A Comparative Study of the Re-Planning of Chinese Characters in China and Japan in the 21st Century

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Declaration

I would like to have this opportunity to express my warmest thanks and gratitude to my Thesis Panel: the Chair of the panel, Dr. Peter Hendricks, the supervisor, Dr. Norlingsa Li, and the assessor, Dr. Jana fil Hendricks. This study would not have been possible without their enthusiastic guidance, support and encouragement. I particularly appreciate the flexibility they afforded me to explore this topic in a novel way, allowing me to develop into an independent and innovative researcher. Thank you all again for helping me achieve this goal.

Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis is my own work.

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I would like to take this opportunity to express my warmest thanks and gratitude to my Thesis Panel- the Chair of the panel, Dr. Peter Hendriks, the supervisor, Dr. Narangoa Li and the adviser, Dr. Jennifer Hendriks. This study would not have been possible without their continuous guidance, support and encouragement. I particularly appreciate the flexibility they allowed me to explore this topic in a novel way, allowing me to develop into an independent and innovative researcher. Thank you all again for helping me achieve this goal.
Abstract

This study examines on a comparative basis the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives announced in 2009. While being the latest script policy initiatives in the script reform arena of China and Japan, these initiatives are also significant because after a silence of about twenty to twenty-five years, a dramatic change has been made simultaneously to the existing script policies in the two countries.

Keeping in line with the new trend that has emerged in the field of language planning (LP), the study focuses on the power exercised by powerful language planners in top-down LP processes, which could lead to the formulation of unjust policies, due to the unequal power relationships that exist between the planners and the recipients of the policies. Equity issues caused by such language policies are generally concealed from the public eye, particularly by the manner in which the policies are communicated to the public. As a result, policies that may negatively affect people may get implemented without much resistance from the public. Therefore, exposing equity issues in language policies is seen as a means that could help the public resist inequitable policies. As much information regarding language policies is disseminated through written texts, it is possible to expose through an analysis of policy-related documents, how various strategies are employed to make an unjust policy appear as reasonable.

The aim of this study was to investigate how the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives were communicated to the public through official and media documents. More specifically, the study aimed to investigate whether the information provided to the public through these documents was controlled, and also, whether public perceptions were managed to legitimize the policy decisions. This was considered to be important because top-down language planners generally attempt to keep any equity issues that their policies might cause away from the public eye when producing policy-related documents. To this end, the study used the approach of qualitative document analysis.

The study found that in both the Chinese and Japanese documents, the information provided to the public was inadequate on many aspects of the initiatives, more so, in relation to the Chinese documents than the Japanese. The study also found that special strategies were used in both the Chinese and Japanese documents to legitimize policy
decisions to win public consent. The study concluded that official Chinese and Japanese language planners who represent their governments, exercise substantial power over the policy formulation process, including the manner in which they inform the public about their policies. There was a strong tendency in both the Chinese and the Japanese documents to provide inadequate information, and also use special strategies to win public consent, in relation to those aspects of the initiatives that were likely to cause equity issues and bring about public displeasure.

Based on the findings from the study, it is quite likely that the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives will be implemented without much public scrutiny, despite the potential they have to cause many adverse effects in the respective societies. However, the study argues that both China and Japan have the potential to change this situation given the changing socio-political environment of the two countries, particularly if public awareness can be raised by exposing equity issues in policy-related documents.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

The present study explores language policy and planning in the People's Republic of China (China hereafter) and Japan, with particular regard to the planning of Chinese characters. It focuses on the revisions announced in 2009 to the existing policies on Chinese characters, particularly in relation to the official lists of Chinese characters. These two initiatives in relation to Chinese and Japanese script reform were chosen because after a silence of about twenty to twenty-five years, a dramatic change has been made simultaneously to the official character lists in the two countries. The study is a comparative examination of the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives. The area of study is language planning and policy (LPP), with Chinese character planning as the focus.

1.1 Initial Interest in the Research Topic

The study originated towards the end of 2007 out of an interest to learn more about the policy change that was taking place simultaneously in the Chinese and Japanese script reform arena. At the time, both China and Japan were in the process of revising their respective guidelines for usage of Chinese characters— the List of Generally used Characters in Modern Chinese in China and the Jōyō Kanji List in Japan. The two lists had served as the guide for character use from 1988 in China and from 1981 in Japan and these revisions were the first since then. The revisions that were being carried out struck me as a momentous event in the area of Chinese and Japanese script reform, given the socio-political and economic context in which they were taking place, the exact moment in time that they were occurring, and the fact that they were taking place simultaneously in the two countries.

Initial reading on the topic showed that the first script reforms in modern times took place in China and Japan in the 1950s and the 1940s respectively, and were carried out as part of a broader nation-wide attempt at modernising the countries. Simplification of the script was chosen as the preferred option in both polities at the time, China choosing to simplify the shape of characters and Japan choosing to reduce the number of characters in current use. Literacy of the masses was a focal point in these initial
reforms as this was considered to be important for modernisation in general and for economic development in particular.

However, both countries backtracked on their initial script policies in the 1980s and began to adopt a more conservative approach towards script reform. In 1986, China declared that no further large-scale simplification would be carried out on the shape of characters, and released the List of Generally Used Characters in Modern Chinese in 1988 as the current standard, reviving some complex characters that had previously been abolished. Similarly, Japan revised its prescribed Tōyō Kanji Hyō (Tōyō List) in 1981 by increasing the number of Chinese characters that were permitted to be used, and declared that the new list the Jōyō Kanji Hyō (the Jōyō List) should be used as a guide and not as a prescriptive list as the Tōyō List had been intended to be used.

Although the number of complex characters revived in China was very small it can be considered as a regressive move, because it was a return to the practice that existed before the shape of characters was simplified in 1956. The declaration made against large-scale simplification efforts can also be considered as a conservative step because it meant that character reform in the future would not go to the extent of making any radical changes to the shape of characters.

Similarly, while the number of characters that was added to the official character list of Japan was not very high, the revision was a regressive move as it indicated a return to the practice of unlimited character use that existed before the script reform of 1946. Changing the nature of the script from a prescriptive list to that of a guide confirmed that a reversal of the previous policy was taking place. As the large scale reduction of the number of characters in general use that took place in 1946 was a radical move, both changes that were introduced in 1981 can also be considered as conservative measures as they facilitated the use of more characters in contemporary written Japanese.

The fact that the current revisions were taking place about twenty to twenty five years after the previous revision made it an interesting area of investigation. Also, they were happening in the context of another wave of modernisation that was under way due to the rapidly increasing use of information and communication technology. Similar to the modernisation movements of the 1940s and the 1950s that heightened existing problems
in the character-based scripts, the new technological developments brought to the surface the same problems in a different form. The major hurdle that China had to overcome was adapting the scripts to make them computer-efficient. Whereas the scripts had posed challenges in the past when applied to human use in modern society, now they were posing challenges when applied to machine use. The major issue that Japan had to deal with was the changes or the perceived changes that had occurred in script usage due to the use of information and communication technology.

Against this backdrop of a technology-mediated script reform, I was intrigued by numerous questions: What exactly is the driving force behind the revisions? Are China and Japan heading in the same direction? Who is at the helm of the revisions? Which characters are being added or deleted from the current lists, and how are these decisions made? What is the fate of the focus on literacy which was important in the initial script reforms? Will the new initiative also be implemented as a guide? Who benefits from the revisions? Who loses?

What particularly caught my attention was that 191 characters had been added to the new Japanese character list, more than twice the number of characters added when the Tōyō List was revised in 1981. Also, the rationale for increasing the number of characters on the list was given on the official script reform website as the appearance of a large number of non-list characters in contemporary documents, and the need that arose as a result to familiarize people with these characters (National Language Subcommittee 2005:1). However, the claim was based on general perceptions that character use had changed due to the wide-spread use of computers and mobile phones.

Eager to get an idea about the number of non-list characters used in contemporary Japanese texts, I conducted a preliminary study (Premaratne 2009). The main purpose of my study was to find out whether non-list characters used during the information and communication era (after 1980) had increased in Japan. In order to achieve this, I conducted a longitudinal study from the 1940s to the 2000s, based on news texts written on the single topic of script reform. This enabled me to compare the proportions of non-list characters used after 1980 with the proportions used before 1980. Controlling the topic of the news texts was important because the number of Chinese characters used in a text can vary in relation to the topic of the text.
My study generated some surprising results. It showed that the proportion of non-list characters used was slightly lower after 1980 than before. This was in spite of the fact that a large number of non-list characters were available for easy use through computer databases during this period. More importantly, the proportion of non-list characters was very small both before and after 1980, and the use had been very stable. What my research indicated was that the current official list was an adequate standard for all the news texts examined in the study. It also implied that the tendency to use non-list characters in the Japanese community was low and the practice appeared to be decreasing, not increasing for some reason.

Although the findings of my study were limited to news texts written on the topic of script reform, which are more likely to follow official guidelines than other text types, they indicated the value of longitudinal studies based on controlled texts for this type of research. While only a longitudinal study can indicate whether any observed increase in character use during a short period of time is a temporary occurrence or a part of an increasing trend, only a study that controls text types can indicate whether the increase is limited to some text types or widespread across many different text types.

It was disturbing that adequate information was not given about the research on which the review was based, because the addition of a large number of characters to the official list is a drastic change that needs to be approached with caution. First, it could induce writers to use more Chinese characters in their writing, making reading a more difficult task than now. Second, it would place extra pressure on those who need to acquire the characters on the official list to fulfil eligibility requirements for education and employment purposes. The preliminary research therefore triggered more questions about the reform process, particularly in relation to social justice issues that could be caused by language policies and more importantly, by the manner in which they are communicated to the public.

