



CHINA 88

The Real China and How to Deal with It

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A Book By

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DEDICATION |

Zhijian Wu. First I thank my mother and my wife. The past year was particularly challenging to my family and myself as we just had our second baby. This book would not have been finished without the selfless and continuous support from these two greatest women in my life.

Next I thank a few friends of mine who offered valuable first-hand information, insights, suggestions and leads as raw materials for the authors of the book to write upon. They are (in no particular order) Chen Qiyan, Tu Zengrong, Olivier Bonavero, Ding Zhenyu, Zhang Qing, Lu Ji, Guo Jie and Yves Bonavero. These friends work in different sectors with an extensive network in and out of China and offer deep knowledge of how things could work or not work in China. The value of this book would be highly discounted without the input from these friends.

Phil Day. To Karen, Ryan and Ethan.

Andrew Delios. To my parents, George and Sylvia Delios.

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The number eight is special in China. It is auspicious, lucky both because of the way it sounds (like the words for prosper or wealth) and for its similarity to the character for joy when written down.

Officially, China is a modern state run on scientific principles that has cast aside superstitions like lucky numbers. And yet the Beijing Olympics started at 8:08 p.m. on August 8, 2008.

That sort of paradox is anything but rare in China. The difference between surface impressions and the reality of doing business or traveling in China is one of the lessons anyone interested in the Middle Kingdom needs to absorb.

China is a country where religion was banished, and yet to understand the Chinese you must understand Confucianism and its religion-like edicts.

China is massive. Its 1.3 billion people are undergoing growth and a social and economic transformation unlike anything ever seen before. And yet the most important relationships are small, between friends or family members, especially when it comes to business.

How does a foreigner know how to act in the face of social conventions that can be thousands of years old? When a potential business partner or client seems more interested in drinking into the night at a restaurant than in talking about prices and products, should a foreign businessman give up? Or does being included in the fun mean he is making progress?

This book aims to provide the reader with some answers, provide him or her with tips on how to get along in China, and introduce some of the background that will make the country less forbidding for a newcomer.

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1.1 Confucian Values

When foreigners think of China, they often wonder at its size. But China is also ancient, with a past that stretches well back into history. The Chinese can trace their culture further into the past than any western civilization, into the murky depths of the earliest recorded history of mankind itself. It is therefore not surprising to find a wealth of tradition and embedded customs in modern Chinese society. A fundamental aspect of those traditions and customs is derived from the writings of Confucius.

Confucian values emerged from a time when China was a feudalistic society ruled by dynastic families. For 2,500 years, Confucian values have permeated almost every facet of Chinese society. Confucianism has never been a rigid doctrine followed to the letter by everyone in society, however. Currents of change in society have affected the way Confucianism was interpreted and implemented in everyday life, and those changes continue today.

Profound changes have swept China in the last 100 years, starting with the overthrow of the last Imperial Dynasty, the Qing Dynasty, in 1911 and the establishment of the Republic of China. Invasion by Japan was followed by decades of war, both with the Japanese and among competing Chinese forces until the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Upheavals continued, with the Communist Party implementing its plans for a communist-socialist country amidst cold-war opposition. Policy mistakes led to famine and hardship while struggles for power within the top ranks of the party led to outbreaks of extremism such as the Cultural Revolution. In 1978, with the government's new "Open Door Policy," the domestic economy became more market oriented, and capitalist elements were allowed to emerge. The current system is known to the Communist Party as "Socialism with Chinese characteristics."¹

The profound changes in China over the last 100 years have meant that everyone born prior to 1980 or so has experienced life as a series of

upheavals that have created substantial pressures on the value system, culture, and customs that infuse Chinese society. Confucianism and traditional Chinese values still reign in many ways, but some of the traditional values have been abandoned while others have been retained but with modifications. Further, clear generational divides have emerged in terms of the values a generation embraces, and the consequent culture that emerges.

Whatever change is happening in Chinese culture and society, it is emerging from a clear and dominant set of traditional values commonly known as Confucian values. Although an average Chinese might not associate his or her value system with Confucius, the teachings of this ancient philosopher still provide the background of much of modern society's ethics and tradition. To understand modern Chinese society, one must understand the past and the foundations from which new values and cultural mores are emerging.

