concepts of *Unterbau* and *Uberbau* with

a more reserved stance on the suggested connection in between.

Karl Manheim (in *Idiologie und Utopie* published in 1929) proposed another

version of the sociology of knowledge which eventually cast a more far-reaching

influence. Manheim defined the sociology of knowledge as a theory that sought

to analyse how human thoughts were *seinsverbunden* (existentially connected).

He described this field as "closely related to, but increasingly distinguishable

from, [Marxists'] theory of ideology." The older theory of ideology, he argued, has

a *particular* conception of ideology because it seeks to unmasking specific

assertions as either distortion or conscious deception. The new science he

proposed was based on a *total* conception of ideology that tackled the "mental

structure in its totality," addressing the inevitable variation of knowledge formed

in different social and historical settings (Mannheim 1936, Ch V, Sec 1). Manheim

discussed (1929:108) the crisis of repeated "ideology-unmasking" between

political parties in Weimer Germany. His undertaking can be seen as an effort to

pave a path towards possible mutual understanding between groups by

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[1] Scheler 1924. Cited in Merton 1937, p494. See also Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p8.

reframing their contradictions as the *inevitable difference* of knowledge of varied

social origin, rather than the *conscious deception* of any side that was interest-

serving (Meja and Stehr 1990a:5). Manheim was considered more "critical" than

Scheler because he acknowledged the content and validity of knowledge (except

that of mathematics and some natural sciences) as socially- determined.

Manheim's work provoked extensive debate around its inheritance and rupture

from Marxism and historical materialism, the implied epistemological issue of

the validity of human knowledge, and the relationship between knowledge and

politics – a series of controversies known as the "sociology of knowledge dispute

(Meija & Stehr, 1990)." This dispute, however, was brought to a premature close

in the early 1930s, as many of its participating thinkers were either forced into

exile or silenced by the rise of Nazism in Germany. This very historical force that

troubled these German thinkers was soon felt in the rest of the world and this,

ironically, brought their   concerns to a much wider audience (Wirth 1936:x).

1.2.2 The American Reorientation: Merton, Berger and Luckmann

The sociology of knowledge was introduced to the United States with the 1936

publication of *Ideology and Utopia* (translated by the immigrant German

sociologist Louis Wirth and his assistant Edward Shils) and a subsequent article

Robert Merton published on *Iris* in 1937 in which he presented a critical

introduction of the field. Wirth, in a preface to the translated book, noted that the

problem of objectivity (of knowledge), the central issue underlying Manheim's

work, was generally overlooked by American sociologists, although it had been

discussed by some American philosophers (e.g. James, Peirce, Mead, and Dewey)

and incorporated into certain social psychological studies, (Wirth 1936: xviii).

Merton, while generally acknowledging the importance of studying the social

dependence of knowledge, also rejected the early (German) epistemological

preoccupation as "excessive and fruitless." "The social genesis of thought," he

wrote, "has no necessary bearing on its validity or falsity"(1937:493). The

indifference of American sociologists towards epistemological issues might be

related to the status of American sociology as a more institutionally established

discipline and the clearer division of labour with its neighbouring disciplines.

Merton constructed a revised agenda of the sociology of knowledge that

integrated its approach to that of *structural functionalism*. He traced the

intellectual genealogy of the field not only back to the German thinkers, but also

to the writing of Durkheim and Sorokin. He also applied the functionalist concept

of manifest/ latent function to the sphere of ideation (1963). Merton also made

some ground-breaking studies into a special branch of the field; the *sociology of*

science (1973). Major contributions include identifying CUDOS (Communalism,

Universalism, Disinterestedness, and Organized-Scepticism) as the core

normative values of science (pp267-280) and coining the term Matthew Effect

(or "cumulative advantage", the phenomenon "the rich get richer") to explain why

eminent scientists got disproportionate credit (pp439-459).

In *Social Construction of Reality*, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann proposed

(1967:1) a distinct reorientation of the sociology of knowledge towards an

analysis of the processes of how "reality" is socially constructed in everyday life.

They defined reality in a phenomenologist's perspective as "quality appertaining

to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own

volition," and knowledge similarly defined as "the certainty that phenomena are

real and that they possess specific characteristics" to render this concept relevant

to "the man in the street." Their proposal marked three significant departures

from the previous tradition of the field: (1) a departure from the past empirical

attention paid to the intellectual history of elite thought towards a renewed focus

on the knowledge of laypeople, (2) the characterisation of the epistemological

and methodological questions as part of philosophy, hence this was excluded

from the scope of the "empirical discipline of sociology (p13)," and (3) a

transition of concerns from how knowledge was socially conditioned to how

knowledge constructs perceived social reality .

Both Merton's functionalist revision and Berger and Luckmann's

phenomenologist reorientation of the sociology of knowledge downplayed the

traditional preoccupation with epistemological issues as work for philosophers

and they redefined the objective of the field toward a narrower vision that was

considered more "sociological". Both can be seen as attempts to "normalize" the

subject field within the established division of labour in American academia

(Meja and Sther, 1999). The American transformation of the "sociology of

knowledge" is itself an excellent case for the study of sociology of knowledge.

1.2.3 Scholarly Currents, Post-1960s

The sociology of knowledge, despite the success of works by its pioneers, did not

flourish as a vibrant subfield of sociology in America. The percentage of

sociologists with interest in the field had actually declined by the early 1980s.

Its limited appeal might be explained by the mismatch between the field and

American academia. The suspicious link of the field to epistemological *relativism*,

for instance, conflicted with the mainstream scientific doctrine among American

academics that there exist universally-valid truths which could be verified by

rigorous procedures. Its grandiose formulation at its initial inception did not 'fit'

the higher degree of professionalization and specialized division of labour in

American academia, which tended to limit sociological inquiries to a narrower

scope. Perhaps the most fundamental reason was the central role of "human

thoughts" in many aspects of our social life, which made the sociology of

knowledge a domain of concerns that is relevant to almost all sociological

inquiries, rather than a self-contained specialty that should best be studied in its

own right. Therefore, while the sociology of knowledge declined as a distinctive

sub-field, many of its major concerns or perspectives received continuous

elaboration in several interrelated fields.

At least three currents of such legacies can be outlined. First, the objectivity of

knowledge; the *epistemological* issue central to the German sociology of

knowledge, was continuously debated with regard to the special domain of

scientific knowledge. In the fields of the "philosophy of science" and "sociology of

scientific knowledge" (SSK), harsh confrontation resumed between the

relativist's challenges[1] on the epistemological prestige of science and the various

conceptual solutions proposed to save it[2].

Second, the thesis that knowledge can "determine the nature of society" (Scheler

1980[1960]: Ch1) or "construct the social reality" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967)

was carried over to numerous *ontological* treatises. Berger and Luckmann

inspired numerous *social constructivists* to depart from the conventional realist

doctrine that approached the social as objective facts, to see the social

phenomena and their meanings as something constantly accomplished by actors

and hence never free from their thoughts. *Realist* John Searle (1995) rejected

some constructivist's views (notably Derrida) as conflating facts and statements

about facts, but he conceded that certain elements of our contemporary society

existed only because of our knowledge and belief of them (for example money

and law which he called *social reality*).

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[1] See, for instance, Barnes (2005), Bloor (1974), Latour and Woolgar (1976).
[2] Strategies of such efforts include (1) to dissociate the origin of knowledge from its validity, (2) to distinguish scientific knowledge from the irrational thoughts, reserving social analysis for the later only, e.g., Laudan (1979), (3) to postulate an incremental model for scientific progress, e.g. Popper (1977), and Lakatos (1959), (4) to assert and structuralist stance on the existence of certain universal feature that anchor our knowledge, e.g. the development of philosophical anthropology and recent surge of sociobiology. See Meja and Stehr 1990 :288-291.

Third, the link between knowledge and politics, an issue that troubled the

founding thinkers of sociology of knowledge, also attracted continuous works on

relevant themes such as ideology, various "men of knowledge"(intellectual,

expert, academic profession), the power of modern organizations (e.g.

universities, libraries, foundations) in the production and dissemination of

knowledge, and the political entanglement of various knowledge claims.

1.2.4 Grounding the Project

This review has demonstrated a fluctuating genealogy of the sociology of

knowledge and a range of derivative scholarship. How is my current project

grounded in this literature terrain? First of all, this project shares the basic

question central to the sociology of knowledge since its initial inception: how are

human thought and knowledge connected to the social context. However, it does

not share the philosophical preoccupation of original German tradition. Second,

the epistemological and ontological debates this tradition inspired, nonetheless,

served as resourceful references for devising my own stance at both levels (See

Ch2). Third, the theoretical debates around ideology, intellectual and expert, and

the role of modern organization were illuminating, explicitly or implicitly, in my

inquiry of the "domestic disciplinary identity" (Ch5), the public roles of

sociologist (Ch6), and the impact of contemporary managerialism and academic

globalism (Ch7). Finally, in this empirical investigation, I sought to map and

analyse the institutional foundation of sociology in ways that fall within the

functionalist tradition set out by Merton, and approach the memories, intentions,

ideas and rationales of the actors (sociologists) in ways influenced by the

phenomenological tradition inspired by Berger and Luckmann.

1.3 Theorizing Sociology in Asia

The tradition of the sociology of knowledge and subsequent related scholarship

form a rich source of inspiration. However the entire corps of literature reviewed

so far has ignored the *geographical* dimension of knowledge, in particular the

geography-bounded power relation between the former colonial powers where

modern science was first invented and the former Asian colonies where such

scholarship was introduced. Syed Farid Alatas (2006:Ch2)[1] attempted a review

of a variety of meta-analysis of the state of the social science in relation to the

Asia, sorted in a 2 by2 table (see Table 1-1) defined by the two dimensions

internal-external (to social science) and *cognitive- institutional*. The first

---

[1] Syed Farid Alatas, a Native to Malaysia, teaches in the sociology department of National University of Singapore (NUS). His father, Syed Hussein Alatas, who also had taught (Malay Studies) in NUS, was a respected public intellectual in Malaysia and contributed some of the discourses his son cited.

dimension distinguished factors relating to the internal characteristics of

scholarship of Asian social sciences (including theory construction, methodology,

empirical and applied studies) from the factors that influence social science

externally. The second dimension separates the ideal aspect (e.g. ideas, concepts

and values) and institutional components (e.g. funding, technology, terminology

and publication channels) related to social sciences

	Internal	External
Cognitive	Orientalism (Said) Eurocentrism Postcolonial Criticism Rhetorical Theories of Social Sciences	Captive Mind (SH Alatas) Pedagogical Theories Modern Colonial Critique
Institutional	Academic Dependency: Idea and the Media of Ideas Intellectual Imperialism	Academic Dependency: Technology, Aid and Investment

Table 1-1 Theorizing Asian Social Science: A Typology of Meta Analyses
Source: Table by the author based on Alatas (2006, Ch2)

The category *Internal-Cognitive* refers to approaches that critically examine the

ideas internal to social scientific discourse. The *Orientalism* thesis (e.g.

Abdel-Malek 1963; Said 1978), for instance, argued that the Western discourse of

the Orient, produced along the process of colonial European power, was

constructed in a way that reflected how the Orient was imagined by Westerners,

clearly bearing the presumptions of seeing the Orient as ontologically different

and essentially inferior. A similar bias could be found in many social theories and

contemporary ideologies, which, according to the critique of *Eurocentricism*,

positions Europe as unique and superior in world history and, explicitly or

implicitly, justified European expansion alongside notions of "manifest destiny"

(of the Europe) and "the White man's burden"(Amin 1989). Similar concern was

also expressed by Connell (2007) who cited various underrepresented "southern

theories" and Bhambra (2007) who urged a critical rethink of the concept of

modernity. The *postcolonial criticism* of the discourses (e.g. modernization)

prevailing in the Third World revealed an underlying power which not only

justified the existing order, but also led to the "normalization" and disciplinary

control of the people. Such discourses are often based on knowledge about

colonial subjects that approaches them as "objective of control… examined,

measured, categorised, made the target of policies of normalization[1]." All these

critiques echoed the rhetorical theories of social sciences that destruct the

various wording techniques employed to present the narrated version of reality

as "attractive, edifying, obvious, [and] compelling (Baehr and O'Brien 1994:62)."

The *external-cognitive* category includes approaches that examine the ideas,

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[1] Quote from Taylor's treatise on Foucault, 1985:158. Cited by SF Alatas, 2006:46.

attitudes, values and mentalities external to social sciences which nonetheless

exert influence over scholarship. Malaysian sociologist Syed Hussein Alatas, for

instance, proposed the thesis of *captive mind* to describe those "victim of

Orientalism and Eurocentrism... characterised by a way of thinking that is

dominated by Western thought in an imitative and uncritical manner[1]." This

mental captivity can be clearly observed in many developmental studies, which

imitate Western development studies in terms of how subject matters are

conceptualized, empirically examined, explained and generalized, without critical

reflection over their political implications. One major mechanism which led to

such mental captivity is education, which, as Ian Illich (1973) criticized with his

notion of "hidden curriculum" in *Pedagogical theories of modernization*, trains

children with the dominant values of modern social order through discipline and

regimentation. The *Modern colonial critique* (e.g. Freire and Fanon) interpreted

pedagogical practices as serving the interests of the oppressors who are inclined

toward changing the mentality of the oppressed, rather than changing oppressive

conditions.

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[1] Alatas, SF, ibid, p47. The idea was first proposed by SH Alatas, 1972

The second row labelled *institutional* deals with structural components relating

to social science. The discussion here focuses on the *academic dependency* of the

developing (peripheral) countries on the industrialized (core) ones. Alatas listed

six dimensions of such dependency as: a dependency on ideas, on media of ideas

(e.g. journals, conferences), on the technology of education, on research aids, on

educational investment, and on the Western demand for the skills of Third World

researchers (Alatas SF 2006: 64). The first two dimensions were considered

internal to social science, while the rest were considered as external. Also

discussed in the internal-institutional category was the theory of *Intellectual*

Imperialism; another concept elaborated on by SH Alatas to refer to the

"domination of one people by another in their world of thinking" (ibid, 52).

The approaches reviewed by SF Alatas provide a wide array of perspectives for

critical reflection over the sociological discourses *about*, and social scientific

scholarship *in*, Asia. The common focus was the power relation between the West

(the colonizers, the First World) and the East (the colonized, the Third World).

However, a built-in dualistic imaginary made these constructs limited in their

ability to capture the more complex patterns of how social scientific expertise

and knowledge spread across the world, and the historical trajectory of how such

patterns came into being. The geopolitical framing of such trajectories that involve multiple powers was excluded from the picture. Consider sociology in Taiwan and Hong Kong for instance. Its initial introduction as a teaching subject was largely achieved by post-war emigrant Chinese sociologists. Moreover, the pre-war Chinese sociology was developed with great dependence on works translated from Japanese literature. The mediation of both Japan and China left some marks on the initial post-war sociology in Taiwan and Hong Kong, which nonetheless are easily neglected if we only conceive of sociology as a Western product. Moreover, assuming such a dualist vision would make it difficult to fully comprehend the cases of Hong Kong and Singapore, which are themselves products of a mixture of both the East and the West. The two former colonial entrepôt appeared Asian for Westerners, but they also function as gateway to the West for people from the surrounding hinterland in China and Southeast Asia. Most of their sociologists were trained in the first world, but they also train the students for the neighbouring, "less developed" countries. To cope with these problems, I shall situate the inquiry within an imagery of broader scope called the *World System of Knowledge Network.*

1.4 World System of Knowledge Network

The framework to be introduced was inspired by concepts like "world system" (Wallerstein 1974; 2004), "network society" (Castells 1996), "knowledge network" (Altbach 1987), and "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986). The *world system analysis*, an approach popularised by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) in his classic account of the historical expansion of capitalism from its genesis in Renaissance Europe to a modern "integrated world economy," is an attempt to transcend the structure of social sciences inherited from the 19th century. Several epistemological boundaries were challenged. The distinction between social science and history was reconsidered to bring the latter back in the scope of social inquiry; the division of social sciences deriving from the Hegelian division of society (state, market and civil society) was merged for an interdisciplinary approach; and the perspective of seeing the modern nation-state as the default unit was replaced by a transnational, systemic approach. The core concept "world system" was defined by Wallerstein (1974), in a structural functionalist tone, as a "social system with boundaries, structure, member groups, rule of legitimation, and coherence (p229)." Yet the emerging picture, a world of countries differentiated along a *core-peripheral* hierarchy by patterns of trade

links and capital flow, clearly has the imprint of Marxist critique on imperialism[1].

The world system analysis was initially conceived to illuminate the evolution of

economic relations at a world scale, but the metaphor of core/peripheries was

soon applied in the analysis of other sectors, including the production and

distribution of knowledge. Altbach (1987), for instance, wrote about the

"international dissemination of knowledge" that is characterised by the "gulf"

between the "Western industrialized world which produces knowledge and the

vast hinterland of consuming nations of the Third World (p xii)." The figurative

metaphor Altbach used, however, was not a "system" consisting of nation-states

as key components, but a "context" (in the book title) or a "network" (in

introduction and conclusion) of educational institutions, libraries, publishing

houses and journals as constitutive elements. The "network" perspective marked

one more step away from the state-centric perspective, and it was further

elaborated upon by Castells (1996) in his thesis of *network society* as a new type

of social morphology in the Information Age.

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[1] The concepts "core/peripheral" was first used by Lenin 1916. The metaphor was also used in the dependency theories proposed in 1960s (e.g. Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank, Theotonio Dos Santos, Fernando Henrique Cardoso) as critique of the modernization theory. The world system analysis can be seen as a expanded version of dependency theory.

Both the world system analysis and network society thesis stressed the

transnational aspect that transcends the traditional assumption of seeing

national containers as the default unit of analysis. However, three major

contrasts should be highlighted. First, the "network society" thesis focused on the

distinctive social morphology of one particular type of network created by the

wide-spreading information and communication technology, and this was

relatively less concerned with historical trajectory before its emergence. Second,

the retreat of historical concern was paralleled by a tendency of "depoliticising"

globalization, downplaying the earlier Marxism-enlightened concerns of the

core-peripheral relations by theorizing around the structure in the more

abstracted and objectified terminology of networks and nodes (Marcuse 2002).

Finally, as its major strength, the network thesis has the potential of presenting a

more sophisticated multi-level picture of the dynamics at various scales.

The *world system of knowledge network* proposed here, borrowing ideas from

both perspectives, provides a conceptual framework for narrating the historical

expansion of knowledge enterprise from the first few modern Western

universities to a vast global network of knowledge production and dissemination.

Knowledge, for the purpose of this project, is practically narrowed to the output

from the academic community. It does not include the folk "knowledge" of lay

people, journalist stories circulated on media, web content, the scattered data

compiled by various social agencies and so on—unless they were transcribed

into a scholarly text or came from scholarly sources. I adopt the imaginary of

network to acknowledge the multiple (not just the "inter-national") level of social

entities and relations embodied in this system. Therefore, its node could be a

country if national settings and policies are concerned, a city in the geographical

network of transportation, a university or a department in the institutional

network, a publisher, a database service, a website, or even a single scholar in the

interpersonal network in academia. The links between nodes represent a flow of

knowledge in numerous possible forms— for example the transport of physical

media (e.g. books, journals), translations between languages, personnel

migration (international students, visiting staff, conferences or guest 'talks'),

publication submission, or citation. Above all, the term "world system" retains

emphases on the relevancy of history in social inquiry, on the interdisciplinary

approach to transcend the conventional division of social sciences, and on the

concern of the core-peripheral inequality and its reproduction.

This framework will serve as a background imaginary in which the research

questions throughout the dissertation will be anchored. The particular analyses

to be delivered in these chapters, therefore, shall be seen as attempts to assemble

the overall picture of the historical formation, structural outlook, and social

mechanisms of this system. However, as Wallerstein acknowledged, macro

concepts like the world system are extremely difficult to verify in rigid,

quantifiable manner. Similarly, I have no intention of translating this background

heuristic device into quantitative indicators in a systematic way in this project.

1.5 Colonial Modernity and Asian Sociology

The above sections defined sociology as a subject matter, outlined various

meta-analyses of Asian social sciences after a review of the sociology of

knowledge, and proposed the "word system of knowledge network" as an

over-arching conceptual imagery. A pivotal theme that penetrates the three

layers of discourse, as I shall discuss in this section, is "modernity."

1.5.1 Modernity and Sociology

Modernity (the character of the modern society) was clarified by Giddens (1998,

94) by offering three characterisations: (1) A certain set of attitudes towards the

world as open to transformation by human intervention; (2) a complex of

economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3)

a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass

democracy. The three themes can be traced back respectively to the

Enlightenment and scientific revolution, the industrial revolution, and the French

(democratic) revolutions. The idea of modernity presumed a rupture of the

"modern European" from the earlier era, and its distinction from the pre-modern

societies in Asia and Africa (Bhambra 2007).

The historical emergence of sociology has, since the start, intertwined with the

development of modernity. On the one hand, sociology took modernity as its

primary subject of inquiry. The initiation of the new discipline was driven by the

tremendous social transformation following the "dual revolutions" (the industrial

French) (Giddens 1982). The major themes include various facets of the

emerging "modern society"— for example industrialization, capitalism expansion,

urbanization, the rise of large institutions and the nation state. On the other hand,

sociology is itself a manifestation of modernity. The intellectual enterprise is

sustained within the modern institutions of universities with government

funding. It aims to make sense of, and exert control over, modern society in a

rational way. The faith in rationality and attitudes to exert human knowledge to

intervene in the social, and the reliance on large institutional and on national

fiscal systems all bear the gene of modernity.

1.5.2 Colonial Modernity and Asian Social Sciences

The emergence of modernity was closely tied up to colonialism in several ways

(Bhambra 2007). First, the presumed distinction between the modernized

Europe and the rest of the world which was pre-modern created a perception of

European mandate that legitimized the projection of colonial power. Second, to a

large extent the more sophisticated achievement of European modernity was

made possible by the material resources harvested from the exploitive trading

system created by the colonial expansion. Third, the colonial powers exemplified

a version of modernity through the demonstration of their technological

capability, military power, and the material affluence brought by industrial

production to the Third World. They introduced various modern institutions in

the territories directly under the colonial control, and inspired the post-colonial

modernization projects pursued in many Asian countries.

The version of modernity developed in such a context, however, should not be

seen as a mere reproduction of Western modernity. First, the colonial

administration never transplanted the entire political, legal and educational

system from their home country to the colonies. Instead they selectively adopted

a combination of elements that best secured the colonial interest. Second, in

many parts of the colonized world, the encounters with Westerners created a

psychological complex that combined agony from exploitation and slavery, envy

for Western power backed by modern technologies, and anxiety over losing

traditional culture, values and identity. This complex lived on into the

post-colonial era and formed the axis of debate about the modernity project

pursued by many post-colonial countries. Therefore, I have adopted the term

"colonial modernity" (Barlow 1993) to recapture the unique trajectory of

modernization that was framed by both the "filter effect" under colonial rule and

the constant presence of anti-imperialist and nationalist sentiment.

The interconnection between modernity and the emergence of sociology invites

further examination into the connection between the form of colonial modernity

and the formation of sociology in the respective countries. This aim is a return to

the themes discussed in the previous two sections. The theoretical diagnosis of

the state of Asian social sciences outlined in Sec 1.3 could be seen as a

manifestation of discontent with the modern social scientific discourses of

Western origin. This discontent mirrored the ambivalence of Western modernity

in a wider context. To a greater or lesser extent, these diagnoses left their mark

on the later trajectory of domestic scholarship. The *world system of knowledge*

network (Sec 1.4) was so conceived to depict the historical expansion of a

modern knowledge network from Europe to its colonies. The conceptual

framework invites an analysis of various transnational structural dynamics in

this process. Such structural dynamics also frames the development of domestic

scholarship. To be more specific, the framework drew attention to the following

colonial-related themes:

(1) The production and dissemination of sociological knowledge about the

colonial territories and subjects by scholars who were either associated with,

or were supported by the colonial administrations.

(2) The colonial installation of knowledge intensive institutions (e.g. higher

educational institutions, libraries and academic societies) and its legacies for

both the structure of higher education and intellectual horizons.

(3) The hierarchical structure of knowledge flowing between the colonial core

and peripheries.

(4) The colonial geopolitics and their impact on the production and flow of

knowledge.

(5) The colonial network and the post-colonial patterns of knowledge flow (e.g.

the scholar/student migration, submission to foreign publisher or journal).

The following chapters will demonstrate how these themes affect the

development of sociology in the three cases examined.

1.5.3 Four Principal Powers in East Asia

Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore all emerged in modern history as strategic

nodes on the map of confrontation between the various imperial powers

competing in this region. Their modernization was initiated by external

colonizers, and, even after the decolonization of Taiwan and Singapore, continued

on a path constantly shaped by the shifting balance and relationships between

these regional powers. There were four principal forces that played significant

roles in regional history and these were. First, China has historically been the

source of migration and cultural influence in the region. Second, the European

colonial powers (Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and in particular the British) came

through the Melaka Strait since the 17th century. Third, Japan, the first

modernized power in East Asia, rose in late 19th century. Fourth, the United

States, the hegemony merged in the Pacific region in the 20th century. The short

"historical portrait" in Introduction suggests that all three places had some sort

of encounter with the four imperial forces. Table 1-2 summarised these

encounters. Different shading is used to indicate my subjective evaluation of the

relative significance (duration and mode of impact) of the influence.

Imperial Force	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Chinese Empire and the Circle of Confucian Culture	Chinese Migrant 16thC onward Qing Empire 1683-1895 Republic of China, 1945-	Historical Territory of Chinese Empire Chinese Migrant HKSAR, PRC '97-	Chinese Migrant Labour, 19th C-
Japanese East Asia circle of Co-Prosperity	Japanese Colony 1895-1945	Japanese Occupation, 1942-45	Japanese Occupation in 1942-45
Post-War US Hegemony	American Ally against the Communist China	American Hegemony	American Hegemony
European Colonial Powers	Dutch and Spanish Settlements in 17th C	British colony 1842-1997	British colony 1819-1959

Table 1-2, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore: Historical Encounter with Four Imperial Forces

Summary

This chapter reviews a series of theoretical "maps" relevant to the study. To

define the subject matter, I first accepted sociology as a *historical entity* by

allowing anything that had been claimed as part of the discipline into the horizon.

For empirical research, I operationally defined my scope of investigation in

institutional terms to focus on a core circle of sociologists. This inquiry was

anchored within the tradition of the sociology of knowledge. I reviewed the

German origin, reorientation in the United States and various post-1960s

legacies of the sociology of knowledge; but I also noted its ignorance of

geographical dimension of knowledge, in particular the power relation between

the former colonial powers and their colonies. Various approaches of theorising

the state of social science in Asia (Alatas 2006: Ch2) were subsequently reviewed

but were considered limited by their built-in dualistic image of East-West

dichotomy. To address the theoretical shortage, I borrowed from Wallertein

(1974), Castell (1996) and Altbach (1987) to propose a "world system of

knowledge network" as an overarching theoretical frame to place my inquiry. The

framework retains the Wallerstinian emphases on history in social inquiry, on an

interdisciplinary approach, and on a concern of the core-peripheral inequality;

but it avoids a state-centric approach and acknowledges the multiple levels of

social entities and relations embodied in the system. The concept "modernity"

was in the end introduced as a pivotal theme, relating the project about Asian

sociology to the forms of colonial modernity in the region.

Ch2. Methodological Note

This methodological chapter outlines the research design and describe the

methods employed of data collection. It elaborates the methodological rationales

and limitations and reflects upon the ethical dimension. The conventional

practice of its writing is to deliver a neatly-organized "design" with clearly

defined objectives and procedures to defend the scientific rigor and disciplinary

identity of the project. This practice however tends to present the research as a

well-controlled process that follows a pre-determined blueprint, and therefore

downplays (if not conceals) the expected frustrations, inevitable compromises,

and decisions of reorientation in the actual course of research. This is what I shall

avoid. In fact, one characteristic of this project was my constant doubt of whether

I, still a trainee in this profession, was suitable for undertaking such a task that

involved researching many senior colleagues. The precarious researcher- subject

power relation proved challenging. Hence in the following sections, I will

incorporate a more personal perspective to dialectically reflect upon my

positionality in this project and restore a historical dimension of the research

process to acknowledge how the blueprint has been revised towards a more

feasible proposition. This chapter proceeds with a discussion of the "comparative

design" and the "historical turn" (an extension in time scale to bring more history into analysis) of the project. The methods employed will be reviewed in detail in Sec 2.2, followed by an account of ontological and epistemological issues in the next section. Two ethical particularities will be elaborated upon in Sec 2.4 and 2.5: the researcher- informant power relation and the issue of confidentiality.

2.1 Research Design

2.1.1 Comparative Design

Comparison is essential to any intellectual attempt to construct analytical explanations of things. Comparison could take place between entities at any level, distinguished by any conceptual dimension; and wherever we compare, this mental operation always highlights aspects of variation, shows their potential association with other factors and suggests directions for possible casual explanation that leads to the refinement of a theoretical framework. The comparison of outcomes at the collective level, however, shall not be taken as sufficient proof of a suspected causal connection. Instead I agree that a proper casual explanation should have a micro foundation. The goal to compare sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore aims to provide more analytical

leverage than simply studying one case. The three cases were chosen, as

discussed in the introduction, because the combination presents a delicate

mixture of similarities and contrasts that seems promising for more

sophisticated forms of comparative analysis.

2.1.2 The Historical Turn

The project started with a relatively humble idea of comparing the attitude and

activities of sociologists in the three places. However, having spent some time in

the three fields for the first round, I soon realized that many of the observed

patterns can never be adequately understood if the analysis is not grounded in

more historical depth. After an initial survey of the material collected, I was

convinced that this project should at least trace the trajectories of sociology back

to its initial introduction as an institutionalized discipline in the 1950s-60s. This

judgment marks a "historical turn" in the course of research.

The reorientation brought this project closer to the tradition of *historical*

sociology, which tends to reward its practitioners with the intellectual delight of

having a broader picture but troubles them with three methodological challenges:

First, Goldthorpe (2000, 44) once warned that the researcher committed to

historical sociology must "get ready for a harder life"— because such research is typically conducted, as historian Jerome Clubb (1980, 20) put it, "below the data poverty line." This project is no exception. Although compared with other projects that purely rely on historical relic, I have the edge of being able to interview many who participated in, or witnessed the part of history that I am most concerned with; I often faced an insufficiency of evidence in verifying some tentative hypotheses emerging from the research.

Second, practitioners of historical sociology are particularly troubled by the tension between historical interest that pays attention to details with an aim to interpret the unique, and the sociological interest that works with theoretical categories with an aim to discover the typical. Barrington Moore, for instance, acknowledged "a strong tension between the demand of doing justice to the explanation of a particular case and the search for generalizations" in his classical work of historical sociology (Moore 1967, xvii). This conceptual distinction can be traced back to the 19th century German *methodenstreit* which marked the emergence of the Austrian school of economics as a "nomothetic" discipline against the erstwhile prevalent, "idiographic", historical school. This distinction between social science and history was shared by many earlier

developers of sociology (Mclaughlin, IC 1926), and was recently defended by Goldthorpe (2000, Ch2). On the other hand, the rise of historical sociology in the 1960s-1970s represented discontent with this conventional stance. Wallerstein (1991) called for rethinking of the division of social sciences and history inherited from the 19th century and sought a more holistic approach. In the UK, both Phillip Abrams (1982) and Anthony Giddens (1979, 230) considered history and sociology indivisible. While I agree that history and sociology could be conceptually distinguished in terms of their emphasis, this project still takes a more integrated approach. It was possible to calibrate the project to make it more 'sociological' (or historical), but that would not have answered my initial questions that were associated more with my personal confusion than any disciplinary agenda. In practice, I found an adequate response required a constant, dialectical journey between historical details and conceptual abstractions.

The third challenge faced by most macro-comparative historical analysis was "scientific validity" or causality. Goldthorpe (2000, Ch2), for instance, challenged the "link… between evidence and argument" presented in many recent "grand historical sociology" as "*tenuous* and *arbitrary* to a quite unacceptable degree"

(p39, italic original). By "grand historical sociology", he was referring to the batch

of works emerging in 1970s, such as those advanced by Moore (1967),

Wallerstein (1974), Skocpol (1979), Anderson (1974) and Mann (1986). I agree

with Goldthorpe that some arguments presented in many macro-sociological

works might not have been sufficiently supported by evidence. However, if the

strict criteria for scientific validity for any argument were to be required from

every piece of work, we would have little choice but to confine ourselves to

smaller-scale projects, with better access to data and perhaps with more relevant

literature around to support the necessary logical claims. In other words, we

would be discouraged from adventuring into fields of less readily-available data

and literature, from attempting to answer questions of a larger scale, and from

providing risky but thought-provoking theses. The current project is not as broad

as those works cited above, but I was often troubled by the unavailability of

critical data or literature needed to complete the desired comparison. The

analysis delivered in this dissertation, therefore, might not always meet the most

rigorous standard for scientifically-proven knowledge. Rather it will be a mixture

of confirmed facts, evidence-supported explanations, interpretation, and

abstracted imaginaries— basically knowledge of the best possible degree of

confidence to complete a picture.

2.2 Research Methods

This project employed a multi-strategy design (Bryman 2001) that sought to

assemble the whole picture by integrating qualitative and quantitative materials

collected via a variety of approaches, during visits to Taiwan, Hong Kong and

Singapore between March 2008 and March 2010. The research methods

employed include (1) literature and archival studies, (2) demographic profiling,

(3) bibliographic analysis, and (4) semi-structured interviews with sociologists.

Some less formal talks and participatory observation during my research visits

were also used as source of supplementary insight. A questionnaire was

considered but abandoned because the small population of sociologists and the

questionable response rate made the chance to yield meaningful data not

particularly high. I will describe the employed methods in this section, and

elaborate the underlying epistemological and ontological views in Sec 2.3.

2.2.1 Literature and Documentary Material

The inquiry started with a review of what has already been written about the

historical development of sociology in the three Asian societies. Aside from those

texts accessible in libraries, I was indebted to many senior colleagues who helped

me locate some less obvious material (e.g. conference papers and class handouts)

during my research visits. The availability of relevant literature in the three

places varied. This variation itself was analysed as an indication of what I

conceptualize as "domestic disciplinary identity" (Ch4). To reconstruct a more

symmetric historical picture, the literature from three cases were contrasted to

identify what was missing from the account of particular cases, and to point to

where specific information shall be sought via alternative sources (such as

interviews and archives). The texts were read critically to distinguish the factual

accounts and the narratives bounded to the particular historical context in which

they were produced.

Official publications from major universities[1] and the regulating government

authorities[2] were subsequently surveyed to reconstruct the major transitions in

the institutional setting in which sociology had been developed. Special attention

was paid to the change in institutional structure (e.g. the emergence of new

departments or research centres), major projects, visits from distinguished

sociologists, significant academic events, initiatives in academic management (e.g.

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[1] The attention was focus on the four leading institutions (all has a sociology department), namely National Taiwan University, National Singapore University, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong University. The private Tunghai University (Taiwan) is also a centre of sociology but its institutional publication was less complete.

[2] For example, National Science Council and Ministry of Education in Taiwan, University Grant Council in Hong Kong, and Ministry of Education in Singapore.

evaluation and funding), and the associated discourses accompanying these. As a

source of supplementary data, I occasionally consulted press archives to

familiarise myself with discursive climate of a particular time.

2.2.2 Demographic Datasets

This research also involved the generation of various sociologist datasets, which

provided the basis for both informant selection and some demographic analysis.

There were multiple ways in which the boundaries for inclusion could have been

theoretically drawn. One could have decided to define the scope by institutional

affiliation or by the qualifications (advanced degree in sociology) held by

participants. But in practice the dataset created was restricted by data availability.

To begin with, I try to focus on the "core circle" of sociologists defined primarily

by institutional affiliation. I compiled a list of all full-time members of the

sociology departments and institutes based on their institutional website. In the

case of Hong Kong, I included sociology PhD holders in the various departments

of (applied) social sciences because this subgroup includes several leading

members in the Hong Kong Sociological Association. The dataset (*Dataset CCS*,

core circle sociologist), compiled in 2008, included 134 names in Taiwan[1], 80 in

Hong Kong[2] and 40 in Singapore[3]. The data set contained columns of key

bibliographic data (such as name, gender, title, country of PhD training, year of

graduation and specialisms) but its completeness was restricted by the

inconsistent format of staff profiles across department websites. Nonetheless, it

was useful in constructing a stratified selection of informants and generating

descriptive statistics of the general demographic patterns and trends of the

sociology community studied. The limited sizes made most advanced statistical

techniques not applicable. While I had no way of compiling a list of sociology PhD

holders in Hong Kong and Singapore, for the Taiwan part, I was indebted to Prof.

Hei-yuan Chu (瞿海源) who generously shared a dataset he compiled in 2007

with a survey completed and returned by 329 (almost all) sociology PhD holders

in Taiwanese academia[4] (*Dataset CHU*). The two datasets both excluded those

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[1] This list include the faculty members of the ten sociology department or institute in National
Taipei University, Tunghai University, National Taiwan University, Catholic Fujen University,
National Cheng-Chi University, Soochow University, Academia Sinica, Tsinghua University,
Nanhua University, Fo-Guan University. The later founded National Sun-Yat-Sen University was
not included then.
[2] The list not only included the staff members of four sociology department (CUHK, HKU, HKBU,
Shu-Yen University) in Hong Kong, but also the sociology PhD holders in the Dept. of Politics and
Sociology (later renamed Sociology and Social Policy) in Lingnan, the Department of Applied
Social Sciences in HKPU, the Division of Social Sciences in HKUST. However I was not able to
count in the Hong Kong City University because the staff webpage did not specify their field of
specialization.
[3] Institutions included are the Department of Sociology in NUS and Nangyang Technology
University.
[4] Chu's dataset expanded the scope to sociologists employed in other institutions (e.g. education,

who had retired or left. While there was no archive from which I could map the

historical demography of the sociologist community, I was able to reconstruct the

staffing dataset for the sociology departments in four leading universities in the

region— the National Taiwan University, Hong Kong University, Chinese

University of Hong Kong, and National Singapore University[1] (*Dataset SLD*, staff

of leading departments). This data base will be used to demonstrate the "flow of

expertise" in different (in particularly the earliest) stage of the development of

sociology (Ch3), the discussion of the "cohort structure" of sociologists and its

implications (Ch3-4), and in the assessment of the impact of higher education

managerialism and academic globalism (Ch7).

2.2.3 Bibliographic Analysis

Compared with the demographic patterns of the sociology community that were

studied, the pattern of their output is far more difficult to picture. There was no

ready compiled bibliography or database that reflected the overall output of the

labour, media studies, general education centres), provided more bibliographic details
(institution and year of the first and master degrees) for those surveyed but excluded the
non-sociology PhD holder employed in sociology department.
[1] Data obtained from the Annual Report'70 of Univ. of Singapore, the General Information'81-'00
(with '89, '90 missing) and Bulletin'05 of (The) National University of Singapore, the
Prospectus'74, General Information'75-;84 (with missing years), Handbook'86-;98 (with '95-;97
missing) and the website ('06-) of its Sociology Dept, the Calendar of Hong Kong Univ.'67-'09, the
Handbook of the General Information'64 and Calendar '65-'00 of Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong, and
the Staff Address Book of the National Taiwan University'60-'08.

sociologists in any of the three places; hence I had to draw evidence from a variety of sources. (1) The most convenient source of data was the commercial citation index service such as the Social Science Citation Index (SSCI). The dataset enable me to search for articles published on its listed journals by the combination of various indicators. However, it was of very limited use in accessing the outputs of the sociological communities. First, obviously, the database only includes a small fraction of published journals, let alone publication in other formats (e.g. books). Second, the closest I could get to approximate the output by sociologists of a particular country was to search for articles published on "sociology" in journals by author(s) with an address there. Note that the two domains do not really match— a sociologist could be publishing in journals in the areas of management, education or other fields and an article published in sociology journal could equally be written by a scholar from a neighbouring discipline.   (2) The publication list provided in department publications or websites are of varied criteria and length. These inconsistent inclusion criteria made both intra-institutional comparison and data merging extremely tricky, leaving only chronological or inter-cohort comparisons within the same institution more sensible. Analysis based on this sort of data is inevitably restricted to the leading institutions which tend to make their research

outputs more accessible, and which are not generalizable to all institutions. (3)

The domestic publication platforms of sociology. These include various

sociological journals, working paper series, and domestic publishers involved in

publishing books on sociology[1]. Material of this sort shows, first, the general

pattern and trends (of the research topic and method) on these publication

platforms, and second, the strength of domestic publications (in relation to

publishing elsewhere). (4) The various topical essays or bibliographies produced

by domestic scholars to review their collective output. The material is valuable in

their digested representation of domestic research traditions and the

identification of the key studies and figures in topical areas. Finally, a few less

systematic surveys were also attempted on various newspaper archives to access

the public exposure of sociologists in newspaper.

2.2.4 Interviews

While I rely on literature and documentary materials to outline the historical

trajectory of sociology, and use various demographic and bibliographic dataset to

sketch some structural patterns, it was the interview that filled the canvas with

colours and details, with narratives and meanings. Interview is a process of

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[1] See Sec 5.1-5.4

purposive conversation with people who could *inform* the researcher with the

particular knowledge they possess. Its format could be distinguished by its level

of structural rigidity. A structured interview (e.g. in an interview survey)

produces standardized data that is easy to compare and process at the expense of

flexibility. A non-structured interview gives the researcher freedom to explore

but increases the difficulty in data analysis. A semi-structured interview lies in

between, making compromise between the advantages of the two extremes.

In this project, I conducted 71 semi-structured interviews with 59 informants

which led to more than 150 hours of recording. "Semi-structured" mean the use

of an interview guideline consisting of major themes (Appendix A) while in

actual interviews allowing a high degree of flexibility and open ends. The

informants include 56 academic sociologists (24 in Taiwan, 21 in Hong Kong, 11

in Singapore) stratified by their affiliation, seniority, country of PhD training and

gender (see Appendix B). Also interviewed were a Taiwanese publisher, an

education researcher in Hong Kong, and a Singaporean humanities scholar. The

selected informants in each place included at least a few academic

administrators and journal editors. Where there is a significant presence of

foreign expatriates (in Hong Kong and Singapore), I ensured a fair representation.

The selection of informants sought to reflect the widest range of possible

attitudes and interpretation, so I also tried to reach people known for their

oppositional views on contested issues.

Approaching prospective informants was not straightforward initially. I started

my field work in Hong Kong in 2008, and of the first batch of ten interview

requests I sent I only received two replies— both sympathetic rejections as they

happened to be away during the period of my visit. Luckily, in both places, I soon

succeeded in securing some appointments by showing up at some academic

events and approaching the targeted scholars in person. A similarly low rate of

response was observed in my first visit to Singapore, and it was not solved until

my second visit as a visiting researcher affiliated to NUS. This sense of apathy

perceived initially might be attributed to the fact that I was too junior and

unheard of for those established sociologists to seriously consider sparing

some time in their tight schedule. Also some informants suggested that potential

controversies in such a project might have deterred some.

The obstacle to access was gradually mitigated through strategies that enhanced

the informants' sense of familiarity with me— for instance, physically meeting up,

affiliation with local institutions, and writing more personalized emails. As I

spent more time in the field, a number of informants accepted my request

because they had already learned about my project from their colleagues.

Nonetheless, I encountered a few upfront rejections either because the

respondent considered his/her position too sensitive, or they challenged the

feasibility and merit of this project[1].

The interviews, in general, proceeded in three stages. The first is a initializing

stage that I sometimes described as a *pre-interview viva*, in which those

professional sociologists questioned (even challenged) my research aims,

rationale, methodology, choice of informants, and even political implications as if

they were evaluating   the extent to which I was qualified for this project. Having

the interview contextualized in those professional terms meant we could move

into the second stage of *informative talk*. This is a stage whereby the informants

were invited to talk reflexively about their intellectual trajectory, their memories

of earlier academic climates and events, and their experiences as professional

sociologists in a particular country and institution. Gradually and inevitably, we

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[1] One rejection described this 'sociology of sociology' type of inquiry as 'navel-gazing.'

would come to a number of contested issues (e.g. major intellectual debate, roles

of sociologists, academic evaluation and politics) and a third stage of *critical*

dialogue that is characterised by a more engaging style of conversation with

some mild confrontation. The trick of the last stage is the delicate balance

between inviting deeper elaboration and running the risk of being offensive.

This tricky balance at this stage of critical dialogue and the perception of the

pre-interview viva alongside some initial difficulty in approaching prospective

informants concerned one characteristic of this project: the power relation

between the researcher and the researched. I will discuss the issue in Sec 2.4.

2.3 Ontological and Epistemological Note

The views represented in the interviews were inevitably contradictory. "How

would you deal with the sharply different views, academically and privately?"

asked a professor who declined to be interviewed[1]. To address this issue, I shall

clarify how I approached the empirical material epistemologically. This entailed

the need to state my ontological stance on the nature of society.

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[1] Correspondence on 28, April, 2008.

The core feature that sets social studies apart from the natural sciences was that everything we analysed as "social", no matter how *objective* they seem to be (e.g. the demographic structure, GDP, voting pattern, or urban layout), all involved decisions made by numerous human agents and therefore these were not free from their *subjective* beliefs, values, memories, emotions, anticipation intention and all other mental constructions. This characterisation embodies two conceptual dimensions central to intellectual debates about the ontological nature of, and the epistemological approach to, the social world: objective-subjective, and structure-agents.

2.3.1 The Objective-Subjective Dimension

The first dimension divided the two broad epistemological camps in contemporary social science; namely the orthodox *positivistic* social scientists and the followers of the *interpretive* tradition. The first camp tends to focus on structure and patterns of the objective side of social realms, and they apply a similar approach to the subjective side— often by taking snapshots of the subject's mental world to *objectify* the subjective sceneries though means of survey or structured interviews. Society, in its imaginary, is a relatively static and objective *reality* existing independent of our knowledge of it, and what the

researcher is supposed to do, just like their colleagues operating with natural

subjects, is to accurately describe and explain the social world with rigorous

methods[1]. The various paradigms broadly grouped as the *interpretive* tradition,

on the other hand, were more concerned with the subjective meanings social

agents associated with the perceived social realm and social actions. They

portrayed the social world in this tradition as being composed of phenomena

constantly accomplished by its actors, and hence embodying their subjective

perceptions, memories, knowledge, anticipation and various mental

constructions that are of richer texture and greater fluidity. This is an ontological

stance now often called *social constructivism[2].* The extreme versions of

constructivism could go as far as to claim everything in the observable world was

nothing but "text" or "discourse" (e.g. Derrida, Potter). Both traditions, in my

view, only deal with one side of the totality of the social world. I am discontented

with orthodox positivistic sociology because it is inclined to tell little about the

reported patterns of observation, overstating objective certainty and necessity,

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[1] Some authors (e.g. Bryman) describe this ontological stance as *realism*, overlooking the contradiction between the epistemological ground of positivism— *empiricism* (reducing reality to what you can empirically observe, a stance promoted by Hume), and the full implication the term *realism* could mean (there is a reality even if you can't see it). I shall call this ontological stance *shallow realism,* to be distinguished from the deeper forms of realism, e.g. *critical realism* elaborated by Bhaskar (1978) and Archer (2010)*.*
[2] This term shows their affinity to Berger and Luckmann.

and downplaying the fluidity of social phenomenon. But I remain positive about various methods developed in this tradition as the structural patterns at the aggregate level often have certain stability and "inertia" to individual wills that allows them to be studied as a "natural thing". I equally disagree with the extreme forms of constructivism because of their rejection of any common ground of reality, which I believe still holds at least in the physical and material layer. But I consider the interpretative approaches a necessary component in making our social understanding complete. Therefore, the two approaches should be seen as complementary, not contradictory, in forming a complete understanding of our interested topics.