1.2 Research Aim

Due to the importance of communication in modern societies, and the exploitation of ‘strategic’ communication by powerful and influential entities to achieve their ends, particularly in the policy arena (Fairclough 2003:112), communication of policies to the
public has become an important area of investigation. Strategic communication is defined as communication that is designed to achieve particular ends. Such communication attempts to manage the control of relevant information by presenting information selectively, giving out what is favourable to the document producers and withholding what is not (van Dijk 1989:28), and by manipulating language to manage public perception (Fairclough 2000:vii). As a result, inequitable policies tend to get implemented without resistance, especially when the general public are not adequately critical of these policies.

This study aims to investigate how the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives formally announced in 2009 were communicated to the public by official LP bodies and the media. More specifically, the study aims to investigate whether the information provided to the public was controlled, and also, whether public perceptions were managed to legitimize the policy decisions. The scope of the study is limited to the communication that took place around the time the new Chinese and Japanese character lists were formally announced in 2009.

In order to achieve this aim, the following two research questions were developed.

1) Was information provided to the public controlled? If so, how was this achieved?

2) Were public perceptions managed to legitimize policy decisions? If so, how was this achieved?

1.3 Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of nine chapters, organized under four parts: Introduction, Background, Current Research and Synthesis. A synopsis of the chapters is given below.

Introduction

Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the study. It announces the topic of the study, explains how the study originated, identifies the research aim, and provides an overview of the study.
Background

Chapter 2 provides information about the Chinese and Japanese writing systems in order to identify the issues that make script reform necessary. It gives a brief overview of the two writing systems, comparing them with alphabetic systems. It also explains the nature of the writing systems and the challenges posed by this feature when the scripts are applied to use in modern societies, particularly in relation to mass literacy and information and communication processors.

Chapter 3 focuses on the script reform initiatives attempted and implemented in China and Japan and the factors that make script reform difficult in the two countries. The chapter gives an account of the failed attempts made by China and Japan to reform the scripts before the major script reforms of 1956 and 1946 respectively, the subsequent successful attempts that materialized in the major reforms carried out in 1956 in China and in 1946 in Japan, and the conservative period that followed after 1980 and 1981 respectively, which led to the current script initiatives. The chapter also looks at the various socio-political factors that shaped the script reforms in the two countries, with particular attention to factors that make script reform difficult.

Chapter 4 provides a review of the relevant literature in language planning to provide the theoretical foundation for the present study and to outline the need. The chapter discusses the early phase of the field which was mostly apolitical in nature, the subsequent development that took place when language planning goals and socio-political contexts became centre stage, and the new direction the field has taken in recent years in terms of focusing on social justice issues caused by language policies. The chapter reviews studies conducted in different LP contexts, including China and Japan.

Current Research

Chapter 5 presents the research design used in the study. The chapter presents the research questions derived from the research aim and explains that the qualitative approach and the document analysis method were chosen in line with the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter describes the type of documents used and how they
were selected. The chapter also describes how data was extracted from the documents, how they were analysed, and the analytical tools that were used for this purpose.

Chapter 6 presents the results obtained by analyzing the information provision in the documents by applying Cooper’s LP Accounting Scheme (1989:98). The chapter makes comparisons across the different documents within each country and between the two countries.

Chapter 7 presents the results obtained by analyzing the information presentation in the documents by applying Fairclough’s CDA Model (Fairclough 2003:27). The chapter compares presentation strategies used by the different documents within each country and between the two countries.

**Synthesis**

Chapter 8 presents a comparative discussion of the implications arising from the control of information provided to the public and the management of public perceptions. The chapter first focuses on each category identified in Cooper’s Accounting Scheme on which the documents did not provide adequate information, and discusses the implications of the observed inadequacies. The chapter next focuses on the strategies used in the documents under the dimensions identified in Fairclough’s CDA Model, and discusses the implications of using these strategies to legitimize policy decisions.

What is meant by ‘adequacy’ here is the quality of being unambiguous and transparent about the information provided. This was considered to be an important requirement, because providing information about a policy that is just adequate for the policy recipients to know what the policy is would not necessarily be adequate. This is because lack of clarity and transparency in providing information could cloud the real nature of the policy and any negative effects that it may bring about. Therefore, for a policy text to be adequate, the meaning conveyed by the text needs to be unequivocal.

Chapter 9 provides the conclusion for the study. It summarises the major findings from the study to address the research questions, draws conclusions based on the findings, and discusses their implications. The chapter also comments on the significance and
limitations of the study and discusses the potential it has for further research. To this end, the chapter brings together information from the background chapters and also from the results and discussion chapters.
CHAPTER 2
THE CHINESE AND JAPANESE WRITING SYSTEMS

Chapter 1 stated that the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives formally announced in 2009 are major revisions that are taking place in the script reform arena of the two countries. Chapter 1 also mentioned that several script reforms had also been carried out previously in relation to Chinese characters in the two countries.

This chapter gives an account of the Chinese and Japanese writing systems to provide the context for the problems that make script reform perceived to be necessary in the two languages. The chapter describes the nature of the writing systems and the related issues that come up when these writing systems are used for modern needs, specifically for mass education and the use of information and communication processors.

The focus of this account is one of the features of the writing systems, namely the large number of characters. Although there are other related issues, such as the lack of a recursive method to order the characters, the absence of word division, and the existence of several major encoding systems that are incompatible with one another (Mair 1991:4-5), which primarily apply to computer use, the issue posed by the large number of characters is central to this account. This is because it is the feature that is the most challenging in terms of mass education and computer use. It is also the issue that the new script initiatives announced in 2009 particularly aim to address by updating the official character lists of the two countries.

This chapter consists of a brief overview of the two writing systems, the number of characters they comprise, and the implications of this large repertoire of characters when applied to mass education and computer use. The overview of the Chinese writing system includes a brief history of Chinese characters, a basic comparison of the Chinese character script and alphabetic systems, and a discussion of the nature of the writing system. The overview of the Japanese writing system includes a brief history of the adoption of Chinese characters, the evolution of the kana syllabaries and the current uses of the Japanese mixed script system. In the section about the number of characters in the writing systems, an idea is given about the total number of characters that have existed from the inception of the two writing systems up to current times, the number of
characters in actual use today, and the possible reasons for the large number of characters. The implications of the size of the character repertoire are discussed in terms of providing mass literacy and using information and communication processors.

2.1 An Overview of the Chinese Writing System

The Chinese writing system is an ancient writing system that has been in continuous use for several millennia. Although Chinese writing began to function as a well-developed system in the fourteenth century BC, individual characters may have been in use for an even longer time (Chen 1996a:3). The bone and bronze inscriptions that belong to the late Shang dynasty (ca. 14th to 11th centuries BC), show that a mature form of writing that was fully capable of recording language was already in use at the time. As evidenced by some writing that pre-dates the late Shang dynasty, it can be surmised that a primitive form of the Chinese script existed even before this time (Qiu 2000:29).

The Chinese writing system is different from alphabetic writing systems in many respects. First, they are different in terms of the speech segments represented by the graphic units. Writing systems can be divided into two broad groups based on the size of the speech segments that are represented by basic graphic units (Chen 1996a:2). The units of a writing system can represent either phonemes, the smallest basic sounds of a language, or clusters of sounds comprising syllables (DeFrancis 1984:89). While the units of the English writing system primarily represent phonemes, those of the Chinese writing system represent morae or syllables. Therefore, the English writing system can be called phonemic and the Chinese writing system syllabic (Chen 1996a:2).

Second, they are different in terms of the graphemes they use. A grapheme is the basic graphic unit in a script that represents the smallest segment of speech (DeFrancis 1989:54). According to this definition, English graphemes are letters that represent phonemes, while Chinese graphemes are characters that represent syllables (Chen 1996a:2).

Third, they are different in terms of what is encoded by their graphemes. Some writing systems have graphemes that encode speech sound only, while some have graphemes that encode both speech sound and meaning (Chen 1996a:2). Graphemes that encode
pure phonetic values are called phonographic or cenemic, while those that encode both speech sound and meaning are called logographic, pleremic, or morphemic (Coulmas 1989:49-51, Haas 1983 cited in Chen 1996a:2). While the letters in alphabetic systems encode speech sound only, there are a number of different views about what the characters in the Chinese writing system primarily represent. More specifically, the contention is about whether they represent meaning (pictographic, ideographic, word-writing, morphemic writing, lexigraphic and morphographic), or sound (syllabic or syllabary), or both meaning and sound (logographic, morpho-syllabic, morphemo-syllabic, semanto-phonetic and semanto-phonetic-sign script).

It is commonly believed that the Chinese writing system is pictographic or ideographic. This means that it consists of symbols that express meaning through their shapes. Hannas (1997:123) refutes this belief by claiming that Chinese characters are neither ‘pictures that represent reality’ (pictographs), nor symbols that depict ‘aphonic universal concepts’ (ideographs). His claim is based on the fact that Chinese characters do not have any unique extralinguistic features but are written symbols that map onto linguistic units. Hannas believes that like all other writing systems, Chinese characters are an alternate way of expressing spoken language.

Similar to Hannas, De Francis (1984:143-8) views the concept that Chinese writing is ideographic as a ‘myth’. He claims that although it is possible for a writing system to have some ideograms or ideographs, it is not possible for an entire writing system to be based on this principle. An important reason for this is that there is no evidence to support the notion that people have the ability to remember the vast number of symbols that would be required to convey thought without any reference to sound.

A number of scholars agree that the Chinese script represents both meaning and sound (Chen 1999, Chen 1999, Qiu 2000, Hannas 1997, De Francis 1984). Chen (1999:132) states that the Chinese writing system can be characterised as a logographic script. He states that writing systems can be characterised as logographic or phonographic depending on whether they primarily consist of logographic graphemes (symbols that encode phonetic values together with meaning) or phonographic graphemes (symbols that encode pure phonetic values). Chen considers the Chinese writing system to be
logographic as it primarily consists of symbols that encode phonetic values together with meaning.