Social customs and values, such as *guanxi* (relationships) and *mianzi* (face) are rooted in a Confucian ethic. These customs and values are seen throughout the society but we focus our attention on a few such key relationships, such as husband and wife, father and son, and teacher and students. We describe the traditions that underlie these key relationships, and also discuss how a new set of emerging values is redefining the nature of these relationships. A battle is occurring between the old ways and the new in ways that will redefine modern Chinese society and culture - a China that is increasingly globalized, increasingly interconnected via the internet and other new media, and increasingly wealthy and worldly.

1.2 Contemporary Confucian Values

To understand China and the Chinese people, you must understand Confucius. Western society is built on a Judeo-Christian framework; Chinese society is built on a Confucian framework. No matter how China has changed and is changing, its society is built around the fundamental system of values laid down by this philosopher and his followers.

For 2,500 years, Confucian values have been the glue keeping Chinese society together. Emperors based their rule on Confucian values. Parents ran their households on Confucian values. For a short time, the Communist Party sought to abandon Confucius as an out-dated philosophy. But the attempt failed, so ingrained is the philosopher's thinking in Chinese society. Today, Confucianism still provides the guiding principles for Chinese society, whether in government, at work, school, or home.

One of the main precepts of Confucianism is the idea that strength comes from accepting the natural order of things; that being satisfied

with what you have is better than an unseemly striving for unbounded wants and needs.

Confucian values promote a range of moral guidelines for behavior and relationships, from individuals to groups and from families to the broadest organizations. They come into play in all relationships, whether between parents and children, bosses and workers, or between the government and the people.

They also set expectations for behavior and define the positive and negative characteristics of people.

Loyalty is a highly valued trait in Confucianism. In ancient times, that meant loyalty to the emperor above all. Today, loyalty is a trait most often identified with friendship. From the time they first go to school, Chinese are taught to put the interests of the team or the group ahead of their own individual interests. Self-interest and independence are not seen as positive values.

Confucian values stress filial piety, leading to expectations of behavior that are now unfamiliar in the West. For example, it is largely accepted in Chinese society that a son is obliged to pay his father's debts if his father is unable to do so. No formal law requires this but a son who shirked his duty would be seen as having shamed his family.

Some extremes of filial piety have faded over the years. It is no longer expected that a son will resign his job and return home to mourn for three years after the death of his father, for example. But it is expected that a son and his wife will provide a home for his parents. Government policies help keep such values alive. The Shanghai municipal government provides a cash bonus to families who have four generations living under the same roof, for one instance.

Corruption is a huge issue in China today, despite the fact that Confucian values stress the need for officials to be free from any taint. The media in China is rife with stories of petty and systemic corruption, with anti-corruption campaigns at times seemingly orchestrated by the central government and at times seemingly directed against it.

And yet Confucian values promote incorruptibility. In the 1700s and 1800s, while in the West government positions were handed out as patronage or purchased by the rich, in China government jobs were awarded on merit to those who could pass imperial exams. The stories and parables used by Confucius and his followers to illustrate his philosophy are riddled with examples of officials who could not be corrupted.

Why then does corruption seem so pervasive in modern-day China? One reason may be that the pace and nature of modern life has set some Confucian values against each other. When an act can be seen to be corrupt but helps a friend or family, which value wins out? No doubt the visibility of the issue has much to do with the inherent distaste for

corruption in society as a whole, however much that corruption has become part of daily life.

While it is important to understand Confucian values as the framework of Chinese society, knowing them also provides insight into the stresses that Chinese society is now undergoing. The sort of changes that took place over 100 years or so in the West with the advent of industrialization and urbanization are happening much faster in China, making the stresses imposed by those changes on traditions of family and society that much sharper.

1.3 Man and Wife

Confucius provided a list of strict rules to define the nature of the relationship between a man and wife. By modern standards those rules seem almost laughable in their bias against women, and yet the relationship between a man and his wife is still influenced by Confucian thought.

The acceptance or even promotion of polygamy for men can be seen as one of the most dramatic examples of how Confucian values have changed over the years, at least on the surface. At times in China's history, a man's success was measured by the number of wives he had. Since 1949, however, polygamy has been illegal.

Illegal, yes. But that does not mean the sentiment behind the acceptance of polygamy has disappeared.

Modern Chinese society is much more accepting of male marital infidelity than is the West. A relationship between a successful older married man and an attractive and single younger woman is seen to be somewhat of a natural fit, with the man exchanging security through his wealth for the pleasures and status of the woman's companionship. Indeed, a man who routinely returns home on time to his family every night would be seen by some as unsuccessful and without the means to entertain a younger woman.

Becoming an older man's mistress is less frowned on in China as well, since a mistress would have been a second or third wife under the Confucian system of the past.