2.3.2 Structure-Agent

Debates around the second dimension focused on the interdependence between structure and agents from two opposite directions, which can be summarised in two interrelated questions: (1) the "ontological/methodological question" of whether the structure is reducible to the sum of the individual, and (2) the "philosophy of history question" of how much agency individuals really have against structural determinants and constraints.

The first question penetrates the debate between *individualism* and *collectivism/ holism* (O'Neill 1973). The first stance sees the conscious individual as the "ultimate constituent of the social world," and considers every complex social institution and event as the "result of a particular configuration of individuals, their dispositions, situations, beliefs and physical resources and environment." The second stance, by contrast, believes the existence of certain "macro-laws which are essentially sociological in the sense that they are *sui generis* and not to be explained as mere regularities or tendencies resulting from the behaviour or interacting individuals" (Watkins 1957, 106).

I have in the Introduction (of "levels of analytical categories") stressed that the social analysis I seek should incorporate an understanding at the micro level, but I have also rejected extreme form of methodological individualism that assert any social analysis should be based on individual mechanism. This stance should be further unpacked by making three points. First, ontologically, I consider individual actors as the building element of the social world, and therefore should not be excluded from the analysis of the later. However, when a collective is being constituted by individuals, certain structural patterns not reducible to the properties of the individuals *emerge* (Archer 1995; Wan 2011). Second, even

for social aspects that can be reducible to individual dispositions, thought and

action, it is often *cognitively economical* to deal with aggregate categories rather

than handling the massive data obtained from the individual level. Third, as

discussed in Introduction, the data at the individual level is not always available,

particularly in a comparative historical project.

The second question could be illustrated by Karl Marx's comparison of the

historical writings of Victor Hugo and Proudhon about coup d'etat (overthrow of

the government) by Napoleon. Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le Petit*, commented on by

Marx, saw in the incident "only the violent act of a single individual… makes this

individual great instead of little by ascribing to him a personal power of initiative

unparalleled in world history." Poudhon's writing, on the other hand, "seeks to

represent the coup d'etat as the result of an antecedent historical development…

falls into the error of our so-called objective historians[1]." Marx argued that "men

make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make

it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already,

[1] Marx, 1869 Preface to the Second Edition, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.* http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/preface.htm

given and transmitted from the past.[1]" Marx in his writings, however, switches

between ascribing the primary drive of historical change to the objective relation

of production (structure), on the one hand, and to class struggle (agency), on the

other hand (Anderson, P 1983). How much agency men and women really have

in making history in the given circumstance thus became a central issue of

debate in Marxism— for instance between the French structuralist Marxist Louis

Althusser (1970) who asserted history as "a process without a subject" and his

major critic E. P. Thompson (1978).

The issue of agency was important in this project and was of both sociological

and historical interest. At its sociological front, I aimed to analyse the structural

framing of sociology in the three cases. At its historical front, I tried not to

dismiss the individual who casts lasting impacts. I responded to this dilemma,

drawing from the structuration theory by Giddens (1984), by examining (1) how

these individuals were *restricted* and *enabled* by structural factors, and (2) how

their actions constitute the new structure that conditioned later actions. This

approach sees structure and action as both constitutional to each other, therefore

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[1] Marx, 1852, Ch1, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte.*
http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm

resolving the tension in prioritizing them. But I also agree with Archer (1995)

that structure and agency remain ontologically and analytically distinguishable.

2.3.3 Layers of Reality

In this project, I conceptualize the social world as consisting of four layers of

ontological existence. I will start from the "perceived reality" in the psychological

realm of individual agents, through the layer of "socially constructed reality" by

agreement and "performed reality" of actions, to the "materialized reality" in the

physical world. This sequence of elaboration might sound like an individual

reductionist, but I found in each layer new properties emerging that are not

reducible to simple aggregation at a lower layer. The epistemological implication

of this four-layer framework will be discussed later. The four layers are

illustrated as follow:

Perceived reality is whatever is thought to be true at the individual level. It might

be a faithful, biased, or illusionary representation of the world, of other

individuals or of the thinker. There could be, therefore, multiple perceived

"realities" referring to one particular theme. This layer includes memory,

impression, belief, consciousness, thought or misconception— categories that

might have been excluded from legitimate subjects for social inquiry in some

doctrines (better to be studied in psychology). Nonetheless, perceived reality has

real consequences for the social action that individuals take; hence it should not

be left out from the analysis.

The *socially-constructed reality* emerged when two or more individual agents

form some sort of agreement about what they perceive to be real. Such consensus

could be formed among different sizes of populations and via a variety of media

that lead to different levels of *certainty*. I differentiate this sort of reality

according to the "size of population (scale of unit)" involved, which ranges from

interpersonal, community or group, to societal level, and the "mode of bounding"

(type of media) that ranges from implicit, oral, written to formal/legal, as shown

in Table 2-1.

	Constructed Reality			
	Implicit	Oral	Written	Formal, Legal
Society-Scale	Norm, Cultural Codes	Rumour, Oral Heritage	News Literature	Law Credit System
Group Community	Group Norm	Gossip	Group Statement	Regulation
Interpersonal	Implicit Understanding	Oral Consensus	Written Agreement	Contract

Table 2-1. Modes of Constructed Reality

This layer is where *the* reality most constructionists discuss falls within (e.g.

Berger and Luckmann). Emerging on the basis of agreement, those forms of

reality are essentially a *calibrated* form of the perceived reality, and hence never

free from illusion, bias and fluidity. The subtypes on the right end of the table are

formulated in a more sophisticated political process and they possess more

stability, rigidity and bounding capacity that come closer to a form of objective

reality. The "social reality" elaborated upon by Searles (1995) is located here.

Note that whilst this table contains "rumour, statement, contract, law, and news,"

it was the articulated "content" that falls within the category, whilst the act of

rumour and the various physical documents belong to the next two layers.

The layer of *performed* reality refers to social actions, for instance the behaviours

of speaking, dating, shopping, voting and traveling. Those actions shall be

distinguished from the (individual or collective) material consequence they

entail, which fall into the fourth layer. The *materialized* reality includes the

product of labour, the disappearance of consumed food, a house or a baby, and at

the collective level, the industrial infrastructure, the commodities chain, the

urban layout, and changing demography. The last two layers were distinguished

from the first two as they both refer to "seemingly objective" phenomena in the

physical world— either energy released in a particular way (performed actions) or material consequences. In contrast, the first two layers involve subjective construction in the *mental world*, though the concrete cases at the second layer were formed through the mediation of their symbolic representation in either acoustic or printed format.

The four layers interact with each other in various ways, some of which are summarised in Table 2-2. The multiple relations among the four layers of reality reject any form of one-way reductionism or determinism. Each of the four layers have some ontological uniqueness, and none of them can be reduced to a function of another. A common belief, for instance, should be been seen as merely the sum of the perceptions of groups of individuals because this perspective overlooks the "mode of bounding" (type of medium) and the strength of certainty in collective thought. A social action, while naturally reflecting the perception and thoughts of the actors, is also conditioned by physical rules and material factors such as available resources and technology. The material reality of the social world is shaped by human activities, but in a way that is dependent on the natural order such as geography and ecology.

Layers	Description of relation
1→2	Consensus forms through mediated communication
2→1	Collective thought socialize individual mentality
1→3	Perceived reality motivate action
2→3	Collective thought frames patterns of social action
3→4	Activities cause material consequences
4→3	The material circumstance conditions the possibility of action
4, 3→1, 2	Individual perception/ collective knowledge about social actions and material world

Table 2-2 Layers of Social Reality: Inter-layer Interaction

2.3.4 Epistemological and Methodological Implications

The ontological view implies an epistemological stance that is characterised by the recognition of the need for multiple forms of knowledge about the different layers of social reality. Social patterns that existed in materialized or performed layers, on the one hand, can surely be observed "as objects" and even quantified in ways that conform to the positivistic doctrine. Even the views of social actors could be "objectified" via means of questionnaire or coded interviews. Knowledge generated in this way provides a baseline sketch that we can have some confidence in. However, it does not form a comprehensive picture of the totality of the sociological subject that interests us, which could further be enriched by the understanding of the subjective and versatile perceptions, emotion, (potentially biased) recollection and sense of meaning from the perspectives of the social actors involved. These psychological experiences, given

their ontological nature, can hardly be ascertained in any reproducible methods

that meet the rigid scientific criterion. The best knowledge about them, therefore,

would be an inter-subject understanding obtained via an interpretative approach.

The epistemological stance I subscribed to, in other word, is associated with a

version of *methodological pluralism*.

The distinction between the four ontological layers of social reality also serves as

a reminder of the proper rationale in analysing research material of various

kinds. The interview transcript, to start with, will only be read as a statement of

the perceived reality of the informant, which, if matched with the interview data

obtained from other informants, would be seen as evidence for a sort of

socially-constructed reality. The statement of certain physical fact, if confirmed

by alternative sources of evidence, would be seen as adequate evidence to

establish a statement in the layers of performed or materialized reality.

2.4 Power Relations between Researcher and Informant

Most textbooks that deal with the "power relation in interview" only discuss the

situation of "interviewing down"—that is, interviewing people with less power

than the researcher. Researchers are reminded to be aware of their relative

power and to avoid the abuse of such power. Most sociological studies fit with

this picture of "powerful researcher vs. vulnerable subject" because scholars in

general have a higher social status, and sociology has traditionally been more

concerned about the underprivileged. There were, however, studies produced

with reversed power relations between the researcher and the researched. For

instance, a current of policy research that involved interviews with the political

elite emerged in the 1990s. Methodological elaboration of "interviewing up"

hence followed, such as *Researching the Powerful in Education* edited by Walford

(1994) and the discussions on "elite interviews" (e.g. Richards 1996).

Placed in this context, the current project still has its particularity. I am a doctoral

student in sociology, and the people I interviewed were not just "powerful," but

figures established in the profession I was trying to join. The "informants" are of

the generation of my teachers. They will be the primary reader group if I publish

any work from the project. They hold the power to challenge my writing in

professional venues, and to decide whether my papers submitted to journals are

worthy of publication. They even have a voice on my future employability for

academic vacancies. If I am lucky, they might become my colleagues. The

multiplicity of our possible relations complicated the dynamics of the interview,

during which I often felt the fluidity of our relative roles.

The *evaluative power* the informants have over me was one dimension that I clearly felt throughout the process of research. I encountered a few upfront rejections to my interview request challenging my project even from its basic worth. I had to start most interviews with an initial phase that I called "*pre-interview viva,*". In writing the research, I am also aware that this text will be read by my informants. Some informants even kindly advised me to consider the career risk of carrying out this project. The perceived exposure to such evaluative power was getting so overwhelming at times that I doubted whether I could guard against the *intellectual integrity* of my writing against the fear that I might compromise my career prospect.

Yet gradually, I began to appreciate the unease I felt as a starting point to reflect how privileged we sociologists generally were in most empirical research. We collected "data" from informants and rewrote them in a theoretical context, circulating the outcome with our professional colleagues, and left most informants with little access to, let alone opportunity to challenge, how their accounts were represented and analysed. This privilege assumed two

foundations: the dissociation of a "disinterested" academic circle from the

relevant, concerned, public, and therefore the epistemological privilege of

scholarly discourse when compared with lay knowledge. Here in my research,

both conditions do not exist. The research is about the communities where the

output will be consumed, and I can hardly claim any epistemological superiority

over the informants who are established scholars in the discipline. I realize that

the critical step to cope is to fully recognize the political dimension of my project.

There will be no shield of "for academic purpose only". To do this project is to

engage with the politics. Moreover I am not Pierre Bourdieu (1988) nor Alvin

Gouldner (1970) when they turned their critical mind to our profession. I needed

to rethink what leverage I had when I waded into the minefield of academic

politics.

I came to find my leverage by revisiting a simple question: why were those

established sociologists willing to spare a few hours sharing their experience and

interpretations with a doctoral student? Recalling all the interviews, I concluded

three factors: the benevolence to help, the curiosity as to how other colleagues

responded to my inquiry, and some discontent with the status quo and a

willingness to give a voice. Here I discovered sources of my faith. First, these

sociologists accept interview invitations out of good will, and in general I felt I was trusted and encouraged during most interviews. I believe that they do not want to crush me even if there is a disagreement Second, as the research proceeded, I gradually developed stronger faith in the analytical originality my research could deliver, and I developed a sense of how it could help senior colleagues to see their familiar life with a renewed "sociological imagination" of sociology. And finally, I promised myself that this research should deliver impact to not just scholarly debates, but the public deliberation on professional issues (see Epilogue). I believe this is the only way to answer those who share their discontent and aspirations with me.

The principal faith discussed above enable me to proceed. However, challenges still emerge when it come to some harshly-contested issues. During the interviews, it was not rare to feel pressure to reveal where I stood. The conventional principle of neutrality was not effective as it undermined the sense of trust, nor was it really desirable as a more engaging attitude is often necessary to invite a deeper dialogue. Practically, I sought to reduce the risk of being unnecessarily offensive by placing myself in a "subjunctive" mood (Sennett 2012:22-24) during the interview. I often invited informants to comment on

"accounts from another informant" or "my tentative impression" instead of being declarative of any particular view. In writing, I tried to deliver a discursive space in which oppositional perspectives could be contextualised and accommodated sympathetically— a character I call *transcendental synergy.*

2.5 Confidentiality

The confidentiality of informant privacy sounds like a common sense ground rule in qualitative research— it seemed so self-evident that, before entering the field, I had only considered how confidentiality could be secured without giving much thought to why, and even whether, it shall be regarded as unquestionable. However, my simple faith in this principle was soon challenged by some observations, and I was driven to reflect over the *ethics of confidentiality* against an alternative rationale that I shall call the *ethics of credibility.*

2.5.1 Challenges to Confidentiality

There were three major challenges in securing confidentiality in this project. First, the sociological communities in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore were not three cases that can be examined with anonymity. There is also an embedded interest in their historical particularities, which I believe any sophisticated

analysis should be based on. Such historical interest is also extended to a lower

level of analysis, as particular institutions or individuals might have played a

critical role in the dissemination and development of sociology. Here the

consideration of confidentiality should be balanced with intellectual demand.

Second, the sizes of the sociologist communities are small, making it even trickier

to ensure confidentiality. In Taiwan there are about 340 academic sociologists -

roughly half worked in sociology departments. In Hong Kong the number of

sociologists employed in the four sociology departments and three social science

departments was just above 80. In Singapore there was only one sociology

department until 2005, and now there are two hosting about 40 sociologists.

With a pool of this size, any simple description of one informant, despite being

unnamed, can easily reveal his/her identities. Finally, the research subject in this

project is part of its readership. It can be anticipated that once the work is

published, some reader would inevitably start to guess who the informants were.

2.5.2 Strategies and Cost

Since I promised absolute confidentiality in my initial request for interviews, and

a number of informants explicitly confirmed this principle, I took extra care, both

in fieldwork and in research writing, for its protection. In approaching the

potential informants, for instance, I declined a few kind offers of cross referrals to

other colleagues by some informants, just to ensure that the identity of each

informant was only known to both of us. Special caution was also exercised when

an interview took place in the informant's department. To avoid unnecessary

speculation from other department members, I always look for the informant's

office in advance and returned exactly at the agreed time in order not to be seen

waiting at the door. I also paid attention to the hallway step before leaving their

office in order to minimize uninvited attention. A tricky scenario is the encounter

with informants in academic events, especially in the initial stage of my field

work when I was known to just a few. Despite the natural sense of familiarity

with the informants that I interviewed, it often seemed that none of us were sure

how to properly interact with each other when there were others around. This

perceived tension, luckily, gradually eased in the later stages when I became

known to more academic colleagues.

In writing, confidentiality is not guaranteed by simply removing or replacing

names, but it calls for a careful calculation of how *specific* the descriptions (e.g.

type of institution, functional post, seniority, country of professional training,

views on contested issues, knowledge of specific incident, style of articulation)

associated with one informant, in combination, could be. Citing from "the head of a prestigious sociology department", for instance, in Taiwan narrows the candidates to just a few, in Hong Kong two, and in Singapore one. To lower the risk of confidentiality breaches, in using interview data I opted to follow the *principle of minimal disclosure* — to include only the details judged as necessary for argumentation. This principle can be translated into several writing strategies as follows:

- Shorten, or even avoid direct quotes. Paraphrase the key message with my own words whenever possible.
- Replace descriptors with broader categories (e.g. "senior member" in place of "head" or "professor") whenever necessary
- Dissociate sensitive materials with other quotes from the same informant.
- Down-play the historical details with more abstracted narrative when the only source of data was from an interview.
- Drop accounts of any incident known to just a few people.

These strategies, however, have their cost. The type of rich description seen in many qualitative works is less plausible in this project, which deprived the room for subtler theorisation at the actor-level. The evidence power of data to support my argument is more or less compromised.

2.5.3 Moments of Doubts: The Ethics of Credit

Committed to the principle of confidentiality, however, I had a few moments

during the course of research that I felt doubt. I was first struck by the fact that

not just few informants directly asked who else I had talked to. Once I declined to

answer, they either appeared embarrassed by their initial question, reaffirming

"it should be confidential," or just doubted the feasibility of the rule. These

intuitive responses suggested the deeper contradiction of the confidentiality rule

with human nature in that scenario— the psychological instinct to estimate what

the visitor already knows (who he had talked to), why me, and where the

conversation is located within the scope of research. The second observation was

that a number of informants claimed that they did not mind the issue of

confidentiality. "If you quote from me even without my name, everybody would

know that's me (SG9)." The informant expressed scepticism on the feasibility of

securing confidentiality in the small academic circle, and a sense of pride of

his/her distinctive voice. The third striking observation I made was that, despite

all my efforts to secure confidentiality, in subsequent academic occasions,

numerous informants voluntarily introduced me to other colleagues or students

by mentioning my research and their contribution. This action reflects the

psychological intuition to be straightforward and honest (it is cognitively

demanding to hide), but also, at least in some cases, the voluntary exposure

embodied a psychological need to claim credit.

These moments of doubt drove me to reflect over the very ethics of

confidentiality; in particular, against a competing rationale I called the "ethics of

credit". On the one hand, those informants are fellow scholars who are

accustomed to be credited for what they said and wrote. On the other hand, if I

am allowed to relate the interview accounts to its provider, I can deliver more

credibility in analysis. Can I really take their knowledge to be incorporated it in

my analysis without paying due credit, under the principle of confidentiality?

How close was this behaviour to a form of plagiarism?

Both ethical rationales deal with the connection between knowledge and its

provider, but with very different imaginaries about the consequences if such

connections are revealed. When confidentiality is demanded, we think of

vulnerable informants who are at risk if their connections to the disclosed

accounts are revealed. While granting credit, we think of *creditable authors*

whose intellectual right might be infringed if their ideas were not properly cited.

There was, however, a sense of confusion as to which ethics should be more applicable to my project, as the potential consequences of disclosed identity varied depending on the informant's status and the nature of the accounts provided. Some scholars (especially those in their junior rank) requested an absolute guarantee of confidentiality, while others, as I mentioned previously, voluntarily disclosed their role as interviewees.

I had no choice but to follow the ethics of confidentiality *universally* in this project for three reasons. First, I have promised confidentiality initially, and a number of informants explicitly reconfirmed this principle. Second, given the compact size of the sociological communities and the complex interaction within, there could be some unforeseeable risk of confidentiality breach even for those who did not mind so much about confidentiality. Third, while it is possible to approach confidentiality based on the preference of individual informants, in practice the idea involves a lot of work and there is a risk of mistakes being made. Nonetheless, for the insightful comments that I feel uneasy to quote anonymously, the alternative was to search to find if the same informants expressed a similar idea in any published material. Whereas available, cite it.

Summary

This chapter outlines the research design and justifies its rationale and limitations. Also, it covers a range of ontological, epistemological and ethical issues. The beginning of the chapter focuses on the comparative-historical design of this project. It discusses the use of "comparison" in analysis and assesses three challenges associated with the use of historical data: availability of data, tension between sociological and historical interests, and the "scientific validity" of the theses generated from such a project. The project took a multi-strategy approach. Four methods employed were reviewed: literature and archive research, the demographic analysis, bibliographic analysis and interviews. A note on various ontological and epistemological issues followed, including discussions about the objective/ subjective knowledge and the dialectic between structure and agent. In particular, I elaborated an ontological view characterised by the distinction of four layers of social reality: the perceived, socially-constructed, performed and materialised forms of reality. The ontological view leads to an epistemological stance that recognizes the need for multiple forms of knowledge, which entails a version of methodological pluralism. In the end two particular ethical challenges in this project were considered: the "reversed" researcher-informant power

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relation and the ethics of confidentiality. The vulnerability I perceived in this

project (researching senior sociologists) drove me to reflect on the ordinary

privilege enjoyed by sociologists and to rethink the justification of my inquiry.

Confidentiality was strictly secured in this project, but its necessity was

reconsidered against an alternative rationale I called the "ethics of credibility."

Ch3 Dispersion of Sociology:

Imperial Entanglement and Scholarly Flow

Tracing the origins of sociology means different tasks in Europe and Asia. In

Europe, this task was conventionally pursued by identifying the main intellectual

currents that lead to the formation of the discipline. In Asia, it generally means

locating when and how this discipline was *imported*— usually in terms of key

texts translated into Asian language, sociological courses taught by immigrant

teachers, empirical social investigations by missionaries, anthropologists or

colonial administration, and most critically, the founding of sociology

departments in universities (an introduced form of modern organization)[1]. The

path via which the subject was introduced varies in different places, and tracing

such paths often provides insight to the characteristics and later trajectories of

sociology in a particular place.

This chapter aims to trace the origin of sociological investigation and sociology

knowledge in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore before the institutionalization of

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[1] There were occasional attempts to marshal the domestic intellectual heritages for an *ex post facto* reconstruction of an indigenous history of sociological thoughts, but such work could only emerge *after* the idea of sociology had been properly established.

the discipline. The core argument is that sociology, just like other elements of

modernity, had been introduced to the three Asian societies in ways that were

mediated by their entanglement with the imperial structure in East Asia. Four

major forces were identified as bearing significant influence over the modern

history of this region, and in particular the histories of the three island countries:

China, the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States. Sec 3.1 provides a

succinct review of the transnational dispersion of sociology into the four power

countries in the first half of the 20th century. Sec 3.2 examines evidence for any

sociological investigation and sociology teaching in the three colonies before

WWII, and Sec 3.3 investigates the transnational flow of sociological expertise

and knowledge by tracing three major trends of scholarly migration in 1950s-60s:

the emigration of Chinese sociologists, the British anthropologists with colonial

links, and the surge of American researchers in Taiwan and Hong Kong. In each

section, I shall demonstrate how these observed patterns were interrelated to the

geopolitical context in the region.

3.1 The State of Sociology in the Four Powers

I shall start this chapter with a succinct review of the transnational dispersion of

sociology in the first part of the last century; in particular the state of sociology in

the four powers. I shall point out that by the first half of the 20th century,

sociology has been introduced and developed in the United States, Japan, and

China with considerable levels of institutionalization. The three national versions

of sociology have very different characters. Britain, on the other hand, was far

behind the three Pacific countries in establishing sociology within its higher

education system, despite the crucial role the British thinker Herbert Spencer

played in promoting sociology beyond its European origin.

3.1.1 Sociology across the Atlantic

Sociology as a field of study emerged in 19th century Western Europe as an

intellectual reaction to massive social transformation following the "dual

revolutions" (Giddens 1982:26-28). The term "sociologie" was introduced in

1838 by the French philosopher August Comte to describe his proposal for a

positivistic science of society, which inspired Émile Durkheim who made

significant efforts in establishing this subject into a proper academic discipline

with an institutional basis. Comte also inspired the English social evolutionist

Herbert Spencer to write the *Study of Sociology* and *Principles of Sociology*— both

turned out to be quite influential in promoting this young discipline into Asia and

America. Contemporary German thinkers like Marx, Tönnie, Simmel and Weber

might not identify themselves strictly as sociologists, but they produced works

that deal with similar problems and these were canonized as the founding texts

of this discipline.

The idea of sociology was introduced to the United States in the late 19th century

along with the writing of some European thinkers, notably Comte and Spencer.

The idea of a science of society soon became popular in the context of rapid

industrialization and urbanization in post-Civil War America (Hinkle and Hinkle

1963:2-3). The first sociology department was established in the University of

Chicago in 1892 by Albion Small, who also founded the first sociology journal, the

American Journal of Sociology (AJS), in 1895, and the American Sociological

Society in 1905. The new discipline saw an explosive growth in the subsequent

three decades in the context of higher education expansion, lifting society

membership from 115 in 1906 to 1812 in 1929 (ibid:39). American sociology

went on a distinctive path from its European cousin – one that is characterised by

its belief in natural law and empirical emphasis; its faith in progressive social

change and reformism, and an individualistic hue in theoretical orientation (ibid,

Ch1).

3.1.2 Development in Japan: The European Heritage

Japan saw the emergence of sociology at the same time as it emerged in   the

United States. The Meiji Restoration (明治維新) in the late 19th century

motivated its scholars to learn from the West through studying the works of

many European thinkers, including Spencer. His *Principle of Sociology* was

translated in 1883 and the notion of "social evolution" resonated with the

psychological needs of the nation aspiring to modernity. Dr Toyama Masakazu

(外山正一) started lecturing on this text in Tokyo Imperial University in 1886,

and eventually took the first chair of sociology newly-created in the same

institution in 1893— only one year behind the creation of the Chicago

department. Many universities began to provide   sociology courses before the

turn of century (Becker 1936; Steiner 1936). Despite its comparable temporal

trajectory with its American cousin, Japanese sociology remained closely tied in

with its European (especially German) roots and was primarily concerned with

philosophical debates rather than empirical realities (Steiner, 1936: 713).

3.1.3 China: Social Evolutionism

China saw the idea of "sociology" introduced in 1890s— slightly later than

Japan— by a group of political reformists (維新派, *Wei Xin Pai*) who attempted to search for ways of modernizing the Qing Empire through absorbing Western technologies and scholarship. The pioneering scholar Yen Fu (嚴復) translated numerous works of Western social science including Spencer's *Study of Sociology,* and the notion of "social evolutionism". These held similar appeal to Chinese intellectuals trapped in the national suffering. In the 1900s, waves of students studied in "advanced" countries. The largest share went to Japan; the newly-modernized Asian neighbour who had just defeated the Qing Empire in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95). Many took sociology courses there, leading to a proliferation of Japanese books and syllabuses translated in just few years (including the Japanese version of Franklin H. Giddings's *Principle of Sociology*).

The Western missionaries and schools they founded also served as critical vehicles for promoting sociology in China. The first sociology course was offered in 1905 by the Yale-graduated missionary Arthur S. Mann in St. John University in Shanghai (founded by Protestant Episcopal Church, US), and the first department was established in 1913 by another missionary; Daniel Kulp in Shanghai Baptist College and Theological Seminary (renamed the University of Shanghai in 1914). In the 1920s, the first batch of returnee scholars with foreign degrees provided

momentum to the institutionalization of sociology within Chinese universities. A total of thirteen departments were created in a decade.

However, it must be noted that a significant portion of *the* "sociology" practiced in 1920s China came closer to what is now understood as "anthropology." One of the leading "sociologists" Fei Xiao-Tong (費孝通) actually studied with Malinowski in the London School of Economics and brought his influence to the various ground-breaking studies by Fei (1939; 1945; 1948) and his followers of Chinese rural villages. Such villages, even decades later, remained the primary social setting in which most Chinese people lived. In other words, if (European) sociology is understood as a discipline about modernity, its Chinese cousin had to adapt itself to the pre-modern reality, and a bit more borrowing from anthropology was the solution.

3.1.4 UK: Limited Institutional Recognition

The above paragraphs support the critical importance of Spencer's writings in promoting sociology beyond Europe. However, in Spencer's homeland, Britain, the institutionalization of sociology in universities was way behind the above mentioned countries. The first sociology department was founded in 1907 in the

London School of Economics, and it remained the only one of its kind until the

end of WWII. To be sure, at the turn of 20th centuries, there was already a

widespread interest in the UK in developing a sociological science to address

social problems. The generally held vision then "accept[ed]… the Comtean (and

Spencerian) desire for a sociology resting on a synthesis of all the sciences," and

it led to what Halliday (1968: 337) termed a "sociological movement" and the

establishment of the Sociological Society in 1903. The Society attracted

participants of at least three strands initially: (1) "a school of ethical or social

work sociologists" concerned primarily with solving social problems with an

approach derived from the Oxford ethical philosophy (e.g. Hobhouse, Charles

Booth and Charles Loch), (2) the "civic sociologists or town planners" (e.g.

Geddes, Branford), and (3) the "radical sociologists" associated with Francis

Galton and the eugenic agenda. The three groups of people joined together to

"emancipate sociological science from the oversight of academic economists and

British anthropologists" (ibid: 379-380).

This uneasy cooperation turned out to be short-lived. The eugenicists establish

their Eugenic Education Society in 1907 as their "social Darwinism" approach

proved unacceptable for the mainstreamers. The other two groups also divorced

after Hobhouse, instead of Geddes, took the newly founded Chair at the LSE

(Evans, 1986, Ch4). Literally the "town planners" became the only group

remaining active in the Society. The momentum of the Society can further be

traced down to the activities associated with the Le Play House founded 1920

(which conduct the first regional surveys in Britain) and the Institute of

Sociology founded in 1930 (Evans 1986, Ch5-6). But these activities, like the

eugenicists, remained excluded from universities.

The limited institutionalisation of sociology within British universities may be

partly attributed to the fact that the traditional British universities only took a

small number of elite students so overall capacity and diversity was consequently

limited. Moreover, the few long-standing universities were ideologically prone to

serving the elite and might not have welcomed the addition of a new discipline

that was concerned with "drink, drainage and divorce" (Collini 1983: 199) It was

only when the 1963 Robbins Report opened up the era of higher education

expansion that the number of sociology departments started to soar.

3.2 Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore: Before WWII

Historical accounts of sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong or Singapore generally start from the establishment of their first sociology department in the late 1950s and 1960s, with occasional reference made to earlier teaching and empirical investigations *after* WWII[1]. This is also a period of history that this dissertation is mostly concerned with. There was, in comparison, very little record of teaching and researching sociology *before* WWII, despite the fact that higher education institutions already emerged in all three colonies[2]. The reason for this absence is however complicated.

I shall demonstrate that: In Singapore, the history of accumulating sociological knowledge can be traced back to the activities of the Strait Branch of Royal Asiatic Society (RAS) in 1877 and the operation of the administration's "Chinese Protector" office since 1869. However, their influence on post-war sociology

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[1] Examples include the historical accounts of sociology in Taiwan by Michael HH Hsiao (1987), in Hong Kong by Rance Lee (1993) or Catherine Chiu (2007), and in Singapore by Benjamin (1991).
[2] Hong Kong University was founded in 1911, incorporating the former Hong Kong college of Medicine for Chinese funded in 1887, to compete with other great powers opening universities in China. In Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government established the *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku* (Taipei Imperial University, now National Taiwan University) and in 1928, incorporated an agriculture school founded in 1919, and in 1936 it annexed a medical school founded in 1897. Higher education in Singapore was developed relatively late, with the first university (the University of Malaya) formed in 1949, merging the King Edward VII College of Medicine founded in 1905 and the Raffle's College (initially a teacher training college) founded in 1928.

(which started in 1965) was very limited because of the destruction of archives

during the war and the shifting focus of the RAS branch. In Hong Kong, there was

little pre-WWII sociological studies about the port city although a RAS Branch

which existed between 1847and1859. Interpretation based on geopolitical

factors will be explored. In Taiwan, the Japanese colonial administration

conducted systematic social investigations and even introduced the teaching of

sociology in the University, but their legacies had been largely ignored by the

post-WWII sociologist community.

3.2.1 Hong Kong and Singapore

The higher education institutions in Hong Kong and Singapore were established

to meet the practical demand for training professionals and teachers. The

University of Hong Kong was founded in 1911 to compete with other universities

established in China by other Great Powers. It has four faculties, all established

before WWII—the faculties of medicine, engineering, art and science. The British

Malaya had two colleges— the King Edward VII College of Medicine founded in

1905 and Raffle's College (of art and science) founded in 1928. They were

merged to form the University of Malaya in 1949, which is the precedent of

today's National University of Singapore. There was no institutional presence of

social sciences, let alone sociology; a discipline still striving for recognition even within contemporary British universities. The absence of institutionalized sociology, however, was not equal to the lack of sociological investigations.

The production of sociological knowledge in the British Strait Settlements (established in 1826-1946, including Singapore, Penang and Malacca) dated back to the early 19th century, when Western explorers, colonial administrators and missionaries started to keep a record of their observations of local customs and behaviour (Quah 2003; Lew 2011). More formal works emerged following 1877, when the newly established Straits Branch of Royal Asiatic Society set up its journal (Tan 2006) and included in the first issue a paper about the Chinese Secret Society (Pickering), among other pieces of geography, natural history and linguistics. In 1879, colonial administrator Jonas D. Vaughan published The *Manners and Customs of the Chinese of the Straits Settlements.* A second source of literature came from the government publication. In particular, the colonial government appointed British experts on Chinese languages to the new post "Protector of Chinese" created in 1869 to oversee the Chinese community on behalf of the government (with its function enhanced to include statutory powers in 1877). The unit necessarily accumulated knowledge about how

Chinese society operates. Much of those government archives, however, were burned when the Japanese took Singapore in 1942 (Freeman 1957:8).

Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842 and just five year later a "China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society[1]" was established in the frontier port of the British imperial territory— a quarter of a century earlier than the setup of the RAS Brank in Singapore (which is nearer to London). The reason for this difference was evidently the greater interest in China, the ancient Empire which might have warranted the legitimacy of scientific investigation. This Branch ceased to function in 1859 as two of its core members died[2]. For an entire century, Western intellectual interest in Hong Kong remained low—until Freeman and Topley visited the colony in 1955 and a new Hong Kong Branch was established in 1959. Jarvie edited a collection of sociological studies of Hong Kong in 1969, in which he assessed the dearth of sociological literature and attributed (page xix) this to, among others, (1) the presence of China proper which always overshadows Hong Kong, (2) the limited interests of

[1] http://www.scholarly-societies.org/history/1847rashkb.html
[2] http://www.scholarly-societies.org/history/1857ncbras.html Also, it happened to be the year before another North China Branch of RAS opened in Shanghai, though the possibility for any causal connection between the two incidents is yet to be tested.

Commonwealth scholars and students in Hong Kong while the "vast tracts of Malaya, Africa and New Guinea remained unstudied" because the former "wasn't underdeveloped, wasn't poor, was very small," and (3) the relative reluctance of the Hong Kong government in collecting the basic social data that were generally gathered elsewhere. He observed that Hong Kong "is well known as a place; but almost unknown as a society."

3.2.2 Taiwan as a Japanese Colony

The Japanese colony of Taiwan contrasted with the two British *entrepôt* both in the extensiveness of the empirical studies carried out into social life in Taiwan, and in the inclusion of sociology in its university curriculum. When surrendered to Japan in 1895, Taiwan was the first colony of this young empire. An island rich in resources, Taiwan is an experiment lab for testing colonial rule and a base for future southward expansion (Tsai, HYC 2009). It was larger than the two British settlements, and the purpose of acquisition was far more complex than just providing trading ports. The efficient governance and cultivation of the new colony under a modernized regime required systematic scientific knowledge about its natural resources and social condition. Hence a variety of official surveys were conducted to serve the political purposes, generating statistical

data about Taiwan's demography, land, agriculture, commerce, religious scene and diseases and ethnographic data of "old customs" [1]. Meanwhile, Taiwan, as the first tropical field in Japanese territory also attracted batches of scholars seeking an "academic expedition" (Yeh, BL 2010:1), including researchers of ethnology, linguistics, folklore studies and history. Parallel to the accumulation of official reports, was the evolution of ample literature published in journals for bureaucrat readers (e.g. *The Journal of the Association of Aboriginal Affair Studies*) or for academic colleagues (e.g. *The Bulletin of the Tokyo Anthropological Society*) [2]. This literature body, mostly associated with disciplines of anthropology or ethnology[3], kept precious record of the social life of colonial Taiwan.

The 1928 establishment of *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku* (Taipei Imperial University 台北帝國大學) served as an institutional solution to advance the studies of the "southern"; an initiative in accordance with the Japanese national strategy of southern expansion (Yeh, BL 2010). The faculty structure, as clarified by Hiroshi

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[1] Chang MK, Chang YH and Tang CC (2010). Some of the content were rewritten from Tang, CC, 2008 , pp563-567.
[2] Chen, Wei-Chi 1998, cited in Chang MK et al, 2010, p161.
[3] This association with anthropology was typical to colonial scholarship of the other, the underdeveloped, colonial object, while sociology was conceived to be a subject of the modern society (See Wallerstein, 1996). Moreover, readers should be reminded that *the* 'sociology' in pre-WWII Japan, following the German tradition, remained predominantly a philosophical instead of an empirical enterprise.

Shidehara (幣原坦), the chairperson of its establishment committee and later the first president, was planned for "the research that takes Taiwan as its central object…. The Faculty of Literature and Politics contained the "southern history" which is not attainable in other imperial universities. Also, the establishment of the Chair of Folklore and Ethnology (民俗學與人種學講座) is particularly meaningful in Taiwan.[1]" A distinctive structural feature that sets the Taipei Imperial University apart from its post-war counterpart was the combination of "chair" (講座, unit for research and teaching) and "subject program" (科, program for degree). A "chair" corresponds to a "study office" (研究室) that contains a chair professor, an assistant professor, and 1-3 assistants that are specialized in one particular subject. A "subject program" represents a particular requirement of course-taking before getting a degree. The Faculty of Literature and Politics contains four "subject programs" (literature, history, philosophy, and politics) and 24 chairs, among which are the offices of "folklore and ethnology", "language", and "southern history". These contributed extensively to the empirical studies of Taiwanese people. There was no "subject program" and no "chair" of sociology established, but the university started offering sociology courses taught by Okada

[1] Proposal for establishing university, submitted to Cabinet, cited in Matsumoto Takashi (松本巍) 1960 *The History of Taipei Imperial University*, p7.   http://tinyurl.com/3o5ujc6

Yuzuru (岡田謙) in 1930 under the philosophy program. The lecturer later

published two books based on his empirical works in Taiwan.

A popular view was to account for the limited institutional presence of sociology

by reference to the colonial government's intentional suppression of its access to

Taiwanese people. Tang CC (2008, 564-565), for instance, attributed the absence

of a sociology subject program to "the colonial government's concern over

allowing the colonial subject to learn sociological knowledge that often embodies

critical spirit." Chang MK, similarly, wrote (2010, 161) "the Japanese colonial

government encouraged the Taiwanese to study agriculture and commerce while

intentionally suppressing their attempt to learn politics and law. Thus, there was

no department of sociology .. [in] Taihoku Imperial University". This view,

however, requires more cautious reconsideration. First, the student body of

Taihoku Imperial University was predominantly Japanese; therefore, access for

Taiwanese student to any particular disciplinary knowledge was not the focus of

consideration in designing its faculty structure. If this view was to be true, how

should we account for the presence of a program of politics? Second, the

sociology practiced in pre-WWII Japan was very different from what it came to be

understood as in post-war Taiwan. Heavily influenced by the functionalist

perspective and the German preoccupation with philosophy (which can be reflected in the fact that the sociology course was placed under the philosophy program), pre-War Japanese sociology did not necessarily embody a critical component as is often assumed about this discipline nowadays. Instead, I think the limited institutional presence of "sociology" only reflected the relative restricted scope of utility of a philosophy-laden sociology in the colony whereby empirical investigations (e.g. by ethnologist) were prioritized.

Such intellectual heritage was largely overlooked by the post-war sociological community. One the one hand, Japanese scholars formerly based in Taiwan had to return home following the defeat of their country, causing some rupture in the continuity of the tradition they had created. Only one individual who possessed knowledge of the colonial scholarship remained;—Dr Chen Shao-Hsing (陳紹馨), the first Taiwanese sociologist trained in Tohoku (Japan) who was among three people appointed to take over the faculty of literature and politics after the Japanese surrender. On the other hand, the post-war sociological community consisted of primarily immigrant Chinese sociologists and their students who were illiterate of the Japanese literature and perhaps reluctant to acknowledge the scholarly achievement of their war-time enemy. It wasn't until the 1980s that

the values of the earlier colonial scholarship were rediscovered by historians and ethnology researchers. And it was only in recent decades that texts about the history of sociology in Taiwan made attempts to reveal the "hidden root of Taiwanese sociology" (Chang MK 2010, 160; Tang CC, 2008) back to Japanese colonial time in the first half of 20th century.

3.3 Post-War Geopolitics and the Scholarly Flow

The end of the Pacific War in 1945 and the subsequent warfare in Asia, as outlined in introduction, drastically changed the historical trajectories of the three colonies. The historical trajectories of the three colonies reflect the changing roles of, and the relations between, the four major imperial powers in a broader scope. The shifting geopolitical structure further reshaped the flow of sociologists and sociological knowledge in the area.

3.3.1 Balance of Powers and the Scholarly Flow

Japan, as the first modernized Asian empire collapsed and it did not regain its influence until three decades later. Its defeat brought Japanese scholars in Taiwan back home, leading to a severing of the scholarly tradition they created.

China, after the civil war was divided into two regimes competing for recognition as the "legitimate government" of the ancient empire. The Republic of China (ROC) founded by the nationalist party in 1911 was essentially overruled by the communist party which founded the new People's Republic of China (PRC) except on the recently-regained former colony island of Taiwan. The uncertain future of communist rule made some Chinese sociologists to leave. Whilst some followed the KMT government to Taiwan, others went to Hong Kong or the US. In Taiwan and Hong Kong, the immigrant Chinese sociologists became the first major force to introduce and institutionalize sociology (Sec 4.1).

American dominance in the West Pacific became overwhelmingly significant in the emerging Cold War structure. Its alliance with Taiwan against communist expansion was a critical condition for the survival of the defeated KMT Government. American confrontations with communist China had three bearings on scholarly flows. First, this confrontation created a strong demand for knowledge about Chinese society and culture, and the closure of China to Western investigators made Taiwan and Hong Kong popular surrogate fields. Also, the successful containment of expanding communism depended on securing Taiwan and Hong Kong, and this strategic objective demanded

knowledge about the two locales for their own sake (Sec 3.3.3). Second, with the

general conviction that the development of sociology could help Asian societies

to resist the invasion of communism, numerous American Foundations (e.g. Asia

Foundation, Fulbright and Yale-China) sponsored American sociologists to teach

in Asia on a short-term basis or even provided critical sponsorship in the initial

institutionalization of the discipline. Those financial interventions, coupled with

endowments from various American Christian organizations and the devotion of

numerous missionary sociology teacher, promoted sociology in Asia. Third, as the

leader of the liberal camp, the United States became a major destination for

students from non-communist Asian countries seeking for advanced training.

The historical dominance of Britain in this region, on the other hand, was in

decline. The British did not seek to promote sociology with comparable

enthusiasm since the discipline was still striving for institutional recognition in

its own universities. Nonetheless, British social anthropologists contributed a

significant current of empirical works in the post-war studies of their former

colonies (Sec 3.3.3), and the scholarly network existing within the former

commonwealth country also played a role in mediating the flow of sociological

expertise in Hong Kong and Singapore (Sec 3.4.3).

3.3.2 Chinese Sociologist at the 1949 Crossroad

The defeat of the Nationalist Government (KMT) by the Chinese communists

placed the Chinese scholar at a crossroads; to stay facing an uncertain future or

to leave. Of the sociological community, the majority eventually stayed (Hsiao,

Michael H.H. 1987:342; Yan 2004:225), which should at least partially be

attributed to their intellectual concern with the underprivileged, political

discontent with the corrupted Nationalist government, and ideological sympathy

for the communists in 1940s China (Yan ibid, 225-235). The leading sociologist

Fei, Xiao-Tong (費孝通), for instance, saw this political turmoil as a result of the

long-suppressed farmers standing up for their rights, and he chose to stay on the

scene to observe and explain this process of transition[1]. Another influential

figure was Tao Meng-He (陶孟和), who had long been criticizing KMT's

corruption and incapability and was strongly opposed to KMT's plan to move

Academia Sinica, China's national academy, to Taiwan. His decision encouraged

the leaders of numerous institutes of the Academia Sinica to stay— including the

entire Institute of Sociology (ibid, 232).

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[1] Letter to Greta, Dec 4, 1947. Cited by Yan (2004 231).

The minor group who left (or who at least did not return if they were abroad) might have ended up staying in Taiwan, Hong Kong, the United States or even Japan. The sociologists moving to Taiwan included Lung Kung-Hoi (龍冠海), Hsieh Cheng-Fu (謝徵孚), Chang Ching-yu (張鏡予) and Guo Ji (郭驥)[1]. The first three played a critical role in founding sociology in Taiwan while the latter primarily served in the KMT or the government. Those who went to Hong Kong included Wong Shau-Lam (黃壽林), Leung Tsun (冷雋) and Hu Chia-Chien (胡家健) (Lee, RP-l and Lau 1993:3). They all taught in the colleges founded by other Chinese scholars-in-exile. Those who moved to the United States included C.K. Yang (楊慶堃), Martin C. Yang (楊懋春), Huang Wen-Shan (黃文山), Hsu Shi-Lian (許仕廉) and Yu Tian-Hsiu (余天休)[2]. C.K. Yang went to teach in Pittsburg and he contributed greatly in helping CUHK building its sociology department. Martin C. Yang taught in Cornell, Stanford and Columbia before being invited to move back to Taiwan in 1958. He played a critical role in institutionalizing sociology in Taiwan.

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[1] Martin Yang (1976) counted up to ten who taught sociology in the 1950s. But as Yeh CC (2003) pointed out, the list included two social anthropologists, two social work/administration scholars, a Japanese-trained Taiwanese scholar, an American missionary and Martin Yang himself who returned Taiwan in 1958. Yang's list did not include Guo Ji.
[2] Yan 2004, 225. Martin C. Yang added by the author, see Yang 1976, 35, en 9.

The choice of destination might reflect one's linguistic capability, social

connections, or even some contingent factors[1]. But at a collective level, it has

been suggested that the decision to migrate, particularly from China to Taiwan,

was associated with the ideological or even intellectual leaning of the scholars in

question. Tang Chih-Chieh (2008, 568), for instance, argued that those

sociologists and social anthropologists who came to Taiwan tended to be more

opposed to communism, or to have stronger nationalist sentiments. In a

historical account of anthropology, Huang Ying-Kuei (1987: 393-399) observed

that the Chinese anthropologists who came to Taiwan belonged to "historicist

camps" who studied the tradition and histories of ethnical minorities for the

completion of a national historical narrative, while members of other

"functionalist camps" who focused on the practical problems faced by

contemporary society, did not come. Both authors suggested that the *partial

inheritance* of Chinese scholarship had some framing effect on the post-war

development of corresponding disciplines in Taiwan.