Qiu (2000:24-5) argues that Chinese writing uses symbols that express syllables as well as symbols belonging to the morphemic level. Therefore, he is of the view that the term ‘morpho-syllabic writing’ is more appropriate to describe the Chinese writing system than the term ‘morphemic writing’.

Hannas (1997:113) maintains a similar view to the above. While acknowledging that Chinese characters map onto morphemes, he points out that there are problems with this concept as the mapping of characters to morphemes does not happen in a consistent manner. Firstly, a Chinese character does not always map onto a single morpheme. For example, sometimes two or more characters are used to represent one morpheme. Secondly, the same character sometimes represents more than one morpheme, with or without the same pronunciation. According to Hannas (1997:16), the above phenomenon suggests that characters may also be representing sound.

Similar to the scholars discussed above, DeFrancis (1984:125-6) believes that the Chinese writing system cannot be labelled ‘wholly one thing or another’. DeFrancis accepts that the term ‘morphosyllabic’ is more appropriate than the terms ‘logographic’, ‘lexigraphic’, ‘morphemic’ or ‘morphographic’ to describe the Chinese writing system. He finds these terms to be inadequate as they merely indicate that the writing system represents words or morphemes, without explaining how it is done. The term morphosyllabic is revealing as it indicates that Chinese characters represent words/morphemes through syllables. Although there are many Chinese characters that do not provide any significant phonetic information, the majority of characters do provide some information of this kind.

2.2 Overview of the Japanese Writing System

Chinese characters were introduced to Japan by Korean scholars as there was no native Japanese script at the time. Although these history books record the time as the 3rd century AD, there is consensus among scholars today that the late 4th or the early 5th
century AD is more likely to have been the time when Chinese characters were brought to Japan (Taylor and Taylor 1995:297, Gottlieb 1995:3).

In the beginning, Chinese characters (kanji) were used in Japan as the sole script. However, Chinese characters were not able to sufficiently represent the Japanese language because of the differences between the two languages. Following a period of experimentation with various diacritics and rebus forms, the two syllabaries, hiragana and katakana, were derived from Chinese characters in the ninth century to address this need. Hiragana, which means ‘kana without angles’, were derived from an increasingly simplified set of cursively written Chinese characters used as manyōgana (Chinese characters used phonetically to write Japanese). Katakana which means ‘simple, incomplete kana’ were also derived from manyōgana. While hiragana symbols were created by abbreviating entire Chinese characters, katakana symbols were created by taking parts of established manyōgana (Gottlieb 1995:3-4, Smith 1996:212).

At first, kana were used to indicate Japanese grammar and/or glosses in Chinese texts. These were written to the right of a string of vertically-written characters in Chinese word order. Later, the characters were written with kana in between in Japanese word order. This use of kana and Chinese characters is a convention known as kanji-kana-majiribun (texts combining characters and phonetic script) (Gottlieb 1995:4).

Chinese characters used in the Japanese writing system still retain most of the properties of the original Chinese characters. For example, they represent both sound and meaning as Chinese characters do (see Section 2.1 for a discussion of this feature of Chinese characters). However, the shape of some of the borrowed Chinese characters have been simplified after borrowing. Chinese characters are different from both hiragana and katakana because the former represent both meaning and sound, while the latter represent only sound. Most of the Chinese characters used today were borrowed from the Chinese writing system. However, there are some Chinese characters that were coined by the Japanese.

Several scripts are used to write Japanese today: Chinese characters, hiragana and katakana, and Roman letters and Arabic numerals, known as rōmaji. These scripts have
their roots elsewhere but have been borrowed and modified by the Japanese over a long period of time. (Smith 1996:213, Taylor and Taylor 1995: 295).

Chinese characters are generally used to encode primary lexical categories: nouns, verb stems, adjective stems and some adverbs. Polymorphemic words are represented by more than one Chinese character (Smith 1996:209). Chinese characters are used to write all words that were borrowed from Chinese, known as kango. Native Japanese words are written either in Chinese characters or kana, depending on the choice of the individual writer.

Hiragana have several uses in the Japanese writing system. Hiragana are used to write all forms of the copula verb desu and particles. Hiragana are also used to write all inflections such as verbal and adjectival endings. This use of hiragana is called okurigana or ‘send-off-kana.’ Many other items are also regularly written in hiragana. This is because they have never been written in Chinese characters before, or because they are no longer written in Chinese characters (Jorden and Chaplin 1976:48). Hiragana can also be used to indicate the correct pronunciation of characters. This is done by appending the hiragana pronunciation of the character alongside it. This use of hiragana is called furigana. In the beginning, each hiragana symbol represented an entire Chinese character. Later, they were so abbreviated that they were intelligible only to the Japanese (Gottlieb 1995:9).

Katakana are used today to represent foreign names, non-Chinese loan-words, onomatopoeic and mimetic words, exclamations, and some specialized scientific terminology. They are also used for words usually written in Chinese characters to give special emphasis, indicate an ironic tone, and signal euphemisms. They are therefore usually used by young people to give a conversational tone to their writing. Katakana are also used as the Japanese equivalent of italics (Gottlieb 1995:4, Jorden and Chaplin 1976:1, Smith 1996:212).

Rômajî have several uses in the Japanese writing system. They are used to write acronyms of foreign or domestic origin, names of train stations, street and highway signs and company names. They are also used in numbering sections in a document (Smith 1996:213, Tomoda 2005:2).
In the Japanese writing system, numerals can be written in characters or Arabic numerals. However, this depends on the type of text. For numerals to be written in Chinese characters, the text must be in a vertical format. Arabic numerals are used when the text is in a horizontal format. Roman numerals are mostly used as section numbering devices (Tomoda 2005:2).

2.3 Number of Characters in the Chinese and Japanese Writing Systems

A major challenge that arises when adapting the Chinese writing system for modern use is the large number of characters in the writing system. A related problem is that characters continue to be created, continuously expanding the repertoire of characters. Therefore, the Chinese writing system does not have a fixed number of characters.

It is also difficult to determine exactly how many characters existed in the past, particularly in the early stages of the writing system, because there is no accurate record of the characters used. The two modern compilations of characters from oracle bone inscriptions and bronze inscriptions help to make only a rough estimate of the number of characters in use at the time. The Jia Gu Wen Bian Compilation of Oracle Bone Inscriptions contains 4,672 characters, and the Jin Wen Bian Compilation of Bronze inscriptions contains 3,093 characters. However, these figures are not accurate as the collections are not comprehensive records of the inscriptions that existed in the past. While the characters that were used during these periods are still being discovered, many of the characters may have been lost for ever (Yin 1994:46).

Although there are a number of dictionaries that record the characters used in later years, they do not necessarily reflect the actual number of characters that existed in those periods. This is because it was not possible for dictionary compilers to collect all characters in use. A widespread estimate of the total number is over 100,000 characters, if all the Chinese characters and the derived forms that ever existed were counted, including variant forms, dialectal characters and non-Chinese characters (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:140).

The dictionaries, however, reflect the steady increase in the number of characters that has occurred over time. The Shuo Wen Jie Zi, one of the earliest existing dictionaries
which was published in 100 A.D., contained 9,353 characters. By the 4th century A.D., this number had increased to 12,824 as published in the *Zi Lin*. In 1716, the number rose to 47,035, as published in the *Kangxi Zidian*. Finally, the *Hanyu Da Zidian* published in 1968 had 56,000 characters, while the *Zhonghua Zihai*, published in 1994, contained 85,000 characters (Yin 1994:46-7, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:140).

Although the total number of characters in the Chinese writing system is very large, only a smaller number is required for current use. However, there is evidence that this number too, has been increasing over the years. There are several sources that help to estimate the number of characters in circulation today. The two well-known character lists — the Table of the Most Used Characters containing 3,500 characters and the Table of General Characters containing 7,000 characters are foremost among these. The revised list of standardised characters under consideration at present, which will replace the Table of the Most Used Characters and the Table of General Characters, is supposed to contain 8,300 characters (Ministry of Education 2009).

Character encoding sets devised for information exchange are also helpful in estimating the number of characters in current circulation. GB-2312-80 which was authorised for use by China’s National Bureau of Standards in 1981 contained 6,763 characters. GB-18030-2000 which was jointly issued by the Ministry of Information Industry and the former State Bureau of Technological Supervision, and which is likely to define the computer system of the country for many more years, contains 27,484 characters. As is evidenced by the updated character lists and national encoding standards, the number of characters in current usage is growing.

There are several reasons for the large number of characters in the Chinese writing system. One important reason is that characters used in the Chinese script are not phonetic symbols. Therefore unlike in an alphabetic system, the basic units that characters represent are morphemes and not phonemes. Morphemes are larger units than phonemes. While phonemes require only a few dozen phonetic symbols in the form of letters to represent them in writing, morphemes require a larger repertoire of characters (Yin 1994:49). In addition to representing morphemes, characters also map onto syllables in the Chinese script. Hannas, (1997:119-20) therefore defines morphemes in the Chinese writing system as units that join meaning and sound. Due to this feature,
one character may not always represent one morpheme, because when a morpheme consists of more than one syllable, more than one character is required to represent that morpheme (Hannas 1997:121).

Another reason for the large number of characters is the large number of variant forms that have been created. This is due to the character formation methods used in the Chinese writing system which are multi-principled and not mono-principled. Therefore, the same word was often represented by different characters formulated under different character-making principles. Sometimes, even the same character-making principle generated variant forms for the same word. For example, three variant forms have been created on the basis of the associative principle (a combination of two or more ideographic symbols) to represent the word jail: an ox in a cowshed; a sheep in a sheep pen, and a horse in a stable. Similarly, two different characters have been created through the picto-phonetic method (a combination of a phonetic component and a semantic radical) to represent the word umbrella. With the application of the picto-phonetic method to form characters, the creation of variant forms became quite common. The large number of characters that arises due to the morpho-syllabic nature of the Chinese writing system is further aggravated by the creation of variants (Yin 1994:49).