For a woman, the Confucian values that enter into the marriage are those that stress loyalty and support for her husband. Two Chinese sayings illustrate this: "A woman becomes a hen after marrying a rooster,"² and "Follow the man you marry, be he a fool or a crook."³ The value of wifely loyalty is paramount and is praised in Chinese society, even when at times it would seem self-destructive to Western eyes.

Another holdover of ancient Confucian values is the insistence by many in Chinese society that the man is responsible for being the financial pillar of the family. Despite the large number of women in the workforce in China, with countless examples of success in their careers, it is still rare to see a woman marry a man who could be seen to be below her in station. Instead of marrying a man of her own age who earns less or who is less successful in his career, many successful Chinese women prefer to marry a man 10 or 20 years older.

1.4 Divorce

Confucian values are important in understanding modern China, but it is also important to recognize those areas where those values can be seen to be fraying at the edges. According to China's Ministry of Civil Affairs, by 2009 there were almost 5,000 couples registering for divorce every day in China, an amount equal to 1.7 million couples divorcing every year. While the rate of divorce in China, at 1.85 per thousand in 2009, is still below that of the United States, where there were 4.95 divorces per thousand marriages, it is one of the highest rates in Asia. Singapore and South Korea both have divorce rates of around 0.8 per thousand marriages, for example. As recently as 1985, the Chinese rate of divorce was still only 0.4 per thousand. Why has China turned so non-Confucian in its attitude toward divorce? What has happened to the China that venerated the family, as seen in the saying "Harmony in the family is the basis for success in all undertakings."⁴

Traditionally, family members were expected to do whatever it took to maintain the family as a unit. So if a husband's relationship with a mistress was exposed, the reaction of the wife would be to seek reconciliation rather than divorce. This attitude corresponds to the Confucian edict that the group is of more value than the individual and that individual needs must be sacrificed.

This attitude has changed, especially amongst those born in the 1980s. The younger generation has a much more open and free mindset toward divorce. In general, this generation is much less willing to submit to Confucian values that it sees as coming at the price of limiting personal happiness. Today's attitude toward divorce would have been unthinkable even in the 1990s.

It is worth mentioning that the divorce rate in China has grown alongside the incredible pace of economic growth in recent years. Men, and more importantly women, have seen their salaries far eclipsing anything their parents dreamed of earning. These changes have left the

current young generation, much like the generation that experienced rapid economic changes in the West after the Second World War, less likely to rely on the advice of parents and elders. Equally, the prohibitions or chiding of the older generation means less to youngsters who may feel their seniors are out of touch with the current world.

Finally, changing attitudes toward divorce may also be the product of fundamental changes to the role of women in China, which we will address in more detail later.

1.5 Children and Parents

Confucian values cover a wide range of standards and expectations in the relationship between children and parents. The distribution of family wealth, lineage and the responsibilities of, and benefits to, individual children depending on birth order are all covered by these values.

The eldest son is expected to have a child, preferably male, to perpetuate the family name. The eldest son and his wife are expected to care for his parents in their old age as well. Younger siblings are expected to defer to their seniors. If the eldest son has siblings, the wealth of the family will traditionally go to the boys and any daughters will be excluded. The Confucian reasoning for this is that daughters leave the family and marry into another, taking their husband's surname and helping to perpetuate their new family. In this, women again appear to receive short thrift, since they are expected to be subservient to their mothers-in-law when they join their husband's family. In China, the western mother-in-law joke and the traditional animosity between a husband and his wife's mother are translated into the relationship between the wife and her mother-in-law.

These traditional family values have come under considerable pressure in recent years, given the success of the One Child Policy. With the implementation of this policy in the 1970s, most families (especially in the cities) have had but one child to inherit. Selective abortion has led to a disparity between male and female births, with 120 boys now born for every 100 girls, a situation that some experts describe as a demographic time bomb.

More women work outside the home now, since fewer children means less responsibility at home. More women inherit from their parents as well, since despite the gender gap at birth there are many more single-daughter families now than in the past. The combination of these two trends means even more conflict between modern women and their mothers-in-law, with many modern women (who now have money of their own) resisting the subservient role of the past. This conflict has become a popular theme in Chinese entertainment.

Confucian values also help define the relationship between fathers and sons. Sons are expected to never directly confront their fathers, but to gently make suggestions or propose alternatives when in disagreement. Disobeying a father or acting against a father's will runs the risk that a son will be seen by society as lacking in filial piety.