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[1] Wu Wen-Tsao (吳文藻), for instance, had been concerned of the potential ideological clash with
the communist party and he accepted a job offers in Yale along with a Rockefeller grant in 1951,
but he was in the last minute halted by a rejection of his US visa application. See Yan Min 2004,
233-235.

3.3.3 Western Scholarly Expedition

The first batch of post-WWII social studies was produced by British and American anthropologists and sociologists who arrived in the 1950s-1960s, when the domestic research capacity was yet to be formed. In the early 1950s, a few British anthropologists came to Singapore because of their connection (service, or marriage with a colonial officer) with the colonial administration; some of them later extended their steps to Hong Kong. In the 1960s, a few more British researchers joined, but the dominant trend was a wave of American researchers arriving at Taiwan or Hong Kong either to learn about traditional Chinese society, to observe the process of modernization, or, in the case of Hong Kong to investigate what was taking place behind the "bamboo wall" through interviews with Chinese refugees. The sudden attention paid to the two tiny places, as mentioned in 3.3.1, reflected an emerging Cold War structure. It would be an interesting project to examine how these Western researchers imagined, approached, and presented their Asian subjects and to ask how the framing of their research agenda is related to a larger context. But in this section I only seek to provide an outline of the major historical figures and trends with a discussion of their legacy for domestic sociology.

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The Western scholarly gaze was not something unseen before in Singapore and

Hong Kong. Indeed, the Royal Asiatic Branch had set up their branch in the 19th

century. Yet when this part of the world gradually recovered from the impact of

World War II, its social condition faded from the Western intellectual map for

decades. The RAS branch in Hong Kong has long ceased to function, and the

former Strait Branch was also renamed Malayan Branch in 1923 to reflect the

expanding engagement of the British over the Malay Peninsula (Tiew 1998).

The 1950s-1960s saw the arrival of a new batch of Western investigators—

beginning from the few British anthropologists who came to Singapore because

of their links to the colonial government. Maurice Freeman, a social

anthropologist from the London School of Economics (LSE) spent two years

between 1949 and 1950 in Singapore "informally attached to the Department of

Social Welfare" to conduct a government-commissioned study about the Chinese

family (Freeman 1957:7-9). His wife, Judith Dejamour, was also commissioned to

write a report about the Malay family. She later wrote her PhD thesis based on

this research (Djamour 1959). Marjorie Topley[1], another LSE graduate married

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[1] See "Obituary for Marjorie Topley" on H-ASIA Discussion Network by DeBernardi, Dec, 2010,
from http://tinyurl.com/3eyu5jr.

to an officer in colonial service, came to Singapore with her husband in 1951. She

took up post as the curator of anthropology in Raffles Museum and carried out

research on a Cantonese immigrant community. The fieldwork formed the basis

of the doctoral thesis Topley later (1958) wrote under the informal supervision

of Freeman. Little significant studies were undertaken thereafter, until the

founding of the sociology department recruited a new batch of social researchers

in the mid-1960s.

Both Freeman and Topley came to Hong Kong in 1955. Freeman noted its value

as a promising study field in his short visit (Freeman 1958:140) but was not able

to return to research until 1963. Topley came with her husband who continued

his career at the Hong Kong colonial administration. While not affiliated, she

remained active in field research and got involved in the revival of the Hong Kong

Branch of Royal Asiatic Society[1] (RASHKB) in 1959. In a paper published in 1964,

Topley was able to name (1964:158, fn151) three Western social anthropologists

who had been or were doing research there—Barbara E. Ward (華德英, graduate

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[1] The RASHKB was re-established in 1959 with its history traced back the RAS China Branch
operating a century ago. The RASHKB set up its journal in 1961 to communicate empirical Hong
Kong studies of a variety of disciplines by Western investigators and published seven
symposiums proceedings on various topics in 1964-1980.The society See
http://www.royalasiaticsociety.org.hk/

of LSE) on the "boat people" (1954; 1958; 1985b), Jean Pratt from Cambridge on

a Hakka village, and Jack Potter from Berkeley on a Cantonese clan village (1964;

1968). They were soon joined by Hugh Baker from SOAS who studied the

Hokkien clan village(1968). The small circle was soon expanded with the arrival

of a batch of American doctoral students like EN Anderson (1967; 1969), Maurice

Anderson, John Brim , and James Watson in the late 1960s[1], and the

establishment of a new Faculty of Social Sciences in the HKU in 1967. Topley

edited several symposium proceedings (RASHKB 1964; 1967; 1972) for both

RASHKB and the Centre of Asian Studies (CAS, 1967-) of HKU. Jarvie, another

young lecturer of the HKU who edited a volume titled *Hong Kong: a society in

transition* (1969)*.* These collections provided timely surveys of the

anthropological and sociological studies of Hong Kong in the 1960s.

The earlier studies mostly focused on traditional Chinese social organization and

culture based on ethnographic works conducted in the new territory of Hong

Kong— which, after China closed its door, was then the only accessible field

where the Chinese villagers still kept the traditional social customs practiced for

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[1] EN Anderson, Berkeley, PhD Anthro., 1967; M Anderson, Lousiana State, PhD Sociology,1969;
Brim, Stanford, PhD Anthro., 1970; Watson, Berkeley PhD Anthro., 1972 (published in 1975).

centuries[1]. These works attracted significant attention in the West but had

relatively little impact on domestic sociology (Traver 1984:40; Lee, RPL 1996). In

the 1970s, rapid industrialization and urban expansion in Hong Kong soon

motivated some researchers to shift their attention towards this transitional

process. For example, Ward shifted her focus to the internal organization of

factories and the behaviour of labourers (Ward 1985b). Graham Johnson studied

political structures and civil organizations in a new town, and Janet Salaff

(Berkeley) studied female labour participation in the process of industrialization

(Salaff 1981). These works received increasing attention amongst the domestic

sociologists, who were in general more concerned with the process and

challenges of modernization than traditional ways of life (Lee, RPL 1996:40)[2].

Meanwhile, with its openness to the West and the proximity to China, Hong Kong

soon became a frontier site for data collection about China during the Cold War.

Throughout the late 1960s and the 1970s, numerous American sociologists

visited Hong Kong to learn about what was behind the "bamboo wall" by

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[1] James Watson made this point in a presentation in HKU during my visit. See also Waston, 1975. Taiwan was also a popular site for anthropological studies for similar subject, there were significant difference. The Taiwanese villages were mostly built by Chinese male migrant (via the risky sea cruise) and the marriage with aboriginal female was popular, while the villages in new territory were built by entire migrant clan family and its social structure were better preserved.
[2] Barbara Ward taught in CHUK in 1979-82, leaving more legacy to the younger domestic sociologists. There was also an edited collection of her translated works published in Hong Kong (Ward, 1985b).

interviewing new immigrants (Lee, 1996: 41)— for instance Ezra Vogel (1969),

William Parish and Martin Whyte (1978), and later Andrew Walder (1986). Given

the erstwhile scarcity of information about China, these studies were highly

regarded in the American circle of contemporary China studies, but largely

ignored by contemporary Hong Kong sociologists who were more concerned

with the study of domestic society.

Cold War geopolitics brought even more scholarly attention to Taiwan, which was

the last stronghold of the Nationalist ROC and American allies in its West Pacific

frontier. The island further host the largest accessible field inhabited by Chinese

immigrants. To understand how to better equip its strategic ally, the American

government dispatched experts to conduct social surveys in Taiwan. For instance,

the Sino-American Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction (JCRR 中國農村復

興聯合委員會) conducted two social-economic surveys in the 1952 and 1959[1].

There were also a growing number of American doctoral students conducting a

field study in Taiwan. In 1959-1970, at least fifteen PhDs in sociology and

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[1] A ROC-US joint initiative to reconstruct the rural economy in China founded after US Congress passed the China Aid Act in 1948. The JCRR moved to Taiwan with the defeated KMT. The institution was annexed to the ROC Council of Agriculture when the US ended its official diplomatic tie with ROC (Taiwan) in 1979. See Shen, 1970; Yagger, 1988.

anthropology were awarded to "non-Taiwanese" students by American

universities for studies about Taiwan. The next decade saw this number double[1].

The subjects covered, similarly, reflected a basic orientation of either looking for

'tradition' or researching the process of modernization. In terms of the first

category, notable works include studies of   traditional religious rituals (1969;

1972; Ahern 1973; Wolf, AP 1974), traditional family with particular emphasis

on economic functions and gender (Cohen 1967; Wolf, M 1972; Cohen 1976;

Klein 1978), and ethnographies of some Taiwanese villages (Diamond 1969;

Sangren 1980). Of the later categories, the studies covered issues like the impact

of modernization on traditional marriage and kinship (Parish, William Lucious

1970; Schak 1975), the changing demography and birth control (Mohapatra

1966; Kindermann 1969) and land reform and urban development (Bessac 1967;

Crissman 1973).

Those studies form a solid body of literature from the Western perspective and

some were cited later by Taiwanese sociologists who obtained their final

qualification in the US. However, the impact on the initial development of

domestic sociology was marginal. First, these works were published primarily in

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[1] Murray and Hong compiled a list of US awarded PhDs in social sciences on Taiwan studies up to early 1990s. I compiled an approximated list of 'foreign doctoral students' by excluding the Romanized Chinese names. See Murray, 1994:215-228.

the US and their circulation back to the geographical origin of the knowledge was

minimal given the restricted library budget and severe political restrictions and

control during the 1970s[1]. Second, the language for instruction in Taiwan is

Chinese Mandarin and the use of English texts was not popular before a wave of

US-trained sociologist returned in the 1980s. Third, perhaps more importantly,

the intellectual agenda behind this research primarily represents the ways in

which these Asian locales were imagined, observed and appropriated from

certain Western perspectives. The development of indigenous scholarship, on the

other hand, was at least initially oriented towards a more practical agenda based

on local social issues. In 1986 two young sociologists edited a collection (Ting

and Ma 1986) of fifteen essays translated from English (of the 1980s). The

collection became a popular channel for domestic sociology students to learn

about how their society had been studied in the other linguistic world. This

collection, however, was also the last of its kind, since both access to English

literature and the availability of domestic research were greatly improved in the

1990s. Despite such improved access, familiarity with these early texts among

Taiwanese sociologists remained limited.

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[1] Ting Tin-Yu for instance, noted the scarce availability of English text when he studies in NTU in mid 1970s and his 'shock' upon the discovery of the rich resource of literature about Taiwan when he went to the United States. See Ting, 1986:2.

Summary

This chapter first noted the varied developments and orientation of sociology in the four regional powers, specifically the USA, Japan, China and the UK, to provide an external reference for subsequent discussion (3.1). Evidence for pre-WWII sociological investigations and sociological teaching in the three colonies was subsequently surveyed with their variation noted. There was little impact on the later development of sociology (3.2). Three post-war currents of scholarly migration that represented the flow of sociological expertise and knowledge were traced (3.3): the immigration of Chinese sociologists to Hong Kong and Taiwan (and beyond), the expedition of British social anthropologists with the auspice of colonial administrations in Singapore and Hong Kong, and the surge of American researchers that studied Taiwan and Hong Kong as surrogates of the inaccessible Chinese society. Those Chinese sociologists played a critical role in later institutionalisation of the discipline in Taiwan and Hong Kong, while the remaining two currents were involved in the generation of sociological knowledge to be exported and consumed in the Anglophone world, while leaving a limited legacy for the domestic tradition of sociology via an indirect path.

Ch4. Institutionalizing Sociology

Chinese Scholars, US Aid and the Commonwealth Network

The fourth chapter sets the scene for the remaining chapters by sketching the institutional development of sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. The eventual institutionalization of sociology in the three places followed two modes. The first was driven by Chinese sociologists moving to Taiwan and Hong Kong in the late 1940s who played a critical role in introducing sociology first as a teaching subject, and subsequently as an institutionalized discipline in both places. The endowment of American Christian organizations and Foundations were critical in both cases. The second mode took place in the two (former) British colonial universities. They both incorporated social sciences in their faculties in the mid-1960s, following their increased institutional recognition within the British Commonwealth and against the multiple social problems emerging alongside rapid post-war industrialization and urbanization. The two departments were both founded with initial staff consisting of mainly expatriates, but their later trajectories diverted in the 1970s as the political contexts were different. This chapter will review the two modes of institutional development. Sec 4.3 traces subsequent institutional expansion in late 1980s and beyond. Sec

4.4 is concerned with the demography of the sociological communities.

4.1 Chinese Sociologists and American Endowments

4.1.1 Taiwan, Sociology Established with Cold War US Aid

In Taiwan, the Nationalist government took over the Taihoku Imperial University

and renamed it the National Taiwan University (NTU). It soon became the

institutional base for many immigrant Chinese scholars. The Chinese sociologist

Lung Kung-Hoi joined the university, but was allocated, along with Dr. Chen

Shao-Hsing and an American missionary sociologist Albert O'Hara, to the

Department of Archeology and Anthropology. These three and some other

Chinese sociologists "re-established[1]" the Chinese Sociological Association (CSA)[2]

in 1951, and sent an appeal in name of the CSA to the NTU, urging the

establishment of a sociology department in the university. However, their

requests were repeatedly turned down. When Martin Yang arrived at NTU in

1958, he observed the "low morale" of the three sociologists (1976, 6). Yang (ibid,

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[1] There was a general trend of launching every "national" organization on the side of the Strait as "the authentic one" against the "false one" remaining (if still) in the communists China. Due to the limited number of 'sociologist' who actually came to Taiwan, the initial CSA members include scholars that would be sorted by later standard as social anthropologist, ethnologist, and people of social work/administration.
[2] Due to the limited number of 'sociologist' who actually came to Taiwan, the initial CSA members include scholars that would be sorted by later standard as social anthropologist, ethnologist, and people of social work/administration. See Yang, M, 1976, 2

6) recorded that the three sociologists saw unfavorable perceptions of sociology held by some key academic leaders as major obstacles to the advancement of the subject. But as Hsiao (1987, 343) observed, the "passiveness and apathy" of government toward sociology should be structurally explained by (1) the lower priority given to sociology in the critical decade of economic and political restoration, (2) the lack of influential sociologists moving to Taiwan (most stayed in China), and (3) the government's suspicions of sociology since many leading Chinese sociologists had been openly critical of the KMT during the civil war era.

The eventual institutionalization of sociology dates back to 1955 when the young Provincial Junior College of the Administration (台灣省立行政專校) was upgraded to become the Taiwan Provincial College of Law and Business (台灣省立法商學院) and its "social administration" programme was granted the new status of "sociology department[1]." This department, however, remained a training centre of social administrators. The first department with more rigid disciplinary commitment was officially established in the next year as part of the founding faculty of Tunghai University (東海大學), a private liberal art institution

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[1] The College was later incorporated into the Chung-Hsing University in 1961 as it 'Taipei campus'. In 2000 the college was upgraded to be a new independent National Taipei University.

established by the (American) "United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia" (UBCHEA, 亞洲基督教高等教育聯合董事會[1]) to substitute the Christian higher education institutions the board had sponsored in pre-war Chinese mainland. The financial autonomy and the symbolic (and political) prestige of the American organization in the 1950s gave the initiative an edge against possible suspicions from the government. Yet this nominally-established department did not have any staff until the appointment of Prof. Chang Ching-yu as its first chair in 1958.

The National Taiwan University (NTU) finally approved the appeal, and set up a sociology department in 1960, only after Martin Yang successively secured an endowment from the Asia Foundation (TAF). Yang was connected to the Foundation during his participation in the 1959 2nd JCRR socio-economic survey (see Sec 3.3.3) of which the Foundation was a collaborator (Yang 1976:7). Yang recalled that, after participation in the survey, he was asked by Richard Miller (TAF representative) to suggest ways in which they could assist the development

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[1] This organization (often simply called 'United Board' 聯董會)originated from the 'United Board for Christian College in China' founded in 1922 in New York. By 1949 it has sponsored a total of thirteen higher education institutions in China. The organization changed its name in 1952 to reflect its shifted geographical focus as it was unable to continue the work in China.

of social sciences in the Republic of China. He proposed launching a sociology department in NTU and it was approved. This path of initiation provided three conditions which made the new department possible: First, most apparently, the financial grant guarantee solved the obstacle of insufficient *resource* in 1960. Second, the successful conduct of the JCRR survey demonstrated the value of sociological expertise, granting the discipline the *legitimacy* it needed. Third, the collaboration with a foreign party reinforced a point which had been articulated in the earlier appeal to define the department— that "sociology was a discipline widely recognized internationally,… [hence the] absence of a qualified institution for international collaboration would disadvantage our national status" in the imagined competition against the rival across the Strait (Tang 2008:570). Yang further persuaded the NUT to establish a Graduate Institute of Rural Socio-economic Studies (鄉村社會經濟研究所) with support from TAF. The institute later became the Department of Agriculture Extension (農業推廣系), a centre of rural sociology.

In terms of the nature and agenda of TAF, the key sponsor of the process, it was later revealed that the Asia Foundation was a "Central Intelligence Agency proprietary… established in 1954 to undertake cultural and educational activities

on behalf of the United States Government in ways not open to official U.S.

agencies[1]." The foundation originated from the Committee for Free Asia initiated

in 1951 by a group of California businessmen who sought to combat the

expanding communist regime with initiatives such as Free Asia Radio. A private

body, TAF was nonetheless "sanctioned by the National Security Council and,

with the knowledge of congressional oversight committees, supported with

covert indirect CIA funding[2]." In 1954, when it became apparent that communism

would not be defeated easily, the committee reorganized itself into a public

charity named Asia Foundation. Covert funding from the CIA nonetheless

continued until it was revealed by the US media in the 1967 (Ashizawa 2006). A

principal aim of the 1960s Asia Foundation was to promote democracy in Asian

countries, and the strategic tasks included assisting the development of

indigenous social sciences. I shall resist some radical stance of "funder

determinism" that establishes a critique simply by unmasking the hidden agenda

of the funder— rather, what had been expected by the funding agency may not

really be reflected in what was pursued with the grant. But it would be safe to say

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[1] U.S. State Department, Document 132, in Johnson Administration, Foreign Relations 1964-1968, Volume X, National Security Policy, published 15 August 2002.
http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v10/d132
[2] Congressional Research Service, 1983. Cited in Ashzawa 2006: 116.

that the birth of sociology in the most prestigious university in Taiwan is

achieved with resources made available by Cold War geopolitics.

The mid-1950s also saw the "reestablishment" of numerous universities which

traced their histories back to universities previously existing in China, often with

the help of the staff and alumni of the later institutions (despite their remote

connection). Three departments devoted primarily to sociology were set up in

this batch of universities. These included the fourth sociology department in the

Catholic Fu-Jen University (1969), the Department of Ethnical Sociology

(upgraded from the former Department of Frontier Administration) in the

National Cheng-Chi University (1970), and a fifth sociology department in the

Soochow University (1973).

4.1.2 Hong Kong: Growth with Chinese Postsecondary Education

The few Chinese sociologists arriving in 1940s Hong Kong faced an institutional

circumstance different from Taiwan. The University of Hong Kong remained the

only higher education institution in the colonial port city, which was apparently

inaccessible to those Chinese-speaking immigrants. But on the other hand, the

British colonial government imposed little control over the private initiatives of

establishing schools or colleges. There was little resource, but there was little

restriction either (not to mention the sort of "suspicion on sociology" noted of

the KMT authorities in Taiwan). A number of colleges were soon established to

meet the explosive demand created by Chinese immigrants, providing the space

for many Chinese scholars to carry out their vocation to teach. Sociology courses

was offered in Chung-Chi (崇基) College from 1951, in Baptist (浸會) and United

(聯合) Colleges from 1956, in New Asia (新亞) from 1959 (Lee, R, 1993, 3), and

in the later-established Lingnan (嶺南) and Shu Yen (樹仁) colleges. It is worth

noting that half of these colleges (and arguably those which supported sociology

the most) were connected to Christian organizations. Chung-Chi (literally

"worshiping Christ"), the first college to introduce sociology, was founded by

Protestant Churches in Hong Kong with a rationale similar to that of the founding

of Tunghai in Taiwan. The Baptist, too, had a strong Christian heritage. The later

established Lingnan was also historically connected to the Lingnan College

(Canton) founded by the American Presbyterians (North) Council in 1889[1].

The 1950s economic developments created a strong demand for higher

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[1] Of the other three, New Asia was initiated by Chang Chi-yun(張其昀), the former Minister of Education of ROC, and recruited a number of influential scholars who had previously worked for the national universities. The United was formed by merging five schools of Canton origin. Shu-yen was founded by educator Chung Chi-yung (鍾期榮) who formerly the Dean of Faculty of Art and Social Sciences, Baptist College.

education that exceeded the capacity of Hong Kong University, driving the

colonial government to consider a second university[1]. In 1963 the Chinese

University of Hong Kong (CUHK) was created with Chung-Chi, United, and New

Asia as its member colleges under a federation structure. This move has also

been attributed to the adjustment of colonial policies following the wave of

independence movement in the 1950s and the changing British discourse about

the higher education marked by the 1963 Robbins report (Chen, FC 2000:26-27).

Government endowment provided the critical resources for developing sociology

in Hong Kong.

A key figure in the process was Yang Ching-Kun (楊慶堃, generally known as C.K.

Yang), a Chinese sociologist teaching in Pittsburg University, who was concerned

about the abolishment of sociology in communist China and decided to help the

CUHK training young sociologists as a seed stock for reviving Chinese sociology

in the future. Yang assisted with a redesign of the sociology teaching program

and built a formal link between CUHK and Pittsburg (leading to the creation of

the Centre of International Studies in the latter) that brought Pittsburg

[1] Wong Ting-Hong (2008, 194) also argued that the establishment of CUHK marked the colonial government's last step to cut the reliance on higher education in Taiwan or China. See also 5.6.2.

sociologists to Hong Kong to teach on a short basis and sent CUHK students to

Pittsburg for PhD training (Lee, RPL 1996; Holzner 2006).

To facilitate empirical research in Hong Kong, three research centres were

established in the three member colleges of CUHK in the mid-1960s, namely the

"Center for Rural Village" Research of Chung-chi, the "Center of Urban Studies" of

the United, and the social psychology-oriented "Sociological Lab" of the New Asia.

The three units were merged to form a single "Center of Social Research" later in

the 1960s, which subsequently received grants from the Hong Kong government,

Asia Foundation, Harvard-Yenching Institute and Lingnan Foundation. The

research centre and its later derivative institutions played a critical role in

supporting and publishing Hong Kong social research in the decades to come.

4.1.3 Singapore: Sociology in Nangyang University

The post-war wave of migrant sociologists did not reach the shore of Singapore,

but the victory of the Chinese communists had some impact on the Chinese

community in the southern colonial settlement. The initial policy of the British

colonial administration to ban communication with communist China cut the

supply of Chinese teachers to the Strait Settlements and the channel for local

Chinese students to pursue tertiary education in Chinese universities.

Consequently, an initiative to build a Chinese university was proposed by the

philanthropic business leader Tan Lark Sye (陳六使) and this attracted much

support from the Chinese community in Southeast Asia, leading to the birth of

the Nangyang University (南洋大學) in 1955[1] (Wong, TH 2005:203). The

university established a Department of Social and Behavioural Sciences in late

1970s, but the entire university was "merged," against resistance from the

Chinese community, with the University of Singapore to form the new National

University of Singapore (NUS) in 1980. As English remained the language for

instruction in the merged university, only part of the Nangyang faculty members

were absorbed— including sociologist Mak Lau Fong (麥留芳) and Mdm. Tai

Ching Ling (戴慶齡)[2].

4.2 The British Colonial Universities: University of Singapore and HKU

The two (former) British colonial universities started to incorporate sociology

into their faculty in the second half of the 1960s, though some courses of

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[1] Nangyang (南洋) literally means 'Southern Ocean'
[2] Mak LF had taught in University of Singapore for three years before moving to Nagyang. Tai CL was married to Peter Chen, the director of the department of University of Singapore before the merge.

sociology had been offered earlier[1]. The University of Singapore established its

sociology department in 1965— "a coincidence, though not insignificant, ... in the

same year that Singapore was expelled from Malaysia" (Tong and Lian 2002). The

Hong Kong University established its Faculty of Social Sciences, which included

departments of sociology and of social work, in 1967— a year remembered for

the iconic left-wing riots.

4.2.1 Historical Context in the 1960s

The considerations behind the decisions were difficult to reconstruct in detail[2],

but there are two contextual clues worthy of attention. First, both departments

were established within historical context highlighted by social instability. In

Singapore, the ethnic conflicts following its 1963 merge with Malaysia created

much political tension, which eventually led to its expulsion from the Malaysian

Federation. In Hong Kong, social problems created by the massive influx of

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[1] In University of Singapore, the training program in social work "contained substantial amount of sociological material" since 1952 (1995). The teaching in sociology was provided by a special unit within the Department of Economics, which later became the independent Department of Social Studies (renamed Department of Applied Social Studies). Also, the Dutch-trained sociologist Syed Hussein Alatas had "introduced a sociological bias to teaching and research in the Department of Malay Studies (Benjamin, 1989).

[2] Writing about the history of sociology in Singapore, Khondker (Clammer 1985) stated " one can only speculate as to why sociology was adopted as an academic discipline in Singapore." A book published by to the Faculty of Social Sciences of HKU to celebrate its own 30th anniversary stated "in the existing literature, there is no description of the various considerations behind the establishment of the Faculty of Social Science." See HKU FSS, 1997, Section 'History'.

Chinese immigration and rapid industrialisation were turning more unbearable.

The discontent provided the condition for the 1967 riot. The decisions to set up

sociology department in both cases are of course not related to either the

independence of Singapore or the Hong Kong riot. However, they were made

within the identical social contexts that led to the two incidents, and may be seen

as response to the instability within such contexts.

Second, the 1960s saw the mass institutionalization of sociology in the UK and in

some commonwealth countries. In the United Kingdom, a phase of

institutionalizing sociology evolved between 1950 and 1967, in particular after

the 1963 Robbins Report that suggested the expansion of tertiary education

(Halsey 2004:89-). Australia had its first sociology department established in the

University of New South Wales in 1959, and the Australian Sociological

Association was founded in 1963 (Western 2005). New Zealand, too, experienced

a "founding period" of sociology during the 1960s (Crothers 2005). This trend,

which was easily communicated through the network of the Association of

Commonwealth Universities, might have granted the young discipline more

legitimacy to warrant department status. Writing about the founding of sociology

in Singapore, Khondker reflected (2000, 106) "probably, the desire to keep up

with the image of international or global norm of liberal education that by then

routinely included sociology and anthropology … play a role."

4.2.2 University of Singapore

The University of Singapore opened its sociology department with Murray Grove,

an Oxford-trained Australian social anthropologist, appointed as the first Chair

Professor. There were a few temporary assistant lecturers hired to supplement

the teaching in 1966[1]. Geoffrey Benjamin, a British anthropologist who had

carried out field work in Malaysia, became the first full-time lecturer in 1967.

The next year saw four sociologists from the United States appointed as full-time

lecturers— Joseph Tamney, Peter Weldon, John McDougall, and Rias Hassen. The

four are all intellectually or personally connected to the region. Tamney had an

interest in Chinese studies, Weldon lived in the Philippines before, McDougall

carried out research in Sabah and Hassen was a Pakistani. In 1970, Peter Chen

became the first Singaporean appointed lecturer in the department (Benjamin

1989). Of the six founding expatriates, however, four left within just a few years,

including the chair who "at the end of 1968… went on long term leave and

declined to return" (ibid, 24). (Grove later took up the chair of sociology at the

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[1] Douglas Murray, Mark Hobart, Peter Metcalf and Prof. Jerome Manis. See Benjamin (1989).

Hong Kong University). While instability amongst expatriate teachers was not rare, the climate of this colonial university in the 1960s context of nation-building was not easy. The decolonization sentiment had led some university staff of local origin to break away from the Academic Staff Association to form a new body of local identity in 1964. The next year a wave of expatriate professors resigned for the perceived uncertainty of future[1].

On 7, Feb, 1966, Lee Kuan-Yew delivered a speech in the University of Singapore, in which he describe the university as lacking "the corps of informed thinking to lead, formulate and guide national thought on constructive lines" (Lee, KY 1966). Lee reflected upon his reading of a seminar proceeding by the university staff and said he was struck by the fact that "so many were not our nationals... By their very ground they cannot have the same feel for the aspirations on the ground (ibid:7)." He then condemned some papers by national scholars which seemed "indifferent to what we are facing"— a "particular frame of mind" which impeded this university to play its role. Lee concluded (ibid:11):

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[1] Strait Times News clipping. Enright, 'Why the expat dons are leaving?' 31, March, 1965

"...having a national university means more than just having nationals manning that university. It means an organism which responds to the needs and the challenge of our time in this particular part of the world and in this society."

The urge to make the university more responsive to the national need implicitly rendered the expatriates even less relevant – though the extent to which this climate was associated with the departure of these sociologists is unclear.

However, back in the early 1970s, there were simply very few Singaporeans with a qualification in sociology. The reliance on expatriates was still inevitable. The vacant chair of sociology was filled in 1971 by the German sociologist Hans-Dieter Evers, and there was a continuous stream of Western expatriates appointed thereafter. Nonetheless, perhaps as a second-best choice in the search for "relevant" faculty members, a significant demographic shift was observed in the department's faculty structure. In the short span of 1971-1973, the department recruited six Chinese scholars who had studied in either Hong Kong or Taiwan before obtaining their final degree in the US or Canada. The localization of its faculty was only pushed forward in the 1980s with the recruitment of a batch of its own graduates (Sec 4.5.4).

4.2.3 University of Hong Kong

The HKU sociology department was founded by Prof. Keith Hopkins (MSc Cantab, 1934-2004) and Henry Lethbridge (BS London) in 1967. They were joined by three other British-trained lecturers, Chaney, Podmore, and Han, D.W.T. (韓榮德). Murray Grove joined in 1969 to take the chair when Hopkins returned to LSE. The early 1970s saw the arrival of four US-trained expatriates, diluting the British character of this department. They included David Levin and Harold Traver who stayed for three decades. Some of these expatriates came with an interest in China Studies, but the life style of the Hong Kong University in early 1970s was also described by an informant (HK16) as an incentive:

"[It was] extremely colonial… very relaxed. You can have two hour lunch with the head of the department, drinking down to… sometimes not coming back in the afternoon around five. Students were from upper middle class A type. English very good! Most of them well travelled… different from what they are now."

The first Hong Kong scholar recruited was Wong Siu-Lung (黃紹倫), who studied in Oxford before becoming a lecturer in 1975. A few domestic teachers recruited, but they remained a minority in the department until very recently.

4.3 Institutional Expansion

4.3.1 Taiwan: Post-Authoritarian Expansion and Institutional Diversification

In Taiwan, higher education expansion has gradually accelerated since the

political liberalization in late 1980s (see 8.2.1). The number of sociology

departments did not increase immediately, but expanding programs in many

applied fields (e.g. social work, social welfare, communication, education) and

the growing demand for "general knowledge education[1]" (通識教育) created

considerable institutional space for sociologists. While these sociologists were

institutionally unrelated, many remained connected to the core sociological

community through their participation in TSA events. It was estimated that 40%

of sociologist were working in non-sociology departments in 1996, and this ratio

has risen to 58% in 2008[2].

A new batch of sociology institutes (or departments) were founded in a variety of

institutions following the mid-1990s, including Academia Sinica (中央研究院),

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[1] An idea similar to liberal art education. Some universities established "Centre of General Education" with vacancies for teachers in art and social sciences if they do not have corresponding departments.
[2] See Chang YW, 1996 for the statistic that year. 58% is calculated by comparing the *Dataset CCS and Dataset CHU,* See Sec 2.2.2.

National Tsing-Hua University(清華), Nanhua University (南華), Fo-Guang

College (佛光, upgraded to university in 2006) and the National Sun Yat-Sen

University (中山). Three points can be observed from the list:

First, the "revival" of the Institute of Sociology in Academia Sinica signified the

recognition of this discipline in the highest academic institution of the nation.

The Academia Sinica had an institute of sociology. However, it refused to move to

Taiwan in 1949. Since then there had been a long absence of sociologists in the

institution. In the mid-1970s, the Institute of Ethnology started to recruit some

sociologists and psychologists for the envisioned interdisciplinary project on the

study of Chinese character[1]. Later the Institute of "Three Principles of People[2]"

(三民主義研究所) and Institute of American Studies (renamed Institute of

American and European Studies in 1991) appointed a few sociologists. Despite

the increasing number of sociologists, the Academia Sinica turned down several

calls to revive the Institute of Sociology, including one sent by the Chinese

[1] The 1972 symposium proceedings *The Character of Chinese People: An Interdisciplinary Approach* outlined this agenda. (Li and Yang 1972)

[2] "Three Principles of People" is a political theory by revolutionist Sun Yat-sen who had been iconized by the ROC authority as the "father of the republic." There were numerous institutions set up to encourage the studies of his theory, which all face the challenge in the post-authoritarian era (1987-) . This particular institute was renamed "Sun Yat-Sen Institute of Social Science and Philosophy" (中山人文社會科學研究所) in 1990, which was again merged with other unit to form the interdisciplinary Research Center for Humanities and Social Sciences (人文社會科學研究中心) in 2004.

Sociological Association in 1988. The vision was finally actualized in 1995 with

the setting up of a preparatory office, and the formal establishment of the new

institute in 2000. Now hosting 26 academic members, the institute is the largest

institution of sociology in Taiwan. Second, in terms of geographical dispersion,

the first batch founded in 1955-1973 was all located in or near the capital Taipei

except Tunghai (in Taichung City). This batch of five, by contrast, only had one

(Academia Sinica) in Taipei. The two national universities are located in the

northern high-tech industrial city Hsin-Chu and the southern port city of

Kaohsiung and the two private institutions are located in rural areas in Chia-Yi

and Yi-lan. This reflected a discontent with the earlier concentration of

sociological expertise in Taipei, and the suspected geographical bias in the

production of scholarship. In fact, National Sun Yat-Sen University declared a

vision of "Southern sociology" as its self-definition[1]. Third, the two private

institutions were both funded by Buddhist organizations, joining their Christian

counterparts in Taiwan. The two institutions, disadvantaged by their private

status and geographical distance from major cities (both unfavorable factors

among Taiwanese students), were of lower prestige. But the spatial isolation

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[1] See the Department's website http://www.gios.nsysu.edu.tw/en_cont.asp

ironically created a rare sense of collegiality among colleagues. Amongst these

was a higher ratio of locally-trained or theory-minded scholars and together

these contextual factors framed a distinctive alternative tradition in the

sociological community. In 2008, there were 329 sociologists employed in

Taiwan, and of these, some 134 were employed by departments or institutes of

sociology.

4.3.2 Hong Kong:

In Hong Kong, institutional expansion took two forms. First, a number of

interdisciplinary social science departments were formed in institutions directly

founded by government. The School of Social Work of Hong Kong Polytechnic was

renamed the Department of Applied Social Studies (later modified to the

Department of Applied Social Sciences) to broaden the scope of training in 1986.

The City Polytechnic of Hong Kong (upgraded to the City University of Hong Kong

City in 1994) also employed a number of sociologists in its Department of

Applied Social Science and Department of Asian and International Studies. The

Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, an ambitious initiative by the

government to cope with the emerging knowledge economy, included a division

of social sciences from 1996. Finally, the Open University of Hong Kong

(upgraded from college status in 1997) had a Division of Humanities and Social Sciences and appointed one sociologist for related courses. Second, the numerous privately-initiated colleges that hosted sociology were upgraded to university status, and therefore were granted more resource and space for developing their faculty. This included the upgrading of Baptist in 1994, of Lingnan in 1999, and of Shuyen in 2006. The sociology department Baptist is now a third major centre for the discipline. Lingnan hosts a Department of Sociology and Social Policy (formerly Department of sociology and Politics). Shu-Yen, the only private university in Hong Kong, hosts a sociology department and a centre of qualitative research. Catherine Chui, the HKSA president between 2008 and 2010, recorded (Chiu, C 2009) that the nine institutions mentioned above (including CUHK and HKU) had a total of 86 sociologists (not including the anthropologists in HKU, which were counted in Dataset CCS I compiled). While there were sociologists in other departments, the author could only estimate that the total number "should be" above 100.

4.3.3 Singapore: The Second Sociology Dept. in Nangyang Tech Univ

Narrative about sociology in Singapore has long been dominated by the history of the NUS department. The monopoly has only recently been changed with the

2005 establishment of a Division of Sociology in Nang-yang Technological

University[1]. While there were some sociologists employed in the department of

social work, communication, and institutes of area studies, they were generally

not connected into a network. In 2011, the two departments hosted 41

sociologists.

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore

Sociology Department	1955 Taiwan Prov. Sch. of Law and Business
	1956 Tung-Hai Univ
	1960 Nat. Taiwan Univ.
	1969 Fu-Jen Univ
	1970 Nat Cheng-Chi Univ.
	   Dept of Ethnical Sociology
	1973 Soochow Univ.
	
	1998 Tsing-Hua
	1999 Nan-hua
	2000 Academia Sinica
	2001 Fo Guang
	2008 Nat Sun-Yat Sen
		1965 HK Baptist College
		1965 HK Chinese Univ
		1967 Hong Kong Univ.
		1971 HK Shu-Yen Univ.
		
		1986 HK Polytechnic Univ.
		  Dept. of Applied Soc. Studies
		1996 HKU Sci. and Tech.
		  Div. of Soc. Sciences
		1996 Ling-nan Univ.
		  Dept. of Politics and Sociology
			1965 Univ of Singapore
			
			1978 Nangyang Univ Dept. of Social and Behaviour Science merged with US to form NUS in 1980
			
			2004 Nangyang Technology Univ.

Size of sociological community (data 2008)	141 FT staff in sociology depts. 244 TSA member list 330 Sociology PhD in Higher Edu	55 in sociology depts. Only 80 include. HKPU and HKUST 141 HKSA member	40

Table 4-1 Key Sociology Institutions and Size of Professional Community

[1] Not to be confused with the Nan-yang University (1955-1980). The Singapore government set up a Nangyang Technological College (NTC) on the former campus of Nangyang University soon after its forced merger with the University of Singapore. The NTC inherited the name, the campus, and one historical building from the precedent university, but it marked a rupture from the former in terms of their orientation, personnel, financial arrangements, motto and even the language of instruction. The NTC and the Institute of Education was merged to form the Nangyang Technological University in 1991.

4.4 Cohort Structure of Sociologists

This section traced the demographic patterns of the sociological communities

based on available datasets (See Sec 2.2.2). I primarily rely on the staffing dataset

of the leading departments (*Dataset-SLD*) because, first, it was the only dataset

that shows a reliable picture of the historical transition, and second, the leading

departments' staffing was itself indicative of small sociological communities as in

the three cases. This was particularly true in Singapore, where the history of

sociology almost equates with the departmental history of the (National)

University of Singapore. In Hong Kong, the sociology departments of CUHK and

HKU covered roughly 40% of the domestic professional community. Given their

institutional prestige and longer standing status of their departments, their data

should provide a meaningful, though not comprehensive, indication of the

transition of sociologist demography. For Taiwan, I also consulted the dataset

compiled by Hei-yuan Chu (*Dataset-Chu*). This dataset covered most of those

employed following the late 1970s when there were more institutions emerging.

The data obtained from NTU, on the other hand, presents an accurate picture of

its earlier cohorts when this institution played a more dominant role in the

professional circle in Taiwan.

To analyse this, I tried to look for the *cohort structure* of the sociologists in the

four datasets. The discussion of the cohort structure of sociologists can be found

in numerous historical writings of sociology in Taiwan (Hsiao, Michael H.H.

1986). The concept of cohort was never clearly defined in these writings, but it

was generally understood as the collective of the sociologists who joined full time

academic faculties within a particular temporal *phase* and therefore showed

similar patterns of career trajectories that were distinctive from their senior or

junior colleagues. In Taiwan, there was a general consensus around what

constituted the first of three cohorts, but less agreed criteria on the division

between later cohorts[1]. In this project I first seek to identify any significant

transition in the demographic composition of the appointed faculty members in

each of the four datasets, and to group the cohorts of 10-15 years by significant

dividers (for instance, major changes in composition or significant historical

incidents). Secondly, I compare the cohort phase identified in the four

trajectories to look for signs of similar trends or divergent paths.

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[1] Chen Dong-Shen (Professor, NTU), for instance, provided in his lecture hand-out a framework of five cohorts defined by the presence of teacher-student relationship between the members of adjacent cohort. This table was of limited generalizability as it focused on those who were associated with the NTU department only, but it served as a point of reference when I was choosing the dividing years for phases.

4.4.1 Taiwan

First Cohort: 1950-1965, Chinese Immigrants and American Missionaries

The first cohort of sociologists consists of the Chinese immigrant scholars, a few

American missionaries (Albert O'Hara and Mark Thelin) and the only native,

Chen Shao-Hsing. Most of these scholars have received doctoral training abroad,

and subscribed to positivism and pragmatism.

Second Cohort: 1966-1978, Staff Promoted from Students

The "second cohort" are students of the first cohort. They joined the teaching

force immediately after graduation and were promoted to associate

professorship (the rank "Assistant Professor" was not yet introduced) during

1966-1978. This group of sociologists only had Bachelor and Masters Degrees

and their intellectual orientation to a large extend reproduce that of their

teachers. Most of the first two cohorts of sociologist have either retired or died at

the time of writing. Moreover, there were a few American sociologists teaching in

Taiwan on a short term basis during this period[1].

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[1] The NTU Sociology Dept., for instance, recorded Wolfram Eberhard (艾伯華 1967), Pauline V Young (楊寶蓮 1970), Allan Schwartzbaun (許華朋 1971), James A Beaudry (包祖詒 1972), as visiting faculty member in the staff phone book.

Third Cohort: 1970s-1987, Taiwan Grown-ups with American PhD

The third cohort were born and educated in post-war Taiwan. They obtained a

PhD abroad and returned during the mid1970s-1987[1]. In 1977, Yeh Chih-Chen

(葉啟政), a Taiwanese native with a PhD obtained from Minnesota ('73) joined

the sociology department in National Taiwan University, marking a milestone of

the rise of sociologists with post-war foreign (mostly American) PhDs. This

group, including notable figures like Kao Cheng-shu (高承恕), Maicheal Hsiao (蕭

新煌), Chiu Hei-yuan (瞿海源), form the senior rank of sociologists at the time of

writing. Compared with their senior colleagues, this cohort tends to have a

stronger Taiwanese identity as they did not have any living memory of China.

Intellectually, they were educated under the dominant influence of positivism,

but had already been exposed to emerging critical theories.

Fourth Cohort: 1987-1995, Post-Authoritarian Cohort and Rise of Local PhDs

The dividing year 1987 marked the abolishment of the *Marshall Law* and the

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[1] The NTU Department of Agriculture Extension under the headship of Martin Yang played a central role in the early development of local faculty. It has, since its founding, systematically trained its best students as tutors and send them for doctoral training abroad, producing the earliest batch of returnees with PhDs, e.g. Haung Da-chou (黃大洲 PhD Sociology, Cornell '71) who first taught in the original department and later became Taipei Mayor, Yang Siao-Lung (楊孝濚 PhD Mass Communication, Wisconsin '71) who played a critical role in the founding of sociology in Soochow University, and Chiang Yu-Long (江玉龍 PhD Gottingen) who joined Tunghai. However, none of these entered the NTU sociology department which was of greatest symbolic prestige (but was under the control of the second cohort of sociologists who did not possess PhDs), and therefore were often neglected in the historical writing of Taiwanese sociology.

graduation of the first Taiwan-trained sociology PhD (Chang Wei-An 張維安).

Political liberalization opened up space for research into a wide range of issues

that would be considered sensitive in the past— for instance, ethnicities, social

movements, historical sociology and political sociology. The emergence of

locally-trained sociologists provided an institutional basis for furthering the

hailed indigenization of social research.

Fifth Cohort: 1996-2005, Student Movement Generation

The cohort refers to those who has the opportunity to participate or witnessed

the 1990 "Wild Lilly Student Movement" (野百合學生運動)(Wright 2001) as

college or high school students. Having the experience of initiating social reform

from campus, this cohort was characterised by a stronger sense of vocation when

they chose sociology. They showed a strong commitment to the public and the

confidence of critical knowledge as an instrument of reform[1]. A second pattern

was the diversification of educational attainment. Political liberation also lifted

the former restriction on study abroad, leading to waves of students heading to

destinations other than the USA for advanced training in sociology. German

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[1] Synthesis of interview with TW10, TW15 TW16 TW18.

trained sociologists emerged after 1995, which might partially be attributed to

improved political stability after German reunification. A number of scholars

with degrees from Canada, Australia and France also joined the sociological

community at this time. UK trained sociologists appeared sporadically in the

1990s and their numbers surged after 2002. On the other hand, the average

number of recruited sociologists trained in the USA dropped by 60% in the

2000s (compared with the 1990s). Possible factors include competition with

students from China for offers and scholarships, the emergence of alternative

destinations and the gradual development of a more critical attitude toward the

American hegemony in Taiwan[1].

4.4.2 Chinese University of Hong Kong

The CUHK host the largest sociology department in Hong Kong. Between 1963

and 2009, 58[2] appointments at the lecturer/assistant professor level were made.

First Cohort: 1945-1966, Migrant Scholars from China

The first cohort of sociology teachers primarily consisted of Chinese immigrant

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[1] Tzeng, Albert 2010 'Where Have Taiwanese Sociology PhD Came From?-An Trend Analysis of the Country for Degree Attainment' Blog Post in Patterns of Mind http://wp.me/p17Hsv-55
[2] I excluded nine psychologists and anthropologists who was temporarily affiliated to the department in 1978-1980 before being transferred to the Psychology Department and Anthropology Departments they helped to establish in 1981.

scholars. Most of them obtained their first degree in China and subsequently a

Masters in the United States. Some had PhDs. They were primarily focused on

teaching and institution building (e.g. finding resources, making rules and

recruiting talents), and few of their writing is available today.

Second Cohort: 1967-1980, Hong Kong-Educated, Concerned of China

In 1967 Aline Wong (黃簡麗中) became the first sociology lecturer in CUHK to

hold a degree obtained in Hong Kong (HKU), but she soon went to Singapore.

Rance Lee (李沛良) became the first CUHK alumni appointed to the department

and the next year saw the arrival of nine sociologists, most of who received their

first degree in Hong Kong[1] and obtained the final degree in United States.

Meanwhile, there was a steady flow of eighteen Western (mostly American)

teachers who came to teach on a short-term basis. The rapid economic

development and social reform under the governance of Sir Murray MacLehose

(Hong Kong governor 1971-1982) provided opportunities for empirical studies

of Hong Kong—notably a project that involved extensive literature and field

research in a newly industrialized town named Kwun Tong (觀塘) (King and Lee

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[1] Two Exception— Ambrose King obtained bachelor and master in Taiwan before his PhD in
Pittsburg, and Liang Chok-King (梁作檠) who swan to Hong Kong after obtaining the first degree
in China.