The large number of characters is also due to the continuous accumulation of characters over a long period of time. This is an important contributing factor given the length of time (over 3500 years) the writing system has existed. The number of characters given in dictionaries, wordbooks etc. are a compilation of characters from a large pool of ancient writings, including such writings on which previous dictionaries were based. The dictionary listings attempt to include all characters that ever existed, irrespective of whether they were used more than the first time they were created. A large number of characters listed in dictionaries may have become dead characters a long time ago due to linguistic changes that have taken place over the years. An example is the 481 characters in the Kangxi Zidian which contain the horse radical, such as a horse with a white forehead, a horse with completely white forefeet, a white horse with dark lips, a horse with a white tail. Most of these appear to have become obsolete today as the modern dictionary Ci Hai (Sea of Words) lists only 143 characters with the horse radical, while the Xiandai Hanyu Cidian (Dictionary of Modern Chinese Words) and
the *Xinhua Zidian* (*Xinhua Dictionary*) lists out less than 80 such characters (Yin 1994:50-2).

Polysyllabic words also contribute to the large number of characters in the writing system. These words arise from two sources - Chinese words which are polysyllabic and loanwords which contain more than one syllable (Hannas 1997:114). These polysyllabic words are represented by the one syllable one character principle. Therefore, the higher the number of syllables in a polysyllabic word, the larger the number of characters that are required to write that word. As polysyllabic Sinitic words have increased in the Chinese writing system (Chen 1999:139), more characters are required to represent words now than before.

Finally, as mentioned before, the number of characters also increases due to the continuous creation of characters for various purposes. For example, special characters are created to represent scientific and technological terms, including names of chemicals, dialectal words and colloquialisms. In addition to this, characters are also created by individuals. Due to the ideographic nature of Chinese characters, there is a strong tendency for people to re-construct characters in both physical shape and semantic composition. The desire to create new characters may be prompted by people’s wish to display their erudition or leave a mark on the history of the language (Zhao and Baldauf 2007:289). For example, a famous empress of the Tang Dynasty created nineteen characters, including one to represent her name, which are now part of the Chinese character system (Yin 1994:52). A related issue is the revival of dead characters.

The Japanese writing system uses fewer Chinese characters than the Chinese writing system. There are approximately 50,000 characters in the Japanese writing system (Taylor and Taylor 1995:298). However, research shows that the number of characters that are actually used varies over time and also according to the type of text in which they are used (Kaiho and Nomura cited in Taylor and Taylor (1995), Yasumoto (1963), Miyajima (1988), Tomoda (2005), Premaratne (2009).
2.4 Impact of Character Numbers on Literacy

A major hurdle that modern societies have to overcome when using Chinese characters is in relation to educating the general public. In both China and Japan, characters came to be perceived by some as a hindrance to mass literacy during the modernization carried out in the early years of the Mao regime in China, and in the immediate post-WWII years in Japan. Due to the urgent need of educating the masses, both countries resorted to reforming their scripts to make them easier for ordinary people to use. However, the approach chosen by the two countries was simplifying the script instead of phonetizing the script which would have directly addressed the issue of the large number of characters.

At present, both China and Japan claim high rates of literacy for both men and women. The 2000 census reported China’s adult literacy rate (fifteen+) as 90.9%, (95.1% for males and 86.5% for females), and the youth literacy rate (fifteen-twenty-four) as 98.9% (99.2% for males and 98.5% for females). The United Nations Development Office Human Development Report for 2003 assigned Japan an adult literacy rate of 99%. While these figures suggest that the literacy problem has now been resolved, a closer examination reveals that the real reason lies in the official statistics on which the reported high literacy rates are based. The high rates of literacy appear to be tied with the way in which literacy is defined and measured in the two countries.

First, literacy definitions in China are based on an individual’s recognition and/or use of a minimum number of characters, and the maintenance of different levels of competency for rural and urban residents. According to the 1993 revised regulations on eradicating literacy, the literacy threshold for a rural inhabitant is the recognition of 1,500 characters, while the threshold for an urban resident is 2,000 characters (Ross 2005:6,18). However, 99.48% of all the characters in randomly selected texts belong to the set of 3,500 characters in the List (Rohsenow 2004:32). In other words, to be able to recognize most of the characters in a modern text, an individual should be able to recognise the 3,500 characters specified in the list. Judging from this, it can be surmised, that it would not be possible to recognise a large number of characters in modern texts with the national limit of 1,500 – 2,000 characters used to measure literacy.
Second, the measures used to assess literacy are not verified directly during a national census. Rather, survey teams note educational attainment and check illiteracy-eradication certificates. These certificates are awarded by county level education departments or work units (danwei) to individuals who have not completed the fourth grade of six-year primary school, or the third grade of five-year primary school, or an intensive primary school, by using surveys or tests to assess their literacy (Ross 2005:3). These measures may not always be reliable, especially for Chinese characters, as they not only require many years to learn but also require a great deal of continuous reinforcement to prevent learners from lapsing back into illiteracy.

Finally, it is important to consider that, although UNESCO has moved away from a print-based definition of literacy (OECD and Statistics Canada, 2000, cited in Liddicoat 2007a:14) toward a concept of multiple literacies, the definition of literacy as ‘using printed and written information to function in society in order to achieve one’s goals, and to develop one’s knowledge and potential’ (OECD s.v.) is still dominant.

According to these international definitions, a person who is able to recognise a certain number of characters or words would not necessarily be considered as literate, because reading involves more than the passive recognition of characters. Also, given that writing Chinese characters accurately is more difficult than recognising them, someone who has the ability to recognise 1,500 or 2000 characters may not have the ability to write them accurately. In addition, similar to reading, the ability to write individual characters is not necessarily the same as the ability to express one’s thoughts in writing, even at a basic level.

The way in which literacy is defined and measured is equally questionable in Japan. In the United Nations report, adult literacy in Japan was defined as ‘the percentage of people aged between 15 and above who can with understanding both read and write a short simple statement related to their everyday life. Gottlieb comments that the 99% literacy rate based on this definition is unrealistic in terms of Japan’s requirements for functional literacy. Carroll (2001:115-16) makes a similar comment in observing that while 99% of the population may be able to use kana, knowledge of Chinese characters is variable and difficult to measure due to the vast numbers in use.
In spite of the character reduction introduced in 1946, it has been pointed out that Japan still does not enjoy high levels of literacy as commonly believed, due to the difficulty in learning characters (Neustupny 1984:118-19, Unger 1996:124-7, Carroll 2001:115-16, Gottlieb 2008:37). Neustupny observes that a literacy survey carried out in 1955-56 approximately 10 years after the post-war character reduction, revealed the phenomenon of ‘restricted literacy’. This means that there were groups of people who were not competent in reading and writing and therefore, had not attained full literacy. This is indicated by the fact that about 10%-15% of the sample were considered to possess no competence in the use of the written language and were expected to experience serious problems, while about 50%-60% of the sample lacked sufficient competence and were considered as lacking ‘functional literacy’. Defining functional literacy as the ability to perform basic operations such as reading/writing or simple calculations (Copperman cited in Neustupny 1984:121), Neustupny notes that although a high degree of industrialisation can be reached on the level of restricted literacy, the lack of functional literacy is not beneficial for modern society.

2.5 Impact of character numbers on computing

The sheer number of characters in the Chinese writing system also makes it a difficult system to use with computers. The size of the character set in use today is said to be challenging at two levels. On the one hand, the total number of characters currently encoded in standard character sets is too small for some purposes. The total number of characters encoded in the largest IT-oriented character sets issued by the government are 20,902 in ISO 10646/GB13000 and 27,484 in GB18030-2000). These numbers are not sufficient to process some large corpora in specialist areas and to process all the orthographic forms that have ever existed. On the other hand, although the number of characters used in general texts in routine life is comparatively smaller, it is still too big and unstable for common readers to deal with electronically (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:143).

A major challenge that has to be dealt with when computing in Chinese characters is inputting characters into the computer. This is because the number of characters required for contemporary writing in both Chinese and Japanese vastly exceeds the number of keys on a standard computer keyboard. A related issue that is common to
both languages is not having a clearly defined set of characters on which to base a
keyboard inputting scheme. Therefore, inputting characters into a computer quickly and
efficiently is not as simple as in an alphabetic writing system (Gottlieb 2000:13, Lunde
1999:216, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:115). This is not surprising given that the keyboard
was initially designed for use with alphabetic languages. Keyboard inputting schemes
available at present are of two types – those based on the pronunciation of characters
and those based on the structure or shape of characters. Both types have their own
limitations.

Input methods based on pronunciation are known as phonetic systems. Pinyin, jyutping
and zhuyin, also known as bopomofo, are phonetic methods that have been devised for
Chinese input. The first two methods are based on Latin or Roman characters while the
last is based on non-Latin characters. Japanese phonetic input methods are based on
Latin characters or on kana (Nationmaster.com). When using these methods, the
pronunciation of the character needs to be typed and the appropriate character needs to
be selected from the character list displayed on the input bar. Pinyin is the official
romanization system for Mandarin Chinese promulgated in 1958. Jyutping is the
romanization system for Standard Cantonese developed in 1993. Zhuyin is the non-
Roman transcription system derived from character strokes in 1913 and still in use in
Taiwan.