Family interests trump all other interests under Confucian philosophy, even those of a legal nature. Should family members be faced with a choice between following the law and remaining loyal to the family, society will be sympathetic toward those who choose the latter course and hostile toward those who choose the former. Family values are paramount.

1.6 Boss and Subordinates

In the traditional Confucian context, the relationship between a boss and his subordinates is similar to that between a general and his soldiers. The boss leads and takes care of the interests of his subordinates, both in financial and social matters. Subordinates offer their loyalty, support and integrity. When the boss succeeds, the subordinates succeed. When the boss celebrates, the subordinates join in.⁵

Although this Confucian relationship has guided the relationship between a boss and his subordinates for thousands of years, recent changes in Chinese business have seen a sharp erosion in its structure. There are two main reasons for this breakdown in traditional values. The first is that the structure of the Chinese economy has rapidly transformed from one that was centrally planned to one that is closer to a market economy. The second is the integration of China into the global economy, with foreign companies and multi-nationals having a greater impact on the workforce.

The general-soldier relationship still exists, but it does so alongside a growing recognition of the success of the Western-style work relationship, with employees seen by employers, and even themselves, as something more akin to guns for hire.

Perhaps the most valuable facet of the traditional Confucian boss-subordinate relationship was that of the mentor-apprentice, which can benefit the career success of both. The value of this relationship is reflected in the saying "A fine bird chooses a tree in which to nestle, and a wise man selects a master to serve."⁶ This relationship, which endures in China at smaller companies, state-owned or family-controlled firms, is likened to that between a father and son ("Once a teacher, for life a father."⁷) and is expected to transcend the workplace. A pious Confucian will remember a mentor well after the two no longer work together, and will be expected to visit him and show his appreciation for many years.

Foreign employers in China will find that establishing this sort of mentor-apprentice relationship with Chinese employees can lead to returns in loyalty and hard work.

1.7 Teacher and Student

The teacher-student relationship is one of the most important in Confucian philosophy. This isn't surprising when you consider that Confucius was a teacher who was said to have had more than 3,000 students during his lifetime.

Confucius expressed detailed views on the relationship between teachers and students and between society at large and education in general. He thought everyone had the right to be educated. He thought teachers should be patient and adjust their teaching methods to the personalities and characters of individual students. Education should be a life-long process, he believed, with elders learning from their juniors⁸ and vice versa. Confucius believed that students should approach the learning process with humility and honesty and should not pretend to know more than they do.⁹

Confucian values are embedded in the Chinese education system. Teachers in primary and secondary schools (especially those in their 40s or 50s) see it as their primary responsibility to pass their own knowledge to students. Sacrifice from teachers is valued and somewhat expected, with some teachers said to spend much more time with their students than with their own children.

In return, it is common in China for student-teacher relationships to live well past school days, with some students known to visit primary school teachers more than 20 years after graduation. Parents and other family members encourage these relationships, insisting that students keep their former teachers in mind. It is common, for example, for important former teachers to be invited to ongoing life events such as weddings. Teachers may also serve as a bridge, introducing senior former students to juniors and promoting an alumni network.

The traditional role of teachers within Chinese society is not without controversy today. After the huge earthquake that struck Wen Chuan in western China in 2008, the Chinese media were filled with stories of teachers who had lost their lives protecting their students. School construction had been particularly shoddy and many collapsed in the earthquake. One teacher who survived, named Fan Meizhong, wrote on his blog afterwards that he did not believe he should have sacrificed himself trying to save his students. Instead, he said his responsibility was to save his daughter and himself. The media helped spread word of his comments, and thousands attacked his actions through their own blogs

and on websites, which eventually led to a campaign against him in the press. In the end he was fired, with the reason given being a lack of moral qualifications.

1.8 Friends

As mentioned earlier, loyalty to friends is a key tenet of Confucius and, to some, the foremost component of Confucian values. The social norm is that friends support each other in times of need, regardless of monetary costs and that friends are expected to extend favors to their friends when asked.

Understanding the friend-to-friend relationship is key to doing business in China. Although business relationships can and do exist without friendship at the core, relationships based on friendships are those that thrive and grow. These relationships, known as *guanxi* in Chinese, explain why some foreign companies might not succeed in China even though they may offer better service and quality than a Chinese competitor.