1981). The contemporary Cultural Revolution (1966-1978) in China triggered greater concerns around social issues and China (reflected in the slogan 關社認祖, literally "care the social and know [or identify] your mother country") in the university, motivating some sociologists to pay more attention to their northern neighbours. Compared with their juniors, most of this cohort inherited a greater sense of relevancy either because they were, themselves, migrants from China, or because they had fresh memories of the migration tide from China. A team of nine sociologists (with one anthropologist and one psychologist) conducted field research into the Chinese "people's commune" in the late 1970s (Lee, RPL and Lau 1981). Later in the early 1980s, many sociologists from this cohort helped the reestablishment of Chinese sociology, and some continued to write with greater China as the primary frame of reference.

Third Cohort: 1980-1995, Baby-Boomer with Stronger Hong Kong Identity

The cohort entering Academic jobs after 1980 belong to the generation of post-war baby-boomers. They spent their student life during the MacLehose years. They experienced a growing pride on the economic and cultural prominence of Hong Kong, while their impression of China, the home countries for most of their parents, was tainted by the Cultural Revolution. They tended to

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develop a stronger sense of identity to the city they grew and lived, instead of the northern country. While commencing in academic careers, they witnessed in Hong Kong a prevailing sense of uncertainty following the Sino-British negotiation (about Hong Kong's future) in 1982-84, and the subsequent surge of interest in searching for the voice of Hong Kong. In general, this cohort of sociologist showed more intellectual concern and commitment to Hong Kong studies and domestic public affairs. Notable figures include Lui Tai-Lok (呂大樂), Stephen Chiu (趙永佳) and Chan Kin-Man (陳健民). They were among the few Hong Kong sociologists who were mostly involved in public dialogue.

Fourth Cohort: 1995 (2005)–, Post-RAE Generation

The fourth cohort was conceptualized as those who entered academia after the introduction of the Research Assessment Exercise in 1994 and 1996. This cohort had to face unprecedented evaluative pressure. Of the current (2011) staff, only two were recruited in 1995-2005, while a batch of nine Assistant Professors were appointed between 2006-2008, following the retirement or changing mode of appointments of the second cohort. Of the nine new members, remarkably, only one was of Hong Kong origin, while there were five US-trained Chinese sociologists, two Korean and one American.

4.4.3 University of Hong Kong

The University of Hong Kong has a relatively small sociology department. Since

its inception in 1967, the number of academic staff (above lecturer level) reached

double figures almost two decades later, and has remained at around 10 to 12 for

the next two decades. Its compact size made it senseless to talk about "cohorts",

but still, I will split its history into four phases and characterise the patterns of

employment in each phase. Overall, the HKU sociology department kept a strong

presence of UK-trained scholars (still the majority today), while there seems a

tendency towards diversification in educational backgrounds. Staff members of

local origin were first employed in 1975. Their representation has historically

been low, but has gradually been lifted to half.

First Phase: 1967-1975, Founding Cohort of Expatriate

This founding cohort, as described in Sec 4.3.3, consisted of primarily Western

expatriates. The department started with a batch of six British-trained scholars,

who were joined by five American trained colleagues in early 1970s.

Second Phase: 1975-1982, Recruitment of HKU Graduates

The year 1975 marked the appointment of the first HKU alumni, Wong Siu-Lung
(黃紹倫), as a lecturer. Two other alumni appointed later; Benjamin Leung (梁啟
平) in 1978 and Thomas Wong (黃偉邦) in 1982. The three all received final
degrees in UK. Also recruited in this period were two expatriates.

Third Phase: 1985-1995, Diversification in Background

Eleven scholars were appointed during this period, but five expatriates stayed
only shortly. The remaining six showed a greater geographical diversity in terms
of their professional training. There were members trained in France, Australia,
the UK and the USA. This trend also diluted the "British" character of the
department. The ratio of UK-trained faculty member dropped to less than half for
the first time in 1995.

Forth Phase: 2005-onward: Staff Restructuring in Institutional Expansion.

The staff structure remained relatively stable for the decade following 1995. Only
one appointment was made in the decade. Since the mid-2000s, five retirements
(Han, Levin, Traver, Wong and Leung) preceded a wave of new appointments. The
HKSAR policy to adopt the four year curriculum (in accordance with the Chinese

system) created more vacancies. In the four years between 2005 and 2009, ten

new faculty members were recruited, accounting for two thirds of the enlarged

department (of fifteen members in 2009). It is not yet known how the

restructuring will shape the department.

4.4.4 National University of Singapore

The Department of Sociology in the (National) University of Singapore is a large

unit with a high staff turnover. Between 1965 and 2009, there were a total of 90

scholars who were appointed above the level of lecturer/assistant professor and

roughly half of them worked there for over six years. Also at least 28 visiting staff

was recorded in the annual books across the years.

First Cohort: 1965-1968, The Founding Expatriates

The sociology department, as described in Sec 4.2.2, was founded by Murray

Grove (Oxford) as the chair professor, followed by the appointment of Geoffrey

Benjamin (Cantab) and four US-trained sociologists. Of the founding batch of six,

four left after just a few years, including the Chair. Despite their transient

presence, Quah argued that (1995, 89) the   founding cohort has imprinted on

the department the "combined influence of both European and American styles"

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and established a "close relationship between sociology and anthropology"

within the department.

Second Cohort: 1970-1979, Chinese Staff and Legacies of Hans-Dieter Evers

Peter Chen, the first Singaporean lecturer arrived the department in 1970, and

Hans-Dieter Ever, a German sociologist who had taught in the US[1], was appointed

to the department Chair, in 1971. Peter Chen marked the beginning of a batch of

eleven (55% of appointees) staff recruited from other Chinese societies (e.g.

Taiwan, Hong Kong) in the 1970s[2]. Six of them remained in the department for

around two or three decades, and they were often referred to, along with Hassan

and Benjamin, as "the first generation" (e.g. Quah 1995; Khondker 2000:109) of

Singaporean sociologists. There were also eight (or 40% of total appointments)

Western expatriates recruited throughout the 1970s, but most stayed shortly[3].

Hans-Dieter Evers, the youngest chair professor in the university. was "ambitious,

enthusiastic and full of ideas (Chen, PSJ 1991, 18) ". Staying for just a year, Evers

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[1] http://www.uni-bonn.de/~hevers/intro.htm

[2] Notable figures include Aline Wong (王簡麗中), Chin Kwet-Hom (陳國漢), Chang Chen-Tung (張振東), Eddie Kuo (郭振羽), Mak Lau-Fong (麥留芳) and Ong Jin-Hui (王仁慧). Chen, Wong and Chin all had studied in Hong Kong, and Chang, Kuo and Mak had studied in Taiwan, before obtaining their final degrees in North America. Ong was the first recruitment of the department's own graduate

[3] For example John Clammer, Michael Walter, Anthony Walker and Frederic Deyo. One major reason why expat tended to stay shorter was the difficulty of getting tenure. The tenure system for expats was introduced in 2001-02.

injected a momentum in the new department with numerous initiatives— such as formalizing the departmental Research Seminar[1], establishing the *Working Paper Series* in 1972 (Sec 5.1), and emphasizing the development of a postgraduate programme. He was also described as an "excellent stimulator of local research" with his "on-the-ground familiarity with Sri Lanka, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia" (Benjamin, ibid). Intellectually, the core (Chinese) members of this cohort were mostly "trained in the United States under and intellectual climate dominated by Parsonian structural- functionalism and empiricism," leading to the "domination of American style quantitative and problem-solving sociology" in the formative years (Khondker 2000:109). Politically, the 1970s was still in the initial stages of nation building whereby the authorities' demand for sociological knowledge and expertise was high. Many sociologists were involved in government funded projects (ibid). The Department's *General Information 1979/80* stated that (p11) "the research programme generally takes its focus from pressing day-to-day problems of rapidly changing societies rather that from problems posed by current sociological theory."

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[1] The Seminar was first initiated a few years ago by a master student, Chiew Seen-Kong. Evers formalized the practice in a time when such event was still rare in the university.

Third Cohort: 1980- 1989, Localization

The University of Singapore was merged with the Nanyang University in 1980, but this had a limited impact on the department (Sec 4.1.3). The most significant trend in this phase was the increased recruitment of the university's own graduates[1]. A critical endeavour that contributed to the trend was the "Senior Tutor Scheme" introduced in 1980, which sought to build a local faculty by supporting selected graduates from the departments during their PhD studies. Also recruited in this decade were Chua Beng-Huat (蔡明發), a Singaporean who completed all degrees in Canada, three scholars from Hong Kong[2], and a Bangladeshi scholar, Habibul H. Khondker. Overall, ethnic Chinese scholars maintained a demographic majority (60% of all new appointments). While a total of six Western expatriates (24%) were recruited, only Roxana Watson became a more stable member of the department. There were also a few Southeast Asians appointed (12%). Intellectually, the 1980s cohort includes a few members who were more exposed to critical theoretical discourses which affected their subsequent writings.

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[1] Including two of its own PhDs, Stella Quah (Columbia) & Nirmala PuruShotan; five former master students, Chiew Seen-Kong, Hing Ai-Yun, A Mani, Vivienne Wee (黃麗嫣) and Ho Kong-Chong (何光中); some who only studied at the undergraduate level here, e.g. Tong Chee-Kiong (唐志強) and Tan Ern- Ser (陳恩賜).

[2] Ko Yiu-Chung, Chan Kwok-Bun (陳國賁) and Choi Siu-Kay (蔡绍基)

Forth Cohort: 1990-2000, Increased Southeast Asians

The faculty members recruited in the 1990s reflected the continued emphasis on local faculty. The twenty appointments made in the decade included six graduates from the department (five on Senior Tutor Scheme) and three other Singaporeans. There were also three overseas Chinese recruited from Malaysia and Hong Kong. While ethnic Chinese still accounts for the majority of the appointees (55%) there was also an increase in appointments of other South/Southeast Asian ethnical staff. Four new members recruited in this decade were originally from countries like Malaysia, the Philippines and India. Of the Singaporean nationals appointed, one was of Malay ethnicity and one of Indian background. The ratio as a percentage of total appointees therefore rose to 30%. The remaining three (15%) were Western expatriates.

Fifth Cohort: 2001-, Rise of Western Expatriates Again

The first decade of the 21 century saw a dramatic shift in the demographic structure. The department made nineteen new appointments in 2000-2009. The presentation of Western expatriates jumped to 59% (eleven) from 15-20% in the previous two decades, while the ratio of both Chinese (10.5%) and Singaporean nationals (21%) dropped significantly (See Ch. 8).

Table 4-2 summarised the cohort structure outlined in Sec 4.4.1-4.4.4.

	Univ. of Singapore/ NUS	HKU	CUHK	NTU/Taiwan
55			I. Scholars from China, US-trained	I. Scholar from China, A few Missionary Sociologists
60				
65	I. 1965, M Grove founded the dept. with five expatriates with British or American training. Only Benjamin & Hassan stayed		Visiting/short-term US Scholars '65-'75.	
		I. '67, K. Hopkins and British social anthropologist M.C. Grove joined '69	II. '68-'77 Chinese scholar, mostly with BA from HK & PhD from US, e.g. R Lee, Lau SK, Cheung TS. Also King YC (BA, TW) Leung (BA, China)	II. Students of the first cohort hired, e.g. Chu TL, Fan JH. US Visiting Teachers
70	II. '71-'74 Ever, H.D as chair professor '70-'73 ethnical Chinese Scholar from HK, TW, SG & ML, w. US or Canada PhD	US scholars, e.g. Levin & Traver		
75		II. HKU Graduates with UK final degrees: Wong SL , B. Leung, T Wong		III. Late 1970s onward Taiwanese with post-war US PhD
80	III. '80-'89 Localization with own graduate and nationals recruited			
85		III. '88- '95 Diversification of training bkgd, with PhDs from France (Evans), Australia (Kuah, Broadbust), UK (Ng CH), US (Laidler, Chu)	III. '85-'94 Baby boomers with stronger HK identity e.g. Lui TL, Stephen Chiu, Chan KM	IV. '87- Post-Authoritarian Cohort with rise of TW PhD
90	IV. '90-'99 More non-Chinese Southeast Asian (e.g. Malay, Indian, Philippine) presented			
95			IV. '95- Post RAE Cohort	V. '95- 'Student Movement' Cohort with training diversification German PhD '94- UK PhD '00-
00	V. '00- surge of the Western expatriate: nineteen newly appointments, 11 from the West, 4 from the region (e.g. JP, KR), 3 are national			
05		IV. '04- Rapid expansion and staff restructuring First own PhD	'05-'08 Nine assist prof. appointed, just one of HK origin. 5 China, 2 Korea, 1 US.	VI. '05- Post-Evaluation Cohort?

Table 4-2. Sociologists' Cohort Structure of NUS, HKU, CUHK and Taiwan

4.4.5 Comparative Summary

By comparing the cohort structures presented so far, a number common patterns

and contrasts can be revealed. Despite some variations, four broad stages of the

demographic transition (Table 4-3) can be identified as follow:

First, the founding cohort of sociology teachers, as illustrated in this chapter,

consisted of purely *immigrants* either from China or from the West (missionaries,

visiting scholars, and expatriates recruited by the two British colonial

universities) who arrived at the three countries between the late 1940s and1970.

Second, between 1970- 1980 a wave of Chinese sociologists with post-war

training arrived at the universities of the three "Chinese-populated" societies.

Many of them belong to a population that might be described as "*displaced*

Chinese scholars". Those people were forced to leave China during childhood or in

their teenage years because of war. They might have ended up in Taiwan or Hong

Kong where they completed undergraduate education before heading to the

United States (or other Western countries) for advanced training. They tended to

have a firmer Chinese identity, but were less attached to any particular place, and

therefore were more prone to migrating within the Chinese diaspora.

Intellectually, they were trained under the influence of Parsonian structural

functionalism and empiricism. Research-wise, they participated much in the

pioneering empirical studies in the three societies— particularly on practical

issues related to rapid industrialization and urbanization.

Third, between 1980 and the late 1990s, there were various forms of *localisation*

of the demographic structure across the three sociological communities. In

Taiwan, this involved the emergence of the cohorts (3rd-onward) of Taiwan-born

scholars. In Hong Kong, localisation was associated with the 3rd cohort

sociologists in CUHK (baby-boomers with a stronger Hong Kong identity) and the

gradual increase of local staff in HKU. In NUS, the Senior Tutor Scheme and the

appointment of the department's own graduates contributed to an initial stage of

localisation. The broadening of ethnical representation in the 1990s can be seen

as a different form of localisation. Intellectually, this was the cohort who was

more exposed to a variety of critical theories.

Finally, into the 21th century arrived a cohort who was most influenced by higher

education reform (See Ch7). Significant demographic changes were observed in

the three universities in Hong Kong and Singapore which may be associated with

the respective redefinition of the three departments. No comparable shift was

observed in Taiwan; probably because the managerial measures were imposed

later compared with the other cases (See Ch7 for more discussions).

	Cohort Feature
1950s-1970	Founding cohort of immigrant Chinese/ Western Sociologist
1970-1985	Chinese sociologist with post-war training (Displaced Chinese scholar)
1980-2000	Variety of localization (identity, or demography)
2000-2010	Cohort under higher education reform

Table 4-3 General Patterns of Demographic Shifts of Sociologists

On the other hand, a number of contrasts could be found in these universities.

The sociology department institutionalized in the two modes (Sec 4.1-4.2) have

different staffing patterns. The sociology departments in the two former British

colonial universities (HKU & NUS) retained a persistent presence of

anthropology in its faculty (and curriculum). Those departments founded by

Chinese scholars with American support, by comparison, kept a clear disciplinary

distinctiveness. The former have historically recruited more sociologists trained

in the UK, Canada, Australia and other European countries than the latter group.

The HKU and NUS departments also showed diverted trajectories in their staffing, despite a similar start. The HKU remained a small department, dominated by expatriates with and a higher presence of British-trained scholar until the l990s.The NUS department, as the only sociology department in the new Republic, was enlarged with substantial recruitment of many Chinese or local scholars, and its academic orientation was Americanized.

At last, the sociological community in Taiwan differed from the three universities in various ways. First, the Taiwanese sociological community remained largely homogenous in terms of nationality and ethnicity. As the only case where the language of instruction is not English, there has always been a limited presence of expatriate sociologist in Taiwan. Second, Taiwan was about a decade behind Hong Kong and Singapore in the recruitment of post-war PhDs. Some earliest PhD holder from Taiwan actually went to Hong Kong or Singapore. Reasons included the austere political climate in early 1970s Taiwan[1] and the reluctance of some 2nd cohort sociologist to recruit more junior colleagues with stronger

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[1] A few senior informants acknowledged the suppressive ruling by KMT in early 1970s as an unfavourable condition for considering career in Taiwan.

qualification[1]. Third, political democratization in the late 1980s (a unique

episode in Taiwan) was described as decisive for the collective identity of

sociologists. The fourth and the fifth cohorts were both defined in relation to

significant incidents in the process (1987 abolishment of Martial Law[2] and the

1990 Student movement). See Ch6 for more discussion.

Summary

This chapter sets the scene for the rest of the dissertation by outlining the

institutional development of sociology and the cohort structure of sociologists.

The chapter started by portraying two modes of the institutionalisation of

sociology in the three locales (4.1-4.2): the collaboration between Chinese

migrant scholars and aid from various American Foundations and Christian

Organizations (Taiwan, and the Chinese-medium colleges in Hong Kong), and the

two former British colonial universities (NUS and HKU). Discussions of the first

mode noted the contrast of political contexts between Taiwan (the state's

distrust of sociologists) and Hong Kong (little intervention from the colonial

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[1] One earlier post-war PhD was turned down while applying for job in NTU sociology
department. The reason cited for rejection was "our temple too small for Buddha" (小廟請不起大
佛), meaning that the applicant was considered overqualified.
[2] Chen Dong-Shen and Michael Hsiao both take 1987 as a definitive year in constructing their
version of the sociologists' cohort structure. This decision is supported by the comparison of the
career narratives provided by sociologists of different cohorts.

government), the critical role of Martin Yang and CK Yang, and the

anti-communist agenda behind the American Foundations. On the second mode,

the eventual institutionalisation of sociology was related to, first, the rising status

of sociology within the British and the Commonwealth universities, and second,

the social unrest associated with the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation in

both port cities. Meanwhile, the political context between colonial Hong Kong

and the newly-independent Singapore was also contrasted, and related to the

demographic characteristics of the two sociology departments. A subsequent

section (4.3) traced institutional expansion in the 1980s and beyond. The chapter

ended (4.4) with a detailed portrait of the cohort structures of the sociological

communities in the University of Singapore, the HKU and CUHK, and Taiwan.

Despite the variation, four broadly defined episodes were identified.

Ch5 Domestic Disciplinary Identity:

Observations from a Bibliographic Survey

Identity, the sense of self, is generally based on the *perceived* distinctiveness that

makes a person or a social collective distinguishable from others. The perception

of such distinctiveness requires *reflexive awareness*. An individual formulates a

sense of identity when s/he becomes aware of her/his name, gender and other

social categories (nationality, ethnicity, profession). The collective identity is also

constructed when the sense of belonging defined by certain distinguishable

commonality is being communicated, either directly or in mediated forms,

among its members. The theme of this chapter, the *domestic disciplinary identity*[1],

is defined as the perceived characteristics that set a locality-bounded disciplinary

community and its scholarly activities apart from others. To put in a

straightforward way, this concept involves asking whether or not there is a

distinguishable (tradition of) "Taiwanese sociology" (or counterpart of other

locality), and if so, what it looks like.

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[1] If I were to compare sociology in Britain, Germany or Japan, it would be simpler to say 'national disciplinary identity.' However, applying the latter term on the three cases would be complicated by the controversy on whether Taiwan or Hong Kong should be considered an independent nation. Therefore I opt for the softer alternative 'domestic disciplinary identity'.

Four points can be extrapolated from this definition. First, the sense of identity is a form of "*perceived*" reality (See Sec 2.2.3), which means that content could vary according to the observer. There is, however, a fair chance that observers of one scholarly community form, through the mediation of publications and platforms of communication, a shared perception on their distinctiveness (a *socially-constructed* reality). Second, the sense of identity emerges most often when the perceiver is to *compare*, and therefore its nature is usually framed in a relative way to something called the other. A diamond looks brighter when placed on a black curtain, so is the sense of identity stronger when contrasted with alternatives. Third, a particular observer may conform to, or resist this perceived collective identity. S/he may form a particular normative conviction as to what the sociologists working there should do and in particular what s/he personally must do. In the end the individual choices help to shape the future collective identity. Fourth, the third point implies that the domestic disciplinary identity at the collective level may *evolve*, acquiring different orientation in a way that reflects the changes in its member composition, the domestic institutional environment, and external reference point.

The concept of *domestic disciplinary identity* emerged as an interpretive

apparatus when I sought to comprehend the patterns observed from a

comparative bibliographic survey of the sociological literature produced in the

three places. Originally I was expecting some theoretical categories to pertain to

the nature or structure of the bibliographic outputs so that I could characterise

their pattern. The eventual decision to derive a conceptual tool from the term

"identity" (a category conventionally used in mental or socio-psychological level)

reflects my conviction that any adequate interpretation of the framing of the

observed patterns should be grounded in an (inferred or confirmed)

understanding of the actor psychology. Therefore, the category identity not only

served as a descriptive instrument in translating the scattered technical (more

quantitative) data into a more coherent statement, but they also served as a

logical joint, situated at the social- psychological level, that links the observed

bibliographic patterns and the framing factors I would suggest.

What, then, is the ontological relation between the bibliographic pattern and the

domestic disciplinary identity? One the one hand, the bibliographic output is a

form of materialized product of the mental activities that were framed by the

sense of identity at both the individual and collective level. On the other hand, the

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published resources constitute a representation of the scholarly tradition upon

which the new cohorts of disciplinary practitioners *could* (but did not necessarily)

construct their sense of disciplinary identity. Whether the domestic stock of

published material still possesses the influence in the process of identity

formation depends both on their accessibility (e.g., the presence of review work)

and the general attitude held toward the particular publication within the

scholarly circle. I will in the next few sections review four types of

domestically-published bibliographic resources in a comparative way, and

include some supplementary evidence regarding the historical background and

reception of particular publications obtained from the interviews. I shall in Sec

5.6 portray a coherent description of the domestic disciplinary identity by

synthesizing the observed patterns.

The four domains of publications that I considered as definitive to the domestic

tradition of sociology are (1) the domestic professional journal or publication

series, (2) edited collections of sociological research about the domestic society,

(3) historical accounts of local sociology, and (4) epistemological- normative

reflection on the appropriation of Western paradigms. I shall in Sec 5.1-5.4

provide a detailed review of the four categories of bibliographic resources

identified from the three places. These patterns will be sum up in Sec 5.5 by

portraying the "domestic disciplinary identity" of their respective sociological

communities with a conceptual framework consisting of three layers of

subjectivity: geo-disciplinary, geo-epistemological and civilizational. The last part,

Sec 5.6, will be devoted to a discussion of divergent post-war identity politics as a

key framing factor for the observed pattern.

5.1 Journals

Professional journals (and publication series) associated with an institution or

place provide a focal platform for scholarly dialogue, agenda setting, and

reflexive reviews of the collective output. Such publications also enable external

observers to have a glance at the activities of the domestic community. Table 5.1

listed the journals or publication series that will be surveyed in the section.

5.1.1 Taiwan: The Evolution of Journals

The history of academic journals of sociology in Taiwan dates back to the 1963

debut of the *National Taiwan University Journal of Sociology*, followed by the

Sociology Journal published by Tung-hai in 1968. The trend of establishing

journals on an institutional basis continues with the sociology journals launched

Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Nat Taiwan Univ., Dept. of Soc. 1963 *NTU Journal of Sociology* merged with *TSR* to form *Taiwanese Sociology* '00		
Tung-hai Univ., Dept. of Soc. 1968 *Sociology Journal* renamed *Tung-hai J. of Soc* '78 discontinued '85	CUHK, Centre of Soc. Research restructured CHKS & CCAS' 82 merged HKIAPS' 90 1966 *Occasional Paper-*	
CSA (renamed TSA '96) 1971 *Chinese J of Sociology* renamed *Taiw J. of Soc.* '96		NUS Dept. of Sociology 1973 *Working Paper* Series 1973 *Southeast Asian J. of Soc Sci* (Renamed AJSS '00)
Nat. Cheng-Chi Univ., Dept. Soc. 1984 *The NCCU J. of Sociology*		NUS ISEAS 1986 *Sojourn: J of Soc Issues in Southeast Asia* Univ. of Sing,
Taishe (台社) Ed. Committee 1988 *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Soc. Studies*		
Soochow Univ., Dept Soc 1992 *Soochow J. of Sociology,* discontinued in 2008	HK City Univ. 1993 *HKJ Soc. Sci.,*	
Academia Sinica, Inst of Soc 1997 *Taiwanese Soc. Review* merged with *NTUJS* to form *Taiwanese Sociology* '00	HK Polytech Univ 1998 *J. Soc Theory,*	
Societas Ed. Committee 2002 *Societas- A Journal for Philosoph. Study of Pub. Affairs*	Hong Kong Soc Assoc 2000 *HK J Sociology,* renamed *The Social Transformations of Chinese Societies* '03	
YuanTze Univ, 2006 *State and Society*		
Soochow Univ & Fu-jen Catholic Univ 2008 *Social Analysis*		

Table 5-1 Sociology Journals (or Paper Series)

by NCCU in 1984, by Soochow University in 1992, and Academia Sinica in 1997.

Many of these journals, however, faced the challenges of insufficient submission,

in particular when the National Science Council established the Taiwanese Social

Science Citation Index (TSSCI, 1998-) that only 'counted' in the journals that met

certain formal criteria (hence considered "better established"). To date, only the

journals of NTU and Academia Sinica "nominally survived"—but merged to form

the new journal *Taiwanese Sociology* (台灣社會學) in 2000. The Chinese

Sociological Association re-established in Taiwan in 1951(see Sec 3.4.1) also

published its official journal, the *Chinese Journal of Sociology* from 1971. In

accordance with the renaming of the association to the Taiwanese Sociological

Association (TSA) in 1996, the journal was renamed the *Taiwanese Journal of*

Sociology (TJS 台灣社會學刊). Continuously published for four decades, this

association official journal provided a focal platform for communicating both

original research and a number of texts critical to the professional development

of Taiwanese sociology (e.g. the president's address), leaving a record of major

milestones and transitions of the academic discourses. Both TJS and Taiwanese

Sociology are nowadays constantly counted as the two more prestigious journals

in the official ranking[1].

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[1] See, for instance, Hsiung (2007). Those ranking however have constantly been criticized for its underlying ideology and assumptions. See, for instance, Huang HM (2005).

A third journal influential in sociology, titled *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* (台灣社會研究季刊[1])*,* was initiated by a group of returnee scholars who had studied at Columbia University (e.g. Fu Da-Wei) and nearby institutions in 1988, immediately after the political strongman Chiang Ching-Kuo (son of Chiang Kai-Shek) abolished the "martial law" and re-enforced the Constitution in 1987 (Fu 1995). The journal, as its title suggests, followed an interdisciplinary and radical approach that is aimed at timely engagement in pressing issues. A fourth journal relevant to sociology is *Societas- A Journal for Philosophical Study of Public Affairs* (政治社會哲學評論). Established in 2002, the journal soon became a platform for theory-minded scholars of social science disciplines.

5.1.2 Hong Kong: Publication Platform framed by Area Studies

Hong Kong only came to have its own "sociology" journal in 2000, when the founding of Hong Kong Sociological Association also gave birth to the bilingual Hong Kong Journal of Sociology. This journal was however transformed into a English-only journal under the new title The Social Transformation of Chinese Societies (華人社會變遷) a few years later, and its publication and distribution

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[1] The journal is often abbreviated as '台社'(*Taishe*), which combined *Tai* (台), the initial of Taiwan, and *She* (社), the initial for 'society'. The term *Taishe* could refer to both the journal and the 'society' (a social group) responsible for its editorial work and publication.

was signed to Brill, in a controversial process[1](Fu 1995). There were two other

journals related to sociology founded slightly earlier in the 1990s, namely the

Hong Kong Journal of Social Sciences (HKJSS 香港社會科學學報) founded by the

Hong Kong City University in 1993, and the Chinese-medium Journal of Social

Theory (JST 社會理論學報) founded by theory-minded Ruan Xin-Bang (阮新邦)

of the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1998. Both journals, however, were

described as being "of questionable credit for some Hong Kong sociologists

simply because it was not founded by the more prestigious CUHK or HKU"[2]. The

JST was further challenged by the dearth of theoretical research in Hong Kong.

The two journals nonetheless succeeded in establishing themselves in regional

scholarly network. The outcomes should be attributed to the conventional

impression of Hong Kong as an "internationalized" node on the regional map.

Such impression granted the journals published here more prestige than many

domestic ones in neighbouring countries[3].

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[1] See Liu Tak-lok 2006:63 for a brief account of the decision to transform the journal. He described the original bilingual journal was "discontinued without even becoming an agenda item for discussion and debate among members in [HKSA's] annual general meeting." Notice also the editorial footnote that defended the decision as being endorsed by the HKSA Council.
[2] Interview HK14. Also the HKJSS attracted only a few contributions from sociologist in Hong Kong.
[3] I suggested this interpretation based on my talk with some scholars and students from China, Taiwan and Korea during various regional conferences.

While a viable disciplinary journal as a common platform is not yet available,

there were a few institutions that regularly published works by Hong Kong

sociologists. The most influential series was occasional papers published by the

Hong Kong Institute of Asia Pacific Studies and its precedents (Centre of Hong

Kong Studies and Center of Contemporary Asian Studies in 1982-1990, and

Centre of Social Research in1966-1982) of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

The Centre of China Studies of the Hong Kong University founded in 1967 also

published monograph series which occasionally included sociological titles[1]. The

third noticeable institution was the Royal Asiastic Society Hong Kong Branch

"re-established" in 1959,[2] which set up its journal in 1961 to communicate

empirical Hong Kong studies of a variety of disciplines by Western investigators.

They published seven symposium proceedings on various topics between

1964and 1980. What these publication channels had in common was that they

were positioned either in the domain of areas studies (a post-war institutional

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[1] See 'CAS Publication' webpage at http://www0.hku.hk/cas/cas.html The CAS in HKU was "to promote interdisciplinary research on Asian topic… and to serve as a focal point of contact for Asian studies scholars around the world." In the past four decade, the centre has managed to produce a resourceful stock of publication that include 166 monographs, 24 specialist bibliographies and research guides, and several topical paper series.

[2] The society traced its origin to the RAS China Branch operating in Hong Kong in 1847-1859, which, apparently, was only nominally connected to the current one 're-established' a century later. See http://www.royalasiaticsociety.org.hk/ Two first two RASHKB symposium were on the topics of 'Aspects of Social Organization in the New Territories' and 'Some Traditional Chinese Ideas and Conceptions in Hong Kong Social Life Today', See RASHKB 1964, 1967. Also, a recent bibliography of Hong Kong society and culture listed 64 items published by RASHKB. See

innovation of American origin aimed to train area specialists to serve the geopolitical need) or as a continuation of colonial scholarship. Both are characterised by multi-disciplinary approaches and the implicit assumption of subordinating the local as "cases" for the scrutiny of "international" (mostly Western) readers.

5.1.3 Singapore: AJSS and Working Paper Series

The sociological community in Singapore is even smaller—roughly equal to the department of the (National) University of Singapore before 2005. But this department had two closely-associated regular publications that served as a basis for anchoring its sense of its identity since— the *Asian Journal of Social Science* (AJSS, formerly *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences*) and the departmental *Working Paper Series*. The AJSS was founded in 1973, deriving from an earlier journal produced by the students' Sociology Society; the *Southeast Asian Journal of Sociology*. The Working Paper Series, an initiative by Hans-Dieter Evers when he was appointed Chair of Sociology in 1971, was only intended to "facilitate the circulation of ideas within as well as beyond the Department in more or less draft format". Over the years, however, the stock of material and ideas preserved in this body of literature gradually formed a solid basis of

reference for later researcher, and the subscription for the Series also grew

rapidly, as the source of sociological knowledge in this region was scarce. In 1991,

the department published an edited collection of thematic reviews of the first

one hundred issues of the Working Paper Series to serve as a source book under

the title Explorations in Asian Sociology.

5.2 Edited Collection of Social Studies of Domestic Society

The second genre of publication to be surveyed is the edited collection of social

studies of domestic society. Two subtypes are distinguished, collections of

original essays of studies on different social issues, and collection of *thematic*

reviews of past studies in different sociological domain. Those publications were

generally produced to indigenize the teaching material.

5.2.1 Singapore: Regular Institutional Review of Sociological Studies

The sociological community in Singapore is the smallest, but it has contributed to

several edited collections to provide timely reviews of its scholarly output. These

include three volumes of original sociological studies, two volumes of thematic

reviews, and two individual chapters (Chen, PSJ 1986; Yee and Chua 1999) included

Singapore Studies and *Singapore Studies II* compiled by NUS Faculty of Art and

Social Science[1]. The collections of original studies include an early volume

Analysis of an Asian Society: Singapore (Hassan and Tamney, year not specified),

the 1976 *Singapore: Society in Transition* (Hazzen), and the 1997 *Understanding*

Singapore Society (Ong)*.* The NUS Sociology Department also coordinated two

projects of thematic reviews: The *Exploration of Asian Sociology* (Chan, KB and

Ho) published in 1991 to review the first one hundred issues of their

departmental Working Paper Series*,* and *The Making of Singapore Sociology*

(Tong and Lian 2002) published a decade later as an updated and expanded

review of sociological studies by Singapore sociologists. These collections were

compiled to provide teaching text with localized material, but they also served to

celebrate of the academic achievements of the department (or the Faculty).

5.2.2 Hong Kong: Collection compiled in Diverse Scholarly Networks

A number of essay collections about Hong Kong society were assembled within

several unrelated *scholarly networks*. Most of these volumes do not have a clear

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[1] I was first attracted to this genre of publication during my first visit to Singapore, which reflected its relative insignificance in my personal exposures to the sociological literature in Taiwan. Later I found some comparable titles in Hong Kong and in Taiwan, but it was only in Singapore that this sort of publication delivered a sense as a historical milestone of the national scholarship.

institutional character, and none bears the word "sociology" in its title. This genre

of publication started from three collections edited by (former) expatriate staff of

HKU. These include an early collection *Hong Kong- A Society in Transition* edited

by two philosophy teachers (Jarvie and Agassi 1969) and two subsequent

collections edited by sociology department staff— one on the industrial scenes of

the colony (Hopkins 1971) and the other on the social stability and change of

Hong Kong (Lethbridge 1978). Contributors to the three volumes were mainly

Western visiting researchers, expatriate members of HKU, or colonial

administrative officers. Some editors already left Hong Kong when their work

was published. Throughout the 1970s, the available readers on Hong Kong

society were dominated by the text written by those passing Westerners.

The first collection initiated by domestic Chinese scholar was the 1981 collection

Social Life and Development in Hong Kong (King 1981), involving primarily

contributors from CUHK. This collection focused on the structural development

of Hong Kong as an emerging metropolis and its institutional characteristics. This

collection included widely-cited essays on "administrative absorption of politics"

and "utilitarianistic familism" (Lau 1981). Alex Y.H. Kwan (關銳煊), lecturer of

City Polytechnics, also edited a reader for the course "Hong Kong Society" taught

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at the polytechnics level (1986). This volume invited twelve contributors from a variety of institutions to write about social aspects of Hong Kong, but none of the four sociology departments existing then were involved. Back in HKU, Benjamin Leung, a second generation sociologist, made a timely contribution by editing an essay collection on the social issues of Hong Kong (1990) and writing a comprehensive review of studies of Hong Kong society (1996).

Compared with these English titles, the scholarly volume in Chinese language appeared late on. The proceedings (Sinn 1995) of the conference "Hong Kong Society and Culture" convened by HKU Center of Asian Studies in 1991 was a pioneering text. It is now considered that "the volume proclaimed the formal initiation of indigenous cultural studies within an academic institution". The actual systematic review of Hong Kong society in Chinese, however, did not really appear until the 2002 publication of *Our Place, Our Time - A New Introduction to Hong Kong Society* (Tse 2003), a volume involving nineteen contributions from a wide spectrum of institutions. The literature was further enriched by the proceedings of the conference series "Hong Kong Culture and Society" organized by Ng Chun-Hung, Lui Tak-Lok and Eric Ma (Sec 6.3.3).

5.2.3   Taiwan: Delayed Emergence of Indigenized Teaching Text

In Taiwan, despite its sizable sociological community and vibrant empirical

research, there had been fewer edited collection of domestic sociological studies

published before late 1990s. There were several volumes compiled to survey

studies about the "social problems" in Taiwan (Yang, KS and Yeh 1978; 1984;

1991; 2005), which was often assigned for students in social policy, social

welfare or social works. The pathological and practical perspective presented,

however, placed these volumes in a different context to those that genuinely

approached domestic society as a "legitimate epistemological object" for its own

sake. The collections edited by Ting Tin-yu and Ma Kang-chuan (1986) and Hsiao,

Cheng et al. (1989), both focused on the industrialization of Taiwan society, have

a purely sociological perspective. But the former was actually a collection of

articles translated from English texts on Taiwan Studies, and the latter embodied

the proceedings of an "international" conference attended by Taiwanese and

American scholars.[1] Neither represented the output of the domestic sociological

scholarship. The absence of an adequate sociological textbook that reflected

social reality in Taiwan was finally addressed with the publication of *Sociology*

[1] Participants from US institutions include sociologists like Richard Barrett, Gary Gereffi, Thomas
Gold William Lavely, and Alejandro Portes, but also political scientist George Crane and Peter
Evans.

and Taiwanese Society (社會學與台灣社會) in 1999— "a *delayed* innovation

that… changed the situation that sociological texts were dominated by

Anglophone authors." (Tseng 2010, italic added). A systematic review of domestic

sociological studies, which was also long overdue, was finally attempted in the

Interlocution published in 2008.

5.3 Historical and Reflexive Writing of Domestic Sociology

The historical writings of a discipline constructed a version of the common past

of the professional community, providing a narrative basis on which the sense of

tradition and collective identity could emerge from. Throughout my interviews I

found the informants' self-portrait in relation to the domestic sociological

community was constantly associated with his/her understanding (or ignorance)

and interpretation of the domestic disciplinary history. There were of course

individual factors embedded in the personal career trajectory, but what counts

more at the collective level was perhaps the relative availability of historical

writing and the perspectives presented. The purpose of this section is to contrast

the literature resources in this regard. Readers should now be reminded of the

four ideal-typical layers distinguished in 1.1.2: the evolution of ideas,

institutional developments, substantial research, and the professional practices

of sociologists. The following review will not be organized in this typology since many cited works cover more than one aspect, but their relative emphasis should be discussed.

5.2.1 Taiwan: Strong Tradition in Historical and Meta-Analytical Writing

The literature about the history of sociology is ample in Taiwan [1], dating back to Martin Yang's early but comprehensive account (Ng, Ma et al. 2005a) of the post-war sociology development in Taiwan in the third issue of the newly established CJS[2]. Michael Hsiao contributed to the field with his review and reflection over the studies of social problems (1976), the sociological empirical research (1981), and later the general condition of sociology (1982), in Taiwan. In the last piece, Hsiao took a historical-structural perspective, paying special attention to, first, the "breakage" from the genealogy of pre-war Chinese sociology, and second, the implication of Taiwan's peripheral position and its dependency on the US in the world system structure (1987). Yeh CJ, a leading theorist, also provided critical reflection on the development of sociology (1988), social theory (1996), and even the "dominance of US-trained scholar" in the

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[1] Most of the cited texts are in Chinese. The English texts include Yang (1976), Hsiao M (1998), Chang MK (2005), Chang MK, Chang YH and Tang CC (2009), and Tai MC (2010).
[2] Yang as a key figure in institutionalizing sociology in Taiwan provided detailed personal account of the process in this text, which was originally prepared for a ISA meeting.

"knowledge-power struggle" among sociologists (2003). Commissioned by the

National Science Council, Chang Ying-Hua in 1996 (2003) compiled a disciplinary

planning report on sociology. Both his colleagues, Chang Mau-Kuei (2005; 2006

with Wu Hsin-Yi) published systematic reviews of an important historical

episode of Taiwanese sociology, the indigenization movement of social science,

and Tang Chih-Chie (2008) further traced the issue of "indigenousness" (or

locality) of Taiwanese sociology in a longer historical frame. The last three

authors recently co-authored a historical account of sociology in Taiwan with

emphasis placed on the themes of indigenization, institutionalizations and

internationalization (Chang MK et. al 2010). These works cited[1] constitute a

current of historical writing that covers the institutional development, the

evolution of a particular current of thought (indigenization), and some

meta-analysis of the research output. Their length as articles, however, restricted

their scope. Therefore, the 2008 publication of the edited collection *Interlocution*

(Shieh 2008) marked a significant addition to the literature body. This collection

emerged from a three year collective project that involved twelve authors from

five institutions who provided the first systematic review of the substantial

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[1] All the cited authors and editor (including Shieh) were affiliated to either the Academia Sinica
or the National Taiwan University. The two institutions, with their ample resource, were
sometimes portrayed as the 'power core' of Taiwanese sociological community

sociological studies by Taiwanese sociologists in ten thematic fields.

The introduction of the TSA Presidential Address (published in the association's journal) in mid-1990s created another platform for reviewing and communicating professional issues about the sociological community. These addresses did not seek to counts as historical literature per se due to their limited length, but most of them departed from a historical review of the professional community from some particular perspective. Michael Hsiao (1995) talked about changes in sociology in relation to the transitional society. Lin Rei-Sui (1996) assessed sociology's prospect from the point of view of institutional development and student intake. Chiu Hei-yuan (1998) reviewed the design of sociology teaching programmes and the development of Taiwanese social research. Chang YH (2000) provided a "sociologist's participatory observation" of academic publications and evaluation and discussed the implications for the development of scholarship. Ku Chung-Hwa (2005) elaborated upon the openness and public purpose of social sciences. A stream of scholarly works were produced in the last decade from the perspective of "sociology of sociology" to assess the condition of the discipline within the institutional setting. Su Kuo-Hsian (2004), using network analysis, demonstrated

the citing patterns and the "invisible colleges" within sociology's professional

community. Tsai MC (2005; 2010) tried to use statistics to answer "who gets the

NSC sociology research grants and why", and Chang YH et al (2010) addressed

how academic evaluation is now being experienced by sociologists working in

different institutional settings by extensive interviews.

5.2.2 Hong Kong: Limited Availability

There were fewer texts attempted a systematic review of the history of sociology

in Hong Kong. An early title that seemed relevant, *Anthropology and sociology in*

Hong Kong (Topley 1969), actually embodied the proceedings of a symposium

convened to discuss some early field projects by foreign investigators. The choice

of the title in fact reflected the relative immaturity of domestic research in the

late 1960s. Harold Traver (1984) contributed a review of social research in Hong

Kong fifteen years later, when there were much more domestic studies

accumulated, but he did not cover the institutional aspect of sociological

development. The first, and perhaps the only, reliable source of historical

accounts of sociology in Hong Kong was by Rance Lee of CUHK, who in the three

relevant articles (1987; 1993 with Lau SK ; 1996 in Chinese) reviewed the

transplantation, institutional development, domestic cultivation and the diverse

achievement of sociology in Hong Kong. These texts, however, more or less took

CUHK as the centre stage in their narrative and seemed to under represent other

institutions. Recently, Catherine Chiu provided an updated summary (2009), of

the current state of sociology in a conference talk she gave as the president of the

Hong Kong Sociological Association.

5.2.3 Singapore:

The scarcity of writing about the Hong Kong history of sociology is even more

obvious if compared with Singapore. A compact state with a shorter history of

institutionalized sociology, Singapore however hosts a sociological "community"

(actually a department in 1965-2005) that regularly reviews their achievements

and developments. The publications reviewed in 5.2.1 were all of historical

interest. The two essay collections (Hassan 1976; Ong, Tong et al. 1997) were

accepted as historical milestones of the national scholarship. The review articles

included in the two volumes of *Singapore Studies* were, themselves, a form of

historical writing (Chen, PSJ 1986; Yee and Chua 1999). In particular, the

collection *Exploration of Asian Sociology* (Chan, KB and Ho 1991) included three

short pieces of historical interest—Geoffrey Benjamin contributed a photo essay

(in anthropological style) about past and present of the department, Hans

Dieter-Evers wrote a personal account of the founding of *Working Paper Series* (pp16-17) and Peter Chen outlined the departmental history with a substantial elaboration of the critical role of the working paper series in the sociological tradition in Singapore (pp18-25). Moreover, there were a number of specially written articles or essays that reviewed or assessed Singaporean sociology or the sociological community from some particular aspect (e.g. institutional, demographic, and ideological). Benjamin wrote a few pieces narrating the history of Singaporean sociology (1989; 1991). Quah (1995) contributed a more structured survey of the "areas of work" (theoretical perspective, dissemination avenues and professional activities) and social norms of Singaporean sociologists. Khondker (2000) critically reviewed the evolution of sociology in three phases.

5.4 Normative-Epistemological Discussion

The fourth genre I sought to compare is the normative- epistemological discussions of sociology, particularly in relation to the application of Western theory and paradigms in studying the Asian society. In this section I will only provide an overview of the evidence for the existence of such discussion, leaving some of the core themes to be discussed in more depth in the next chapter.

5.4.1. Taiwan: Sinicization to Indigenization

The first initiative to reflect upon the Western paradigms was the 1980 Taipei conference *Sinicization of Social and Behavioural Sciences* organized by psychologist Yang Kuo-Shu (楊國樞, b. 1932), sociologist Wen Chung-I (文崇一 b. 1925) and anthropologist Li Yi-Yuan (李亦園, b. 1931), who were all affiliated with the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica (Yang, KS and Wen 1981). The three scholars played a central role in the 1970s agenda to investigate the "character" of Chinese people from an interdisciplinary, but behaviouristic and positivistic, approach (Li and Yang 1972). Central to this project was the concern of "modernization" (Li, Yang et al. 1984, Preface); they studied Chinese people in order to fathom the prospect for their modernization. Within a few years, they developed a discontent with their own works (and works of colleagues) which "blindly borrowed from Western concepts, theories and methods" and "failed to reflect the social and cultural particularity of the 'Chinese' societies" Therefore, their works became "...nothing but 'vassals' of the Western social and behavioural science" (Yang, KS and Wen 1981, i). In response, Yang and Wen urged to "Sinicize" social and behavioural sciences in order to "transcend the stage of absorbing and imitating and move into the era of self-innovation" (ibid, ii).