It has been observed that phonetic inputting schemes have become popular in China
(Liu 1991:13). Commenting on the Pinyin inputting scheme, Liu observes that its
popularity is mainly due to the close link it has with word units. This means that when
one inputs in pinyin, the text is written in a word-by-word form instead of in a syllable-
by-syllable form. This helps the computer user compose a text on the screen rather than
just get a prepared text onto the screen.

However, a problem that this system poses on computer users is the issue of
homophonous characters. These are superfluous characters that frequently appear on the
screen along with the required one when phonetic syllables are input. As there are only
about 400 non-tonal sounds to represent a vast system of about 3000 modern Chinese
characters, one syllable has to represent at least 7.5 homophonous characters on average
(if the four tones are not taken into consideration). Some spellings such as shi, ji and yi
will produce hundreds of alternative forms in some inputting schemes. This means that users have to scroll through a number of display pages to find the required character (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:119–20). Stopping to choose the most appropriate character for the typed pronunciation is a time-consuming as well as a distracting process for users (Hannas 1997:267–8). However, Yin (1991:27) observes that this problem has been greatly reduced due to ‘whole word and phrase-based conversion systems’. Yin notes that experiments have shown that the accuracy rate of this method without any indication of tones is over 90%, while the accuracy rate with partial tone marking included is over 95%. Yin observes that the problem of homophones would be reduced further when inputting longer stretches of text becomes possible in the future.

Also, when using this method, the computer user needs to be able to read and spell Chinese characters accurately, the accuracy of which is defined as being the Mandarin norm. This poses problems for dialectal speakers, and is especially a problem in mainland China as approximately 30% of China’s population consists of dialectal speakers. Apart from dialectal speakers, with respect to rare characters, finding the correct pronunciation is difficult for all speakers of the language (Hannas 1997:273, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:121-2).

Coding is another major type of keyboard inputting method that can be used with Chinese characters. Morse telegraphy is the archetype for this type of inputting schemes that does not require a large keyboard. Users of some types of code-based input systems are expected to learn a number for each of several thousand Chinese characters, so that when the correct digits are keyed in the corresponding character registers (Hannas 1997:269). Other coding systems have sought to minimise this arbitrariness by linking digits or key sequences with character components or by imprinting actual components directly on the keys. The two stroke method invented by Yamada Hisao of Tokyo University is a superior coding system (Becker 1985 cited in Hannas 1997:269). It assigns two key strokes that the user memorises for each commonly used character. According to Becker, a professional typist can use it to input 150 to 400 characters per minute, which is three times faster than any other method. There are also hybrid coding systems that attempt to preserve a connection with the language’s phonology while reducing the code’s arbitrariness. They involve typing in pinyin or some other
alphabetic representation of a single character’s sound along with some non-phonetic
tag to specify which of the many characters associated with that sound is intended.

There are several drawbacks common to all coding systems. They are the burden they
place on the user’s memory, the difficulties the user has to go through to master the
techniques, the separation between the user and the sounds of the language, and
between what is in the user’s head and what actually is being typed. These drawbacks
make keyboard composition of original text very difficult in character-based languages
(Hannas 1997:270).

Shape-based or structure-based inputting methods use the radicals, strokes or the stroke
shapes of characters (Lunde 1999:230). They need to use a keyboard specifically
devised for Chinese characters or an international keyboard that has been modified to
suit Chinese characters. Such keyboards are based on the complex stroke and
radical/component systems. There are numerous shape-based inputting methods in use
today. Of these, the wubi input method is popular in mainland China while the cangjie
inputting method is popular in Chinese communities that use complex Chinese
characters (Nationmaster.com 2010).

The advantage of shape-based or structure-based methods is that they can be used to
input characters even when the user does not know the correct pronunciation of
characters. They are also faster than pronunciation-based methods as the user does not
have to spend time selecting the appropriate character from a list of homophonic
possibilities. However, they are more difficult to learn than the pronunciation-based
methods (Nationmaster.com 2010). Also, they are hampered by exceptions and so are
usually unable to specify a unique character on the first attempt. This makes the
inputting of unprepared text extremely slow and relatively expensive even for labour
intensive countries (Mair 1991:5).

Non-keyboard inputting schemes rely on voice input, optical character recognition
(OCR) and pen input (Lunde 1999:260). Therefore, they appear to have an advantage
over keyboard inputting systems.
To utilise voice input systems, users are required to register their voice patterns so that the voice recognition software can accurately match their voice input with correct character strings. This means that the voice input systems need to be customised for specific users. The system can be used by others only if it has been trained to recognise the voice of new users. Also, keyboard composition of original text would not be easy with this system, because creating a written text in the spoken mode would be awkward due to the many linguistic and stylistic differences that exist between the written and the spoken modes. IBM’s ViaVoice available for Chinese and Japanese and Apple Computer’s Dictation Kit available for Chinese are examples of voice input systems (Lunde 1999:261).

There are several OCR systems that currently accept Chinese character input. However, some systems do not recognise all the characters in a character set. For example, only Level 1 characters are recognised in the GB 2312-80 character set. Also, some systems recognise only certain typeface styles. The large number and complexity of characters also pose problems in relation to character recognition. So they are not used as frequently as with alphabetic systems in the west where they need to deal with only a much smaller collection of letters. NeocorTech’s Kanjiscan OCR which is available on Windows is able to convert printed material that contains Japanese and English text into a form that can be manipulated as normal text. Characters that are not recognised by the system need to be searched by using the Kanji Search System and replaced by choosing the appropriate character from a set of automatically suggested characters (Lunde 1999:261).

Pen-based systems operate by users physically writing on a tablet what they need to input into the computer. These systems, however, depend on optical character recognition technology which itself suffers from several limitations. GO Corporation’s PenPoint is an example of a pen-based system that was able to handle Japanese through the use of Unicode while it was still in business (Lunde 1999:260).

There are two main methods of inputting Japanese on computers. One is via a romanized version of Japanese called rōmaji (Roman letters), and the other is via keyboard keys corresponding to the Japanese kana. The issues that were discussed in relation to keyboard inputting systems used for Chinese are common to Japanese
because *rōmaji* and *kana* need to be converted to *kanji*. However, the situation is less problematic for Japanese because the Japanese writing system does not consist wholly of Chinese characters.

As indicated above, both keyboard and non-keyboard inputting schemes have a large number of unresolved issues at present. Keyboard inputting schemes for Chinese characters have been described as very similar in principle to the design used in Chinese character typewriters. Due to the 'loss of time and loss of concentration' that users have to put up with when inputting characters, they can neither enjoy new computer applications nor use computers to create text with the same ease enjoyed by computer users in alphabetic systems (Hannas 1997:265-8). Therefore, development of new technology that is able to respond to the shortcomings in the area of non-keyboard inputting would tremendously help Chinese character-based computing. However, the future of the area appears to be uncertain at present. While some see it as a rapidly changing scene (Lunde 1999:260), others see it as an area that would not offer any viable options for computer inputting in the near future (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:124).

Some scholars believe that the future is not very hopeful for Chinese character inputting through either system, as technology has not been able to find a satisfactory solution so far (Hannas 1997:267-8, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:115). However, using a phonetic script is seen by many as a viable option (Unger 1987:76, Unger 2004:12, Hannas 1997:258-76, Carroll 2001:180, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:293). Liu (1991: 18) stresses the importance of carrying out language reform to solve the many problems associated with computing in Chinese characters, that is, to extend the application of *pinyin* as widely as possible and realize digraphia step by step. He identifies the issue of word segmentation as foremost among the challenges posed by computer use. He declares that the reality of Chinese information society depends on the solution of the problem of what a word is in Chinese. Therefore, he believes that the 21st century will be an epoch in which *pinyin* will fully display its power.

### 2.6 Summary

The origin of the Chinese writing system goes back to at least the fourteenth century BC. The Chinese writing system differs from the alphabetic writing systems in terms of the
graphic symbols it uses, as well as in terms of what the symbols represent and encode. While it is commonly believed that the Chinese script is pictographic or ideographic, a number of scholars have refuted this notion and agree that the Chinese writing system represents both meanings and sounds of the language instead.

The Japanese writing system that began around the late 4th or the early 5th century AD, initially consisted only of Chinese characters. Later, two syllabaries called hiragana and katakana were coined as Chinese characters were not ideally suited for the Japanese language. Since then, Japan has adopted a system of mixed writing, using Chinese characters along with the kana symbols. This system of writing is known as the kanji-kana-majirebut. In addition to Chinese characters and kana symbols, the Japanese writing system also uses Rōmaji.(Roman letters, Roman and Arabic numerals).

A major issue that has to be dealt with when adapting the Chinese script for modern use is the large number of characters. The total number of characters is estimated at approximately 10,000 characters today. Although the number of characters in actual use is much smaller, this number has also been growing over time. There are a number of reasons for the large and increasing number of characters in the Chinese writing system. Chief among them are the morpho-syllabic nature of the writing system, the continuous accumulation of characters not in use, the increase in polysyllabic words in Mandarin, and the continuous creation of characters which has resulted in a large number of variant forms.

The high number of Chinese characters is also an issue when the Japanese script is applied to modern use, although a fewer number of characters are required due to the mixed script used for Japanese. However, the number of Chinese characters used is still high because the preferred way of writing in Japanese is to use more characters than kana when using the mixed script.

The use of Chinese characters in the Chinese and Japanese writing systems pose challenges for both literacy and computer use, mainly due to the sheer number of characters that is available for general use. The issue of literacy loomed large in the initial phase of script reform when both polities were focused on nation-building and modernisation of the country. The focus has shifted since then and the issue of
computing has become more important now with the spread of the word processor and
the computerisation of many sectors of society. Although a range of character inputting
schemes have been devised to facilitate computer use, they have not been able to fully
resolve the issues that surround computing in the two languages.