Friendship takes on a particularly important role in a society like China's where the legal framework is weak and is not trusted by many. When the legal system cannot be trusted to enforce a contract, for example, the trust between friends can become more important than a business contract. The rule of thumb in Chinese business is that those outside the circle of friends are not to be trusted, a rule reinforced by the fraud that pervades in many deals done outside the circle.

In practice, this means that those desiring a business relationship must first establish a friendship or trust relationship. If a businessman wants to meet a potential customer, partner or government official, the best method is often to find a middle man, someone in the target's circle of acquaintance to help with introductions. This middle man could come from the target's family, school alumni or army unit in the case of an ex-soldier. Typically, the middle man would set up a dinner with the target in a respected restaurant, where a private room would be booked. At the initial meeting the middle man would be expected to do most of the talking, describing the attributes of the two parties to each other. After one or two such dinners, the two parties would then move on to less public surroundings where business might begin to be conducted.

The middle men themselves have two motivations for helping out. The first is to accumulate favors. A favor is not a hard currency in Chinese society. You cannot cash in favors in exchange for a car. But a favor is highly liquid. If you provide a friend or an acquaintance with a favor today, he or she would be expected to return the favor when asked.

Most Chinese people do honor this reciprocal obligation for favors. It is similar to a debt, that one has a moral obligation to pay back. Not everyone complies with this rule, but one would find life more difficult with a reputation of not returning favors.

The second reason is related to face. Face is valuable for many Chinese people, especially those who are somewhat vain. Having face means that you are considered to be smart, powerful, competent and deserving of respect. If you are well connected and can invite important people to your dinner, you have face. By having an important person accept a dinner invitation, the middleman can boast in the future that he introduced Mr. Big to his friend, implying to the listener that it is worth having the middleman as a true friend.

In China, certainly more so than in the West, it is not what you know but who you know. Social engagements are an important element of a business career, with dinners and banquets organized by schoolmates or friends a vital part of any businessman's life. These events expand a businessman's circle of friends, combining his social and business life in the pursuit of ever-more guanxi.

1.9 Individualism versus Teamwork

Comparing Chinese to Western cultural values yields many differences, one of the most obvious being attitudes toward individualism. The West celebrates the loner, the single man who takes on the establishment and wins, who sticks to his individual values come what may. This attitude is anathema to the Chinese way of thinking, where the individual's needs are expected to be subordinate to that of the group.

The Confucian attitude, which stressed teamwork and group effort, was reinforced by the Communist Party after the Second World War (at the same time as it was publicly abandoning Confucianism as a relic of the past). The China that emerged under Communist control in 1949 was fragmented and weak, and seemingly under attack from all sides. The Korean War of the early 1950s exacerbated the fragile state of China, as it poured men and money into the effort. Loyalty to the state became the paramount ideal, with central planning even dictating marriages as the Party attempted to make matches that best served the interest of the state. The influence of the state, which became synonymous with the Communist Party, was seen even at the most local level, where a watchful core of older women reported to neighborhood committees and ensured that individual interests did not interfere with the interests of the Party.

Naturally, the changes seen in China since it opened up to the outside world in 1978 have included changes in the attitude toward

individualism. The introduction of concepts such as the market economy and free competition led to greater individual freedom, with people encouraged to pursue their own interests. In allowing this, China's leaders were not pursuing individualism for its own sake, but instead were following the Adam Smith school of economic thought, that the pursuit of individual gain would stimulate a dynamic economy and lead to benefits for all, as it has done.

Along with this trend toward the pursuit of personal interest has come a greater acceptance of topics once seen as taboo, such as discussions of personal wealth, fame and power. Today, someone claiming to have put personal interests aside in favor of the public interest might even be suspected of being naïve or a liar.

Like the generational divide over divorce and marriage, the shift toward greater individualism has led to more stress within society. The older generation worries that China is shifting too far toward a Western "Me First" culture and it offers up the growing gap between rich and poor in China as evidence of that. Still, the older generation remains in power in China and the subordination of individual interest to that of the state (or government or Party, depending on your point of view) remains the official line. State companies are favored by government regulations and the financial system and in return they are urged to maximize employment. Savings rates are kept low, hurting savers, in order that cheap loans can flow toward state-dominated businesses. The state undertakes massive spending on infrastructure but has yet to come up with an adequate safety net for those cast adrift in the continuing move away from a centrally planned economy to a free market.

1.10 What Is Success?

The definition of success has evolved and continues to evolve in China. In Confucius's time, success was defined in a very broad way, as evidenced by the saying that "one should hold to his virtue and integrity in distress and one should practice charity for the needy when prospering."¹⁰ Success was not measured in terms of power or wealth, but by the individual's actions, on what he contributed to society.