The conference attracted sixty plus social scientists to attend and 21 papers were

presented by 13 authors from Taiwan, seven from Hong Kong and one from

Singapore.[1] Yang and Wen concluded the conference with four objectives (ibid,

v), which included (abridged) (1) To improve the *validity and reliability* of

research about Chinese society and people by paying attention to its historical,

cultural and social features. (2) To solve the various *practical issues* of Chinese

society (3) To restore the *independence* and *critical capacity* of Chinese scholars

to enhance their self-respect, confidence and professional consciousness. (4) To

make unique contributions to *world scholarship* through correcting the

inclination of "over-Westernization" (in particular Americanization) and the

"vassal" status of Chinese scholarship. These stated objectives reflected the

intellectual orientation of the key leaders, which was characterised by the

assumed positivistic doctrine (with the emphasis on validity and reliability),

pragmatism, nationalist sentiment, and an ultimate faith on universalism.[2]

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[1] Notable participants that are more relevant to the interest of this project included Chiao Chien (喬健, anthropologist, b. 1935) Ambrose King (金耀基, sociologist, b 1935), Ho Hsiu-Hwa (何秀煌, philosopher, b 1938) and Rance Lee (李沛良, sociologist) from the Chinese University of Hong Kong, sociologist Eddie Kuo (郭振羽, sociologist, b. 1940) from National University of Singapore, Huang Guang-Guo (黃光國, psychologist, b) and Yeh Chi-Jeng (sociologist, b. 1943) from National Taiwan University, Kao Cheng-Shu (sociologist, b. 1947) from Tunghai University, and Chu Hei-yuan (b 1944) and Michael HH Hsiao (sociologist, b. 1948) from Academia Sinica.
[2] It was stressed that Sinicization was not a form of "chauvinism, ethnocentrism or isolationism … [or] regionalism". It was NOT an attempt to "construct Chinese social and behavioural science. Science had no boundary. Eventually the research outcome of all nations will be united in one disciplinary system, and became part of human knowledge" (Yang and Wen,

It is worth noting at this point that Yang and Wen expressed a dialectical view about the epistemological connection between the Chinese and the West. It was claimed that only those who had been working within the Western scholarly tradition could appreciate the need for, and discern the appropriate approach to, Sinicization (ibid, vi) By taking this position, Yang and Wen implicitly narrowed down the legitimate participants for this movement to sociologists in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and perhaps the West, excluding those in the Chinese mainland, where sociology had just been re-established after being abolished for almost three decades.

5.4.2 The Indigenous Turn in Taiwan

The 1980 "Sinicization" conference attracted participants from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, but its subsequent reception in the three places varied greatly. In Taiwan, the agenda initiated by the movement received continuous discussion, but the catch word "Sinicization" was gradually replaced by the term "indigenization" into the 1990s— a process reflecting shifting social identity following political liberation in the late 1980s. The importance of "indigenous fitness" (本土契合性) of social research has become widely accepted and

1981, vi)

incorporated into the teaching of sociology nowadays. However the approaches

developed to reach this goal diverted. Attempts of at least three levels[1] could be

distinguished: First, positivist categorical indigenization: A series of social

psychology studies of the cultural-specific concepts such as "face" (面子) and

"yuan" (緣) advanced by Yang KS and his followers[2]. This approach sought to

replace imported categories with localized categories without challenging the

core theories or positivistic doctrine of the social and behavioural sciences.

Second, methodological reflexivity in grounded theorisation: This approach,

advocated by Shieh GS with his ethnographic works, incorporated an interpretive

approach and stressed the grounded theorisation and critical reflexivity in

appropriating Western theories and categories in study of the domestic subject.

Third, theoretical indigenization: This broad approach was pioneered by Yeh CJ

and his followers (Yeh, CJ 2001). They criticized the first two approaches for their

empiricist bias (Huang, HM 2010) and instead sought to extract inspiration from

Asian intellectual traditions. Some writers in this school even sought to make

meta-theoretical propositions based on Asian religions or philosophy. However,

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[1] I intended to address the three approaches in another chapter, 'Negotiating Western Paradigms,' which was unfortunately not to be included in the current version due to time constraint and word limit. I will seek to incorporate the chapter in a more finalized version prepared for publication.
[2] They established the *Journal of Indigenous Psychology* (本土心理學研究) in 1993 as a major platform.

these approaches diverted from the sociological paradigm at different level

(categorical, theoretical, and meta-theoretical). They shared little common

ground and there was no sign for any convergence.

5.4.3 Hong Kong: Platform for Dialogue among Chinese Societies

The movement of Sinicizing sociology attracted great attention among the second

cohort of Hong Kong sociologists and their contemporary colleagues, who shared

concerns around how social science could help Chinese modernization. As one of

the agreements in the 1980 Taipei conference, a follow-up conference titled

"Modernization and Chinese Culture" was organized in Chinese University of

Hong Kong in 1983. The conference convener, Chiao Chien (喬健), made two

significant decisions about the agenda. First, he replaced the catchword

"Sinicization" with the concept pair "Modernization" and "Chinese Culture,"

taking a more neutral position by downplaying the imperative tone because the

former "lacked the appeal" in colonial Hong Kong[1]. Second, making use of the

strategic role of Hong Kong, he invited some scholars from the Chinese mainland

to participate, notably Fei Xiao-Tung, who had been in charge of rebuilding

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[1] Chang MK (2005, en33) suggested that the conference sponsor, Rockfellor Foundation, may prefer an agenda more open to the West rather than one with "nationalistically" anti-Western sentiments.

Chinese sociology since 1979 (Qiao, 1985). This led to the first post-war encounter of sociologists across the Taiwan Strait. The conference marked the beginning for Hong Kong playing the role as a platform for pan-Chinese societies' scholarly dialogue (People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and sometimes Macao) before the cross-strait interaction could be normalized in the 1990s. The conference "Modernization and Chinese Culture" became a series with some of its later sessions held in different cities in China[1]. However, the intellectual tradition embodied by this series of conference attracted limited enthusiasm among later cohorts of Hong Kong sociologists, let alone the initial agenda of Sinicization. The younger generation was mostly aware of the presence of the Sinicization discourse and these conferences but described them as "things discussed by our teachers, not us (HK18)." Instead they either considered the agenda infeasible, irrelevant, or even problematic.

There were a few figures committed to furthering efforts in the broad direction. Cheung Tak-Sing and Chan Hoi-Man, both of CUHK, sought to integrate sociology

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[1]   The proceedings of some conferences were published under the titles *Chinese Family and Its Transition* (1991), *Concepts and Behavior of Chinese People* (1998), *The Application of Social Sciences and Chinese Modernization* (1999), *The Chinese Sociology and Anthropology of the 21 Century* (2001), and *Reflection of Culture, Ethnics and Society* (2005)

and Chinese intellectual tradition in different ways. Cheung (1989) employed

sociological concepts in a systematic reinterpretation of the Confucius doctrine,

proposing the idea of a "order complex". Chan (2002) devised an ideal typical

framework of the core value, orientation and boundaries of "Enlightenment" in

his mega treatise of Chinese Enlightenment. Yet these works attracted limited

readership among their sociologist colleagues in Hong Kong[1]. Ruan, Xing-bang of

HKPU is also noteworthy. He wrote a monograph on the indigenization of social

science (2001) and established the Journal Social Theory to promote theoretical

dialogue in the Chinese-speaking world. But soon after that he moved to China.

5.4.4 Singapore: Critical Discourse by Malay and Indian Sociologists

Singapore was originally included in the project envisioned by Yang et al., since it

is often (questionably) imagined as "another industrialized Chinese society" from

the perspective of Taiwan[2]. But the response to this agenda was not enthusiastic

at all. Eddie Kuo, who had studied in Taiwan before, was the only participant

from Singapore who attended both conferences and he remained marginal. In

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[1] Multiple interviews with HK sociologists.. One comment "they would never make professorship with publication of that sort (HK14)." By contrast, some occasional in-field chats with CUHK student suggested that both teachers were highly regarded among students. One described them "rare models of the traditional Chinese-style scholar, civilized, full of knowledge."
[2] I, admittedly, made the identical false assumption when I started the project.

general the sociologists in Singapore (dominated by the batch of Chinese

sociologists entering in early 1970s by then) did not buy into the agenda.

Khondker (2000,) also noted that "Singaporean social scientists in the early

stages of the development of sociology very rarely engaged in nationalist

discourse, or call for indigenization etc."

The critical discourse on Western paradigms started to be represented in the

NUS sociology department from the Malaysian sociologist Syed Farid Alatas and

his Indian colleague Vineeta Sinha. Both arrived in the 1990s. Soon after his

arrival, Alatas wrote a series of articles that considered the "indigenization" of

academic discourse (1993), the idea of "relevancy" (1995), the tension between

Western theories and Eastern reality in social sciences (1998), the problem of

Eurocentrism in the teaching of sociological theory (2001, with Sinha) and the

"global division of labour" of the social sciences (2003)— a series of writings

were later compiled in a volume dedicated to *"Alternative Discourses"* in Asian

Social Sciences (2006). Sinha, too, attempted a re-conceptualization of social

science in non-Western setting (1997) and urged practitioners to move beyond

critiques and attend to the task of restructuring the institutional base of the

social sciences (Sinha 2000 ; 2001). The relatively late emergence of such

discourse in the sociology department, however, did not imply the total absence

of similar critique in Singapore. In fact, Prof. Syed Hussein Alatas, father of Syed

Farid, had already contributed his critiques of the "captive mind" in the erstwhile

prevalent "development studies" (1972) and urged for an "Asian social science

tradition" (1979) when he was the head of the NUS Malay Studies Department.

5.5 Domestic Disciplinary Identity

The presentation in the previous sections is summarised in Table 5-1. To make

sense of it, I devised the idea of *domestic disciplinary identity* illustrated in the

opening paragraphs as a heuristic device to translate the observed bibliographic

outcome into a set of interpretive, coherent characterisation of the respective

sociological communities, both in terms of their institutional structure and

shared culture. Such a characterisation would also serve as a logical joint to

bridge the bibliographic patterns and the contextual factors suggested in Sec 5.6.

In the next three subsections I will summarise the patterns of each case

presented in the first four sections, after which I will portray the respective

domestic disciplinary identity. I shall in 5.5.4 propose three types of

"subjectivities" as a conceptual framework to characterise the varied domestic

disciplinary identity on a comparable basis.

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Own Journal	Strong Tradition of institutional journals NTUJS since 1966 TJS (CJS) '71- Taishe '89- Societa '02-	CUHK CSR, Occasional Paper HKJSS '93- (CityU) J Soc Theory '98- (PolyU) HKJS '00, renamed '03	NUS Sociology Dept, Working Paper Series, '73-(S)AJSS, '73- IEASS, Sojourn '86 –
Edited Collection	Earlier collections on 'Social problems' or 'industrialisation. *Later* appearance of collection of indigenized teaching text	Collection of topical essays assembled via a variety of *scholarly networks* with less institutional and disciplinary character	*Institutional-Collective* Projects aimed to provide a timely review of their research outputs on Singaporean society
Historical Writing	Strong Tradition since '76 More focus on the institutional aspects	Limited Availability	Regular since'84-More focus on the substantial research output
Critical Reflection of Western Paradigm	Sinicization '80s Shifting discourse to Indigenization '87- Principle of 'indigenous fitness' widely assumed, different approaches developed but little sign of convergence Continuous discussion among theory-minded group of mostly TW/German PhDs	'Modernisation & Chinese Culture' Conference series as a direct response to the Sinicization agenda. HK as platform of Pan-Chinese societies talk Endeavours by a few marginalized scholars	Little discussion in NUS sociology dept. till 1990s A significant current by Alatas and Sinha, which however was domestically overlooked

Table 5-2 Summary of Bibliographic Resources in Four Domains

5.5.1 Taiwan: Strong Aspiration for Its Own Tradition

Summary: Taiwan has several sociology journals long-established (e.g. *TJS*, the TSA official journal dates back to 1971), a strong tradition of historical and reflexive writing that focuses on the institutional aspects of the discipline, and vibrant normative- epistemological discussions on the appropriation of the Western paradigm as shown in the 1980s "Sinicization" agenda and the later,

more localized, "indigenization" discourse. However, it did not produce its first

textbook using indigenized material and any systematic review of collections of

domestic sociological studies until the last decade.

Analysis: The clearest impression from the bibliographic survey was a sense of

strong aspiration for developing its own tradition of sociology, in particular

before the 1990s, when the sense of disciplinary identity was tied up with the

nationalistic and civilizational frame of China. The motif was apparently

associated with competition between ROC (Taiwan) and PRC for legitimacy as the

"authentic China." One of the reasons cited in the appeal for establishing a

sociology department in NTU, for instance, was to create a corresponding unit for

international collaboration for sociological researches in order not to lag behind

the communist side in the competition for international recognition (Tang 2008:

570). This nationalist agenda might not be shared by all who live in Taiwan, but it

was certainly shared by those first and second cohorts of sociologists of whom

the majority were Chinese immigrants. The psychological bearing of the

nationalist sentiment was significant. A small group residing on a small island,

the sociologists in Taiwan however have a much larger "imagined collective self"

which was characterised by the sense of pride associated with its historical and cultural depth, and the sense of sorrow of the nation's agony since the 19th century. This explained why a "Chinese Sociological Association" was considered necessary when there were only ten members (some were actually anthropologists), and why a "Chinese Journal of Sociology" was launched once the size the scholarly community allowed for its operation. There was a perceived need to write the history of "Chinese" sociology, tracing its genealogy from 1920s China all the way to the post-war development in the "Free China" (Taiwan). When the discontent of the 1970s positivistic studies arose, the solution was to "Sinicize" the social and behavioural science (while in the West the response was to produce critical and interpretive paradigms).

The symbolic "China" as a dominant category in framing discourses was gradually challenged from the late 1980s, following, first, the rise of post-war Taiwan-born sociologists who have never stepped on the soil of the Chinese mainland (the third cohort), and second, the political democratization that gradually loosened political control over freedom of speech. Chang (2005) also pointed out the historical significance of the 1983 Hong Kong conference (Sec 5.4.2) in noting that the "Chinese sociologists" from Taiwan had the first

opportunity to meet the sociologists from the Chinese mainland. The historical

encounter between the symbolic and the real China, Chang inferred, inevitably

drove Taiwanese sociologists to reconsider the meaning of continuously claiming

to be Chinese sociologists. In 1987, a year that marked the lifting of the Martial

Law and the restoration of every human right protected by the constitution, Yeh

CJ (1987) published a reflection on some fundamental issues of sociology with

the catch word "indigenization." The term gradually replaced the original

Sinicization in the critical discourses on negotiating Western paradigms in the

ensuing decade. The renaming of CSA to TSA in 1996 marked a consolidation of

Taiwanese identity within the sociological community.

The transition of national identity in the 1990s was perhaps associated with the

delayed inception of publications like *Sociology and Taiwan Society* and

Interlocution— despite the ample accumulation of empirical studies on Taiwan

society much earlier. My thesis is that in earlier times, when China was the

dominant framing category in defining the national (geographical, cultural)

boundary, social studies in Taiwan were ascribed a lower epistemological status

so that they only served as "cases" (e.g. for the study of industrialization) or

knowledge for solving practical problems (hence the publication of several

volumes on "social problems") — instead of a sort of knowledge worth pursuing in its own right. Therefore, Taiwan was hardly considered a legitimate geographical unit that warranted a disciplinary textbook when there were already versions of *History of Chinese Social Thought* (e.g., Yang, SJ 1982; Yang, MMC 1986)

5.5.2 Hong Kong: A Fragmented "Community"

Summary: Sociologists in Hong Kong did not have their own disciplinary journal until the recent, ill-fated *HKJS*. The historical or reflexive writing of the state of the discipline in Hong Kong was limited. There were a number of collected volumes of sociological studies about Hong Kong assembled within several unrelated personal scholarly networks which was of limited institutional character and little disciplinary tag (none include the term "sociology" in its title). While there was initially an enthusiastic response to the 1980s Sinicization agenda initiated from Taiwan, the momentum was carried on in the conference series on "Modernization and Chinese Culture" which was ideologically more conservative and geographically detached from Hong Kong, and demographically an agenda only of interest to the senior (second) cohort of sociologists.

Analysis: It was elusive to talk about a domestic disciplinary identity of the "sociological community of Hong Kong". Sociologists in Hong Kong have historically operated within at least two (or more) minimally-interrelated networks, situated in distinctive institutional environments[1]. The British-trained expatriates working in the colonial institution of HKU, for instance, generally did not have much contact with those American-trained Chinese sociologists working in CUHK— and there was little inter-institutional collaboration[2]. The topology of these discrete networks can be roughly mapped by the contributor lists of the numerous collections cited (Sec 5.2.2) — and each collection more or less bears the particular perspective of the network from which it was produced. The only general trend was the dominance of English text until recently. There was little historical writing that constructed a common past for sociologists in Hong Kong (the most reliable texts by Rance Lee appear to be too CUHK-centred), and no common platform for community building until the last decade. The three factors— institutional segregation, the absence of a more inclusive

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[1] Although a few trans-institutional personal networks did exist and they were critical for a number of initiatives. Of the second cohort, Lau Siu-Kai (CUHK), Wong Siu-Lung (HKU) and Lee Ming-kun (HKPU), who had been classmates, remained in close contact throughout their career. Of the third cohort, Ng CH (HKU) and Lui Tak-Lok (CHUK, before his move to HKU in 2009) were two initiators in establishing the Cantonese-medium Cultural Studies Forum.
[2] Some anecdotal story suggested the cultural clash between some key figures of HKU and CUHK department impeded an early proposal of fostering inter-department collaboration.

historical account of the discipline, and the lack of common platforms made

description of sociologists in Hong Kong as a "community" questionable.

The initiation of the Hong Kong Sociological Association in 2000 and its

associated annual conference and journals of course marked a significant move

towards community building among Hong Kong sociologists. However, despite

the relentless effort of some of its active members, its effectiveness has so far

remained limited. The HKSA annual conference, for instance, was overlooked by

the majority of sociologists in Hong Kong— the target group it was intended to

serve. I compared the 2008 annual conferences of HKSA and TSA, and found that

about 45% (65 participants) of the "core circle of sociologists[1]" in Taiwan

attended the TSA event, whilst only 19% (14 participants) of the Hong Kong

counterpart attended the HKSA conference. The majority of these attending Hong

Kong sociologists were themselves members of the organizing council and

participated as either host or session chairs. Only four made presentations in the

conference (2008). A senior informant admitted that to present in this

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[1] "Core circle sociologists" is operationally defined to include, in Taiwan, all the staff members of sociology departments and institutes plus the Graduate School of Social Development of Shi-Hsin University (143), and in Hong Kong, that plus the sociology PhD holders in the HKPU Department of Applied Social Science, HKUST Division of Social Sciences, and Lingan Dept. of Sociology and Politics (75).

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conference "feels like an insult… as it's now a venue for postgraduate students and Chinese mainlander scholars (HK11)." The limited attendance amongst Hong Kong scholars was ironically compensated for by the participation of a significant ratio of presenters (junior staff or postgraduate student) from neighbouring countries seeking the experience of presenting at "international conferences[1]." The function of HKSA conference as a "hub" with an "international outlook" resembled the roles played by the *Hong Kong Journal of Social Science* and *Journal of Social Theory*. These platforms all reflect the symbolic character often attached to this city — a venue for regional or international flows to converge –but not necessarily in ways engaging the city itself.

The changing identity frame from China to Hong Kong was also observed in the transition from the second to third cohort (excluding the expatriates)— but in a weaker version on both ends. The authors of the second cohort demonstrated a higher cultural affinity and even personal commitment to China; they tended to write with "Chinese culture" or "Chinese people" as the reference frame although they conducted numerous empirical studies on Hong Kong, and many, in

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[1] Conversation with participants from Korea and Japan during my attendance in 2008 and 2010.

particular those in CUHK, actively participated in the restoration of Chinese sociology in the 1980s. But this sense of cultural affinity was not institutionally reinforced in ways seen in Taiwan. On the other hand, the "sense of Hong Kong identity" of the third cohort emerged as a perceived affinity with the impressive economic achievement of the city during the 1970s and the growing contrast with the China under the Cultural Revolution (Lui 2007a). It was not created through political confrontation (e.g. the post-authoritarian surge of Taiwanese identity) or political mobilization (e.g. the Singaporean identity).

5.5.3 Singapore

Summary: The sociological community in Singapore (NUS sociology department), despite its compact size, has established two regular publication channels (the *Working Paper Series* and *AJSS*), was involved in a series of institutional collective projects that reviewed sociological studies in Singapore, and accumulated a significant body of historical writing about the discipline in the city state. On the other hand, there was little critical discourse on the Western paradigm in the department until the arrival of Alatas and Sinha in the 1990s.

Analysis: The two publications associated with the NUS department (the *Working*

Paper Series and the *AJSS)* and the regular institutional-collective reviews of their

outputs provided a focal literature body that traced the activities of members,

and therefore constructed a sense of institutional, and also a national disciplinary,

identity. A salient character of Singaporean sociology repeatedly stressed in the

review texts was its close connection to the "broader national concern"— and, in

particular in the earlier period (before the 1980s), to the "policy agenda" aimed

to facilitate the process of modernization and to mitigate its negative

consequences (Yee and Chua 1999, 229). Lian & Tong (2003: Introduction)

illustrated the connection by anchoring Singapore sociology back to its

coincidental founding during a year when the city was expelled from Malaysia

and became a "state without a nation" (ibid: 1). They wrote:

"It is against this political backdrop— a society reluctantly dragged into

nationhood and forced to stand on its own feet economically— that … sociology

[was] established. It should therefore be unsurprising that …the development of

sociology in Singapore reflects local concerns framed against the exigencies of

building a society that could be economically viable, yet possessing a measure of

self-confidence which accompanies a people who may yet come to share a

common collective identity" (ibid: 3)

Khondker (2000:114), writing from a critical angle, considers the involvement of policy-oriented studies "made sociology relevant to the government... secured the status of sociology as a discipline in Singapore and the suspicions about the "liberal" image gave way to admiration."

With their close association with the nation-building agenda, sociologists in Singapore, before the early 1980s, (the second cohort) were described (Yee and Chua, 1999, 229-231) as relying heavily on "the conceptual framework of modernization theory and structural functionalism (p229)" and they focused on empirical work rather than "systematic theorizing" (p231). Since the mid-1980s the theoretical orientations introduced to the department had been gradually diversified with the return of a new cohort (Sec 4.4.4), but in a review of the publication by Singaporean sociologists in 1990-1994, Quah (1995, 91) still observed a general ignorance of critical sociology among the mainstream sociologists, and their "analysis ... tends to be centred on the building blocks of theory rather than on the construction of theoretical frameworks." The absence of critical discourse on the Western paradigm before the 1990s could perhaps be seen as a manifestation for the limited engagement in theorizing.

The institutional concentration of the national sociological community in one department was consequential. It made any review, or historical writing of the department automatically a text about the "national scholarship;" it also granted the institution a more dominant role in the process. I was reminded by an informant (SG 12) that "the sense of identity was to a great extend *created* by the university or the department through… project," instead of being formulated though the collective self-searching of the academics. The informant in fact cast doubt on whether or not there was such a thing called "Singapore sociology" (despite the use of this phrase) as he observed limited interactions amongst colleagues due the department's size and the demand for publications. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the portrait of Singaporean sociology is reliable at least for the second cohort who joined the department in the 1970s when it was much smaller and more involved in state initiatives[1].

Throughout the 1970s-1980s when sociologists were involved in state research initiatives, there was a smaller yet continuous stream of Western social anthropologist (e.g. Benjamin, Evers, Clammer, Walker, Waston) who added to the

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[1] Another factor suggested for the cohort difference on interaction was the 'spatial design' of the department buildings between the old and new campuses (moving in 1980).

department, with their field studies in neighbouring countries, a flavour of a "hub of social studies" of a greater geographical coverage. This character might be associated with the historical role of the city as a trading hub within the British Commonwealth network, and was certainly reflected when Evers (1991, italic added) described how the department wanted to prove itself as "the best sociology department *east of Suez.*" The naming of its new journal with the geographic unit "Southeast Asia," instead of "Singapore," showed a similar attitude, which was also instilled in placing the title *Exploration of Asian Sociology* for a volume in which the content was in fact concentrated in Singapore and Malaysia[1]. The ambition, despite being part of the department's self-definition for decades, only came to be more fully actualized in the past decade.

5.5.4 Comparative Summary: Three Dimensions of Subjectivity

To sum up the portraits presented in the previous three subsections, I proposed three ideal-typical layers of "subjectivity" as a conceptual framework to dissect the three particular formations of *domestic disciplinary identity* (Table 5-3).

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[1] Of the 99 papers reviewed, 51 were about Singapore, 14 on Malaysia, 6 on Southeast Asia in general (by Evers), 4 on Indonesia, 3 on China, 6 on other places like Fuji, Thailand, India, Hong Kong, Ethopia and 18 were geographically non-specific (e.g. theory, bibliography). There was no paper from West, Central and North East Asia. (p2)

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Geo-disciplinary	H	L, developing	H
Geo-epistemological	L > H emerging in 1990s	M emerging mid-1980s	H since 1965
Civilizational	H (Chinese)	(M*)L	L

Note: H, M and L stand for high, medium and low

Table 5-3 Dimensions of Domestic Disciplinary Identity

Geo-disciplinary subjectivity refers to the "social fact" that the disciplinary

practitioners of a particular locale considered, or acted, as if they were of one

bounded community. The sociologists in Taiwan were employed by a wide range

of institution, but a tangible disciplinary community was constructed by the

numerous disciplinary journals, the strong tradition of historical and reflexive

writing about the discipline, a vibrant professional association and its newsletter

and annual meetings. All of these created a sense of what sociology in Taiwan is

about. The sociologists in Singapore, on the other hand, were physically

employed in one institutional community, and a sense of disciplinary subjectivity

was presented in the series of publications related to Singapore sociology.

Sociologists in Hong Kong, by contrast, were historically fragmented in several

unrelated networks and the new HKSA was yet to create a sense of community

among the disciplinary practitioners.

The *geo-epistemological subjectivity* refers to the constructed norm of seeing a

particular geographical domain as a legitimate epistemological subject by its

domestic scholars[1]. This sense of subjectivity can be observed from the extent to

which there existed edited collections, textbooks, journals, conference and

organizations dedicated to the sociological studies of the particular place. Taiwan,

for instance, is considered to be ascribed lower geo-epistemological subjectivity

before the 1990s compared with the dominant category China, while Singapore

has, since its independence, been regarded as of high epistemological priority.

Hong Kong, in comparison, attracted a stream of works on its sociological aspects.

But the early pieces before the 1980s were dominated by English texts authored

by shorter-term foreign expatriates, and the domestic production, in particular

those in Chinese language, only came into being very recently.

The *civilizational subjectivity* refers to the sense that a particular practitioner (or

a collective group) perceived that they belong to a civilizational background

distinctive from the dominant civilizational frame (the West) of sociology. The

sense of civilizational subjectivity, I shall argue in Sec 5.6, provides an intellectual

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[1] The "domestic scholar" consisted primarily of the national scholar or scholars of permanent residency. The criterion was defined to exclude the foreign investigators who came to study on short-term basis.

ground to critically engage the Western paradigm and it therefore enabled the

emergence of normative-epistemological discourse. The Sinicization movement

initiated in Taiwan is a sign of the high level of *(Chinese) civilizational subjectivity*.

In Singapore, by contrast, this dimension remained dormant until the urge for

Asian "Alternative Discourses" by two immigrant scholars from Malaysian and

Indian background in the 1990s. The case of Hong Kong was a bit complicated

since there were a few CUHK-based scholars participating in the Sinicization

agenda, but the two key figures (King and Chiao) both came from Taiwan.

What makes the patterns of the observed domestic disciplinary identity? The

portraits in the previous section suggested two factors: *institutional morphology*

and the broader *identity politics*. The former involves the size and the degree of

network integration among the disciplinary practitioners residing in one locale;

as discussed above. I will now devote the last section to the latter.

5.6 Identity Politics

Identity politics, a concept emerging in the 1970s discourse on social movements

for minority rights, was conventionally used to refer to "the political activity and

theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain

social groups." Its political momentum was based on a *reclaimed* understanding

of the "distinctiveness [of the group] that challenged dominant oppressive

characterisation, with the goal of greater self-determination[1]." The term

"appropriated" here, however took a more inclusive view that refers to all politics

that concerns the redefinition of "who we are" in relation to the world, regardless

of whether the initiator was a radical social activist or the state. This

appropriation was necessary because, throughout the majority of the post-war

histories of the three (former) colonies, the states have always assumed a

dominant role in defining their territory and people in relation to other

geopolitical forces— although, it could be challenged, and changed, by the

various grass roots attempts to engage the arena.

The state-led agenda in identity politics did not determine directly how

individual sociologists constructed their sense of identity, but it cast a framing

effect on the formation of the sociological community and scholarship in a

number of ways. First, the official rhetoric devised to construct the desired set of

collective identity casted a framing effect on the discursive circumstance the

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[1] Entry "identity politics", Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy
http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/identity-politics/

member of the society lived in. The discursive practice led to a perceived

pressure for conformity, which tended to be intensified when the nature of the

state was, to a degree, authoritarian and the consequences of non-cooperation

were less predictable. Some authors in Taiwan, for instance, concealed the

argument for "indigenization" or "Taiwanization" under the more agreeable catch

of Sinicization in the 1980s. The choice of the title "Modernization and Chinese

Culture" for the 1983 conference (Sec 5.4.2) could also be seen as a strategic

decision made in light of the organizers' judgment on the context.

Second, the official ideology was constantly reflected in the state's use of various

material-based agenda-setting tools, such as institutional development, the

provision of purposive grant, and so on. The material measures reinforce the

power of the discursive framing through the repetitive process of

proposal-making, applications and reporting. Third, identity politics often

involves a selective reproduction on the cultural heritage that is reflected in a

wide array of educational (e.g. curriculum in language, history, and classics) and

cultural policies. The inheritance of such cultural heritage is a prerequisite for

the formation of the *civilizational subjectivity* I discuss previously.

The post-war identity politics of the three societies, interestingly, were more or less associated with the establishment of the People's Republic of China. I shall briefly characterise their variant pattern and suggest the links with the domestic disciplinary identity:

5.6.1 Taiwan Imposed Chinese Nationalism vs. Rising Taiwanese Identity

Overtaking Taiwan in 1945, the KMT government faced six million local inhabitants who had been living under Japanese colonial rule for the most of their life time. The government made great effort to convert them Chinese nationals. Chinese Mandarin was announced as the "national language", Chinese classics, history and geography were stressed in school curriculum, and national symbols like its flag and anthem were promoted (Wilson 1970). Chinese nationalism had dominated Taiwan for four decades, until it was challenged by the rising expression of Taiwanese identity in the process of democratisation (Wachman 1994). Some points could be made in relation to the three dimensions of "subjectivity" of the domestic disciplinary identity. First, the sense of identity promoted by the KMT, which was competing with the communist over the sovereignty of China, was not just "we belong to China" but "we represent China." This sense is associated to the psychological bearing that led to the

"re-establishing" of a Chinese national association and journal for sociology.

These moves represented a strong sense of *geo-disciplinary subjectivity* framed in

the unit of China. Second, a collateral effect of the imposed Chinese nationalism

was the emphasis on Chinese classics. In particular, a major campaign "Chinese

Cultural Renaissance" was staged in 1966 to contrast against the Cultural

Revolution in China. Regardless of its original purpose, the campaign in effect

secured a continued familiarity of Taiwanese people with the Chinese cultural

heritage, providing the intellectual grounds for developing a strong *civilizational*

subjectivity. Last, prioritizing China as the dominant frame unintentionally

suppressed the *geo-epistemological subjectivity* of Taiwan until the 1990s.

5.6.2 Hong Kong: Colonial Denationalization and (Soft) Hong Kong Identity

The establishment of PRC created a different problem for the British colonial

government in Hong Kong. It needed to create a psychological distinction

between itself and the newly founded PRC, and mitigate the growing tension

between the pro-KMT and the pro Communist camp in Hong Kong. In the 1950s,

the Hong Kong government took steps to reduce their dependability on either

Taiwan or China for the provision of textbooks and higher education (hence the

establishment of CUHK). They sought to localize teaching materials, and

re-contextualize China merely as an epistemological object deprived of any

sentiments – in short, to *denationalize* the curriculum (Wong, TH 2002, Ch7).

Chinese nationalism was suppressed, but the alternative Hong Kong identity only

came to emerge in this refugee city in the 1970s, when resident in Hong Kong

started to have positive experiences with the city following the growth of its

economic prosperity and cultural prominence (Hong Kong movie and pub music).

However, as Lui (2007b, 30-31) noted, the Hong Kong consciousness "lacked a

core—it was not a rebellion consciousness, nor the continuation of a cultural

tradition." It was a weaker form of identity compared with the sense of identity

forged by common agony caused by intruders (e.g. Taiwanese nationalism

triggered by authoritarian KMT rule, or the Chinese nationalism triggered by

Japanese invasion), or those constructed by state-led agenda (e.g. Singapore

nationalism, and the Chinese nationalism in Taiwan). The lack of a strong

collective identity may explain the limited sense of *geo-disciplinary subjectivity*

that renders sociologists in Hong Kong as a community. The sense of

civilizational subjectivity was more an individual (e.g. of those educated in Taiwan)

than a collective sense. Ironically, the lack of a collective disciplinary subjectivity

did not prevent the appearance of "multiple" intellectual endeavours that

approached Hong Kong society as an *epistemological subject*.

5.6.3 Singapore: Nation-making with Selective inheritance of Ethnical Heritage

Post war Singapore embarked on a painful process of decolonization that was characterised by the tension and political contestations among its ethnical groups, of which coexistence was merely an artificial product of the colonial time (Wong, TH 2002, Ch6). When Singapore was expelled from Malaysia in 1965, the primary challenge for its leader was the task of making a nation out of its four people. This involved, among other measures, the adoption of "bilingualism" and the setting of English as the default working language. It involved the merger of vernacular schools taught in four languages into one integrated national system, and the scripting of a national ideology (Hill and Lian 1995). These measures sought to construct a collective identity, but it was achieved by systematically filtering (suppressing) the ethnic-specific language, heritage, and historical memory to forge a common ground. The insufficient attention paid to cultural heritage finally led to moral crisis and worries about excessive Westernization, and the 1982 revitalization movement represented by the introduction of the required "Religious Knowledge" course into the school curriculum. However, this movement was not successful (Kuo 1996). As a new nation with much demand for national scholarship on its society, there was little surprise that the output of

sociologist in Singapore demonstrated a strong sense of *geo-disciplinary* and

geo-epistemological subjectivity. Meanwhile, the suppressed familiarity with any

Asian intellectual tradition deprived its national scholars of an intellectual

ground on which the alternative discourse could be anchored.

Summary

This chapter characterises the local traditions of sociology based on a systematic

review of four critical sorts of bibliographic outputs: domestically published

journals and publication series, edited collection of sociological studies of the

domestic society, historical or reflexive writing of the local tradition of sociology,

and normative-epistemological discussions about the dominance of the Western

paradigms. The observed pattern was summarised in Table 5-2 and

characterised in Sec 5.5. The notion 'domestic disciplinary identity' was coined as

a heuristic devise for analysing these observations. The sociological community

in Taiwan demonstrated a strong aspiration for its own tradition, represented by

the vibrant current in most of the surveyed bibliographic domains—except the

late emergence of edited collections of sociological studies and indigenised

teaching texts that could be associated with a shift in social identity. The

counterparts in Singapore, on the other hand, produced a clear current of

empirical studies of Singapore society that was easily traceable through its

flagship journal, the *Working Paper Series* and the regular publication of

institution-initiated output review. The scholarship was characterised, at least

initially, by its close tie to nation building. But the level of normative-

epistemological reflection on Western paradigms remained limited until the

1990s. Sociologists in Hong Kong, by contrast, are harder to describe as a

'community.' There was an absence of a disciplinary journal until recently and

little historical and reflexive writing about the discipline. The edited collections

reflected fragmented scholarly networks and perspectives. The notion of

'domestic disciplinary identity' was further unpacked with the proposal of three

layers of 'subjectivity: (1) *geo-disciplinary subjectivity,* the degree to which

sociologists of a particular locale were considered (or acted) as if they belong to

one bounded community (strong in Taiwan and Singapore), (2) *geo-empirical*

subjectivity, the constructed norm of seeing a particular geographical domain as a

legitimate epistemological subject (strong in Singapore, moderate in Hong Kong),

and (3) *civilizational subjectivity*, which is strongest in Taiwan. The pattern was

in the end related to the post-war identity politics in each place.

Ch6. Sociology and Its Public

Political Context and Intellectual Traditions

Public Sociology, an agenda advocated by Michael Burawoy (2005), has attracted

extensive normative debate, primarily amongst the global academic "core",

about how sociology should be balanced between the pursuit of scientific

professionalism and commitments to public causes. Writing from Hong Kong, Lui

Tai-Lok (2007c) considered the call a "timely" discourse at a time when

sociologists in East Asia were under enormous "...pressure... from institutional

and organizational restructuring". However, Lui raised three issues "from the

margin": First, advocacy for public sociology should consider the organisational

milieu in which sociology is practiced. Recent higher education restructuring in

many Asian countries, however, has significantly reshaped the environment in

ways that reflect the problematic core-margin power relation— for instance the

prioritization of professional output on venues published in the "core" (and

counted in rankings) over local publication in local languages. The process

marginalises the practice of public sociology at the local level (p60-62). Second,

Lui questions (ibid: 63) the default association between "public" and the ideas of

"open-minded", "critical" and "reflexive" reflected in Burawoy's call (2005, 8) for

a "sociology of publics". Lui (ibid: 64) suggested that the, "...[p]ublic can be

conservative... our public domain is more often overwhelmed by groups and

foundations, which are resourceful in terms of finance, political influence.. and

connectivity, with a conservative orientation than those that are critical and/or

radical". Third, consequently, he considered the agenda of "global public

sociology" problematic given the multiplicities of civil societies on a global scale.

The next two chapters can partially be seen as an empirical verification of Lui

TL's argument. This chapter explores the public sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong

and Singapore. It involves a reconsideration of the concept "public" in developing

a more symmetric, comprehensive framework for documenting the various

modes of sociological public engagement observed in the three locales. The

findings also demonstrate how differences in the formations of civil societies

framed the patterns of public engagement. The next chapter investigates the

impacts of institutional restructuring under the dual influence of "managerialism"

and "academic globalism." The prospect of public sociology will be discussed.

To begin, I will situate the discourse of "public sociology" in the context of the

history of sociology. I will review its major critiques, and present a revised

conceptual frame for the empirical investigation. In Sec 7.2-7.4, I will discuss the

historical patterns of public sociology in Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. A

comparative analysis will be presented in Sec 7.5.

6.1 Public Sociology in Perspective

6.1.1 The Public Commitment of Sociology

The agenda of public sociology is of recent origin, but the tension over the dual

identity between the scientific pursuit of sociology and its public commitment

could be traced throughout the history of the discipline back to those who were

canonized as its founders. Comte and Durkheim, on one hand, were credited for

establishing the professional status of sociology as a "positivistic science of

society," which, according to their doctrine, should focus on delivering scientific

explanations of social facts and hence be differentiated from the ideology-laden

attempts of social reform (Durkheim 1938). On the other hand, Marx, despite his

great endeavour to construct a "science" of the capital (1972), passionately

argued "the point is to change [the world]"(Marx 1854). Standing somewhere in

between, Weber emphasized the distinction between "politics" and "science"

with his notion of "value neutrality", but showed ambitious commitment on both

(Portis 1986). With the varied stance, nonetheless, those thinkers shared similar

aspirations to make their intellectual endeavour, as Burawoy put it (ibid, 5), "an

angel of history, searching for order in the broken fragments of modernity,

seeking to savage the promise of progress."

The intellectual vision of these 19th century European thinkers was developed

into an institutionalized discipline in the United States. As the first generation of

American sociologists fought for recognition within academia, however, they

were driven by the demand for more scientific status and for a more specialised

division of labour to pull back from the initial ambition, which, eventually, was

described in 1950 by Lipset and Smesler as the "moral prehistory" of sociology

replaced by the "path to science" (1961, 18). This ambition was reclaimed in the

1960s activism, but again alienated from sociologists. In Burawoy's words (2005:

5) it was "…channeled into the pursuit of academic credentials". Burawoy

referred to this trajectory as "the dialectics of progress" and clearly positioned

his call for public sociology within this context as one latest return to the initial

moral bearing of this discipline.

6.1.2 Burawoy and His Critiques

Mediating between the conservative mainstreamers that insisted on a

professional core and a radical camp that urged a more engaging doctrine,

Burawoy tackled the tension by proposing a "division of sociological labours" to

grant visibility and legitimacy to its four categories divided by the factors of

"audience" (academic vs. extra-academic) and the "type of knowledge"

(instrumental vs. reflexive): the professional, critical, policy and public

sociologies (Table 6-1). These conceptual dimensions were related to two

questions raised by Alfred McClung Lee (Lee, AM): "sociology for whom?" and

"sociology for what?"

	Academic Audience	Extra-Academic Audience
Instrumental Knowledge	Professional	Policy
Reflexive Knowledge	Critical	Public

Source: Burawoy, 2005, Table 1

Table 6-1 Division of Sociological Labour

The case Burawoy presented soon stirred discussion and invited critiques from

five perspectives. The first, from the more conservative wing, argued that the

agenda may compromise the professional integrity of sociology (Brady 2004;

Tittle 2004).One of the "extreme" critics, Mathieu Deflem, even set up a website

entitled "save sociology" as a "...response to the various forms of attack on sociology as an academic discipline... especially since the advent of so-called 'public' sociology.[1]" On the other hand, numerous practitioners of critical sociology welcomed the proposal but expressed discontent around the central status of "professional sociology" in Burawoy's formulation (e.g., Acker 2005; Ghamari-Tabrizi 2005)— this constitutes the second current of critiques. The two currents of critique reflected the continued relevance of the scientific-public debate today[2].

The third current stepped back from the ideological confrontational line and questioned the practical feasibility of public sociology given the various institutional constraints (see, for example, Scott 2005)— an attitude that might be termed as "sympathetic reservation-ism". The fourth current of response challenged the clarity of the conceptual frame. Mclaughlin et al (2005; 2007), for instance, pointed out several conceptual ambiguities in Burawoy's framework (e.g. the questionable link between "public" and "reflexive") and discussed its

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[1] http://www.cas.sc.edu/socy/faculty/deflem/Savesociology/default.html [Assessed 16, 9, 2011]
[2] A personal statement of my stance is included in the Epilogue.

inadequacy as a framework for empirical studies (e.g. its failure to consider institutional contexts). Instead, they proposed (2007) a "synthesis model," which was derived from Steven Brint's "spheres of knowledge production (Brint 1994), that took into account the academic, disciplinary, audience and institutional setting in an integrated analysis.

I share with third group of critics concerns about the institutional constraints of public sociology, but these writings on Western academia reveal little about the Asian situation. While I agree with McLaughlin and his colleagues on several analytical points, I did not find their sophisticated framework suitable for illuminating the particularities of the investigated cases. The review now leads to the last strand; one I call the "trans-societal critiques". These critiques take Burawoy on his US-centric bias, pointing out how the power structure at the world scale and cultural and political multiplicities affect the prospect for public sociology. The argument by Lui TL cited in the opening paragraph, as well as the following analysis, embodies this dimension.

6.1.3 Practical Challenges in the Field

I encountered three major challenges when trying to apply Burawoy's conceptual formation to the empirical study. First, in interviews I found the intuitive grasp of the term "public" among informants varied. There was often initial confusion as to whether "service in the government" or "expert consultancy" (which came closer to the category "policy sociology" in Burawoy's terms) should be counted as "public". In fact, quite a number of informants intuitively counted these activities as such. This perceptional variation should not be attributed to the lack of familiarity with the "public sociology" discourse; instead I consider the intuition as a reflection of the cultural bearing of Confucius' intellectual tradition, which considers "service in the government" a respectable way to serve the public (Sec 6.5.3). In other words, the term "public" in some Asian contexts does not necessarily evoke the impression of "opposition to the powerful." I agree that a distinction between the two types of extra-academic engagement should be maintained *conceptually*. However, imposing this narrower definition of "public" in the Asian context had three practical problems. First, a number of figures (such as discussed in Sec 6.2.3) exert their public influence through a delicate mediating between their role as a government partner and as a public

intellectual. Delineating the two roles as distinct failed to reflect the internal

coherence some practitioners felt. Second, given the moral ground the term

"public sociology" is now acquiring, excluding these practices from the legitimate

scope of "public sociology" could be seen as a violent exertion of the researcher's

interpretive power. Third, it runs the risk of being Anglo-centric.

The second challenge, also related to the distinction between policy and public

sociology, was that it confounds two conceptual dimensions: *type of knowledge*

and *audience*. While Burawoy defines the distinction with the former

(instrumental vs. reflexive), the primary audience of the ideal typical cases of the

two categories also differ (state authorities or corporate clients vs. civil public),

despite the fact that both are extra-academic. A plausible reason for this

confusion is the affinity between the two aspects as they are both about the

political stance in the power relation with the established, the powerful,

paradigms or institution— those serving the authorities might tend to impose

instrumental knowledge without challenging the basic assumption, whereas

those engaged with the civil public were more inclined to employ critical capacity.

However, the presence of such affinity will not justify the neglect of those

practices whereby the political stances in institutional and epistemological fronts

do not chime together. Examples include advisors who address the authorities

with critical challenges to the rationale underlying the current policies, and those

serving communities with their instrumental expertise.

Third, the distinction between "traditional" and "organic" public sociology, an

aspect that I shall call *depth of engagement*, can find its counterpart on the policy

side. We can consider the "commissioned policy research" and "research briefing

to authorities" as "traditional" policy sociology because these modes by nature

only involved the dissemination of research findings. By contrast, service as an

officer (on secondment), advisor, or board member in government or public

bodies could be seen as "organic" policy sociology, since these modes involve

closer connections and direct dialogue with extra-academic parties.

6.1.4. Toward a Sorting Template

To cope with the challenges identified above, I appropriated the concept "public"

more inclusively to include any engagement with "extra-academic" audiences,

which encompassed the right half of Burawoy's 2x2 table. The revision might

slightly depart from the Western etymology of "public", but it reflects more

faithfully how the term (and its translation) was understood in some Asian

context. To distinguish between modes of public engagement amongst

sociologists, an ideal-typical framework was devised with three binominal

variables: (1) audience: powerful clients (state authorities or corporates) vs. the

civil society, (2) the depth of engagement: the traditional, mediated

dissemination of sociological knowledge or research outputs (press commentary,

website) vs. the organic, direct engagement in an organised way (such as

activism or service), and (3) type of knowledge: instrumental vs. reflexive. The

three variables create eight possible combinations (see Table 6-2), each of which

corresponded to a few modes of practice that were considered fitting to the

criteria that define each cell.

		State/ Corporate Client	Civil Society
Traditional (Mediated)	Instr.	Policy Research Expert Testimony	Public Dissemination of Research Expert Account on Media
	Reflx.	Critical Policy Research Critical Letter to Authorities	Critical Writing for Public Critical Commentaries on Media
Organic. (Direct)	Instr.	Service as Seconded Officers Expert Consultancy	Service in Community Org.
	Reflx.	Service in Independent Org Service as Gov Advisor	Advocacy Group Petition and Protest

Table 6-2. Modes of Public Engagement of Sociologists

While applying this framework on coding empirical data, the greatest challenge

appeared to be the determination on the third dimension (type of knowledge) for

two reasons. First, many of the empirical cases examined employed both

instrumental and reflexive knowledge, and the difference that could be noted was

a matter of degree. Second, the actual coding of each case requires closer scrutiny

of the textual evidence from the projects, which made it difficult in the general

comparative survey attempted here. Therefore the third variable was dropped

from the 'Sorting Template' ultimately adopted in the empirical study, which

consists of four principal categories defined by the variable "audience" and

"depth of engagement." Each cell includes a number of conceivable modes of

practice listed below (see Table 6-3, the second column), from which, however,

the relevant data might not be available (the third column, **X** indicated data

unavailability).