2.7 Conclusion

While some scholars are more hopeful than others about the future of Chinese
computing, some agree that using a phonetic script is the viable option at present for
both China and Japan to keep up with the information age. This suggests that a radical
script reform is necessary to find a permanent solution for the problems that surround
computing in the two countries.
CHAPTER 3
SCRIPT REFORM IN CHINA AND JAPAN

Chapter 2 discussed the challenges that have to be dealt with when using the Chinese logographic script in modern situations, more specifically, when applying it to the education of the masses and to computer use. The chapter suggested that a radical reform is required to make the logographic script more amenable to modern needs.

This chapter gives an account of the attempts made by China and Japan to reform their scripts. The chapter is limited to the various script reforms done to modify the logographic script. The chapter maps the evolution of script reform in the two countries, from its conservative beginnings, through its progression into a period of progressive reforms, and back into a conservative phase. To this end, the reforms are surveyed under three major periods in each country to provide the focus for the policy shifts: the period before 1956, the period between 1956 and 1980, and the period after 1980 for Chinese script reforms; and the period before 1946, the period between 1946 and 1981, and the period after 1981 for the Japanese reforms.

In China, the period before 1956 covers the development of a simplification scheme implemented in 1935, which did not succeed due to stiff resistance from conservative elements in the society. The period between 1956 and 1980 covers the two Chinese character simplification initiatives implemented in 1956 and 1977. The period after 1980 covers the socio-political factors and the events that led up to the current character initiative which was formally announced in 2009.

In Japan, the period before 1946 covers several unsuccessful attempts that were made to phonetize the script or reduce the number of characters in the script. The period from 1946 to 1981 covers the major character reduction initiative implemented in 1946 through the Tōyō List, and the replacement of this list by the Jōyō List in 1981. The period after 1981 covers the socio-political factors and the events that led up to the implementation of the Shin Jōyō Kanji Hyō (New Jōyō List) which replaced the Jōyō List in 2010.
The chapter also focuses on the factors that make radical script reform difficult in China and Japan. Given the changing socio-political and technological context in the two countries, the chapter speculates on the likelihood of a radical reform taking place in the future.

The account given in this chapter about past script reform helps to understand the socio-political context that triggered the reforms, the goals that the language planners intended to achieve, how the reforms unfolded, and the final outcome of the reforms. More importantly, the account unravels how language ideologies and influential individuals and/or groups influenced and shaped the reforms, as this is an important aspect that is examined in relation to the current reforms. The speculation about the future helps to understand how socio-political and technological conditions in modern-day China and Japan could shape script reform further by moving it in a new direction.

3.1 Chinese Script Reform: Period before 1956

By the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1912, China was confronted with an urgent need for mass education due to military defeats suffered at the hands of western powers. In order to educate the masses, it was necessary to first reform the Chinese language. The most pressing language issues at this time were vernacularizing the written language and promoting a national language. However, after China’s failure to modernize the country, through the use of Western technological knowledge, military models and democratic political system, the pioneers of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 realised that a cultural reform was necessary to save the country, including a Chinese character reform. A number of scholars at this time, such as Fu Sinian in 1919 and Qian Xuantong in 1923 expressed the view that a phonetically based spelling system was required. However, this kind of radical, progressive opinion advocating a change from monographia (the practice of using a single script to represent the language) with Chinese characters to monographia with phonetic spelling was not accepted by the Nationalist government at the time (Su 2001:110-111).

As a response to the literacy need of the country, simplification of the script was proposed by Zhang Taiyan (Du Zijin 1935 cited in Zhao 2005:324), leading to the modern simplification movement. After much resistance put up by conservative
elements, the blueprint for the first modern simplification scheme with 2000 characters was submitted to the Ministry of Education for approval. It was approved by the Senate Session and the Central Political Conference on August 21, 1935. However, the number of characters approved was reduced to the 324 most frequently used characters on a trial basis. The trial list was met with stiff resistance from traditionalists and led to the formation of the All China Character Preservation Congress, a nationwide organ of the anti-script reform alliance. The table was withdrawn in the following year (Chen 1999:153, Zhao 2005:325).

The attempt made in China in 1935 to simplify the script can be considered as significant for several reasons. In addition to being the first attempt made at script simplification, it was largely initiated by individuals and not by the government. Also, the conservative nature of the reform effort sheds light on the socio-political factors that make script reform difficult in China.

The 1935 attempt has been described as ‘purely an academic enterprise’ and a ‘typical bottom-up venture’ due to the active involvement of individuals in the reform process (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:30). For example, the reputed linguist, Qian Xuantong, played a major role by devising the principles for character simplification, which resulted in a table of 2000 characters drafted under his direction and which subsequently functioned as the blueprint for the first proposed character simplification scheme (Chen 1999:152-3). Also, many other scholars from diverse fields participated in the process, drawing up character tables, compiling dictionaries, publishing books, research papers and articles, and signing up a joint petition supporting the simplification of characters (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:39).

The impact of conservatism can be seen in relation to several aspects of the reform. First, the move to simplify the script was initiated only when it came to be realised as essential for national development. While the motives for language planning are not always clear as explained by Ager (2001:7), the humiliating defeat suffered in the Opium Wars appears to have been a principal contributory factor. Modernisation of the country and education of the masses came to be considered as urgent needs in China in the aftermath of the war. When the reform carried out by vernacularizing the written
language was not found to be adequate to develop mass literacy, the reformists realised
the need for a cultural reform in the early 20th century.

Second, reformers were forced to engage in a fierce struggle with conservative elements
to achieve even the meagre results that they were able to achieve. Simplifying the script
was seen by these elements as a move towards ‘cultural demise’ (Zhao and Baldauf
2008:32). In the debate between the conservatives and script reformers, while reformers
were accused of being ignorant of history and tradition and forgetting their past, anti-
reformers showed themselves as guardians of orthodoxy with a strong affection for
national heritage. Reforming the script was seen as destroying the link with the age old
past and cultural heritage. It would not only affect the expressive power of the language,
but would also make classical literature unreadable by the majority as it is written in
complex characters, and would also affect calligraphy and other art forms based on
characters. Reforming the script would thus undermine the very foundations of
nationhood, and would bring disaster and misfortune to the country, and was therefore
akin to a national crime. To dispel the strong negative attitude to character
simplification, reformers had to spend much time and energy justifying the
simplification of characters (Zhao 2005:324).

Third, a full-scale simplification scheme could not be carried out at this time, and the
number of simplified characters in the initial proposal was drastically reduced. Also, the
reform was to apply only to schools, and the students were expected to learn not only
the simplified characters but also their original forms, although this was an added
burden. The public was required to comply with the simplified character list as they
could, and the official announcement of the scheme did not specify how and when this
should be done. Finally, the initiative was short-lived and the table of simplified
characters remained in force only till the following year (Chen 1999:153).

3.2 Chinese Script Reform: Period between 1946 and 1980

After the failed attempt at simplifying the script in 1935, another attempt was made to
simplify the script in 1956, soon after the establishment of the People’s Republic of
China (PRC). Out of the three efforts made to simplify the Chinese script, this reform
effort is unique as it is the only one still officially in force today.
Unlike the first attempt, the second simplification effort was carried out as a top-down process, with politicians and bureaucrats at the helm. It was not only totally initiated by the government, but was also carried out through vigorous state intervention. The Commission of Chinese Script Reform, which was appointed by the Standing Commission of the People’s congress in October 1954, was made responsible for the reform process at the national level. In addition to this, several other organizations, which were established by the government, were made responsible at the provincial and local level (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:43). The Ministry of Education published a draft plan for simplification in 1954. After nation-wide discussion, the plan was amended and finally promulgated in January 1956 (DeFrancis 1975:2). Judging from the failure of the first character simplification effort in which the government played a minor role, the strict control exercised by the government in the second reform effort can be considered as a positive factor that contributed to its long-lasting success.

The immediate goal of the second simplification attempt was also the education of the masses which had not been achieved during the previous regime. Illiteracy elimination had become the key agenda in the nation building program launched by the new government (Zhao 2005:326), and simplifying the script came to be perceived as an important strategy towards achieving this goal. The Table of Simplified Characters (TSC) which was the outcome of this second simplification attempt was officially passed by the State Council in January 1956. The TSC consisted of 515 individually simplified characters and 54 simplified radials in three tables. A total of 2235 characters were simplified by analogy and published as a comprehensive list in 1964 (Zhou 2001:13). The second simplification attempt was therefore a much more radical attempt when compared with the first. More importantly, this simplification effort was considered to be an interim measure until the overhaul of characters altogether by phonetizing the script (Zhao 2005:330).

However, the time was not totally free of conservative resistance. This is evidenced by the fate suffered by the phonetization movement which had begun with much fervour in the early years of the new regime. Phonetization of the Chinese script had been viewed with enthusiasm by the communist leadership even before it came into power. For example, in 1936, Mao Zedong said in an interview with the American journalist Edgar Snow in Yan’an: ‘We believe Latinization is a good instrument with which to overcome
illiteracy. Chinese characters are so difficult to learn that even the best system of rudimentary characters, or simplified teaching, does not equip the people with a really efficient and rich vocabulary. Sooner or later, we believe, we will have to abandon characters altogether if we are to create a new social culture in which the masses fully participate’ (Snow 1968 cited in Taylor and Taylor 1995:123).

After coming into power, Mao was still loyal to the cause of phonetizing the script, as evidenced by the following re-assertion he made in 1951: ‘The written language must be reformed; we must proceed in the direction of phonetization being taken by all languages of the world’ (Taylor and Taylor 1995:123). However, he also noted that the phonetization of the Chinese characters needs a great deal of preparatory work, and that before carrying out phonetization, the Chinese characters must be simplified to satisfy immediate needs. This meant that phonetization was considered to be a future direction, a long-term goal, while what was being practised was monographia with Chinese characters (Su 2001:112).