Later, success became defined by the ability to effect change, almost equivalent to the idea that the amount of power held equates to success. Then, as now to some extent, it was common for people to equate success with position in the government hierarchy. Although success in China today can also be measured in the wealth and power of its business millionaires, many still see government as a legitimate path toward achieving success. The government entrance exams had 1.4 million registered participants in 2011, which works out to about 20 applicants for

every available job. There is more than one reason for such enthusiasm, but the age-old reverence for a good government job remains a factor.

Further, the image that the government is trying to convey, sometimes unconsciously, is not helpful. For example, 2011 was the one hundredth anniversary of Tsing Hua University, one of the most prestigious universities in China. The university held many events to celebrate this historical moment. University officials handed out booklets that listed the most respectable graduates who had made the most significant contribution to the society. The top mentioned graduates in the booklet were Hu Jintao, Zhu Rongji and Li Keqiang, who are or were top political leaders of China. Many artists, scientists, writers and poets, who were very important contributors to their fields, had also graduated from Tsing Hua University. Even with their contributions, political success dominated in importance.

China's younger generations have begun to question such a value system. Thanks to globalization and opening of China's borders, the young generation in China has had much more exposure to the world than their parents. With that exposure has come a broadened definition of success. The older generations view becoming a Communist Party leader as the very definition of success, while younger generations see becoming a poet, writer or an actor as a success. With China's increased openness, the younger generations now have the opportunity to pursue non-political careers.

Success is also connected to wealth. Until recently, business and private wealth were separated from the political power structure in China. This divide appears to be closing. In 2011, Liang Wengen was ranked by Forbes to be China's wealthiest man with an estimated wealth of \$8 billion.¹¹ In the same year, Liang was in the process of being recruited by high-level officials to join the Communist Party's Central Committee, which is one of the most powerful entities within the Party. As Liang Wengen is a successful businessman who has been given the opportunity to climb the political power ladder, it appears that new definitions of success are appearing in China.

1.11 The Challenge of Confucian Values

In the past 30 years, two broad events have profoundly influenced China. First is the country's rapid growth and change after the government launched its "Open Door Policy" in 1978. Second is the profound change brought about by globalization, largely thanks to increasing levels of trade between countries and the expansion of multinational corporations. China has been a key contributor to the globalization trend. This trend also presents substantial challenges to traditional values in China.

The challenge is seen almost in every aspect that we have discussed. The marriage relationship between husband and wife is going through a rapid change. The traditional family structure, in which the husband works to provide for the family while the wife works at home to make the home and raise the children is rarely seen in today's China. It is much more common for both the husband and wife to work, with the child cared for by the grandparents or a daycare. An increasing number of women do not see marriage as the means to a livelihood. They are less tolerant of a bad husband and can seek divorce, or they become more selective in their choice of when and whom to marry.

The value of filial piety also faces challenges. According to traditional values, it is common for children to live together with the parents and try their best to improve the quality of life of their parents. The new generation, however, does not necessarily share this view. It is not uncommon today for children to move out and live separately from their parents. Some children only pay an annual visit to their parents, or visit when needed.

Some of the challenges are even more worrisome. Respect for elders has long been a traditional Confucian value. However, in recent years, there has been growing concern that fewer people are willing to help the aged. A lack of trust impedes the willingness of the young to help the elderly, particularly when the elderly are not well known to the young.

Other traditional Confucian values have more or less been abandoned. Loyalty is an important aspect of Confucian values. Loyalty has traditionally been expressed as one's willingness to sacrifice for the emperor. In corporate China, loyalty is expressed by one's emotional link to his or her employer. Nowadays, however, rapid job jumping is the norm rather than the exception. If a person was to be loyal to an employer for decades, they would be regarded as unwise, rather than respected for embodying the value of loyalty.

In recent years, there have been more and more voices calling for a "Universal Value"¹² in Chinese society, as opposed to a return to traditional values. Universal Value refers to a value system that can be accepted by all, not just people in China or not just people from the West. For example, values such as integrity, empathy, patriotism, the pursuit of freedom and loyalty to one's family are arguably universal, not just specific to China. The Universal Value movement in China could be seen as being part of China's process of integration into the world, which is also part of the globalization process. With these challenges and alternative value systems emerging, it remains to be seen how several thousand years of traditional values, as rooted in a Confucian ethos, will emerge in the next few decades in China.

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