This template was used as a guiding apparatus in my field investigation in the

three locales. The data availability varied, and those surveyed did not necessarily

represent the complete picture. Notably, I have not acquired sufficient data on

the "community service" sector to suggest a presentable conclusion. Nonetheless,

some significant patterns and contrasts can already be confidently established.

Principal Categories[1]	Mode of Practices	Data Availability
State/Corporate *Organic*	Service as Officers or Advisor to Gov/Public Body	Departmental Hand book, Website, Interviews
State/Corporate *Traditional*	Commissioned Policy Research	Publication List, Interview, Meta-Statistics
	Expert Testimony	Record not available **X**
	Critical Advice to Authorities	Discreet nature **X**
Civil Society *Traditional*	Books for Public Readers	Library directory, observation in bookstores
	Sociological Website	Online Directory, Searching Engine
	Media Commentaries	Interviews, Newspaper database
	Public Talks	Interviews, internet data-mining
Civil Society *Organic*	Community Service	Departmental Hand book, Website, Interviews
	Advocacy Group	Departmental Hand book, Website, Interviews
	Petition and Protest	Interviews, Internet data-mining

Table 6-3Sorting Template of Public Sociology

6.2 Singapore

I will start with Singapore, since this is where the original concept of public

sociology was first found inadequate. Singapore is a state known for its "culture

of control" (Trocki 2006), "enthralled media"(Seow 1998) and questionable

freedom of speech. The reputation makes numerous external observers

(informants in Taiwan or Hong Kong) question the possibility for public

[1] Note that the ordering of the four categories roughly corresponds to the ordering of the "distance to power"— therefore the direct involvement in state or corporate client was placed first, followed by the more detached, traditional mode of "public dissemination" of research to both sort of audience, and at last the organic engagement in the civil sphere which *might* be strongly oppositional to the authority.

sociology in Singapore. However, when confronted with questions about public

sociology, numerous sociologists in Singapore disagreed with the stereotyped

impressions suggested and stressed that many colleagues were committed to

public causes. Singaporean sociologists, it was argued, were just making their

contribution via different channels— usually the more institutionalized,

politically-agreeable channels. This systematic bias leads to a discussion of the

alleged "state control" and the mechanism of self-censorship (Sec 6.2.2).

Nonetheless, there were a few Singaporean sociologists who managed to exert a

critical influence over the public discourse (Sec 6.2.3).

6.2.1 Policy Research/Consultancy vs. Limited Pubic Dissemination

Sociology in Singapore has historically engaged closely in public issues, in

particular in the 1970s-1980s when sociological expertise was in great demand

in numerous state-funded projects to meet the challenges of nation building (Sec

5.5.3). As one interviewee (SG12) put it, the "… state was the systematic employer

of sociology, and it took an applied approach. This particular variation of public

sociology believes that the contribution of sociology was to shape public policy".

The research orientation then had four domains of concentration[1]: (1)

industrialization, (2) urbanization (3) changing demographic structure, and (4)

so- called "sociocultural patterns"— such as national identity, ethnic relations,

and multilingualism. The department also emphasised its active role in providing

consultancy[2]. On the other hand, general public access to sociological expertise

and knowledge was fairly limited. Although Singaporean sociologists wrote

numerous interesting books about Singapore, their availability via most retailing

channels is limited[3]. With a few exceptions (Sec 6.2.3), it was neither a common

practice for Singaporean sociologists to write commentary in newspapers, to

accept media interview or to address a public audience. A few sociologists were

involved in advocacy groups— for instance, Vivian Wee and Nirmala Purushotam

in the AWARE (Association of Women for Action and Research). But I am not

aware of anything seriously critical to authority attempted by sociologists in

Singapore.

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[1] National University of Singapore, Department of Sociology, *Prospectus* 1974, *Handbook* 1981
[2] National University of Singapore, Department of Sociology, Handbooks 1984-1998
[3] I sampled several sizable bookstores during my visiting stay, including the Kinokuniya bookstore on Orchard Road (the largest in the city), Borders, two branches of Popular Bookstore, and all the bookshop in the Bras Basah Complex (the major book shopping complex). However, I found limited writing on Singapore Society. There were only two retailors more resourceful in this respect, the NUS press bookshop in the NUS campus, and the Select bookshop which was hidden among many upscale art piece shops in a quiet building on Tanglin Rd. Both were not in convenient location for ordinary consumers, and the owner of the latter was alleged to "have been told not to stock certain titles (SG4)."

6.2.2 "OB markers" and Self-Censorship

A persistent theme was the practice of *self-censorship*. It was generally agreed in Singapore that there were certain "OB markers" (out of bound markers) you are not supposed to transgress. The perception of where these lines really are, and what consequence and offenses they imply, were however varied. Some considered certain topics too sensitive to write about (for example migrant workers, the integrity of juridical system, or "issues related to Lee KY family"), while others consider only "stepping out of your role as an academics (SG2)" as risky. The latter was simply implied in citations of a few notable cases, for instance one expatriate recalled an incident in 1985 in which:

"... there were two researchers who had worked for a long time on the labour relations in Singapore and they have gave a what is supposed to be a close door talk on the 'history of labour movement' in Singapore... and suddenly they were told to leave within 24 hours (SG7)"

Seeing incidents like this, the informant "... consciously chose not to write anything about Singapore." Two often cited cases were of Christopher Lingle and

Chee Soon-Juan. Lingle, a former NUS economist who was charged with

"contempt of court" for an essay he wrote for the *International Herald Tribune* in

1994, in which he accused an unnamed Asian regime of relying on a "compliant

judiciary to bankrupt politicians". He flew to United States after being

interrogated to avoid paying the enormous fine (Haas 1999:32). Chee Soon-Juan,

a former NUS psychologist, joined the oppositional Singaporean Democratic

Party in 1992, and was fired a few months later by the Department Head (a PAP

member of Parliament) for allegedly "misuse" of research funds to send his wife's

doctoral dissertation to the United States (Tamney 1996:64). More recently,

anecdotal accounts about the departure (in some case because of the unexpected

termination of contract) of some former colleagues who happened to have

written critically were occasionally told with varied interpretations; however

there was no way to ascertain the causal connection.

These stories shared the core feature that they inevitably contained known facts,

claims made by the person involved which were potentially distorted, and

speculation. Indeed, there was no certain way to objectively fathom the extent to

which the government exerted the degree of control interpreted by some

observers. In other word, the perceived risk of falling victim to state action was at

least partially (and inevitably) constructed by actors within the system. This was not to say that the sense of fear was 'fake'— instead they are based on certain facts, and any suspected exaggeration was due to the questionable transparency of, and the lack of trust in, the official account. A senior informant explained the elusive nature of the mechanism:

"...The line was naturally difficult to map. If you ask those who are in power, they can't neither specify where it is. Different people observed different lines; the objective line others set for you also varied. (SG10)"

In short, the perception of the existence of certain boundaries was prevalent, but such boundaries were, to a large extent, a "reality" constructed in the dynamic process that might involve exaggeration, speculation, and a reinterpretation of various agents in a few extreme cases. It can hardly be proved in any objective way. The uncertainty of such boundaries however made it rational to step back in order to prevent risky consequences and this tends to create a politically conservative culture. One senior informant (SG2) observed "there were very few people in Singapore, academic included; who are really able to be seriously critical to PAP... they think too highly of themselves, they think the government

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would go after them." In fact, he observed that academic freedom in Singapore is greater than many had assumed. Moreover, as I will demonstrate in the next section, these boundaries are, to a degree, negotiable.

6.2.3 Trading in the Middle: the Art of being Critical

There were, despite the prevailing sense of 'state control', a few sociologists who engaged with the public more often— sometimes in ways critical to the government. Chua Beng-Huat (蔡明發) was often the first name suggested when informants were asked to identify those colleagues who were known to be openly critical about the government. Chua, a Singaporean, completed postgraduate studies in the University of York in Canada in the 1970s, where he was exposed to   rising critical theories. His university web profile[1] described that he "returned to Singapore in 1984 to take up the Director of Research post at the HDB but was fired from that job for his critical writings on Singapore politics." He subsequently joined the NUS where he "brought Foucault and postmodernism to the department" and continued to write critically on issues like housing and the privatization of education (Khondker 2000:116) Chua was often considered to be the target of a remark Lee Kuan-Yew made in his 1992 Chinese New Year

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[1] http://profile.nus.edu.sg/fass/soccbh/ HDB stood for 'Housing Development Board.'

speech, in which he expressed concern as to the influence of some contemporary

Western thoughts on young academics. "Do not just accept what Western liberal

sociologists tell you. Ask how it has worked in Singapore," Lee said (*Strait Times,*

9 Feb, 1992). A later article by Chua (*Sunday Times,* 3, Oct, 1993) on rising living

costs in Singapore was mentioned in the Parliamentary Debate. Lim Boon-Heng,

then a Minister in charge of the Cost Review Committee, chided "As a sociologist

in our university, he should read the Report before he passes judgment"

(Parliamentary Debates, 1993, 718). The two incidents made Chua "the most

publicly-scolded sociologist in the country," and there was speculation that Chua

would soon be fired (SG2). However, he stayed on, and instilled a critical angle in

his academic writing; for example *Communitarian Ideology and Democracy in*

Singapore (1995) and *Political Legitimacy and Housing* (1997)*.*

Another figure was Kuo Kien-Wen (郭建文), whose commitment to public affairs

could be traced to his earlier involvement in the 1970s student movement. Kuo

returned Singapore in 1991 and continued to appear as an invited speaker on

various occasions organized by various civil groups— including the radical

journal *Tangent* and the independent centre for critical art *The Substation.*

Meanwhile, he kept a tractable record of services in government-related bodies

like the National Heritage Board and National Archive.

The first two figures were often considered as the prime examples of the critical

engagement of sociologists in Singapore, however, my browsing of their writing

to date gave me the impression that they were still operating within a 'softer'

range of issues (such as specific policy, culture and consumerism) without

engaging deeper on the hard core ones that directly confronted the legitimacy of

PAP rules (for example the election system, judicial system). Even on occasions

where they came across more sensitive themes, the wording was fine-tuned

within a range that avoided being provocative. This impression was supported by

a number of informants I interviewed. A senior scholar commented on Kuo and

Chua as "relatively critical, but they did not touch on hard issues, which was the

bottom line. That remained untouchable in Singapore. In particular, teaching in

the universities made you to be considered part of the institution (SG10)."

Another informant described Chua as successful in "striking a balance between

criticism and involvement …[and]… trading in the middle (SG12)."

There were some others who were of relatively higher visibility in the mass

media. They, too, demonstrated the art of balancing between "criticism and

involvement." Eddie Kuo (郭振羽), now Emeritus Professor of Nangyang

Technological University, had studied and taught in Taiwan and the United States

before joining the NUS Sociology Department in 1973. He became the Founding

Dean of the School of Communication and Information at Nanyang in 1992-2003,

and subsequently served in the Council of the University. He had also chaired

various government committees related to publishing regulations and media

policies. His high profile in sectors of higher education and media made him a

popular interviewee on issues related to the two sectors— which was

occasionally critical. Eddie Kuo had reminded his junior colleagues that the

comments he gave didn't guarantee that it would be acceptable for these juniors

to say the same thing. What Eddie Kuo "had done or said before," the informant

explained, "secured the qualification to say things at a certain level without

getting into trouble… (SG10)."

Syed Farid Alatas, who was actively involved in the statutory body Majilis Ugama

Islam Singapura (MUIS, Islamic Religious Council in Singapore), often gave public

lectures and press commentaries on issues related to the Muslim community. He

might say things critical in the interviews, but as one observer indicated, Alatas

"was not subversive and… the government know enough about [him]" (SG9).

6.3 Hong Kong

Compared with their colleagues in Singapore, Sociologists in Hong Kong were

rarely approached by the colonial government for policy consultancy (Sec 6.3.1),

and there was no perceived risk of criticising the government. Many scholars

who came to Hong Kong after WWII noted the clearer sense of "freedom" in the

colony— especially when compared with either Chinese mainland or Taiwan

where the ideological confrontation placed strict constraints on expressions of

thought (e.g.,Yu 1998). Though not part of the main stream, there were a number

of sociologists who engaged the audience beyond the academic circle via various

modes. But the recent higher education restructuring, as Lui indicated (2007c)

placed some challenges on stakeholders, and triggered quite complicated

responses.

6.3.1 Distance to Power

The sociologists in Hong Kong were never involved in the policy process in any

comparable level like their Singaporean colleagues. An informant who had served

at the university senior administrative level described:

"...the British colonial government basically did not trust, and was not willing to commission, the domestic scholars for research. There might be certain political considerations— not willing to disclose too much information, and was reluctant to have domestic scholars involved in politics.   (HK15)"

The more popular practice, by contrast, was to commission a few scholars from the UK or other commonwealth countries to write a report based on a short research visit. Similarly, there had been no academic sociologists who had served any significant role within the colonial administration.[1] After 1997, the engagement of academic sociologists in the policy process remained fairly limited. On the one hand the universities were given the mission to pursue "international excellence;" on the other hand, the administration had developed its own system of research and evaluation. However, there were a few sociologists absorbed into the institution – notably the appointments of Lau Siu-Kai (CUHK) and Li Ming-Kun (HKPU) to the Central Planning Unit (CPU). I will discuss these in the next section.

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[1] Some early administrators, on the other hand, showed their sociological interests and contributed to either the activities of HKRAS (Sec 3.3.3) or the first few collections of sociological studies of Hong Kong (Sec 5.2.2).

6.3.2 Public Intellectuals (Second Cohort)

There were a few sociologists in Hong Kong who communicated beyond the

academic audience. Of the senior sociologists, Ambrose King had already made

his name in Taiwan before arriving in Hong Kong because of his earlier but

influential collection about the modernization of China (King 1966). In 1977,

after the termination of the formal diplomatic relationship between the United

States and the Republic of China (Taiwan), King wrote a commentary published

on both *Mingpao Monthly* (明報月刊) and on the *China Times* in Taiwan[1]—

marking the beginning of his continuous political writing about Taiwan, Hong

Kong and Chinese mainland (King 2001). His achievement certainly embodied an

ideal as a public intellectual, however, the audience he was addressing, and the

influence he achieved, was perhaps greater in Taiwan and later in the broader

Chinese speaking world—instead of Hong Kong itself. In fact, most of his

monographs were actually published in Taiwan.

Of King's cohort, Lau Siu-Kai (劉兆佳) and Lee, Ming-kwan (李明堃) were two

sociologists with a more visible public profile on issues relating to Hong Kong.

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[1] He contended that the diplomatic setback would not stop Taiwan from finding a way of survival, disseminating an optimism to the island when it was most needed.

The pair shared similarities in their career trajectory.—They became HKU

classmates (with Wong Siu-Lun) in the newly founded Faculty of Social Science in

the aftermath of the 1967 left-wing riots, where they all joined the student

publication *Undergrad* (學苑) as editors. Lau and Lee were both known for their

writing on Hong Kong politics and society (Lau 1982; Lee, MK 1987), and both

wrote extensively for public readers in relevant topics— in particular issues

related to the erstwhile forthcoming handover in 1997. A journalist of

Wide-Angle Len magazine suggested the writing of both "brought sociological

theories to the local, lived context," and acclaimed them as "truly sociologists of

Hong Kong' (Wong, KK 1985). Their prominent public profile placed them (along

with Wong Siu-Lun) on the short list of "Hong Kong Affair Consultants[1]"

employed by the Chinese government to "provide advice on the peaceful

transition and the maintenance of prosperity and stability." After the handover,

they were both appointed to the Central Policy Unit (CPU), an advisory

institution inherited from the colonial administration. This political move

represented an attempt of the HKSAR government (or the Chinese government

behind it) to broaden its political legitimacy. The cooperation, therefore, was

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[1] This title was controversial. It was seen as official recognition from the Chinese government and was highly sought for in some cases, but on the other hand, the list had been criticizes as lack of opposition and ideological diversity.

controversial. It could be seen as an institutional path to contribute to the public good, but some more radical observer inevitably considered the accepting of such appointment as a manifestation of their compliance to the new regime[1].

6.3.3 Public Intellectual (Third Cohort): Three Currents

Of the third cohort of sociologists (the baby-boomers with stronger Hong Kong identities), there emerged more sociologists with higher public visibility, who can roughly be sorted into three types: (1) Lui Tak-Lok (呂大樂) and Ng Chun-Hung (吳俊雄) who wrote about the culture and society of Hong Kong, (2) Chan Kin-Man (陳健民) who took a more engaging approach in the development of civil society in greater China, and (3) the HKBU-based triad of Fred Chiu (邱延亮), Luk Tak-Chuen (陸德泉) and Leung Hon-Chu (梁漢柱), who represented the radical wing of activism among sociologists in Hong Kong.

Lui and Ng shared lots of similarities in their career trajectories. They were both born in Hong Kong and both grew up in the "MacLehose Years". They developed great interest in popular culture before entering the university, and became

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[1] Liu SK, after joining the government, had publicly announced his "four no principle"- no comment on Beijing's policies, no comment on other minister's words and act, no confrontation with the government, and no objection to the HKSAR policies. See http://www.com.cuhk.edu.hk/ubeat_past/031259/polotical_ppl_01.htm

editors (like Lau SK and Lee MK) of *Undergrad* while studying in HKU. They went

to England in the early 1980s and returned to teach after the 1984 Sino-British

Joint Declaration about Hong Kong's future was announced. Ng obtained a PhD in

Essex in 1990 when he was in HKU and Lui got DPhil from Oxford in the next

year when he was teaching in the CUHK[1]. Lui and Ng both became widely known

in Hong Kong for their public writings, news commentaries, radio talks, and Lui

also chaired the Hong Kong think tank 'SynergyNet' (新力量網路[2]). Compared

with Lau SK and Lee MK, Lui TL and Ng CH paid more attention to   culture and

its meanings (see, for instance,Lui 1983; Ng and Cheung 2002)— even in Lui's

writing about the cohort structure (2007a) and social class (2004)[3]. In

2002-2003, Lui, Ng, and Eric Ma (馬傑偉[4]) initiated the Chinese (Cantonese)-

medium conference series "Hong Kong Culture and Society" to communicate and

encourage Hong Kong studies in the local language. The triad have so far, rotated

the role of first editor and have produced three conference proceedings from the

conference series (Ng, Ma et al. 2005b; Ma, Ng et al. 2009; Lui, Ng et al. 2010)

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[1] Lui joined HKU in 2009.
[2] See the committee list on SynergyNet's website http://www.synergynet.org.hk/b5_about4.php
[3] Noteworthy, a number of observers pointed out that Lui could managed doing so by conducting a "double life"— he wrote hard core dry, empirical analysis of the social class and mobility for academic journals to establish himself institutionally so that he could wrote the inspiring, interpretive pieces for the general public (HK5, HK22).
[4] PhD London, Professor in Mass Communication, CUHK

which have greatly enriched the literature of Hong Kong in the local language.

Their focus on culture might be associated with the broader "cultural turn" in

sociology after the 1980s, or with their British training background. But the

cardinal factor should be that they grew up in an era when Hong Kong started to

develop a cultural consciousness (Ng, Ma et al. 2005a, 1), and this sense of

cultural particularity was found to be the only secure ground for anchoring their

sense of identity when the political fate of the entire colony was deprived from

their hand. Ng (2005, vii) recalled his return to Hong Kong in 1985:

"... The China-UK Joint declaration was already settled. The Brits were retreating,

the Chinese were in the future, and Hong Kong people were looking for

themselves. I looked around: the labour in Hong Kong remained barely visible,

the politics was staggering under the renovated colonial administration, the only

thing inspiring turned out to be Anita Mui, Alan Tam, and my schoolmate Chow

Yun-Fat[1]... then I had a big fever, an obsession with the Hong Kong pop culture..."

This enthusiasm with culture however was accompanied by a frustration

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[1]Anita Mui (梅艷芳), Alan Tam (譚詠麟) and Chow Yun-Fat (周潤發) were all Hong Kong pop
singers or movie stars.

deriving from a lack of agency in the political process towards the reunion with China. In one of his recent best-selling titles (2007b), Lui concluded the core message was "to continue voicing how we felt about Hong Kong, whether it is politically correct or not."

There were others, meanwhile, who took the reunion with China as an opportunity for broader engagement. Chan Kin-Man, for instance, has managed to conduct a career of public engagement in both Hong Kong and China. Chan had studied in CUHK and Yale before started teaching in 1993 in CUHK. His publications reflected an intellectual trajectory gradually moving from an early interest on corruption to the later concern of NGOs and civil sphere in Chinese societies[1]. He has engaged with the public not only through his frequent commentaries on the mixture of media[2], but also through   direct involvement in various government committees, forums, corporations (as an independent member of board) and civil groups in both Hong Kong and China[3]. Notably, he collaborated with a group of intellectuals and professionals in the founding of the

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[1] See his publication list on http://chankinman.wordpress.com/academic/ [Assessed 21, Sept, 2011]

[2] His website listed 91 newspaper commentary entries in the time frame Feb.2003-Aug,2011. See http://chankinman.wordpress.com/commentaries/ [Assessed 22, Sept, 2011]

[3] http://chankinman.wordpress.com/about_me/

"Hong Kong Democratic Development Network" (香港民主發展網路) in 2002.

Compared with Lui and Ng, Chan represented a deeper (or more "organic") mode

of engagement in both the government and the civil fronts, and he focused on the

more hard-core issues of politics and democracy. But his concern expanded to

greater China, diluting the thin scholarly attention Hong Kong received.

Sociologists in Hong Kong rarely became involved in activism of a more radical or

confrontational nature beyond press commentaries or involvement in civil

groups. There was however an episode of exception which took place in the

1990s Hong Kong Baptist College (University).The Baptist College was upgraded

from a 2-year institution to a 3-year state-funded college in 1990. The upgrading

demanded more staff. William T. Liu, a Chicago-based psychologist, was

appointed as the Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, and five members were

subsequently recruited from the United States to serve the sociology

department—including the critically-minded Fred Chiu, Luk Tak-Chuen and

Leung Hon-Chu. The "accidental" synergy of the three, under a supportive Dean

and Department Head, was consequential. They offered teaching course of more

critical nature, brought students on field trips to factories, helped establish the

Staff Union, contributed a current of left-wing critiques on the media, and at their

height, got involved in staging the student protest against the 2005 WTO

conference in Hong Kong (interviews HK5, HK6, HK22).

6.3.4 Managerialism and Academic Globalism: Impacts and Reactions

Despite the growth of public engagement among the third cohort of sociologists,

the higher education institutions were simultaneously restructured in a way that

reflected a penetrating "managerialism" and "academic globalism," greatly

restricting the space for practicing public sociology (See Ch7 for more detailed

discussion). In 2008, the Hong Kong Sociological Association (HKSA) devoted the

first session of its new initiative "HKSA Public Seminar" to the topic "Public

Sociology in Hong Kong," and invited Ng CH and Eric Ma, two speakers

"experienced in practicing public sociology" to share their view. The talk,

however, turned out to be a lament of the difficulty of practicing public sociology

within the current institutional circumstance in Hong Kong[1]. In particular, the

speakers stressed that they were at least people "on the shore" (with tenure),

and the pressure for junior staff was only greater.

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[1] See the Seminar Transcript on http://www.hksa.ust.hk/Word/2008_Public_seminar_1.doc (in
Chinese) [Assessed 21, Sept, 2011]

The three currents of public participation reviewed above had different

trajectories. First, Lui and Ng, both with secure institutional positions, made

great efforts to encourage (or rescue) Hong Kong studies and their public

dissemination. The "Hong Kong Culture and Society" conference series was one

major, and to a degree successful[1], attempt. The HKSA 'Public Seminar'

established in 2008 was an initiative that evolved in a similar vein. In the short

run, these reactions ironically created a resurgence of scholarly interests around

Hong Kong, but a pessimistic sense about the future was still evident even

amongst the most devoted practitioners. Second, the northbound projection of

public engagement in China represented by Chan KM was brought forward by a

few younger scholars. A notable case was the series of 'action research'

undertaken by Pun Ngai[2] (潘毅) and Ku Ho-Bun (古學斌). Both Pun and Ku had

migrated from China in childhood, studied in SOAS, taught in HKPU (which has

established firm ties with numerous Chinese institutions), and had a

commitment to the underclass in China. They took the action research approach

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[1] Some students I met described the popularity of these texts in their generation.
[2] Pun won the C Wright Mills Award in 2005 for her study of the female migrant worker in Southern China. She was doing well in the prestigious Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, but decided to join Ku in HKPU— a less prestigious institution which was historically specialized in training social workers. It was suggested by an observer that the decision was made because HKPU has closer tie with numerous social welfare institution in China and less demand on publishing. So "she can really focus on what she think is worthy" (HK10).

to set up a restaurant-pub in a migrant labour community in Beijing suburb as a

base for both researching and empowering. Third, the current of radical activism

in HKBU, however, was largely extinguished. The HKBU administrative team,

under the mounting pressure of assessments, replaced the Department Head to

implement its policies. Eventually Fred Chiu and Luk Tak-Chuen both left the

department[1].

Before closing this section, a passing observation about Hong Kong could be

noted. During my visits there, I have participated in a few events held in the "HK

Reader bookstore" (序言書室) or "HKFS Social Movement Resource Centre",

arguably two important hubs within the emerging civil network in Hong Kong

today. I conversed with some activists or civil group participants on these

occasions about their concerns and their perceptions of the contribution of

sociologists to the issues in question. The general impression was a feeling that

many pressing public issues did not receive sufficient attention from sociologists.

The demand of discourse is now met by civil intellectual and media

commentators whose writing is however limited by their lack of a more rigorous

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[1] Chiu moved to the Institute of Ethnology of Academia Sinica in Taipei. Luk worked for Oxfam
for a couple of years and move to teach in China.

methodological or theoretical training. Those people I met acknowledged the

contribution of the figures I reviewed, but considered (from their more radical

perspective) Lui and Ng "too conservative" and argued that they did not engage

in harder issues where more confrontation is needed. Chan was described as

"relevant" but "too busy"[1]. These rudimentary observations invite more inquiries

into the issues of access to sociological knowledge within the civil sphere.

6.4 Taiwan: Vibrant Civil Engagement since 1980s

Sociology was re-established in Taiwan accompanied with a general distrust from

the government. Its involvement in policy remained limited considering the size

of the nation and the community. Self-censorship was also common, but a stream

of press commentaries by a few sociologists emerged in the 1970s. This current

of public engagement acquired much of its energy in the process of political

democratization in the late 1980s, and has now evolved to include a wide array

of practices that range from press commentary, public talks, involvement in

various civil groups and occasional confrontations with authority. Even their

scholarly sociological writings are more available to public readers in forms of

monographs or edited collections distributed to major bookstores.

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[1] Field note, 28, Nov, 2009

6.4.1 The Weak Link with the Government

The commitment to public and political engagement was integral to the pre-1949

Chinese sociological tradition. This legacy, however, was only partially brought to

Taiwan as the critical wing among the Chinese sociologists tended to stay in

China (Sec 3.3.2). Those who moved to Taiwan still possessed a conviction to

contribute sociological knowledge for the public good, but only in   politically

agreeable ways (particularly under the suppressive KMT-surveillance). An

emphasis on the applied value of sociology (on social work and social policies)

was evident in the early development of sociology. A significant portion of the

faculty members had related expertise.

Collaborations between sociologists and the government were however not

common, especially when compared with Singapore, partially due to the

historical tension between the KMT and sociologists back in 1940s China (Sec

3.3.2). The government's familiarity with the discipline remained limited when it

was restored in Taiwan (Lung 1963). A mid-1980s survey asked 35 sociologists

how they evaluate the "government's impression on sociology," and 17 opted for

either "persistent ignorance" or "persistent misunderstanding" while only one

identified "persistent emphasis"[1] (Hsiao, Michael H.H. 1987, 368). Throughout

the 1980s and 90s there were only about one hundred policy research projects

commissioned amongst sociologists, which was of an insignificant ratio in

relation to the amount of commissioned research and the size of the professional

community. The number further dropped after 2000 (Wang, JH and Chu 2003).

Through the years, only a few sociologists got involved in government service

while retaining an academic identity[2]. Michael Hsiao (蕭新煌), for instance, had

been appointed Presidential Advisor for a decade, serving the national leader of

both parties. His colleague in Academia Sinica, Yi Chin-Chun (伊慶春), had been a

board member of the Taiwan Provincial Government[3].

6.4.2 Political Democratization and the Emerging Civil Space

On the other hand, sociologist, in particular those of the third and later cohorts,

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[1] Other responses: 12 tick "growing understanding" and 3 tick "growing emphasis."
[2] There were, by contrast, a number of sociologists switching to the career of professional politics. Guo Ji (郭驥), one the first few who migrated from China, continued a career within the KMT party. Huang Da-Chou (黃大洲), one of the first few sociologist trained post-war later became Taipei city mayor. Pang Chien-Kuo (龐建國), Ting Tin-yu (丁庭宇) and demographist James Hsueh (薛承泰) all had full-time teaching job in NTU before pursuing political career. Pang and Ting were both legislators, Ting is now the Deputy Mayor of Taipei City. Hsueh has served as the head of Bureau of Social Affair in Taipei City Government and is now a cabinet member.
[3]Lin Wan-Yi (林萬億), who been affiliated to the NTU sociology department, was another often mentioned case. He had served as the Deputy County Chief of Taipei County and is a main architect behind the social welfare policies of the Democracy Promotion Party (DPP). But he is by training a social welfare expert.

found a larger stage in the broadly conceived civil space that consisted first of a

number of mainstream newspapers and magazines, and later the enriched

possibilities of activism in various sorts of organised ways. This current of

influence can be traced back to late 1960s during which a number of scholars

after returning to Taiwan with American PhDs started to form a small network

through their participation in *Thought and Words* (思與言), a journal of the

humanities and social science, and the *University Magazine* (大學雜誌). In the

mid-1970s, they were invited to contribute columns for *United Daily* (聯合報)

and *China Times* (中國時報)*,* two mainstream newspapers founded by

intellectual entrepreneurs with a sense of humanistic idealism (See 6.5.3), and

the later founded *Independent Evening News* (自立晚報).

This group of writers, influenced by both traditional Chinese intellectual idealism

and the American idea of democracy, played a critical role in disseminating

concepts such as liberty, equality, democracy & pluralism under authoritarian

rule. They were therefore referred to as the "liberal scholars" (自由派學者) to

signify their standing in relation to the conservative authoritarian regime, and

they were considered as one constructive force to eventual political

democratisation in the late 1980s (Chiu, HY 1999). A few sociologists of the

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second (Wen CI) and third cohort (Hsiao M, Chiu HY and Yeh CJ) joined the group

in the 1970s. Hong Kong-based Ambrose King also made regular contributions.

Some junior sociologists attributed their interest in the profession to the

contributions of these practitioners. However, writing under such a suppressive

climate, they made some compromises to avoid being excessively provocative[1].

Hence they were also criticised by later writers from more radical stances for

"waging (a) political stance" when "mediating between the KMT and the

Tang-wai" (黨外 literally 'out of the party', referring to the grassroots opposition

force which   later became the basis for the rise of DPP*)* (Fu 1995).

The abolition of Martial Law in 1987 opened up a more secure space for public

engagement amongst sociologists in a more organized way. Some younger

intellectuals who were discontented with these liberal scholars founded the

radical society *Taishe* (台社 Sec 5.5.1) and its associated journal in 1988 (Fu, ibid).

In 1989, twenty one academics broadly identified as the "liberal scholars" formed

the *Taipei Society* (澄社) which was remotely modelled on Fabien Society with

---

[1]. Michael Hsiao recalled that his had to conceal writing about "indigenization"(a forbidden theme as it imply an separation from China) in the disguise of "Sinicization." The writing of these liberal scholars under the authoritarian time often involves a delicate balance in order not to be riskily offensive, which shows some resemblance with the art of "mediating in the middle" demonstrated by the public-minded Singaporean sociologists reviewed in Sec 6.2.3.

two different orientations: the ideological leaning to a "modernized liberalism" instead of the moderate socialism that characterised Fabien, and it remained a "limitedly politicized" role with the stated principle of "commenting without directly engaging the politics" (論政不參政) (Yang, KS 1989).

The 1980s was also remembered by many sociologists of the younger cohort as a definitive period for anchoring their vocation in the discipline. An informant who attended university in the 1980s recalled why he chose sociology for career:

"It was out of question why study sociology in our cohort... The student movement was rampant, and many social movements were emerging. The student activists of our cohort sought answers in scholarly writing. Sociology simply became popular at a time of tremendous transition... (TW10)"

The sociology department of the National Taiwan University then was described as an "oasis of student movement (TW18)." The Wild Lilly Student Movement staged in March, 1990, marked a significant milestone. The demand made by the student protestors was responded to favourably by the President Lee Teng-Hui

(李登輝)[1], leading to a series of political reforms. Many sociologists had

participated in, or witnessed the incident either as students or staff, and that had

therefore inherited the conviction that knowledge has the power to lead social

reform.

6.4.3 Contemporary Practices: Dissemination and Engagement

This momentum was carried on in the next two decades, and the public

engagement of sociologists multiplied in many areas. Chui Hei-yuan, a high

profile sociologist who wrote 31 press commentaries between 1979 and 1987,

contributed over six hundred articles on press in the 1990s[2]. He and other

sociologists made a visible contribution to newspaper columns and forums[3].

There were 370 domestic books in sociology published in the 1990s, which

counted for 56% of all published titles in the second half of 20th century (Wang,

CZ 2002, Appendix Table 2-5). Almost all these books were written in Chinese

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[1] The favourable reception by Lee Teng-Hui, however, should be contextualized for proper interpretation. Lee had just succeeded the perished former leader Chiang Chin-Kuo in 1988. As the first Taiwanese native political leader leading a regime largely controlled by mainlander immigrants, he was in need for more political legitimacy. Moreover, the peaceful resolution of the Wild Lilly Movement showed a desired contrast with the Tianmen Square Killing not long before.
[2] His personal website registered 1240 commentary articles written for a variety of presses in three decades http://www.ios.sinica.edu.tw/hyc/ [Assessed 19,Sept 2011]
[3]. I searched the database of the two mainstream newspaper corps (*United Daily* and *China Times*) for contributions (2000-2004) in which the author was identified as affiliated to a sociology department or institutes. I found a steady flow around 40-50 contributions annually. This is still an underestimate as there were often cases in which the departmental affiliation is not specified.

and many were easily available in major bookstores. While there were no reliable

statistics, most informants indicated that they, or their colleagues, have been

involved in delivering talks to non-academic audiences in various occasions

organized by bookshops, media, public bodies, civil groups or high school. With

the growth of internet technology in the last decade, sociologists became

increasingly involved in establishing a number of topical websites aimed at

facilitating the teaching of sociological courses, encouraging participatory

dialogue around timely social issues, and disseminating sociological discourse to

broader audience[1]. Moreover, a smaller but significant number of sociologists

also became directly involved in various organizations that were set up to

advocate and facilitate a variety of reforms. Table 6-4 lists a recent sample of

sociologist that were involved in organized intervention on issues ranging from

reform in juridical system, medical institutions, women's movements,

deliberative democracy, the labour movement, environmental issues and the

reconciliation of historical trauma. In Feb 2012, the Taiwan Higher Education

Industrial Union was founded (as a counter-action to the penetration of

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[1] The NTU sociology department, for instance, set up the following sites [Assessed 19,Sept 2011]:
Sociology Teaching Resources Site, http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/ntusocial/test/cata.html
Technology, Medicine and Society, (teaching material) http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/~health/
Technology, Democracy and Society, (deliberative democracy) http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/~tsd/
SARS Media Watch, set up during the 2003 SARS outbreak http://mediawatch.yam.org.tw/

managerialism and academic globalism discussed in the next chapter) and there

were eleven sociologists listed as its founding members[1].

Sociologist	Institution	PhD Year	Organization/ Activities
Chui, Hei-yuan	Academia Sinica	Indiana '79	Judicial Reform Foundation Death-penalty Abolishment Coalition
Chang Li-Yun	Academia Sinica	John Hopkins '80	Medical Reform Foundation
Chang Mao-Kuei	Academia Sinica	Purdue '84	Mainlander Taiwanese Association (Ethnical Reconciliation)
Ku Chung-hua	National Cheng-Chi University	Heidelberg '87	Citizen Congress Watch Judicial Reform Foundation
Chang Jing-Fen	Academia Sinica	Ohio '89	Awakening Foundation (Women Mvt.)
Chen Dong-Shen Lin Kuo-Ming Wu Jia-Ling	National Taiwan University	Minnesota '90 Yale '97 Illinois '97	Promoting Deliberative Democracy
Lin Duan	National Taiwan University	Heidelberg '94	Judicial Reform Foundation
Hsia Hsiao-Chuan	Shi-Hsin University	Florida '97	Nanyang Sisters Association (Female Marriage Immigrant Right)
Fan Yun	National Taiwan University	Yale '00	Awakening Foundation (Women Mvt.)
Dai Po-Fen	Fu Jen University	NTU '00 (Urban Planning)	Higher Education Union
Lin Chin-Ju	Kaohsiung Medical University	Essex '03	Nanyang Sisters Association (Migrant Right) Southern Aboriginal Community Reconstruction
Shen Hsiu-Hua	Tsing-Hua Univ	Kansas '03	Awakening Foundation (Women Mvt.)
Ke Chao-Ching	Chiao-Tung Univ	Tunghai '07	Taiwan Association for Truth and Reconciliation (Transitional Justice)
Kang Shih-Hao	National Formosa University	Warwick '08	Green Citizen Action Alliance
Tsai Pei-Hui	Shih-Hsin	NTU	Taiwan Agricultural Frontline
Chiu Hua-Mei	Nat Sun Yat-Sen University	Essex, '10	Citizen of Earth, Taiwan
Chiu Yu-Bin	-	Essex,'10	Involvement in various labour unions

Table 6-4 Cases of Organized Public Engagement of Taiwanese Sociologists

Many sociologists without routine engagement in certain NGOs were involved in

[1] See the Union website http://thetu.blogspot.com/

other confrontational initiatives (petitions, and occasional protest) as either

initiators or supporters. Between 2010 and 2011 I received a number of

petitions forwarded by other sociologists on issues related to labour rights,

media reform, and higher education policy. A significant incident was the Wild

Strawberry Movement (野草莓運動) initiated by the NTU sociologist Li

Ming-Tsun (李明璁) on 6, Nov, 2008 to protest against the excessive use of police

force during the visit of Chen Yun-Lin, a high ranking officer from China, and the

controversial *Parade and Assembly Law* (集會遊行法) [1] that legitimated such

police action. The protest led to   legal charges against Li MT because of his

violation of what he was protesting against. This incident elicited the Taiwanese

Sociological Association to issue an open statement on 19, Aug, 2009 to urge for

revisions to the law and suspension of related trials of its members[2]. A more

recent incident was an open statement signed by the heads of all major sociology

departments in Taiwan on 30 March 2012 to urge for a review of urban

regeneration policies, as a response to a violent state operation that torn down a

civilian property against the will of the owner and hundreds of supporting

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[1] The *Parade and Assembly Law* require prior application for staging parade and assembly in public space. Supporters appealed to the importance of social order. Critics indicated that the law restricted the freedom of expression.
[2] http://proj3.sinica.edu.tw/~tsa/uploads/tadnews/file/20090820.pdf On 12, September, 2010, Judge Chen Tzu-Fan declared the charge "suspected to be unconstitutional," and turned the case to the Justices of Constitutional Court.

protestors two days ago[1].

6.5 Comparative Analysis

A summary is presented in Table 7-4[2], with three different shadings indicating

my subjective impression of the relative significance of activities (dark grey for

strong, grey for moderate, light grey for a few, and white for barely existing[3]) in

each sector based on the material reviewed. Three points should be

acknowledged. (1) The categories were sorted roughly in the sequence of

"distance to the authority power." So categories that are higher up on the table

represent a closer affinity to government or corporate clients; lower represents

the civil sphere, and even to the extent of being confrontational to the

government. (2) The top or the bottom of the table both represent the more

'organic' modes of participation, while the central lines correspond to more

'traditional' modes that involve the dissemination of sociological knowledge. (3)

The table is limited in that it cannot include the historical dimension; in other

words, it can only present a 'temporally-compressed' picture.

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[1] http://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/67578 Yang You-Ren, a sociologist from Tunghai, even moved his lecture on "urban sociology" (along with all the students) to the site of the ruin.

[2] The category 'community service' that appeared in the original sorting template was removed because of insufficient material collected on this sector to draw more substantial remark.

[3] Readers can read the table as my personal response on a series of four-point Likert-scale questionnaire.

Categories	TAIWAN	HONG KONG	SINGAPORE
Service to Government or Public Bodies	A few notable senior scholars appointed.	None in colonial time Lau, SK, Lee, MK appointed to CPU, 2002	Significant ratio of NUS faculty members (all SG national) involved in gov or public bodies. Gradually declined in the last decade
Policy Research	Limited. Roughly a hundred projects in 80s-90s, significant decrease afterward	Little. "They prefer inviting foreign scholars"	Extensive initially, declining since 1990s
Books for Public Readers	Strong tradition of domestic publication in Chinese language.	A few scholars form the second/ third cohort. Some recent collection in Chinese on Hong Kong society.	Limited availability in Singapore bookstores.
Website by sociologists	Resource sites for teaching sociology courses. Topical sites on Gender, STS, SARS emerging in the past decade. Numerous personal sites.	Few, e.g. the personal site of Chan Kin-Man	Sociology blog Singapore since 2008 (rather inactive since '09). No personal site found.
Media Commentary/ Public Talk	'Liberal scholars' invited to contribute column on newspapers since 1970s. Press commentary a common practice to date. Frequent public talks by sociologists in events held by schools, bookshops, media, foundation	A few scholars form the second/ third cohort wrote commentaries for press. HKSA public seminars since 2008. Some civil group (e.g. HK Reader bookstore) held small scale talks	Self-Censorship at work. Chua BH, Kwok KM, E Kwok do occasionally got interviewed/ talk to public, on a delicate way
Advocacy Group	Cases in groups advocating human right, immigrant right, medical-reform, media reform, gender issues (Table 7-5)	Chan KM on Democracy Network	AWARE (feminist group)
Confrontation (Petition and Protest)	'Wild Lilly' to 'Wild Strawberry.' Frequent petition mobilization and occasional protest.	1990s, three HKBU Sociologist engaged in anti-WTO.	Not that I am aware of

Strong	Moderate	A Few	Barely Exist

Table 6-5 Public Engagement of Sociologists in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

The overall picture can now be summarised as follows: Of the three places, only

Taiwan had developed a strong tradition of public engagement amongst

sociologists toward the civil side, in particular after political democratisation in

the 1980s. The collaboration with the state, by contrast, was never strong, and

sociologists were occasionally involved in confrontational activities against

authority. Sociologists in Singapore, on the other hand, have historically closely

associated themselves with the government as a way of contributing to the public.

Engagement on the civil side is present, but was operated on a delicate basis

because of "self-censorship" at work. Amongst the sociologists in Hong Kong are

a few notable figures devoted to making sociological insight more accessible to

the public. But there was neither the sort of activist tradition seen in Taiwan, nor

the policy involvement in Singapore. The mode of public sociology remained

largely within the 'traditional' scope. How are we to explain the patterns? Three

contextual factors identified as relevant will be discussed: (1) the community

size (critical mass), (2) institutional factors and (3) intellectual traditions.

However, more research is needed to establish a convincing casual explanation.

6.5.1 Community Size: Critical Mass

Companionship is critical, especially when attempting something unconventional.

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It provides courage and enables a division of labour. Various initiatives reviewed

in previous Sections were completed by more than one individual. Conversely,

when an existing team was disintegrated, those who remained often became less

active (for example the short-lived activism in HKBU). The absence of public

sociology of a more critical nature in Singapore, an informant (SG12) pointed out,

was not because of the lack of critical people, but because of a lack of a "critical

mass"— "They are minority. They couldn't fit, and they left." The slightly larger

sociological community in Hong Kong allowed a few groups of scholars to

emerge— such as the triad of Liu SK, Lee MK and Wong SL, the combination of

Lui TL, Ng CH and Eric Ma, and the triad of radical sociologists in HKBU in the

1990s. However, such associations were too thin and fragile to form a tradition.

The largest sociological community in Taiwan allowed greater diversity and a few

viable circles of different orientations.

6.5.2 Institutional Factors

Logically, size can only explain the limited range of diversity (an issue of

"deviation") but not the actual balance of practices reached (an issue of "means").

To address the latter aspect, I will consider four factors that shaped the role of

sociologists in relation to the state and the civil sphere: (1) state demand for

sociological expertise, (2) civil demand for sociological expertise, (3) state

control and self-censorship of sociologists, and (4) massive movement and its

moral legacy. The first two involve the *functional demands* that "pull" sociologist

to engage beyond the academic, either on the state side or the civil side. The

latter two involve the *conflict* between sociologists and state authority, which

however will influence whether and how sociologists engage the civil public.

First, the state demand for sociological expertise is most visible in Singapore

where sociologists have historically been involved in various policy research and

consultancy in the compact Republic until the 1990s. On the other hand, both the

Hong Kong administration and the Taiwanese government rely less on their

sociological communities. The second aspect, the civil demand for sociological

expertise, is more complicated to discuss. This aspect involves, first, the

sociological literacy/consciousness of the citizens, second, the condition of an

institutionalised platform for interaction (for example media, publishing industry,

public forums, civil groups and networks), and third, the presence of public

controversies. A satisfactory analysis would need more work. I will only make a

point about media later in this section. Third, sociologists may have perceived

pressure from the state when they thought of engaging the public. Such pressure

could take two forms: a hard form deriving from possible political sanctions and

the associated self-censorship, as I've demonstrated in the cases of Singapore and

pre-1987 Taiwan, and a milder form of the pre-empting effect (will be discussed

in next chapter) of priorities set by the academic auditing system on other

outputs regarded as more "professional". Finally, sometimes, discontents with the

state might evolve into massive confrontation. I've learned from many interviews

about how such incidents could leave their psychological legacy in sociological

communities. I shall now discuss three such historical incidents that were

recalled by sociologists as definitive experiences in their career.