The reason for the policy shift can be attributed to the cultural significance of Chinese characters and the resulting attachment to characters displayed by the literati in the Chinese society. This comes out clearly in Premier Zhou Enlai’s remarks to a former French minister of education in 1973: ‘In the 1950’s we tried to Romanize the writing. But all those who had received an education, and whose services were absolutely needed to expand education, were firmly attached to the ideograms. They were already so numerous, and we had so many things to upset, that we have put off the reform until later’ (Peyrfitte 1973 cited in Taylor and Taylor 1995:123). This change of direction adopted by a radical government that vigorously sought to phontize the script in the initial years of its regime reveals the difficulties surrounding script reform in China.

As with any reform, the script reform of 1956 brought about costs and benefits not only for contemporary society but also for later generations. The significant benefit was in facilitating mass literacy which was required to develop and modernise the country. This was achieved by reducing character strokes in the most frequently used 2,000 characters from 11.2 to 9.8, which made character acquisition easier for both school children and adults. A major cost of the reform can be seen as the manner in which some of the characters were simplified (Chen 1999:157-8). This has led to problems
which need to be fixed by script reformers in the present time. More importantly, the approach created two systems of writing, one based on complex characters and the other based on simplified characters, causing a divide between Chinese character-based communities which is difficult to bridge.

A third attempt to simplify the script further was officially announced by the Chinese Script Reform Commission in 1977. The goal of this scheme was to reduce the number of strokes in all characters in common use to ten or less in order to facilitate the acquisition of literacy by school children and adults (Chen 1999:155). Work on this simplification effort had started in 1964 and had continued through the years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The turbulent nature of the times appears to have had an impact on this reform effort, as reflected by the haphazard manner in which the character list was compiled and also promulgated.

Similar to the second attempt to simplify characters, the third attempt also began as a top-down process, with the Commission of Chinese Script Reform responsible for the reform activities. The Commission made a draft list of simplified characters called the Second Plan for Simplifying Chinese Characters and submitted it to the State Council in 1974 to be approved and announced to the public. The list consisted of a hundred characters that had been simplified by the masses, which the Commission had collected since 1964. The list, however, was promulgated only in 1977, after it had been drastically expanded to include 853 simplified characters and sixty-one simplified radicals. The delay in the official announcement of the list and the increase in the number of characters it included are attributed to several changes that took place in relation to script reform during the Cultural Revolution. Chief among them are said to be the more radical view of script reform adopted by the Gang of Four, who wanted more characters simplified by the masses to be included in the list, and the resultant re-organisation of the Commission to include lay persons from the community to carry out this task (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:57-61).

The period of the Cultural Revolution was a time when the leftist mood prevailed along with anti-cultural sentiments, with no resistance against script reform from traditional purists (Zhao 2005:334). However, the approach that was adopted was further character simplification rather than phonetization which had been originally considered with
enthusiasm during the early years of the Mao regime. The possible explanation for this is that the General List of Simplified Characters which started as an interim measure had already been finalised and re-published, and work on a further simplification scheme had already commenced before the start of the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, by the time the Cultural Revolution began, the scene had already been set with character simplification as the preferred way of reforming the script in China.

The new list of simplified characters which was the outcome of the third simplification attempt was formally announced in 1977. The list, however, was withdrawn from use in the following year. In 1980, after the overthrow of the 'gang of four' and the power takeover by Deng Xiaoping, the list was recommended for revision by the Commission of Script Reform in 1980. The special Commission that was set up for the revision recommended that 111 characters on the list should be revived as they had taken root at various levels of character use in society. While this recommendation did not materialise, the list was formally rejected at the Second National Conference on Language and Script that was held in 1986 (Zhao 2005:336).

The failure of the third simplification attempt is attributed to a number of linguistic and non-linguistic factors. First, some characters on the list were used only in certain geographical areas and professions, and were therefore unknown to many people. Second, due to the reduction of character strokes, some distinct characters became similar in shape, and could therefore lead to confusion. Third, there was a feeling against constant change in the community as this had been the theme of the Cultural Revolution in the recent past. Finally, there was little or no discussion of the new list in the media and academic discourse (Cheng 1985:4-5).

The third attempt at simplifying Chinese characters did not bring about a benefit to contemporary society as it was short-lived. However, it incurred a cost which was long-lasting. The reason for this is that although the new list was withdrawn the year after it was announced, it was formally rejected only in 1986, approximately ten years after its proclamation. As a result, a large number of these characters are still used today creating a sub-standard of character use. Attempts made to make some of these characters official have failed (Chen 1999:192).
3.3 Chinese Script Reform: Period after 1980

The year 1980 marks the beginning of a new era in Chinese script reform. With the death of Mao in September 1976, and the overthrow of the Gang of Four by Deng Xiaoping in October 1976, a new political era dawned in the PRC. In the context of this political upheaval, the major change that took place in the scene of script reform was the re-organization of the Committee of Script Reform in 1980 and the recommendation issued by the Committee to revise the Second Simplification Scheme, which had been published in 1977. A series of other significant events followed soon after, signalling a new direction in Chinese script reform. Chief among them are the renaming of the Committee of Script Reform as the Guojia Yuyan Wenzi Gongzuo Weiyuanhui (State Language Commission) and bringing it under the State Education Commission, and the convening of the Second National Conference on Language and Script in 1986. The significance of the former event was that from the 1950s up until then the Committee had been operating as an independent central government organisation, reporting directly to the State Council. The significance of the latter event was that the Conference was held thirty years after its first meeting in 1956, and more importantly, that the outcome of the Conference marked a major policy shift in relation to script reform, signalling the beginning of a conservative trend when compared with the reforms carried out in the Mao era (Rohsenow 2004:29-30; Zhao and Baldauf 2008:72-3).

An important outcome of the Conference was the clear indication made that standardization of the script and assessment of past script policy will be the future state approach to solve language and script problems. This is evidenced by some of the major decisions taken at the Conference: the decision to develop putonghua and promote it nationwide as the national spoken standard; the decision to officially terminate the Second Simplification Scheme, including the 111 characters that had been recommended for consideration by the Committee of Script Reform in 1980; the decision to adopt a cautious attitude in relation to large-scale simplification schemes like those carried out in the past; and the decision to preclude hanyu pinyin as an independent writing system, and the most important of all, the decision to establish a standardization focus (Chen 1999:196-197; Rohsenow 2004:30-31; Zhao and Baldauf 2008:73).
3.3.1 New Standardization Campaign

With standardization re-entering the script reform arena with new vigour, and simplification and phonetization of the past being pushed to the background, a range of standards were implemented over the years. The new measures were based on sophisticated research conducted by the State Education Commission in collaboration with other bureaus and offices specifically related to the topic at hand. Standardization in the early stage was mainly in relation to putonghua pronunciation, terminology and vocabulary. The scope of standardization broadened in later years to apply to the use of characters in public space and to the National Proficiency Grading System for spoken Putonghua. Chief among the published standards are the Basic Rules for Hanyu Pinyin Orthography published in 1988; the List of Common Characters in Modern Chinese, consisting of two lists, which was also published in 1988; and the Standards for Measurement and Grading of Levels of Putonghua proposed as a trial version in 1997 (Rohsenow 2004:32-4).

In more recent times, the standardization of the script also came up as an urgent need in relation to the development of information and communication technology. It was strongly believed by the Chinee leadership that the four modernizations (modernization of agriculture, industry, technology and defence) would not be possible without the development of information technology (Yu 2008:24-6). While creating a computer-friendly script was seen as essential for the smooth operation of information processors, information and communication technology was seen as indispensable for the country's journey to modernization. The modernization that China intended to achieve was moving into the new age of 'information society', along with the developed, industrialized countries. The post-industrial information society that is envisaged by Western scholars is characterised by a knowledge-based economy, as opposed to the manual labour-based and goods-producing economy of industrial society. What heralds this new social order is the technological revolution of information technology (Bell 1976, cited in Yu 2008:24).

China has been gearing itself up for this task for many years. The rate at which China has been installing high capacity fibre and wireless networks is said to be staggering for a country in which a traditional telecommunications network was almost non-existent
prior to the 1980s. A large number of qualified computer programmers have been graduating from Chinese universities since the 1990s and China plans to exceed other nations in the region as a prime exporter for software development, IT services and product testing in the near future (Shidner 2004:3).

The Chinese logographic script, however, is not ideally suited for computer use and was posing a number of challenges when used on computers (See Section 2.5) for a discussion of the difficulties). The major problems among those that had to be tackled to make the script more computer-friendly were the absence of a fixed total number of characters, irregularities in the shape of characters, the lack of uniformity in the order of character composition, and variation in pronunciation which was impacting on character production on computers when phonetic inputting schemes were used. These were known as the ‘four fixations’ (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:139).

Of the issues that had to be addressed, the most important and the most difficult one was fixing the total number of characters in use. The main obstacle to establishing a fixed set of characters was that character use had fallen into a state of disarray in the 1980s. Chen (1999:192) observes that ‘the regulations on language issues are beginning to lose the authority or binding force they used to enjoy in the 1960s and 1970s’, and notes that there were three main types of non-standard characters: complex characters (original versions of simplified characters), abolished characters from the 1977 further simplification scheme, and characters simplified by the public based on the official simplification principles proposed under the 1956 simplification attempt.

Non-standard complex characters were initially used in public space, such as shop signs, restaurants and hotels, and later permeated into printed matter, such as business cards, advertisements, product manuals and university and commercial logos. Complex characters which had always been viewed as superior to simplified characters due to their association with knowledge and education by being the medium of Classical Chinese, received a new boost from the late 1970s. This was due to the blind admiration that surged over all things from the past in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution, and the contact people began to have with the more prosperous communities that used complex characters, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, after the opening of the country. In contrast, abolished characters from the 1977 scheme were used mostly in handwriting.
However, they had taken root among people of various levels of Chinese society because they had been in use for approximately ten years before they were formally rescinded in 1986. These deviations were identified as ‘chaotic’ by the State Language Commission in 1986 (Chen 1999:191-2, Rohsenow 2004:34, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:183).