The three political confrontations are: (1) the 1990 Wild Lilly movement in

Taipei, (2) the 1970s student movement (and the 1987 Operation Spectrum) in

Singapore, and (3) the 1967 left-wing riots in Hong Kong. All informants who had

living memories of these incidents described a similar sense of enhanced concern

for social issues. Their varied consequence, as discussed below, left different

psychological and moral legacy. The 1990 movement in Taipei (Wright, 2001:

Ch5) was generally considered to be critical in triggering subsequent political

reform. It was remembered as a successful attempt of the educated youth to lead

political reform. The mid-1970s student movements in Singapore, by contrast,

ended with the key leader, Tan Wah-Piow, convicted of "stirring riots" and the

state-led amendment in University Constitution to prevent further student

activism (Haas, 1999: 24). The harsh memories was further exacerbated by the

1987 Operation Spectrum, in which 16 Singapore citizens associated with a

Catholic Charity, including some former student activists, were detained without

trial (some reported being tortured) for their alleged involvement in a Marxist

conspiracy that is orchestrated by Tan Wah-Piow. This incident reminded

Singaporean the "OB marker" in politics and led to conscious self-censorship

(Barr 2008: 229). The 1967 Hong Kong left-wring riot, taking place on the year

when HKU set up its sociology department, was well remembered by a few

senior informants who were students at the time. The riot left more complicated

legacies. On the one hand, the left-wing organizations that initiated the riot were

systematically cracked down, and they even lost sympathies among Hong Kong

inhabitants because of the violent measures employed (Cheung, GKW 2009:131).

On the other hand, numerous issues criticized by the rioters, for example labour

rights, housing, education, medicine and anti-corruption) and were subsequently

addressed by the colonial administration in the coming decade (ibid: 132). The

sense of progress and the sour memories of the riot seemed to have led to a

practical, conservative social climate unsupportive of social activism, and there were no major massive political conflicts for two decades[1].

Finally in this section, I will make a short note comparing the newspapers in the three locales since newspapers often serve as a major channel via which sociologists can reach a broader public. The degree to which sociologists engage in writing press commentaries for the public should be at least partially explained by the press ecology. I shall start with Taiwan, which sees the strongest current of public writing by sociologists on the press. The two longest-standing major newspapers in Taiwan, the *United Daily* and *China Times,* were both founded by a migrant Chinese cultural elite and inherited the Chinese press ideal that emphasised its social responsibility. The Western mode of modern press was brought to China during the turmoil of the late 19th century. The Chinese press, as a means of communication has, since its introduction "incorporated the ambition of social reform held by the traditional Chinese *Shi*

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[1] In 1989 a rally took place to support the students in Tianmen Square, but it was a protest against the Beijing instead of Hong Kong government. From 1997 onward, an annual protest was organized on 1, July to memorise the 1989 tragedy. This event started to draw larger public attention after 2003 because of the controversy surrounding Basic Law Article 23, which required the HKSAR to "prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets" (Zheng, Y 2005). Several subsequent marches were organized with a central theme demanding universal suffrage.

class" (Sec 6.5.3)— an ideal best reflected in the slogan "Have newspapers

managed by intellectuals. Save the nation with opinions" (文人辦報、言論救國)

(2010:132). The moral ideal was somewhat suppressed in post-war Taiwan

initially by the authoritarian regime, but made visible again in the 1970s when

the two mainstream newspapers competed to invite "overseas scholars[1]" (海外學

人) to contribute to their ed-ops, which led to the "most significant…

dissemination of ideas since the May Fourth Movement" (ibid. 132). An observer

(HK21) from Hong Kong described both newspapers as "decently managed,

willing to make offers and push authors (to write)." In particular he described

China Times as "a publication for intellectuals. There's nothing like this in Hong

Kong". To be fair, this Chinese press ideal can still be evidenced in a few Hong

Kong press[2]— notably the intellectual oriented *Mingpao* (明報) founded by the

famous novelist OBE Louis Cha Leung Yung (查良鏞). In particular, its associated

Mingpao Monthly was a major platform for the few sociologists who do write for

the public. However, their readership remain limited in a crowded Hong Kong

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[1] The term refers to those nationals who had studied, and perhaps worked, overseas
(particularly in United States). Taiwan in the 1970s was still isolated and few people can afford
studying abroad; the few did therefore enjoyed high social status and their views were of
significant authority and prestige. The Overseas scholars include but not restricted to the "liberal
scholars" discussed earlier.
[2] Two other intellectual-oriented dailies *Hong Kong Economic Times* (信報) and *Hong Kong
Economic Journal* (經濟日報)

press market that has fifteen dailies and many magazines spanning from left to right, elite to vulgar, and operating with a firm spirit of commercialism and competition. Singapore is known its strict control of the media (Seow, 1998). Davies (1999) traced how Singapore government had closed down domestic press by "intimidation" or by "legislative sanction," as well as its "taming" of foreign media by lawsuits, circulation restriction and visa control. Now, the Singapore Press Holding (SPH) owns most dailies and MediaCorp controls the broadcasting media; both belong to the state (Gomez 2005).

Table 6-6 summarises the institutional aspects discussed so far. The last section in the chapter will move beyond the tangible institutions to evaluate a claim that relates the public commitment of sociologists to their cultural upbringing.

	Taiwan	Hong Kong	Singapore
Community Size (critical mass)	Larger, permit organized activism	Middle, formation of a few triads	Small, absence of critical mass
Political Demand	Lower	Lower	Higher
Press	Intellectuals	Commercialism	State Monopoly
Perceived State Control	High > Low "White Terror"	Low	High "OB markers"
Massive Conflict Consequence Moral Legacy	1989 Wild Lily Political Reform Democratization Social Responsibility Optimism	1967 Riot Left-wing cracked down, social policy Reluctance to Activism	1970 Movement Arrest in 1984 "Operation Spectrum" Conservatism Self-Censorship

Table 6-6: Institutional Factors Relevant to Practice of Public Sociology

6.5.3 Intellectual Tradition[1]

Numerous informants related their (or others) public commitment to exposure

to Asian intellectual traditions[2]; in particular (but not restricted to[3]) the tradition

of "Chinese intellectual[4]" (中國知識分子) that derived from the Confucius

doctrine about *Shi* (士). *Shi* refers to an educated elite class from which the

ancient empire had systematically selected its officers by *imperial examination*

(科舉 introduced in 605 A.D.) to form its meritocratic administration for more

than two millennia. Literati or teachers who stay outside the administration still

enjoy a degree of social esteem, in particular during times when politics seems

corrupt. Central to the *shi* culture was the moral responsibility to *ching-shih* (經

世), literally "setting the order of the world" (Chang, H 1996). The sense of moral

duty was captured in the famous quote by Fan Zhong-yan (范仲淹 989-1052):

"Worry before the world worries; rejoice after the world rejoices." This moral

responsibility can be fulfilled as an officer in the regime, or as a teacher or writer

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[1] The discussion in this section is admittedly one-sided on the Asian intellectual tradition. The antithesis, an alternative intellectual culture associated with the *professionalism* developed under colonialism should be included to form a more symmetric analysis.
[2] For instance, informant HK15, HK21, TW14, TW25and SG10.
[3] One particular informant in Singapore described the influence of a similar intellectual tradition in his country of birth, which however would be too specific to identify (Sec 2.5.2).
[4] In the following passage, I may use two interrelated but distinguishable concepts: 'intellectual tradition' and 'tradition of intellectual'. The first refers the holistic set of theoretical or practical traditions that is related to a particular philosophical stance, such as Confucianism. The latter is the part within the intellectual tradition that is related to the role, ethics, and philosophical ground of "man of knowledge."

in the civil world. Therefore, as Shils (1996) pointed out, the Chinese Intellectual

Tradition already contained an ideal of civil society and civility despite its

association with service in the government. The Chinese encounter with the

Western imperial powers in the late 19th century greatly impacted on the *Shi*

class, drawing serious debate about ancient teaching in the face of the Western

science and technology. The imperial examination system was abolished in 1905,

shortly before the collapse of the last imperial dynasty, ending the default

political role of *Shi* class (Elman 2000). But the introduction of the category

"intellectual" provided a modern vessel of the moral bearing of the traditional

teaching of "Shi"— mixed up with a nationalist sentiment deriving from the

national agony under the late 19th C imperialism, an aspiration for modernization,

and selected Western values. The hybrid spiritual baggage of the modern Chinese

intellectuals was consolidated in the 1919 May Fourth Movement in which called

for 'science' and 'democracy' as paths to modernization were made (Chow 1960).

This tradition of Chinese intellectual was brought to Taiwan and developed by

two forces. First, the government systematically reproduced the Confucius

tradition within its educational system— in particular in the 1966 "Chinese

Cultural Renaissance" campaign as a response to the Cultural Revolution in

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Chinese mainland. Second, the traditional intellectual morality was demonstrated by certain elite intellectuals, sometimes in ways openly oppositional to the authority. This prevented the state monopoly of the interpretation of the tradition. The imprint of this tradition can also be found in the writing of the "liberal scholars" (Sec 6.4.2) and in many sociologists educated in Taiwan— including some now working in Hong Kong or Singapore (e.g. Ambrose King and Eddie Kuo). By contrast, this tradition received less emphasis in school education in both Hong Kong and Singapore. In Hong Kong[1], the colonial authority systematically "de-sentimentised" Chinese history and heritage in its education curriculum to "denationalise" its subject pupil (Wong TH, 2008), presenting the "Chineseness" as connected to "neither contemporary China nor the local Hong Kong landscape" (Luk 1991). A study of the 1990s textbooks in Taiwan and Hong Kong found less material of Confucius ethics was included in Hong Kong (Tsang, LC 1996). The status of Confucius legacy in Singapore is more complicated. Once preserved in the Chinese ethnic vernacular schools, Confucianism was systematically suppressed in the post- independence national education system built to forge one nation out of four people. The authority made an attempt to

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[1] Ironically, Hong Kong is also identified as a major site for the post-war development of New Confucianism (Makeham 2003). But the strand of intellectual development has largely been restricted to the scholarly network centring on the New Asia College.

reintroduce Confucian Ethics as one "option" in the Religious Knowledge (RK)

scheme in 1982 but failed (Chua 1995; Kuo 1996; Tamney 1996). However,

politicians continued to cite Confucian values in defence of the nation's

particularities, such as mode of governance or ministerial salary[1].

A quick comparison between the educational reproductions of Confucian

heritage with the pattern of public sociology seems to show an elective affinity

that "confirm" the thesis from which this section started – where the intellectual

was more stressed, namely Taiwan, the practice of public engagement is stronger.

However, the logical link has a few weaknesses. First, the subjective account of

this particular issue (compared with other more concrete questions) provides

less adequate proof of the "cultural shaping" that took place without ones' full

awareness, and its evaluation always involves a degree of retrospective

attribution that might easily be affected by ones scope of memory, political views,

and the prevailing discursive framing. The covariance at the macro-level might be

an artifact of numerous confounding factors, and can provide limited proof.

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[1] For instance, Lee Kuan Yew wrote in 1994 "The Confucianist [*sic*] view of order between subject and ruler helps in the rapid transformation of society. I believe that what a country needs to develop is discipline more than democracy. Democracy leads to undisciplined and disorderly condition." (Rainey 2010: 195) In 2000, one minister justified a significant increase in ministerial salaries by appealing to ancient Confucian idea. (ibid: 237, n32)

Second, the subject in the thesis, "(the) tradition of Chinese intellectuals", is just

one element of a more elusive term of Confucianism[1], and the concept itself is

also a cultural historical construct constantly in the remaking. The May Fourth

Movement, for instance, incorporated the virtue of science and democracy into

this tradition. The "liberal scholars" in 1970s Taiwan further brought in a current

of political liberalism. The extent to which the fusion ideal could still be

described as "Chinese" is itself contested. To conclude this section, what I can

argue for now is that Taiwan, compared with Hong Kong and Singapore, has

developed an intellectual culture that has (1) a deeper root in the tradition of

Chinese intellectual, and (2) a discursive climate that is more supportive to

endeavours of the public engagement of sociologists. The casual association

between the two was suggested, but not adequately established nor clarified by

this project. The individual difference is evident and the cohort variation is

plausible. Moreover, the multiple aspect of Confucian heritage might be

interrelated with the different modes of public sociology. Both questions require

further investigation.

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[1] Tu Wei-Ming, for instance, made the distinction between "political Confucianism" and "Confucian personal," relating the former to a particular hierarchical power order and its associated ideology and the later to the norm that governs the everyday social life (Tu 1984). Thomas Gold also raised (Gold 1996) the question if Confucianism can "contain an elective affinity for both authoritarianism and the type of pluralist democracy".

Summary

This chapter examined the public interface of the sociological community.

Starting from an analytical critique of the scheme proposed by Burawoy, the

chapter proposed a revised framework for analysing the various modes of public

engagement of sociologists observed in the three locales. The framework was

characterised by (1) an expanded definition of 'public' that include the

engagement in government to better reflect the cultural bias in Asia, (2) the

dissociation of the 'type of extra-academic audience' (state vs. civil public) and

the 'epistemological style' (instrumental vs. reflexive), which acknowledge the

possibility of working for government with critical capacity and serving the

public with instrumental knowledge, and (3) an extension of the 'traditional vs.

organic' division to engagement on the policy side. The various modes of public

engagement of sociologists in the three places were surveyed with the new

framework, and reported upon with attention paid to the historical dimension.

Overall sociologists in Taiwan developed a strong tradition of public engagement

on the civil side, including a level of activism, since the late 1970s, while their

policy involvement remained limited. Their colleagues in Singapore, on the other

hand, had historically been closely involved in consultancy and policy research,

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while on the civil side, the mechanism of self-censorship was easily observable

and the few who did engage the public were doing so with a delicate balance.

There were a few sociologists committed to public engagement in Hong Kong,

but their mode of participation remained more 'traditional' than 'organic', with

the exception of the recent service of Lau SK and Lee MK in the Central Policy

Unit and a short-lived current of activism in 1990s-2005 HKBU. The patterns

were related to the presence of 'critical mass', various political-institutional

factors (namely the political demand of sociological expertise, media-scape,

perceived state control and self-censorship, moral legacy of major massive

confrontation) and the selective inheritance of Asian intellectual tradition.

Ch7, Sociology under Higher Education Reform

Managerialism, Academic Globalism and the Local Responses

Higher education authorities in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore have made a

series of reforms characterised by 'managerialism' and 'academic globalism' in

the past two decades. Those reforms involve a new mode of research

agenda-setting – one that does not indicate the preferred research topics or types

in *substantive* terms, but spells out the desired outcome in *technical* terms such

as publication performance. While not operating at the same level, both modes

involve key agencies mobilizing resources to direct researchers' effort, are prone

to trigger debates and contentions, and potentially reshape the national

scholarship.

This chapter focuses on the impacts on sociology. Three theoretical approaches

to the contemporary higher education transitions are outlined and related to the

historical trajectories of the reforms. Then how 'managerialism' and 'academic

globalism' affected the intellectual life, and even the demography, of sociologists,

are explored; the responses are compared, and impact on the outputs of the

professional communities is assessed. The analysis uses demographic and

bibliographic datasets compiled from archival materials, semi-structured

interviews with 55 sociologists stratified by seniority, institutional affiliation,

country of PhD training and gender, and less formal talks during field studies.

7.1 Theoretical Approaches to Higher Education Transition

The higher education system in the industrialized world underwent great

changes since the late-80s against the background of shrinking research funding

(previously legitimized by Cold War), rising demand of higher education for

industrial upgrading, and the prevailing neoliberal ideology. Three major

theoretical perspectives can be outlined from the relevant literature. The first

perspective, including the theses of *entrepreneurialism* (Clark 1998) and

academic capitalism (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004),

deals with the growing financial reliance of the universities on their links with

the industrial and commercial sectors (e.g. tuition fee, funding for commissioned

research, patent loyalties and endowment) and their implications on higher

education. The second perspective, discussed mostly in the United Kingdom and

some former Commonwealth countries, focuses on the penetration of

managerialism (or *new public management*) in the public-funded universities.

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Managerialism refers to the ideological stance that all organizations has certain similarities so that their performance could be enhanced by applying similar managerial concepts and practices– such as accountability, cost-effectiveness, centre of excellence, performance related funding, quality assurance, and institutional integration (Marshall 1992; Trow 1994; Deem 2001). The third perspective discusses the transition in higher education as part of the historical process of globalization (Currie and Newson 1998; Altbach 2001; Mok and James 2005; Marginson and Wende 2007). These literatures cover issues of four domains: the global flow of knowledge enabled by information and communication technology, the emergence of a global staff/student market, the proliferation of certain higher education discourse and policies at the global scale, and the global competition for university reputation (e.g. the impact of various world university ranking).

7.2 Higher Education Reforms in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore

Those three approaches have all been cited to explain, and sometimes to *justify,* the recent changes in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. But closer scrutiny reveals that each country had its own trajectory of change, reflecting its distinctive historical and political context.

7.2.1 Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a British colony, only granted higher education to a small elite

through most of its history, which didn't prevent it achieving impressive

economic growth in the 1970s. But, facing the demand for industrial upgrading

in the late 1980s, it found itself behind major Asian competitors in higher

education. In 1989, the government decided to increase "first year, first degree"

places from the 1980s average of 3% of the age cohort to 18% in 1994 (UGC,

1993) . The rapid *expansion* soon caused concerns about the *efficient* use of the

budget and the *quality* of staff and students. In response, the University Grant

Committee (UGC) reviewed higher education, and initiated a series of managerial

reforms—changing grant assessment methodology, designing a standard format

for statistics from higher education institutions (HEIs), revising fund allocation

procedures, and implementing assessment practices that included the Research

Assessment Exercise (RAE), Teaching and Learning Quality Process Review, and

Management Review (UGC, 1993, 1995, 1996)[1].

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[1] For all UGC reports see
http://www.ugc.edu.hk/eng/ugc/publication/report/report.htm The document
related to RAE, TLQPR and Management Review is at
http://www.ugc.edu.hk/eng/ugc/publication/prog/prog.htm

Parallel to the managerial reforms, Hong Kong policy-makers started to think about its higher education in relation to the rest of the world. The 1993 UGC report first articulated (Sec 25- 27) the post-1997 scenario and the potential benefits of having a '*world-class* institution' for its students and the host society. It was urged that Hong Kong should "adopt a much wider regional role in higher education" (UGC, 1996, Summary). In 2002, the first major UGC report after the handover argued (Sec 1.10) that Hong Kong universities also belonged to "larger communities outside the Hong Kong SAR," and hence had a strategic position "envied by many other world cities". The next year saw the first world university ranking published, and the China-.HKSAR Closer Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) signed; the two soon made Hong Kong a popular destination for Chinese students seeking internationally-renowned higher education. Standing between the student market from China and the new international reputation game, the UGC decided that Hong Kong's strategy was to become "the education hub for the region." To pursue this vision, the UGC urged quite dominantly that each institution should "aspire to be top in the region at what it and the UGC agree on is its role"(UGC, 2004, Summary).

7.2.2 Singapore

Expansion, managerial reform, and globalist aspiration can all be found in the trajectory of higher education development in Singapore. The government increased its university enrolment from 5% in 1980 to 14% in 1989, and 21% in 2001(Mok and Tan 2004, 73). A series of managerial measures were introduced in 2000 to make its universities internationally competitive. However, the state-university power relation was moving toward a different direction in the course of change. The key step seems to be the 1997 creation of the International Academic Advisory Panel (IAAP), consisting of leaders of prominent foreign higher education institutions and industrial corporations, to assist Singapore in making its universities "world-class." Its composition and goal manifested how this *entrepôt-* turned city state was so conscious of its international presence. The IAAP held six meetings in the first decade and made numerous recommendations— e.g. revising admission policies and undergraduate curriculum, attracting more international students and staff, encouraging interdisciplinary teaching and research[1].

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[1] See Ministry of Education Press Releases about IAAP Meetings in 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, available on the ministry website, http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/ .

One critical suggestion (made in the 2nd meeting in 1999) was to grant its

universities more *autonomy* in recruitment, management and funding, as the

prerequisite for their success. This was raised again by a special committee sent

abroad to study university governance and funding in preparation for the

Singaporean Management University. The committee urged that the universities

should be granted more autonomy, provided that accountability was improved to

ensure the efficient use of public funds. These recommendations were agreed,

leading to restructuring internally and in relations to the government.

Universities were given more space within a new framework of governance.

Internal quality reviews were institutionalized, to be validated by triennial

external reviews commissioned by the Ministry. Budget allocation was made

more flexible, but tied to departmental and faculty performance measured by

various indicators (Lee, HHM and Gopinathan 2004, 120-122; Mok and Tan

2004). The major change for most academics was the new remuneration system,

with a fixed basic salary and variable performance-related components, though

staff could negotiate on the criteria by which their performance was evaluated.

7.2.3 Taiwan

Higher education in Taiwan also underwent tremendous changes in the 1990s;

these however were not initiated by the state, but by the scholarly community

demanding self-government and academic freedom. These demands got their

momentum from broader political democratization starting in the late 1980s, in

which university staff and students played a critical role[1]. The mounting pressure

led to the 1993 amendment of the *University Act*, granting universities more

autonomy, and the subsequent scholar-led *educational reform* aimed at loosening

State control (Ku, Chung Hwa 2001). One reform objective was to further expand

postsecondary education to grant wider access. The enrolment rate was lifted

from 19.36% of the 18-21 age cohort in 1990 to 38.70% in 2000, and 64.98%[2] in

2009 (Yang, Y 2010, 32). Taking responsibility for quality assurance, the Ministry

of Education (MoE) no longer had the authoritative power, and had to attempt

through the 1990s to develop a new, credible scheme for higher education

evaluation[3]. It was concluded that an independent professional body was needed,

leading to the establishment of the Higher Education Evaluation & Accreditation

Council (HEEAC) in 2005.   In 2006 HEEAC carried out the first full-scale

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[1] The 1990 'Wild Lily Student Movement', for instance, is considered to be a decisive incident in fostering a series of political reforms (Wright, 2001, Ch5).

[2] The impressive rise in the past decade was partially due to the lower birth rate and shrinking size of the student cohort.

[3] This included commissioning teams of senior academics to visit HEIs for evaluation, trials of commissioning professional academic association to do subject-specific evaluation in 1992-93, an extensive research into the evaluative indictors in 1997-98, and encouraging HEI self-administered evaluations in 2001-02 (Yang, Y 2010, 103-118).

university department evaluation, with the threat of *forced closure* of institutions. Internal staff review (already introduced in a few elite universities) was made mandatory and tied to personnel decisions, and this drastically shaped intellectual life within the universities.

The discourse of higher education globalization also emerged in Taiwan around the late 1990s. It was soon absorbed in a series of proposals to strengthen national competitiveness in the globalized knowledge economy: a special grant for research with '(international) academic excellence', fostering international collabouration and English-taught courses, merging HEIs or launching trans-university research centres for effective resource allocation, and a fifty billion NTD grant to make a few research-intensive universities 'world class.' These maneuvers attracted both enthusiasm and criticism. One critical controversy broke out in 2003, when the MoE mindlessly published a 'university ranking' based on statistics obtained from the Science Citation Index (SCI), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) and Engineering Index. The purpose was to show how Taiwanese universities 'perform' on those 'leading' journals covered. This was initially welcomed by some longing for more accountable higher education,

but it soon attracted massive criticism, arguing the ranking reduced the merits of

HEIs to the *quantity* of one particular type of publication, and excluded

consideration of teaching, social engagement, books, and Chinese writing. A

conference, and its proceedings *Globalization and the Knowledge Production*

(Taskforce for 'Critical Reflection' Conference, 2005), marked the beginning of

contestation and negotiation among government, universities and the scholarly

community on how academics should be governed[1].

7.2.4 Managerialism and Academic Globalism

In these Asian countries, governments remain the major funders of higher

education and hold firm control over the universities—despite attempts to

attract more private funding, the popularity of 'market' as a metaphor, and the

quasi-market mechanisms introduced in grant allocation and personnel policies.

It was certainly perceived that market-rationality had infiltrated higher

education, but much of the system still operates within a State-defined

framework, in a scenario very different from that described by Slaughter or Clark.

The notion of *managerialism* applies better to the measures aimed to ensure

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[1] At the time of writing, a petition "Against Prioritizing the SSCI and SCI Indicators,
Reclaim the Spirit of University" was going on. See http://bgo.tw/eyvsg.

quality, efficiency, and accountability, following the expansion. However, the

power relation among the state, university and staffs varies. In Hong Kong the

UGC took a central role in imposing the policies, whereas in Singapore

government initiated reform by granting universities more autonomy. In Taiwan,

the reform unfolded in constant contestation and struggle between the state and

the scholarly community. Finally, the three governments all responded to the

discourse of *globalization* and knowledge economy with attempts to make their

top universities world-class for economic reasons. This reflects an ideological

conviction combining the neoliberal doctrine of competition, the alleged

economic role of universities (in the knowledge economy), and the tendency to

consider higher education on the global scale*.* I call this composite ideology

Academic Globalism and find it a better conceptual entry than globalization *per se*

for two reasons: First, 'globalization' tends to confound a wide range of issues as

one coherent structural change, and lacks analytical clarity. Second, describing

something as part of 'globalization' too easily delivers the impression that it is

caused by an external, objective, huge-scale structural change that is

irresistible—which conceals the critical role of local agents in *actively* embracing ,

promoting, and actualizing such imagination. 'Academic globalism' fits the

managerial reform easily. The aspiration inspired by globalism provides the

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rationale for managerial policies and practices, and various globalist values were easily absorbed into the design of the managerial regime.

7.3 Intellectual Life under Reform

7.3.1 Transition into the New Era

Every informant employed before the reforms acknowledged the significant change in the academic climate, tracing back to different events in the three places— in Hong Kong the 1994 RAE, in Singapore the 2000 institutional restructuring, and in Taiwan the controversial 2003 'ranking' and subsequent full scale evaluation. The different state-university power relations also shaped how these reforms were experienced and responded to. Despite such variations, all three university staffs eventually found themselves entering a new era characterised by penetrating managerial measures with criteria reflecting academic globalism. They had to translate their 'subjective' efforts into 'objective' evidence defined by the evaluative indicators to justify their reward, or even existence, within the system. The degree to which one experienced the impact naturally depended on ones' position. Tenured, middle-age staff had less immediate threat, but junior staff had to face unprecedented pressure, while

senior colleagues less active in publishing might find their contracts not

extended as before (That also happened to a department head that resisted

complying and was replaced) A Hong Kong informant (HK14) explained the

changing scenario for the senior colleagues:

"…at 55, they can have another review to decide whether to terminate your

tenure or not. If they are not impressed by your publication, they can lay you off.

There were a few teachers in our department laid off like this. They still stay in

the department but with a different status. The department hires them back with

a new contract and much lower salary… things like this won't happen before."

The shifting intellectual climate is also evident in subtler forms of discursive or

actual practices in the everyday realm for academics. New procedure like

"reporting recent publication and future plan" was introduced in regular

meetings at some departments. Publication statistics were circulated in the

university-wide newsletter. Informal chats among colleagues became saturated

by discussion about publication and evaluation. Fundamentally, this was a

process in which the standards by which one measured one's achievements and

value were swiftly redefined by external force in institutional terms.

7.3.2 Priorities in Roles and Publication Formats

The most salient effect was the pressure to reconsider *priorities* toward categories that counted more in evaluative practices—in both balancing professional roles between research, teaching and public engagement, and calculating the pros and cons of different publication formats[1].On the first, most universities claimed equal importance for the three sectors, but all informants saw that in practice research publications still counted more in personnel decisions because talent/efforts in teaching or service were hardly measurable with 'objective' indicators.

"… the indicators look good, seemly balancing between research, teaching and service. But in practice the latter two do not count as much. Those who contribute greatly in service would only earn a minor margin in the mark, say, 8 points rather than 6. So is teaching. The teaching review can't produce terribly different result. Hence in the end the message from the system is to urge you focus on research…. By research it means publication. (TW10)"

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[1] The priorities of publication formats have a bearing on the production and access of knowledge, which, however, requires another article to elaborate.

There were stories of how acclaimed teachers and activists were disadvantaged because their publication records were considered under-performing. Some departments introduced teaching exemption for junior or 'productive' staff to give them more time for research.

On the second, more emphasis was placed on publication in internationally refereed journals, especially 'top-tier' ones. In Taiwan and Hong Kong, sometimes the journal 'tier' was signaled by its SSCI inclusion and impact factor. This preference could be delivered through the design of administrative forms, the statistics collected and circulated, financial rewards for publication of certain sorts, and sometimes clearly-stated criteria (e.g. number of papers on SSCI) for procedures of staff review or promotion. Supporters justified this by stressing the insufficient scale of domestic academia, the importance of dialogue with international colleagues, and the verified quality of journal articles by international standard. Skeptics added to this list (cynically) that the journal articles were more 'countable' and hence easier to translate into performance indicators—not to mention the fact that these statistics contributed heavily to the two influential world university rankings.

7.3.3 The Disadvantaged Forms of Publication

Relatively discouraged, on the other hand, are book-writing and publication in

Asian languages. Books published by reputable publishers do have credit, but

committing oneself to writing monographs is increasingly seen as riskier in the

fixed assessment cycle. It has become popular to publish chapters as articles

before putting them into a book, or to conceive a book as a collabourative project

from the start. These strategies nonetheless limit how a book could be

conceptually structured.

The reception of non-English publications differs. It was alleged that in Hong

Kong and Singapore anything not written in English wouldn't be granted

significant credit. To be sure, I have not seen any document explicitly excluding

publications in Asian languages, but the sense of preference was repeatedly

described as self-evident in the everyday practices within the institutional setting.

A prominent professor in Hong Kong told me that he was once asked by the

department secretary, pointing at the Chinese titles he included in the evaluation

form, *"Professor XX, don't you get something <u>better</u>? (HK4)"* One of his colleagues

explained the rationale of the practice.

"Chinese publication is not really disallowed, but when it comes to the review, the external reviewers are predominantly foreign experts who can't read Chinese. The university claimed that Chinese publication are still acceptable, but department always remind us to be careful. Many people dare not include Chinese titles in the submission… (HK14)"

Taiwan, on the contrary, has a strong tradition of local publication in Chinese. Its larger academic community allows greater autonomy from the Anglophone world. In 2000, attempting to assess the quality of the domestic journals, the NSC created a Taiwanese SSCI that included 42 (expanded to 89 by 2009) domestic 'core' social science journals based on various formal criteria.[1] There was strong criticism of its instrumentalism, various side effects, and the potential risk of being used by the 'main streamer' to discredit academic rivals. Yet when university evaluation was implemented, the TSSCI ironically became a certificate of 'proven quality' that secured legitimate space for writing in Chinese for local readers.

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[1] Such as frequency, number of paper, stability of publication, peer-review policy, transparency (Guan and Yu 2000).

7.4 Scholarly Demography

There were also indications that the reforms' impact went beyond individual calculation to shape the demographic outlook of the sociological community—particularly in Hong Kong and Singapore. This took place by two mechanisms. On the one hand, scholars finding themselves hardly fit for the post-reform system might either choose, or are forced, to leave. While no statistics of resignation/retirement with the 'true reasons' specified were available, I continued to hear stories that someone left because of growing frustration in finding space for their research interest or professional commitment in the changing environment. On the other hand, the cohort recruited after the reform might reflect a different self-definition of the institution. I compiled the faculty database of four leading sociology departments[1] in the three places and observed two particularly interesting cases, the NUS and the CUHK.

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[1] Data obtained from the *Annual Report*'70 of Univ. of Singapore, the *General Information*'81-'00 (with '89, '90 missing) and *Bulletin*'05 of (The) National University of Singapore, the *Prospectus*'74, *General Information*'75-;84 (with missing years), *Handbook*'86-;98 (with '95-;97 missing) and the website ('06-) of its Sociology Dept, the Calendar of Hong Kong Univ.'67-'09, the *Handbook of the General Information*'64 and *Calendar* '65-'00 of *Chinese Univ. of Hong Kong*, and the *Staff Address Book* of the National Taiwan University'60-'08.

The new appointments made NUS sociology department has significant higher

percentage of Western expatriate (4.4.4) The surge reflected the institution's

vision of making itself 'world-class' - but it should also be attributed to the debut

of the Times Higher Education Supplement world university ranking which

placed NUS nicely on top. The ranking actually attracted scepticism among many

expatriates in NUS when it first came out in 2003. One veteran informant recalled

how colleagues were teasing about the ranking and thought "there's no way we

were there!" But soon it became clear that the prestige constructed by the

ranking had consequences—higher visibility of staff among international

colleagues, enhanced profile among international job-seekers and prospective

students, increased popularity as a collabouration partner, and higher resources

from government and industries. All these in effect helped *create* the

'international excellence' the ranking was supposed to *measure*.

The CUHK host the largest sociology department in Hong Kong. The department

made a batch recruitment of assistant professors in 2005-2008, which was

demographically characterised by the dominance of scholar of China origin and

the marginality of Hong Kong native. Departmental informants all agreed that

these junior colleagues were chosen primarily because of their publication in (American) 'main-stream' journals. The demographic contrast with their senior colleagues (mostly Hong Kong-born) stirred contested interpretations. One informant saw this shifting pattern as *inevitable* given the "decline of Hong Kong student going abroad (US) for PhD study", and the "shift of interest to China in the international academic community". Another, native to Hong Kong, made similar observations with a *sense of deprivation*. He suspected the high rate of China-born recruits "reflects a strategic attempt to enhance the profile of the department both in China Studies and Chinese student market," which, however, was making the university increasingly detached from Hong Kong society. He attributed the alleged 'decline in studying abroad for PhD' to the expansion of local postgraduate study, which attracted "some of my friends who want to do local research, but now ended up finding a bleak job prospect because the universities do not welcome local PhDs." Even some senior staff expressed their concern about the 'inter-cohort gap' and the lack of commitment to Hong Kong society (studies) among junior colleagues.

7.5 Responses of Sociologists

How did practicing sociologists respond to these institutional innovations? Whether active promotion, compliance, compromise or resistance, it was those activities that helped materialize any consequences framed by the institutional causes. The pattern of those responses also reflects the distinctive context of each place.

7.5.1 Singapore: Improvement Acknowledged

Only in Singapore did most informants seem content with the current system. Those NUS members who witnessed the reform expressed their general support, citing two major reasons. First, they acknowledged the improvement in administrative democracy and transparency—committees and standard procedures were introduced for decisions that once lay with the department head and the emphasis on the assessable performance reduced the room for under-table manipulation. They also enjoyed an acceptable degree of autonomy in negotiating the criteria by which they should be evaluated. Thus the 'journal tier' was settled at department level, so staff had leverage to include titles they considered important, whether or not they were included in the SSCI. Second, the goal of international excellence brought more research funding and postgraduate

applicants, creating an improved research climate. However, there are two other

less-mentioned factors which I consider relevant. First is the radical

restructuring of department staff. Of the 32 pre-reform faculty members

employed in 1997, only 12 remained in 2009, working with more colleagues

appointed after 1998. The majority of the junior cohort are (Western or Asian)

expatriates, who are less bothered by the implications of academic globalism to

the local community. Second, the department has never had strong engagement

with the general public (except for services to the government) so the potential

trade-off remains limited

7.5.2 Hong Kong: Mixed Responses but Compliance

Responses from Hong Kong are more mixed. Those appointed in the 1990s can

usually testify the numerous drawbacks of the reform, such as discrimination

against certain types of publication/scholarship, the erosion of collegiality, and

constraints on public engagement. Younger cohorts seem more polarised. Some,

facing higher pressure driving them from other commitment, expressed stronger,

but others identified themselves more as a 'professional scholar,' emphasized the

virtues of focusing on top journal publication, and excelled in the game.

The greater discontent in Hong Kong than in Singapore can be imputed to at least

three factors. First is the opposite direction of perceived change in their relations

with the state. Sociologists in Singapore welcome greater freedom from state

control, while their Hong Kong colleagues experienced a growing presence of the

administration as the UGC introduced various measures. Second is the

demographic factor. In Hong Kong, expatriate scholars are only a small fraction of

the sociological community even today. In particular, the backbone cohort

happens to be a generation with the strongest Hong Kong identity (compared to

senior mainland immigrants and junior international-recruits); hence, the sense

of losing the Hong Kong particularity is more acute from their perspective.

Despite discontent, all informants seemed compliant to the system. Few believed

that they stood any chance to influence the governance framework. This

prevailing view reflected the perceived penetration of administrative power in

the academic community. On the one hand, the UGC played a dominant role in

leading reform. In its 2002 report on Hong Kong higher education, for instance,

two ideal-typical modes of university governance were compared and the more

democratic and egalitarian was bluntly rejected as "risky for chronic indecision …

and the lack of clarity about the power to act and implement in uncharted

territory." (UGC, 2002, Ch3) On the other hand, the possibility of collective action

was also hindered by the lack of solidarity among the Hong Kong sociologists.

7.5.3 Taiwan

Taiwan is sharply contrasted with the other two cases in the level of critical

reflection its scholarly community demonstrated on its institutional

circumstances. The 2004 conference marked a significant collective action

against the anticipated reform. On-going debates could be found not just in

professional and institutional bulletins but even in newspapers.

Sociologists had a significant presence in this process. The 2004 conference had

on its panel four sociologists, from three prestigious universities. The Taiwanese

Sociological Association's (TSA) published several issues of its newsletter and

organized numerous panels in its annual conferences for critical discussion on

how academics should be governed. There were also a stream of scholarly works

produced from the perspective of 'sociology of sociology' to assess the condition

of the discipline within the current institutional setting. Yeh (2003) critically

examined the implication of US-trained scholars' dominance in the

'knowledge-power struggle' among Taiwanese sociologists, Su (2004), using

network analysis, demonstrated the citing patterns and the 'invisible colleges'

within sociology's professional community, Chang M.K. et al (2005) traced the

path of sociology's development in Taiwan, and Chang Y.H. et al (2010) explored

how evaluation had been experienced by sociologists working in different

institutional setting via extensive interviews.

The presence of such public dialogues, at least, provided the *moral support* for

those who chose to pursue causes not rewarded by the system. There were even

cases in which consensus was generated from the scholars' side to feed into the

making of future policies. The 'local books,' for instance, were not given proper

credit in the earlier evaluative schemes because most domestic publishers had

not established a rigorous peer-review mechanism, because of the limited

market for academic titles. This systematic discrimination against books

attracted severe criticism in the 2004 conference. Yet just a few months after the

publication of *Globalization and Knowledge Production*(Taskforce for Critical

Reflection Conference 2005), the National Science Council established a special

grant to encourage monograph writing, and came up with an innovative policy

that commissioned the 'editorial boards of established journals' to review book

manuscripts and sponsored the publication of the recommended ones. While

these initiatives cannot reverse the disadvantaged status of books under the

managerial regime, they did provide greater space for those interested in

book-writing. Despite the significant presence of objection and attempted

negotiations, it must still be admitted, most sociologists in Taiwan still rationally,

no matter how reluctantly, fulfill the imposed requirements, and the sense of

inevitable adaptation was prevailing.

The greater resistance among Taiwanese sociologists could be attributed to

several factors. First, the Taiwanese sociology has the strongest tradition of

indigenous scholarship, publishing in Chinese, and commitment to the public

cause. The perceived *stake* when confronted by the academic globalism

embedded in the managerial reform was higher. Second, the political

democratization in Taiwan has left a distinctive *political culture.* The State did not

have the same level of control over the universities as their counterparts in Hong

Kong and Singapore, and many scholars who had joined the earlier student

movement (as either student or staff) also inherited the conviction that

intellectuals should and could have political influence. Third, the long-

established professional association and its newsletter served as a critical

platform for inviting debates and cultivating consensus.

7.6 Impacts on Output

How have these reforms, coupled with the divergent responses of the sociologists,

shaped the general patterns of the output from this professional community?

7.6.1 Sociology Journal on SSCI

Starting from the publication format most rewarded, internationally-refereed

journals on SSCI, Fig. 1 shows the annual article counts on SSCI-listed journals

categorised as 'sociology' written by authors from addresses that contain Taiwan,

Hong Kong or Singapore' since 1980[1]. One can see that publications from the

three places remained at low visibility (<5 per year) in SSCI sociology journals till

the mid-1990s, when the publication count from Hong Kong started to take off

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[1] These counts do NOT represent all and only SSCI-publications by sociologists. Many of them published in journals sorted in other categories, and some of the articles counted here were submitted by scholars from neighboring disciplines. Nonetheless, the curve can still be read as an indicator of the more general trend. The demographic increase in sociologists was very minor compared with the sudden surge of the publication counts from Hong Kong and Taiwan in the critical years; hence its contribution should be limited.

around the when the RAE was implemented. The Singapore curve shows a

gradual ascent since the late 1990s, when the discursive shifts suggested a

foreseeable university reform. But the slope was not that dramatic— perhaps

because the SSCI was not taken as a self-evident criterion of quality. Taiwan ranks

third in this time sequence, with its publication count shooting up since 2006—

the year the first full-scale university review was implemented.
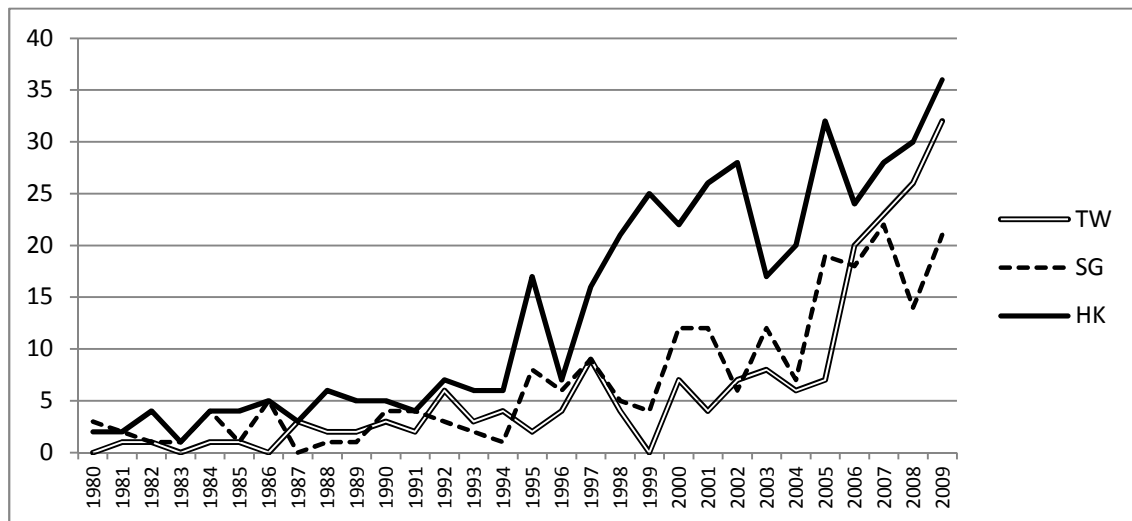
Fig. 7-1 Counts of Articles Published on SSCI-listed Sociology Journals

7.6.2 Implications for the Broader Publication Pattern

The broader picture of impacts on other publication is difficult to assemble, due

to the limited availability of relevant bibliography and the inconsistent criteria

for inclusion. In general, the managerial reforms enhanced the overall research

profile, with a lifted baseline of expected output (especially in the more

standardized, peer- refereed channels) from each member. In some cases it was

associated with a shifting presentation of formats and languages, especially

between different cohorts.

Taiwan is the only place that continues to have a strong current of non-English

publication, though the output of English publication rises. The TSSCI provided a

legitimate space for domestic journals publishing articles written in Chinese. The

initiative of 'book manuscript review by journal editorial board' also provided a

mechanism to endorse the quality of domestic books, solving the tricky task of

fitting them into the evaluation scheme. The monograph writing and publishing

grant further facilitated the production of a batch of books that were made with

better quality[1]. These initiatives can be seen as attempts to guard Taiwan's

indigenous scholarship against the erosion of academic globalism by

reengineering the domestic journals to fit them better in the managerial regime.

While Chinese writing persisted, the major publication format changed.

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[1] A senior editor said the publication grant reduced the financial risk of academic titles and made sophisticated book-making possible. The writing grant has also in the first 4.5 years funded 218 (out of 474) applications, 38 in sociology (Wei 2010)

Comparing the staff profiles of the sociology department in National Taiwan

University, there is a clear transition between the earlier sociologists and the

cohort employed after 1995. In 1980-94, the staff of the department produced

177 'books' but only 88 'journal articles.' Their junior colleagues, in contrast,

made a more impressive record on journal publication, but only two (out of

twelve) ever published a monograph in Chinese[1]. A quick glance at recent books

by major sociology publishers suggests a growing trend of edited books

published out of collabourative project.

A comparable shift was observed in the CUHK[2]. The cohort appointed in the

1970s includes a few figures who published books that became quite influential

in greater China— mainly on issues of Chinese modernization, Sinicization of

social sciences, and sociological re-interpretations of Chinese classics. The cohort

appointed in 1980-95 wrote more about Hong Kong for domestic academics or

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[1] Source of data: the National Taiwan University Repository, at
http://ntur.lib.ntu.edu.tw/. Categories defined by the database. At the time of
retrieval, the category 'book' in sociology department was only updated to 1995. The
post-1995 data on books were obtained by library catalogue search with the staff list.
This strategy is less applicable to journal databases because the abbreviated form of
many Chinese names (e.g. P. Chen) would match multiple authors.

[2] Data compiled from the 'selected publication' of each staff member on the department
website. Demographic data, see note 10.

public readers. Despite the changed focus they all published bilingually, with a significant presence of books. The last, post-1995, cohort, appointed after the implementation of the RAE, published nicely in international journals but wrote significantly less in Chinese[1], less about Hong Kong, and had so far made no attempt to write monographs like their senior colleagues.

The language was less an issue in Singapore as English had been adopted as the working language to balance its delicate multi-racial linguistic politics since the birth of the nation state. NUS sociologists faced no linguistic barrier to establishing their own publication platforms in international Anglophone academia (e.g. the *Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, the *Working Paper* series of the NUS sociology department). There was little tension between embracing academic globalism and granting their domestic publications proper credits. The Asian sociologists working there do occasionally publish in Asian languages (Chinese, Malay, Indian, and etc) and it seems a welcomed addition to their profiles, but these pieces were rarely given significant position in the staff review.

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[1] The growing dominance of English in the *Chinese* University of Hong Kong also attracted criticism from its alumni network (CUHK Alumni Concern Group 2007).

7.6.3 Withdraw from Teaching and Public Engagement?

The systematic bias toward publication in the managerial regime brought high *pressure* upon sociologists devoted to teaching or public engagement— especially those in their lower ranks. Chang Y.H. et al observed that "the struggle balance between research and teaching had become a *giant dilemma* in [sociologists'] life". Meeting different ends together more often requires a sacrifice of personal life in private time. To my surprise, I have not yet observed an obvious systematic *withdrawal* of sociologists from the two professional roles. There were certainly impacts, but they were buffered by several mechanisms induced by the very pressure— the adaptive combination of research and teaching/activism, the enhanced moral support for activities less rewarded in institutional terms, and even some counter-action by the established cohort to balance the anticipated consequences. The long term impact, however, cannot be safely excluded.

In teaching, the majority of informants still expressed a strong commitment and continued to invest great efforts in the courses taught. It was described as a necessity in the intellectual life:

"...Teaching can refresh my passion for the academic field. Doing research is a lonely process, and you never know how much contribution your work can bring to the society...even whether it would be read. In the contrary, the postgraduate students can get closer to your field and have more dialogue with you..." (TW15)

Some informants shared how they adaptively combined the research and teaching agenda to make course preparation a constructive part of their research. Even the devoted teachers described as "victims" of the reform had at least the moral support from students and some colleagues. Teaching remained a core element that many sociologists were unwilling to compromise. Nonetheless, there is a possible greater impact on individual supervision and tutoring, as scholars, disciplined to be more efficiency self-aware, might find it inevitable to restrict his/her commitment on individual student affair. The sense of loss was strongest in a few institutions used to be proud of their tradition of collegiality and intimate teacher-student interactions.

The impacts on public engagement are even trickier to demonstrate, partly because of differences in the pre-reform pattern across the three cases (Ch6).

Taiwan had the strongest tradition of public engagement. The perceived threat

from the managerial reform even made the discursive climate more supportive to

such endeavours, giving the sociologists some inertia against the changing

institutional environment. Complaints about the struggle between the public

calling and research duty were often heard, but still there has been a vibrant

stream of collective actions on a wide array of contemporary issues in the past

few years[1]. Hong Kong has a weaker tradition of public engagement (Sec 6.3).

Most of the junior informants admitted that they place public engagement as

lower priority, at least in the early stage. Ironically, it was exactly under such

circumstances that a few (more established) sociologists started to take

initiatives to strengthen their link with the local public—such as the *HKSA*

sociology public seminar and the *Hong Kong Society and Culture* conference series

established as a platform for presentation in Cantonese, and a batch of books

published in Chinese for general readers. The long-term consequence of the

two-way effect is yet to be observed. Singapore has limited perceived space for

engaging in civil public or activism (Sec 6.2). Generally sociologists feel that they

are not expected to go beyond the academic boundary and comment on mass

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[1] Partly due to the emergence of various online platforms that made mobilization and coordination easier.

media as an academic. Those few who do engage with the press and the local civil groups operate in a delicate way, often in a balance with their connection with (and trust from) the authorities.

7.7 Toward a Critique of Managerialism and Academic Globalism

In the last section, I will move beyond the terrain of empirical inquiry to develop critiques of both managerialilsm and academic globalism.

7.7.1 Managerialism on the Intellectual Life

The Managerialist doctrine applied in higher education systems, in effect, requires the scholar to *dissemble* their intellectual labour into deliverable and countable items in somewhat standardized formats, so that the "performance" of individual scholars can be translated into objectified, quantifiable indicators that are comparable, manageable and assessable. This approach has several often-heard justifications: making the difference in effort visible, bringing more transparency to the process of recruitment and promotion, motivating individual scholars to work harder, enhancing the efficiency and fairness of resource allocation and ensuring accountability in the use of public funds. Indeed, a number of informants testified that managerialist measures exempted them from

the need to engage with academic politics based on traditional social ties, or

motivated some colleagues to be research-active again.

However, it should be stressed that the managerialist approach can only create

these instrumental benefits with some side effects and even a degree of

compromise at the very nature of intellectual activities. At the operational level,

managerialist doctrine often involves the creation of a *centralized* evaluative

mechanism responsible for ascribing the systematic exchange-value to the

products of the internal labour by scholar. A more democratic system is

conceivable, but its operation is often seen as contradictory to the central value

of managerialism— efficiency.

If a system is designed in a more rigid way, the acceptable output format might

be too narrowly defined to restrict the flexibility of scholarship. For instance,

privileging publication on international refereed journals disadvantages those

works that require longer treatise, such as theoretical works of a more

systematic nature, ethnography, or a comprehensive comparative-historical

inquiry. It is into these precise categories that many of the masterpieces in this

discipline fall within. There is still room for all that, certainly, but they are being

located in a more risky construct[1].

Moreover, any managerialist practice by its nature involves fitting the mental

activities inspired by human curiosity into an external, mechanic scheme of

institutional auditing and rewards. This process inevitably involves surrendering

a degree of individual control of intellectual endeavour to a system operated by

an embedded "institutional rationality," a possible new "iron cage" (in Weber's

categories); in other words, it "alienates" (in Marx's word) the process and value

of knowledge work from its producer by imposing institutional definitions of

working schedules and product values. In managerial schemes that took a more

quantitative approach, the emphasis on a somewhat standardized "value" for

sorts of knowledge product might lead to what I shall call the *tokenization* of

knowledge. Each piece of writing was in this process ascribed certain publication

categories with given credit values (e.g. impact factors and ranking). At its

calculation, what is actually written was rendered less relevant than whether and

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[1] The case of Dr. Ka, Chih-Ming (Researcher, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica) is telling. He earned the prestigious title of distinguished researcher for a ground- breaking book in historical sociology (Ka 2001). But before then he had to endure the pressure of being graded 'B' (less than 10% in the institution) in the annual institutional review for several consecutive years because of the lack of journal publications. Compared with Ka, who is already tenured, well-respected researcher, junior colleagues waiting for substantiation generally don't believe that they have the luxury.

where the work got published. The effort put into this work is reduced into points or credits, a form of numerical token by which the value of scholars are measured.

Of course, many scholars still pursue research that answers their calling, not necessarily reduced to a lab rat blindly driven by incentives. But the discrepancy between the meaning-oriented intellectual pursuits and the token-oriented institutional rationality leads to compromises at various levels. The worst case scenario could be found in occasions where human judgment based on the actual reading of works is replaced by item-counting. With the reward system that gave each published article similar value, I have even heard tips on how to dissect research into "publishable units" or to rearrange materials to generate more publication counts based on the same set of material. Rational strategies like these lead to the *trivialization* of the published article and the *fragmentation* in the knowledge horizon.

7.7.2 Academic Globalism

Knowledge (or university) has multiple roles in the human world, but the pursuit of academic globalism often recognizes only a few. The academic globalists, with

their neoliberal spirit, tend to focus on the *economic roles* that include its

contribution to the national innovative capability, the cultivation of human

resource, and competition for the title of 'world-class' and international students.

The hidden stakes here, then are its *social* and *cultural roles* that are often

locally-bounded— such as the discursive framing of public affairs, the cultivation

of citizenship and critical faculties, and the searching for or making up of cultural

identity. The academic globalists presume a *universalism* stance on the property

of knowledge that overlooks, in the social and humanistic fields, the importance

of (1) *linguistic* boundaries in research and writing, (2) *cultural* particularity in

adopting and innovating theories, and (3) *epistemological* locality. All the three

aspects require further unpacking.

Linguistically, a globalist automatically prioritises English as the major, if not the

only, acceptable academic language. In fields like science and technology there

might be fewer problems, but in the field of social studies, the *native* language of

the researcher, or the *indigenous* language that is actually used in the social

context studied still has an edge that is not easily replaceable by translations[1].

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[1] See, for instance, Feleppa (Feleppa 1988) for critical discussion of "translation" in social

The native language provides the researcher an *epistemological affinity* that is not otherwise available. The indigenous language provides a *phenomenological fitness* that requires less translation (observation still needs to be translated into theoretical categories). Being able to communicate the scholarly work with international readers is important, but the pursuit of this end should not deprive the development of scholarship in alternative languages.

Prioritizing publication on international refereed (mostly Anglo-American ones) journals further creates a pressure for scholars to follow the Western discursive fashion, and to conform to the research agenda set elsewhere. These borrowed theoretical frames and concepts, while often bringing new insights to the appraisal of domestic studies, do not always capture the empirical phenomenon that bears cultural particularities (Alatas, SF 1995; 2006; Connell 2007). Moreover, many significant contributions to sociological theories were first cultivated in a cosier, somewhat isolated linguistic/cultural *enclave* before being translated for an international audience[1]. Such an intellectual enclave provides,

anthropological studies.

[1] One example was the Chinese sociology during the WWII. Developed almost isolated from the external academic network, these works nonetheless is considered full of original insights. Comparable examples would be the various currents of European thoughts that became

first, alternative discursive resources from which some critical leverage to the

international mainstream may be generated, and second, a cosier network for

more-focused dialogue around issues of cultural particularity. Both will be

impossible if sociologists of one country were collectively driven to follow the

agenda set for English journals, and this may eventually deprive the capacity of

making significant innovation within this particular sociological community.

In terms of epistemological value, a lot of knowledge is worth pursuit simply

because it has significant bearing in the local community, not because it has a

potential to make contributions to global sociological discourse. Prioritizing

publication in foreign journals reduces the chance of this type of knowledge

being produced, marginalizing the needs of domestic knowledge users. The

marginalization may take forms of (1) the choice of empirical site, (2) the ways in

which research is framed, and (3) public access to sociological knowledge. First,

taking Hong Kong as an example, the emphasis placed on international

publication has already driven some academics to consider China as more

marketable research subject than Hong Kong. Of course, it is possible to publish

influential worldwide— note none of these works were originally written

studies of anywhere as long as significant insight can be distilled, but the

perception of geographical preference in the international research agenda still

persists. Second, international and local audiences have different demands. The

former tend to focus on the current research agenda set in the core countries and

they demand theoretical contributions that have generalizable implications,

while the latter demands knowledge that is responsive to local interests or

practical issues, contextualized with historical particularities properly

acknowledged. Texts prepared for different readership are naturally tailored to

meet their demand. Prioritizing one type of reader in effect discourages the

research framing for the other. Finally, if casting public influence is still

considered the end purpose of sociology, academic globalism has some serious

ethical issues. Sociologist channelled to the enterprise of global academic

reputation chasing face greater stress if they still intend to engage the local

public. Publishing mainly on international journals excludes access to

sociological knowledge for local readers who do not have adequate levels of

professional literacy and subscription. Moreover, a more competitive

environment also tends to erode the sense of collegiality, and therefore reduce

the chance of collective action.

7.7.3 Changing Geography of Knowledge Flow

To conclude the section, I will situate the scenario in the conceptual framework
of "world system of knowledge network" to propose two implications of the
changing geography of how sociological knowledge is produced and
disseminated. The attempt to make a university "world-class" is to reposition it in
a regional context beyond the administrative boundaries. Universities are to be
staffed by "world-class experts" who do not need to have personal connections to
the host society. They could take the department as their base to research the
neighbouring, often less developed hinterland (e.g. China for Hong Kong, and
South East Asia for Singapore), employing theoretical concepts developed in the
West, writing in a language not known to their subject, and publishing in
internationally refereed journals produced in the West. In this picture, these
sociology departments in the Asian "world class" universities function as
strategic *nodes* for transmitting knowledge generated from the less- developed
peripheral, to the developed cores. Two implications could be derived:

First, the reproduction of *imperial gaze*: the transcontinental knowledge flow
reproduces the geographical pattern of how earlier colonial scholarship was

generated and communicated under the imperial order. One significant

difference though is that this resurgent pattern is being created largely by actors

in Asia, not the imperial power; the "reproduction" was a consequence of

voluntary self-colonizing.

Second, the *lifting out* of academic sociology from the domestic society: the entire

process of sociological knowledge production and dissemination was gradually

channelled into an institutional space (conferences, journals and databases) that

is detached, or "lifted out[1]," from the host society. The recruitment of

international staff often entails the deprivation of already limited institutional

vacancies for domestic sociologists. The prioritisation of international journal

further marginalises the domestic demand for sociological expertise and

knowledge through the various mechanisms. These trends, in the end, pose

serious question around what sociology is for.

Summary

This chapter sought to evaluate how sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and

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[1] Giddens (Giddens 1979) defined globalization as the "lifting out" of social relations from local context. I found this concept appropriate for describing the knowledge process under the higher education transformation pursued with a belief of "academic globalization."

Singapore has been affected by the recent higher education reforms,

characterised by *managerialism* and *academic globalism*. The thesis found that

the institutionalised incentive structure swiftly redefined the reference scales

against which sociologists evaluate their intellectual efforts. The systematic bias

toward objective, measurable outcomes caused perceived pressure to invest

more in publications, in particular in international refereed journals. The reforms

were further associated with a shifting staff demography in some leading

departments. The responses of sociologists in each place, however, showed a

distinctive pattern that reflected their historical and social context. While

sociologists in Singapore generally acknowledged the benefit of the reform, their

Hong Kong colleagues expressed mixed feeling but remained rather compliant

with the managerial system. Taiwanese sociologists, on the other hand,

demonstrated a higher level of critical engagement. There was a temporal affinity

between significant managerial measures and the rise of publications in SSCI

sociology journals. An inter-cohort shift towards publishing more in journals and

in English could be observed in some leading departments. The individual

patterns in publication type reflected distinctive intellectual traditions and

linguistic politics. While the publication- oriented reform imposed more pressure

on those committed to teaching and public engagement, no clear evidence was

found that the sociologists were withdrawing from those fronts— partly because

of some counter-action to neutralise the anticipated impacts. In the longer term,

considering the changing scholarly demography, effects might vary. This chapter

ended with a critique on managerialism and academic globalism. In particular, I

argued that the uncritical adoption of both would lead to what I described as "the

reproduction of Imperial Gaze" and "the lifting out of sociology from the local."

Conclusion

In March 2009, the Council of National Associations of International Sociological Association (ISA) held a conference in Academia Sinica (Taipei) on the challenges of sociology today. The agenda included themes like 'Facing Northern Hegemonies', 'Facing Political Pressures,' 'Beyond Universalism and Particularism', 'Dilemmas of International Rating', 'Neoliberalism and the Academy', and 'Forging Alternative Sociologies'[1], reflecting the timely relevancy of these issues to the status and prospects of the discipline. The presentations covered a wide range of accounts on the particular trajectories or problems of sociology in specific nations (Burawoy, Chang et al. 2010). Some other collections also featured the reviews of sociology in different countries (Genov 1989; Patel 2010) . However, there were very few studies that sought to compare sociology in multiple places in a more systematic way. The current study about the sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore presents an example. The analysis delivered in precedent chapters shows that the inclusion of three cases created much analytical leverage and some potential for theoretical synergy in opposition to focusing on one case.

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[1] http://www.ios.sinica.edu.tw/cna/03program.php

The conclusion will first outline the major findings and arguments presented in the five empirical chapters, and then relate them back to two theoretical themes l started with: the "world system of knowledge network" conceptual frame and the thesis of "colonial modernity." A discussion about how geopolitics, states and sociologists interact in framing the direction of sociology will follow, before I suggest a few directions for future work.

Outline of Arguments

I started this exploration by demonstrating how sociological expertise and knowledge were introduced into, and later institutionalised in the three places, in the ways shaped by their changing relations with the four imperial powers (China, UK, Japan, and the USA) in the region. Evidences for pre-WWII sociological investigations and teaching in the three colonies were first, but they were found to have limited influence on post-war scholarship for various reasons. Three currents of post-war scholarly migration were identified as relevant to the flow of sociological expertise in the region: the war-driven Chinese sociologists moving to Taiwan or Hong Kong, the British social anthropologists visiting Hong Kong and Singapore under the auspice of colonial administrations, and the American researchers driven by interest and funding that reflected a Cold War

geopolitical agenda. The Chinese sociologists played critical roles in the subsequent institutionalisation of sociology in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The other two groups contributed to the Western knowledge about Asia, but they left relatively limited legacy for the domestic sociology.

Chapter Four identifies two modes of institutionalisation of sociology. First, the Chinese migrant scholars, with aid from various American Foundations and Christian Organizations, founded a number of sociology departments in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Those sociologists in Hong Kong faced little intervention from the colonial administration, but their colleagues in Taiwan were initially discouraged by the State's distrust on sociologists. Second, the two former British colonial universities (NUS and HKU) also set up sociology departments in the 1960s. Two factors were suggested as relevant: the rising status of sociology within the British and the Commonwealth universities, and the social unrest in both port cities. Despite a similar start, the two departments evolved in diverted path, reflecting the political contrast between the colonial Hong Kong and a newly-independent Singapore. I further traced institutional expansion in the 1980s and beyond, and provided a detailed portrait of the cohort structures of the sociological communities in the University of Singapore, the HKU and CUHK,

and Taiwan. Four broadly defined episodes of demographic transition were identified; the earlier migrant cohort, the subsequent recruitment of ethnic Chinese in the 1970s-1985, the various modes of localization in the 1980s-90s, and the most recent cohort under the impact of higher education reform.

Chapter Five characterises the local traditions of sociology based on a systematic review of four critical sorts of bibliographic outputs: domestic journals or paper series, writings about local history of sociology, normative-epistemological debates, and edited collections of domestic social studies. The term "domestic disciplinary identity" was coined as a heuristic devise for interpretation, and three types of subjectivities were distinguished by contrasting the observed patterns: (1) *geo-disciplinary subjectivity,* the degree to which sociologists of a particular locale were considered (or acted) as if they belonged to one bounded community (strong in Taiwan and Singapore), (2) *geo-empirical subjectivity,* the degree to which a geographical territory was seen as a legitimate epistemological subject (strong in Singapore, moderate in Hong Kong), and (3) *civilizational subjectivity*, the degree to which sociologists perceived that they belonged to a culture distinctive from the Western civilizational frame in sociology (strong in Taiwan) . The patterns were related to their post-war identity politics.

Chapter Six examines the public interface of the sociological community. A frame

for coding modes of public engagements was revised from Burawoy. The

practices of public engagement of sociologists in the three places were surveyed

with emphasis paid on historical transition. In brief, sociologists in Taiwan had

developed a strong tradition of public engagement, including a level of activism,

since the late 1970s, while their policy involvement had remained limited.

Sociologists in Singapore had historically been closely involved in consultancy

and policy research, while on the civil side, the mechanism of self-censorship was

observable and the few engaged in the public were doing so on a delicate balance.

A few Hong Kong sociologists were committed to public engagement, but, with

few exceptions, their mode of participation remained more "traditional" than

"organic". The patterns were related to the presence of critical mass, various

political-institutional factors and intellectual tradition.

The last chapter seeks to evaluate how sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and

Singapore has been affected by the higher education reforms characterized by

managerialism and *academic globalism*. The impacts on intellectual life,

publication patterns (more emphasis on international journals), and even

departmental demography (in the cases of Singapore and Hong Kong) were

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noted. The responses of sociologists varied from place to plcae. Sociologists in

Singapore generally acknowledged the benefits of the reform, while their Hong

Kong colleagues expressed mixed feeling but remained rather compliant with the

managerial system. Taiwanese sociologists, by comparison, demonstrated a

higher level of criticism and resistance. While the publication- oriented reforms

imposed more pressure on those committed to teaching and public engagement,

no clear evidence was found that the sociologists were "withdrawing" from those

fronts— partly because of some counter-action to neutralise the anticipated

impacts. The long-term consequence is however hard to predict if the changing

scholarly demography is considered.

World System of Knowledge Network and Colonial Modernity

Each of these empirical chapters can be related to two theoretical themes that I

started with: a "world system of knowledge network" and "colonial modernity".

The conceptual edges of "world system of knowledge network" can be best

demonstrated by the recent developments of Hong Kong and Singapore, which

was characterised by the constant transgression of personnel or knowledge

flows across their territory boundaries. There was a growing trend for

sociologists in Hong Kong to get involved in China studies, and more scholars in

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Singapore to be involved in studying their neighbouring countries. Both groups

publish extensively in Western journals. The disciplinary formation has actually

marked a return to the historical roles the two settlements played in the early

production of Oriental knowledge— Singapore as a base for investigating the

Malaya Peninsula and Hong Kong as a base for studying China. Most of the critical

discourses that presumed a dualist image failed to reflect the contemporary role

of the two cities as "knowledge trading hub".

The empirical chapters of this dissertation enriched our knowledge about the

"world system of knowledge network." The beginning chapter on earlier colonial

scholarship and post-war flow of Western researchers demonstrated how the

three former colonies were subjected to the "colonial gaze." The subsequent

examination of the institutionalisation of sociology, on the other hand, showed

the dispersion of a modern scientific discipline along the proliferation of modern

knowledge incentive institutions (universities). It became evident that such

dispersion did not go straightforwardly from the West to East, but could take

various routes that are mediated by numerous intermediate parties (e.g. Japan

for the introduction of sociology into China, and China for Taiwan/Hong Kong).

Also, the entire process is deeply embedded in the broader historical and

political structure. The Chapters about the "domestic disciplinary identity" and

"public sociology" can be seen as an examination of such network at a

subnational level. The former involves the morphology of the local scholarly

communities as it sought to examine how domestic scholars were interacting to

each other; the later investigate whether or not sociological knowledge was

being made accessible to extra academic knowledge users. These issues seemed

domestic, but they were shaped by factors of larger scales (geopolitics and the

consequential identity politics). Moreover, the findings in a later chapter

suggested, both the domestic disciplinary identity and practice of public

sociology of a sociological community could be tied up to how it is positioned in

relation to the global academia. Managerialism and Academic Globalism, two

ideological terms adopted to describe the recent higher education reform in the

final chapter, mark a radical restructuring of the "world system of knowledge

network," as my concluding critiques pointed out, toward a "reproduction of

colonial gaze" and the "lifting-out of sociological communities" from the local

social fabrics .

Two sorts of flow traced so far should be distinguished: First the

lower-hierarchical *empirical knowledge* generated from the peripheral for the

epistemological consumption at the core— for instance the colonialism-associated anthropological studies, the Cold War-inspired 'Chinese' studies in Taiwan and Hong Kong and the recent pressures to publish in Western journals for international ranking. The second was the higher-hierarchical *disciplinary* knowledge imported from the core to peripheral, overshadowing the indigenous discourse with the epistemological privilege associated with the level of 'development'. This includes: the diverted post-war dispersion of Chinese sociologists to Taiwan and Hong Kong; the wave of American visiting teachers in the 1960-70s; the post-1979 flow of Hong Kong sociologists to China; and the sort of 'academic dependency' described in Sec 1.3. The core concern behind the detailing of these flows was to pose questions about the *disparity* of the production and access of sociological knowledge and the relationship of dominance— a concern shared by many participants in the 2009 ISA CNA conference, a concern which marked the beginning of this inquiry.

I have concluded the theory chapter with a suggested link between Asian sociology and "colonial modernity". The investigation presented so far at least has revealed four points about the resemblance between Asian sociology and colonial modernity: First, on the basic level, sociological scholarship, like most

other aspects of how modernity is understood in Asia, was introduced via a

colonial link. Second, the 'partial' adoption was mediated by the colonial link and

the particular geopolitical and political context. Colonial modernity cannot be

viewed as mere reproduction of its Western counterpart. Similarly, the Asian

transplantation of sociology was always partial. Theories could be easily

introduced, but not the intellectual milieus instrumental to theoretical

advancement. Specialised skill could be copied, but not the entire division of

scholarly labour. Critical thoughts can be learned, but not necessarily the

momentum of critical engagement. Third, consequently, the variety of formation:

The variation of geopolitical and political circumstance, as we have seen, had led

to the variation of disciplinary formation in terms of the publication pattern,

sense of domestic disciplinary identity, modes of public engagement and even the

responses to imposed institutional reform. Fourth, implanted western modernity

has often induced a sense of identity crisis and the debate around what should be

changed and what should be preserved. This, too, can be found in the agenda of

"Sinicization" (Yang, KS and Wen 1981), "indigenisation" (Yeh, 2001) or

"alternative discourse" (Alatas, SF 2006) surrounding the development of

sociology.

Geopolitics, States and Sociologists: Structure and Agent

Throughout the thesis, every aspect of the domestic sociology examined was more or less framed by a broader geopolitical context— in particular, the contestation of KMT and CCP in Chinese Civil war and its aftermath; the decline of the British colonial power and its legacy; and the rising American dominance in the Cold War structure. The three factors not only intertwined with the process of introduction and institutionalisation of sociology, but also framed the external context against which the domestic identity politics was unfolding, and therefore indirectly influenced the formation of domestic disciplinary identity in the three places. The reproduction/suppression of tradition Chinese intellectual tradition and the particular mode of political governance, two factors considered critical to the varied level of public engagement of sociologists, were again associated with the varied strategies each state took in response to changing geopolitical configurations, for example, the forced independence of Singapore, the impact of the divided Chinese identity on Hong Kong, and the on-going competition with CCP for the KMT government in Taiwan. Even the recent dispersion of the managerialist and globalist discourses was itself part of the new round of geopolitical competition framed in terms of knowledge economy.

On the other hand, the histories detailed in the dissertation also illuminated the proactive role of the state in embracing, resisting, or coping with the given external or internal circumstances, and in mediating the local consequences of geopolitical factors. The state revised its higher education policy to meet the human resource for better competitive edge in regional economics (and in the case of CUHK, to reduce reliance on Taiwan or China). The state enforced a series of policies in forging the desired national identity (or discouraging the unwanted sense of identity) to balance itself among the various external forces. These measures all had the potential to reconstruct the geopolitical structure through shaping various transnational flows (e.g. consumption, migration, and educational attainment), and were the actual practices that had the acting influence in framing the lived reality of sociologists.

The link between the state and the sociologists was of varied nature in the three cases. In Singapore sociological expertise had been systematically absorbed into the state and sociologists could be seen as part of the institution, while in Taiwan the connection was characterised, first, by the lack of trust and integration, and latterly, by regular tension and confrontation with which sociologists "participated" in the civil reengineering of the regime. In Hong Kong, by contrast,

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the connection between the state and sociologists remained minimal except for a few notable cases. The varied patterns, discussed in Chapter Six, were themselves a particular formation framed by various contextual factors, but they also became part of the context. Nonetheless, in each case we could always identify individual sociologists, who left an enduring legacy for the shaping of the discipline and beyond, such as in the case of Martin Yang, CK Yang, Hans Dieter-Ever (Ch4), Chui Hei-Yuan, Lui Tak-Lok, Chua Ben-Huat (Ch6) and many others. Sociology was framed by the geopolitics and the state agenda, but it also evolved, within the given space, through the initiative sociologists take. They made compromises, certainly, but they also bargained. The story of sociology told is not of a determinist version.

Directions for Future Works

The dissertation presented so far has achieved three tasks: (1) to empirically map a number of selected aspects of the trajectory of sociology in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, (2) to propose a few theoretical frameworks or categories to sum up descriptions of the observed patterns, and (3) to suggest and evaluate numerous contextual themes that could be associated with the observed pattern. What has *not* been achieved is a closer scrutiny of the various suggested

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contextual themes, and the verification of their causal links to the observed

patterns to form an explanatory narrative. In the writing of each chapter, I have

encountered numerous points at which I have to force myself not to get too

absorbed into an intellectual detour. Behind each point, there lies a possible

journey. In the last section, however, I will only discuss four directions that seem

most promising. First, the idea of "disciplinary identity" and the suggested link

with broader identity politics requires more unpacking. How exactly were the

broad narratives on identity mediated at the psychological level of sociologists,

or translated into institutional measures, that led to the framing of the

disciplinary identity? Second, the chapter about public sociology invites further

inquiries into how sociological knowledge is disseminated and accessed *within*

the public sphere. This broad question involves studies on, for instance, the

sociological literacy of ordinary people, on the media and publishing industry in

disseminating sociological knowledge, and on the particular period (e.g. when

major controversies took place) when sociological knowledge is most demanded.

Third, the chapter on managerialism and academic globalism has revealed the

decisive power of international rankings. The ranking operates by redistributing

a constructed resource that I call "symbolic capital," of which the growing

importance should be attributed to the explosive information and the resulting

insufficiency of attention. Such observations call for more elaborate theorising

about the mechanisms of how symbolic capital is generated and distributed, and

even a critique of its distribution inequality and monopoly. Finally, any

comparative project invites more comparison. In particular, the issues discussed

in chapter six and seven seem to be relevant to many sociology colleagues

worldwide. Further comparison may clarify the similar and divergent trends. It

also serves as a basis for possible transnational collaboration of sociological

communities to steer the higher education discourse in the ways that allow

sociologists to fulfil their professional commitments.

Epilogue: The Personal Legacies

Originating from my personal confusions, this thesis which I have just concluded was, in retrospect, a 'by-product' of an intellectual journey that led to a greater sense of clarity about my profession, its Asian heritage and the area that I came from. These clarified pictures led to the formation of certain attitudes, series of actions, and a refined definition of the role I expect to take. This last section features a prose-style personal reflection of this journey.

Visions in the Journey

I have benefited from the project in four major ways: First, the project allowed me to think through numerous issues fundamental to the discipline of sociology and to formulate my view. Some were discussed in the thesis— for instance the various ontological, epistemological and ethical issues discussed in Ch2, the conceptual frame of 'public sociology' in Ch6, and the various contestations associated with the rise of managerialism and academic globalism in Ch7. There were perhaps more that were left out, ranging from the viability of an 'alternative' sociological paradigm grounded in Asian heritage, the 'normative aspect' of public sociology, the changing ground of the discipline's legitimacy in the

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contemporary world (and in particular, in Taiwan), to many structural and

practical challenges the domestic sociological community are facing.

Second, the interviews granted me the privilege to closely observe many

established sociologists in terms of how they balanced between competitive ends

and strived to meet their commitments in a variety of given circumstances. The

sharply contested views they expressed, the intimate narrative they shared, and

the implicit wisdom they showed all together constituted a thick yet thorny

ground of reference against which I sketch my own stance by assimilating,

debating and negotiating the elements within this horizon.

Third, the subject matter enabled me to acquire a degree of familiarity with Asian

traditions of sociology that is otherwise not easily attainable. One common

problem I observed of many Asian sociologists trained in the West was the

(initial) lack of awareness of what their predecessors had done before. The

rupture from earlier generations of sociologists impeded the formation of

domestic scholarly tradition, reproducing the intellectual dependency on the

West. I consider myself relatively lucky to be able to have a better historical sense

from the start.

Finally, any traveller can attest that exposure to the exotic is a way to realise one's own identity. This is more so when the exotic contains elements that seem familiar, and this was exactly what I experienced in my visit to Hong Kong and Singapore. The seven months I spent in the two city states not only enabled me to collect the data required to write this thesis, but more importantly, granted me fresh perspectives of looking back at Taiwan— and discerning certain subtle characteristics that were made visible only through comparison. Assembled together, the knowledge about the three locales further constitutes a broader picture of the region in which our national history should be anchored.

Attitudes

All the questions that motivated me into the project were eventually answered and a set of attitudes about this profession were formulated. I came to see sociology not as a discipline I was trained to follow, but as an intellectual enterprise that has evolved in ways that reflect the variant circumstances. I learned to place all professional wisdom and practices taken for granted into brackets and reconsider their necessity in different settings. It won't be feasible to elaborate on these attitudes with proper justification, but I will make four points that have become central in my view:

First, sociology has its universal dimension, but many aspects of its domestic

formulation, as demonstrated throughout this thesis, varied in ways that reflect

the distinctive configuration of contextual factors in each locale (e.g. the

professional identity, the patterns of output, the public roles of sociologist, and

politics of evaluation). It is *possible* to think of these variations as imperfections

from some "ideal" model alleged to be how sociology *ought* to be. In practice,

American sociology was often seen as the incarnation of such a model as least in

the three societies studied. But given the particular demand and constraints in

many national settings (e.g. size and the possible degree of specialisation), I am

inclined to see variation as inevitable and am sceptical about any claim to

develop the discipline solely by following a foreign model alleged to be of

universal merit. Instead, different local solutions need to be tailored for their

distinctive settings.

Second, the ultimate purpose of sociology, I believe, was to help human kind to

make sense of, and to cope with, the multiple challenges in modern society. The

professional norm of producing peer-reviewed literature, refining models and

making theoretical contributions are important instrumental objectives toward

the end, but they should not be mistaken as the end itself. The modern division of

labour between knowledge production and its application is often cited to justify

an individual focus on criteria associated with the above-mentioned objectives,

but this rationale does not exempt the sociological community from the need to

constantly review how much their collective efforts were making real impacts,

beyond the accumulation of literature, on the *public* (extra-academic) spheres of

human society.

The third point, particularly relevant to the semi-peripheral societies like those

studied in this project, can be inferred by intersecting the universal/local and

professional/public divides noted above: While the dialogues with international

colleagues are certainly beneficial for facilitating empirical comparisons and

exchanges of ideas, the pursuit for this goal should not lead to ignorance of

domestic demand for sociological knowledge and expertise. Making sociological

knowledge accessible to the public of where it was generated should be

considered an important ethnical aspect for this profession. Nonetheless, there is

an inevitable cost. Writing for the two audiences often involves not only different

languages, but also different agenda and focus; sociologists willing to meet both

ends need to make constant negotiations in balancing his/her effort.

Fourth, in smaller societies where the division of labour in the production and

circulation of sociological knowledge is more restricted, and there might not be a

viable space for writers or journalists specialised in communicating sociological

knowledge with broader public. Sociologists *could* be encouraged to take greater

roles in making their expertise and insight more accessible.

Engaging the Public

These attitudes were soon reflected in my writings, actions, and how I allocated

my efforts toward the end of PhD study. While continuing to communicate my

research with a broader academic community with presentations in conferences

and invited sessions in numerous countries, I spared considerable time for

engaging in public affairs. On the one hand, I maintained a popular[1] blog that

features writing about sociology and its application to contemporary issues and

wrote numerous commentaries for Taiwanese Press. On the other hand, I

participated in a number of activities conceived to address public issues within

the sociological circle — I had initiated a research workshop named 'Seminar

Synergy 2009' to facilitate dialogue among Taiwanese junior social researchers

during my visiting stay in Academia Sinica, joined a preparatory team for

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[1] The blog has gradually built up its readership through its synchronous publication on various social media (e.g. facebook, Google+, twitter). The eleven posts published in Jan-March 2012, for instance, has together attracted 25,000+ reader clicks up to 30, March.

launching a Public Sociology Study Group in BSA (which was discontinued later)

in 2010, delivered talks on professional issues on special forums in two TSA

annual conferences, and recently launched a online group named *Taiwanese*

Junior Sociologist to connect the Taiwanese sociology doctoral students and new

PhDs in different countries.

Pyramid-builder, Intellectual Warrior and Bridge-Maker

Through these engagements, I also came to develop a refined definition of my

role. Over the past few years, three figurative metaphors, among others, emerged

in my dialogue with friends and colleagues about sociologists' role: First, a

pyramid builder, used to describe a scholar whose job was to lay on the giant

pyramid (scientific literature) a stone carved with his/her name (e.g. journal

article). To have your stone accepted for building the glorious pyramid, one

needs to carve the stone to certain rigorous standards to be checked by senior

builders (peer-review). The end purpose of the pyramid is not one of the

builder's concern since the vast scale of the artefact and the sophisticated labour

division prevents an ordinary builder from assessing the success of the overall

project— one just needs to have faith in it.

Second, an *intellectual warrior*, inspired by Bourdieu's depiction of sociology a 'martial art' (2010), denotes a sociologist who uses the critical capacity granted by sociology to challenge the suppressive, defend the disadvantaged, and mediate between the confrontational. The 'intellectual martial art' is the act performed, not the object produced. It involves the bodily presence of the sociologist within the social fabric of other agents (e.g. opponent, collaborators and the victims) in a timely fashion, while a pyramid stone could be carved in ways detached from the social fabric and over a longer time frame. A warrior is more committed to the ends. S/he can still serve as a pyramid builder when required, but is likely to find it more relevant to engage in the public.

Third, *a bridge-maker* sought to communicate between two shores— either between confrontational narratives, between groups of people, between theory and practice, or between the academic and the public. A bridge could be a text that bridges different views or an institutional hub that links people together. It could be located within the architecture of the giant pyramid, or on its way to the rest of the world. While warriors tend to distinguish between two sides and defend the weaker, a bridge maker sought to connect and foster cooperation.

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Of the three, *pyramid builders* evoked an image symbolising what I was reluctant to become, and the other were used as depictions of my idealistic roles. The metaphor *intellectual warrior* often came to mind when I tried to articulate for the underrepresented and balance its power relation to the established. Sometimes I even felt that the way I balanced my criticism resembled certain "warrior ethics" described in some martial art novels, for example "exert proper strength for your opponent", "avoid power abuse on the weak" or simply "serve the justice." One ultimate ethic for martial arts was to "turn fierce confrontation into peace and cooperation." This is the level where a warrior became a *bridge maker.* The art of bridge-making involves, in writing, the creation of a text platform that connects the separate; a "discursive space" that accommodates the oppositional. In social life, bridge-making involves the initiating of social or institutional platform where people of different stances could be connected for mutual gaze, for dialogue, and cooperation. This marks my vision as a sociologist.

Appendix A: Interview Guideline

Note: The interviews were aimed to be semi- structured, allowing new ideas/issues to emerge. This guideline (1) only served as a reminder of the key aspects and was not observed rigidly, and (2) was in the process of constant revision accommodating perspectives emerging from former interview. Presented here is a latter, more comprehensive version which was however adopted selectively in individual interview session.

1. Individual-Biographical

1.1 Personal Career Trajectory
- On Choice of becoming a scholar (sociologist), choice of field
- On major career decisions (PhD education, employment)
- Impressions of Significant Incidents
- Influence of Particular Figure (Mentor, Model)?
- Other Comments on Intellectual Upbringing

1.2 Disciplinary Identity
- Sense of disciplinary identity, its purpose
- Personal epistemological/methodological leaning
- Choice of audience and medium

1.3 Negotiating with the Western Paradigm
- The applicability of Western paradigm, how is it negotiated.
- On alternative discourse e.g. 'Sinicization' or 'Indigenization' of sociology

1.4 Professional Life
- Time/ attention/energy allocation: balance between role
- Choice of Publication Target (Does SSCI, impact factor, prestige counts?)
- How is your agenda supported/restricted by the department

2. Institutional

2.1 Collective Life

- Initial Impression of the Department
- Role of institution, its student/faculty body
- Employment/ promotion decision making: What is valued?
- Evaluation Scheme (document)
- Politics with the Univ. admins or state authorities
- Collegiality: Competition, Cooperation, Isolation
- Special notes on institutional culture

2.2 Transition

- Any significant institutional change (structural, cultural, policy-wise)?
- Initiator, Politics, and Discourse
- Observable activities pattern shift (time allocation, publication, role, collaboration) and impact on Dept. solidarity/ morale..

3. Domestic State-wise

3.1 Scholarly

- How to categorise the various institutions?
- Inter-institutional interaction

3.2 Public Interface

- The presence of state administrative power
- Involvement in Policy /government service
- Modes of Public Participation

3.3 Professional Community

- The Professional Association (TSA/HKSA),
- Major controversy/ contestation

3.4 Transitional

- Higher education reform and associated Impact
- impact of significant event (1987-89, 2000)

4. International

- Familiarity with other national sociological communities
- Impression and Interaction
- Sign of changing tendency

Appendix B: Informants List and Statistics

Code	Institution[1]	Interview Time	Location
TW01	Academia Sinica	2008.4.1 14:00	Office
TW02	Tunghai	2008.4.16 10:30	Office
TW03	*Publisher editor*	2008.4.22 16:00	Office
TW04	Academia Sinica	2008.4.23 14:00	Office
TW05	Nat Taipei	2008.5.6	Office
		2008.6.2 10:00	Office
TW06	Academia Sinica	2008.5.8 15:00	Office
TW07	Fujen	2008.5.9 11:00	Café
TW08	NTU	2008.5.14 16:00	Office
		2008.6.2 16:00	Office
TW09	Fujen	2008.5.15 12:00	Restaurant
TW10	NCCU	2008.5.22 14:00	Office
TW11	NTU	2008.5.22 17:30	Office
TW12	Nat Tsing-Hua	2008.5.26 16:00	Office
TW13	Academia Sinica	2008.5.27 14:30	Office
TW14	NCCU	2008.6.3 14:00	Office
TW15	NTU	2008.6.11 13:00	Cafe
TW16	NSYSU	2009.2.20 10:30	Office
TW17	Fo-Gruan	2009.6.28	Restaurant
TW18	Nat Tsinghua	2009.6.29 15:00	Office
TW19	Fujen	2009.6.30 14:30	Home
TW20	-	-	-
TW21	Tunghai	2009.7.6	Office
TW22	NCCU	2009.7.2 14:30	Office
TW23	Soochow	2009.7.9 09:00	Office
		2009.7.27 15:30	Office
TW24	Nat Tsing-hua	2009.7.28	Office
TW25	Academia Sinica	2010 3.10 15:00	Office
TW26	NTU	2010.3.19 14:00	Office
HK01	CUHK	2008.2.22 13:00	Campus
		2008.2.16 10:00	Café
HK02	HKSYU	2008.2.23 13:00	Office

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[1] There were a number of senior informants who had moved to new institutions after long service in other institution. In such case, the coding was based on the institution the informant had been affiliated to **for longest time** instead of the current one. If the informant had moved to a different country, the institutional coding was based on the one that was of research interest.

		2008.3.5 17:00	Campus
HK03	HKPU	2008.2.25 16:00	Office
HK04	CUHK	2008.2.27 10:00	Office
		2009.12.16 11:00	Café
HK05	HKBU	2008.2.28 11:00	Office
HK06	HKSYU	2008.3.6 10:00	Office
		2008.3.10 10:00	Office
HK07	HKUST	2008.3.8 15:20	KLT Pub
HK08	HKU	2008.3.11 11:00	Office
HK09	CUHK	2008.3.12 10:00	Office
HK10	HKPU	2008.3.12 16:00	Office
HK11	HKBU	2008.3.6 16:00	Office
		2008.3.13 16:00	Office
HK12	CUHK (Edu expert)	2008.3.15 10:00	Office
		2009.12.22 10:00	Café
HK13	HKU	2008.3.17 14:30	Office
HK14	CUHK	2008.3.20 21:00	Hotel
		2008.3.22 16:30	Hotel
HK15	HKUST	2008.6.1 10:00	Restaurant
HK15	HKU	2009.12.3 16:00	Meeting Rm
HK16	HKU	2009.12.7 10:30	Office
HK17	HKCU	2009.12.11 10:00	Office
HK18	CUHK	2009.12.21 16:00	Café
HK19	Lingnan	2009.12.22 16:00	Café/ Park
HK20	HKU	2009.12.29 18:00	Café
HK21	CUHK	2010.3.17 10:00	Phone
HK22	HKBU	2009.6.10 0930	Office
SG01	NTU	2009.5.12 10:30	Office
SG02	NUS	2009.5.13 16:00	Office
SG03	NTU	2009.5.13 19:00	Home
SG04	NUS	2009.8.21 14:00	Office
SG05	NTU	2009.8.26 15:00	Office
SG06	NUS	2009.8.27 10:00	Home
SG07	NUS	2009.8.28 10:00	Office
SG08	NUS	2009.9.2 16:30	Office
SG09	NUS	2009.9.3.13:00	Office
		2009.9.11 11:00	Office
SG10	NUS	2009.9.8.14:00	Office
		2009.9.17 10:00	Office
SG11	NUS	2009.9.10 13:00	Class Rm
SG12	NUS	2009.9.17 13:30	Office

Background profile of sociologists interviewed[1]

	Taiwan 24	Hong Kong 21	Singapore 11
Gender	Male 18 Female 6	Male 15 Female 6	Male 9 Female 2
Institution	Academia Sinica 5 NTU 4 NCCU 2 Nat Tsing-hua 3 Nat Taipei 1 NSYSU 1 Tunghai 2 Fu-jen 3 Soochow 1 Nan-hua 1 Fou-Guan 1	CUHK 5 HKU 4 HKBU 3 HKSYU 2 HKUST 2 HKPU 3 CityU 1 Lingnan 1	NUS 9 NTU(SG) 2
Rank	Prof 14 Associate 1 Assist 9	Prof 12 Associate 4 Assist 4 Lecturer 1	Prof 4 Associate 4 Assist 2 Lecturer 1
Country of PhD	US 13 TW 5 DE 3 UK 3	US 11 UK 9 HK 1	US 7 European 4
Note		2 Westerners	3 Westerner 1 Southeast Asian

[1] This table excluded TW3, SG5 and HK12, who were not sociologists.

Appendix C: List of Chinese and Japanese Names

陳海文	Chan Hoi-Man	顧忠華	Ku Chung-Hwa	吳欣怡	Wu Hsin-Yi
陳健民	Chan Kin-Man	賴澤涵	Lai Che-Hang	閻 明	Yan Ming
陳國賁	Chan Kwok-Bun	羅永生	Law Wing-Sang	楊慶堃	Yang Ching-Kun
張家銘	Chang Chia-Ming	李明堃	Lee Ming-kwan	楊懋春	Martin Yang
張鏡予	Chang Ching-yu	李沛良	Rance Lee	楊友仁	Yang You-Ren
張笠雲	Chang Ly-Yun	冷 雋	Leung Tsun	楊 瑩	Yang Ying
張晉芬	Chang Jing-Fen	梁漢柱	Leung Hon-Chu	葉碧苓	Yeh Bi-Ling
張茂桂	Chang Mao-Kuei	李亦園	Li Yih-Yuan	葉啟政	Yeh Chih-Jeng
章英華	Chang Ying-Hwa	李迎生	Li Ying-Sheng	伊慶春	Yi Chin-Chun
張維安	Chang Wei-An	林津如	Lin Chin-Ju	尹寶珊	Yin Bao-Shan
陳東昇	Chen Dong-Shen	林 端	Lin Duan	余天休	Yu Tian-Hsiu
陳方正	Chen Fang-Cheng	林國明	Lin Kuo-Ming	鄭杭生	Zheng Hang-sheng
陳紹馨	Chen Shao-Hsing	林 南	Lin Nan		
陳偉智	Chen Wei-Chi	林瑞穗	Lin Rui-Sui		
張德勝	Cheung Tak-Sing	劉維公	Liou Wei-Gong	濱下武志	Hamashita Takeshi
喬 健	Chiao Chien	劉創楚	Liu Chuangchu.	幣原坦	Hiroshi Shidehara
邱毓斌	Chiu Yu-Bin	劉兆佳	Liu Siu-Kai	松本巍	Matsumoto Takashi
邱花妹	Chiu Hua-Mei	呂大樂	Lui Tak-Lok	岡田謙	Okada Yuzuru
趙釗卿	Catherine Chiu	龍冠海	Lung Kung-Hoi		
邱延亮	Fred Chiu	馬傑偉	Eric Ma		
瞿海源	Chiu Hei-Yuan	吳俊雄	Ng Chun-Hung		
蔡錦昌	Choi Kam-Cheong	阮新邦	Ruan Xing-Bang		
周策縱	Chow, Tse Tsung	沈秀華	Shen Hsiu-Hua		
范 雲	Fan Yun	謝國雄	Shieh Gwo-Shyong		
費孝通	Fei Xiao-Tong	蘇峰山	Su Feng-Shan		
傅大為	Fu Dawei	蘇國賢	Su Kuo-Hsien		
郭 驥	Guo Ji	戴伯芬	Tai Po-Fen		
蕭新煌	Michael Hsiao	陳六使	Tan Lark-Sye		
夏曉鵑	Hsia Hsiao-Chuan	湯志傑	Tang Chih-Chieh		
謝徵孚	Hsieh Cheng-Fu	陶孟和	Tao Meng-He		
熊瑞梅	Hsiung Ray-May	丁庭宇	Ting Tin-Yu		
許仕廉	Hsu Shi-Lian	蔡培慧	Tsai Pei-Hui		
徐正光	Hsu Cheng-kuang	曾柏文	Albert Tzeng		
胡家健	Hu Chia-Chien	蔡慧玉	Caroline Tsai		
黃文山	Huang Wen-Shan	蔡勇美	Tsai Yung-Mei		
黃應貴	Huang Ying-Kuei	鄒川雄	Tsou Chuan-Shyong		
黃厚銘	Huang Hou-Ming	王甫昌	Wang Fu-Chang		
黃金麟	Hwang Jinlin	王振寰	Wang Jenn-hwan		
翟本瑞	Jai Ben-Ray	文崇一	Wen Chong-I		
柯志明	Ka Chih-Ming	黃壽林	Wong Shau-Lam		
康世昊	Kang Shih-Hao	黃紹倫	Wong Siu-Lung		
高承恕	Kao Cheng-shu	黃庭康	Wong Ting-Hong		
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