In addition to the above, ‘rare characters’ (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:148), which are also known as ‘characters for specialised use’ (Yin 1994:80), pose a challenge to the attempts to fix the total number of characters. Some examples are, 掿 take, 涼 cool, 煙 smoke and 崖 crag. First, although rare characters do not occur frequently, they form more than half of the 7,000-8,000 characters used in contemporary writing (Ao 2000:74). Second, they have the capacity to become more frequently used because their nature can change over time, as when a personal name in which a rare character is used suddenly becomes a famous name (Wang 2004:6); a local place name becomes a well-known place in the wider community; or when a culture specific word comes into currency through a revival of interest in ancient culture. Rare characters consist of terms related to science and technology and terms used in non-technical day-to-day contexts, such as characters used to write Chinese personal names and surnames, place names, names of ethnic minorities, and characters used in dialectal words not found in standard Mandarin (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:148-49, Yin 1994:80-8).

Rare characters used in names of people were particularly found to be challenging for computer use in banks and other institutions, because some of these characters are not found in the national standard code sets for information exchange. This is because a large number of characters are required to accommodate rare characters used in names. For example, while 2,500 characters can cover 98% of modern names, the number has to be increased to 72,000 to accommodate the small proportion of names that have rare characters in them. The identification policy in the Chinese banking system requires that Chinese names are precisely identified in Chinese characters on its computer system. As a result, some customers have been refused banking services as some characters in their names could not be found on the bank’s computer system. This policy has been extended to more and more service sectors, such as ticket and hotel bookings, mobile phone and Internet registrations. There are occasions when the public examination
results of some students were delayed as some characters in their names were not on the computer system. Similarly, some people have faced difficulties when updating their ID cards as some characters in their names were not available on the updated character database. (Zhao and Baldauf 2007:291, 2008:144–5).

Some rare characters used in place names cannot be found in most ordinary dictionaries (Yin 1994:80) because they are used only in these place names and are not found anywhere else in current usage. In addition, some of these rare characters are structurally complex, and so, difficult to read and write. They are also numerous. For example, an official character set compiled for electronic information interchange contains 2501 such characters. While these characters were derived from place names in a 1:25 scale map, if they had been derived from a larger 1:5 scale map, the number of characters is estimated to have gone up to approximately 4000. Changing the non-standard characters that occur in place names will result in the loss of the original meaning of the words, and with it the cultural significance of the names (Zhao and Baldauf 2007:291).

Rare characters used in dialectal words pose increasing challenges, because the use of dialectal characters has been on the increase in the recent past due to rapid economic development in the regions and growing regional identity. Although only Cantonese characters are used in modern publications, characters specific to other dialects did exist in the past, and are still being used locally. They occur mostly in dialectal personal and place names, dialectal words with special pronunciations not found in Mandarin, and dialectal colloquial words with a strong local touch (Yin 1994:81). Some of these characters, particularly those in dialectal place names are written in characters that have been specially created for the purpose. Some of these characters have the potential to play a more active role in written communication in the future (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:140).

It has also been observed that the use of written Cantonese has been expanding in Hong Kong despite the 1997 handover. In fact, while there are more Cantonese publications in print than in the 1980s, the genres and subject matter of texts in which Cantonese is used have also increased. Whereas written Cantonese was traditionally associated with texts for marginal audiences, such as women or the lower socio-economic classes, it is
now also used in texts for the middle classes, particularly for young people. This opens up the possibility of creating an environment in which written Cantonese will be able to maintain or even further expand its role (Snow 2004:173).

The manner in which characters are generated for Cantonese writing impacts on the issue of fixing the total number of characters in use. Usually, standard Chinese characters are used in a uniquely Cantonese way, or are borrowed on the basis of pronunciation to represent Cantonese sound. However, ancient characters are sometimes revived and characters are sometimes created when appropriate standard Chinese characters cannot be found. As Chinese dialects have preserved words from ancient Chinese that have now disappeared in standard Chinese, searching ancient texts to find the characters with which such dialectal words were written in the past has become a common practice called ben zi kao. For example, 58 possible characters for such Cantonese words were suggested by an expert in 1960 (Snow 2004:52-5).

In addition to printed Cantonese writing, Wu and Southern Min also have a literary tradition, consisting of writings of popular cultural functions, such as records of folk drama scripts, folk songs, stories and other literary genres that approach vernacular speech (Chen 1996b:227). Also, dialectal writing has become a popular form of Internet language among the youth. This form of writing is achieved by transcribing native dialects using Chinese characters borrowed on the basis of pronunciation. An example is the use of Shanghai Wu dialectal words which are transcribed to mark a distinct visual style and to articulate a distinct local youth identity (Jin Liu 2011).

### 3.3.2 Measures to Standardize the Script

Several measures have been taken to limit the total number of characters in use, some of which have not had much success to date. The measure implemented from 1955 to 1964 to deal with rare characters in place names is an example. During this time, nine government orders were issued to replace thirty-six rare characters in thirty-five place names above the county administrative level, by replacing the characters with more common characters that are homonymous with them. This was a difficult measure to achieve due to the emotional attachment people had to these names due to historical significance or links with ethnic minorities. There are a further 3000 place names of an
equivalent level to the above thirty-five where a reduction of rare characters is possible (Yin 1994:61-2; Zhao and Baldauf 2008:150).

To deal with the non-standard usage of characters, a special law was passed in October 2000 under the name, Zhonghua Renmin Gongheguo Yuyan Wenzifa (The Law of the People’s Republic of China on the National Commonly Used Language and Script) (Rohsenow 2004:34, 36). The law enforces standardization in both the spoken language and the script. According to the new law, putonghua and standard Chinese characters will be the language and script for public use and in the public service industry; the basic language and characters to be used in teaching and study in schools and other educational organizations; and the basic language of radio and television broadcasting. Dialects will be allowed only when really necessary to carry out public business by national level government personnel; when approved to be used as the language in broadcasting by the Office of Radio and Television Broadcasting of the State Council; when needed for use in artistic forms such as stage, film, and television; and when necessary in publications, teaching and research (Language Law:Section 2).

Yang (2007:11) notes that although the Language Law allows for different levels of putonghua proficiency, in practice, most people such as teachers, government employees, radio and TV announcers, movie actors and actresses, and theatre performers will have to pass the putonghua test and reach the grade specified by the state. What this means is that the ability to speak a certain level of putonghua has become the key to upward mobility (Yang 2007:11).

In order to implement standardization of the script, a new standard character list, called the Tongyong Guifan Hanzi Biao (List of Standard Common Characters), was compiled and announced in August 2009 for feedback from the public. The new list has a total of 8,300 characters spread out in three tiers. The first tier consists of the most frequently used characters; the second tier consists of characters of lower frequency; and the third tier consists of characters for special use, such as those required for personal names and place names. Characters outside the list may be used with special permission. The list was formerly announced in August 2009 to seek public opinion.

The disorderliness is also seen as affecting various aspects of the language. For example, the spoken form is said to be affected by the non-use of putonghua in day to day communication, the use of dialects in films, TV and theatrical performances, which meticulously follow the Hong Kong and Taiwan accent, and the use of incorrect pronunciation in public places. The written form is said to be affected by the use of complex characters in place of officially simplified ones, errors made in relation to the pinyin spelling of personal and place names, confusion in relation to the use of character shapes, the use of incorrect words and the production of incoherent texts.

The reason for the problem is seen as, the demands placed on the language after the opening up of China, apparent official sanction for non-standard usage, and the ineffectiveness of standardization. The solution to the problem is identified as promoting standardization and promoting the health and purity of the language. The onus for making the language healthy is placed on political leaders, publishers, the media, the Culture Department and schools. The benefits of language and script standardization are extolled as having helped to unify the language, reduce division, facilitate communication between people, and develop education.

The key feature of the standardization discourse in later years is the notion that language use has changed dramatically in contemporary society and that past script policy is not adequate to deal with the changes. For example, the country is seen as going through a wave of modernization due to the opening up of its economy, the development of its information and technology facilities, and the increase in its international relations. The
political, economic, and technological changes that have taken place in the country are seen as having an impact on language use. Previous standards are seen as incapable of responding to these modern demands as they are scattered and inconsistent, and also outdated as they were developed at various times in the past (Wang 2004:172, Zhang 2002:2-3). Therefore, developing a new standard has become imperative as it would bring about economic, linguistic and cultural development (Wang L 2008:11).

Another feature of the later discourse is the frequent references made to the public demand for standardization. According to this, experts in the fields of language and script study, education, printing, dictionary compiling and information technology and also the masses were demanding a revision of the existing standards and the compilation of a list of standard characters that combines existing standards (Zhang 2002:2-3).

### 3.3.3 Resistance to Script Standardization

In spite of the standardization discourse, other views in relation to the character script appear to exist in the Chinese community. Zhao and Baldauf (2008:73) make the interesting observation that at the 1986 Conference the decision to shelve further large-scale simplification was made only implicitly to avoid provoking opposition from the strong advocates of simplification. Similarly, Rohsenow (2004:29) notes that when the Second Simplification Scheme was revised by the Commission in 1980, 111 characters were recommended to be preserved, which again indicates the sentiments of experts towards the rejected simplified characters.

There is also a significant group that promote phonetization. Apart from IT specialists who propose to either further develop the pinyin scheme into a full-fledged orthography or create a new phonetic system (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:295-6), there are those who have supported phonetization since Mao’s time. Many views had been expressed at the time advocating phonetization - that Chinese characters had already become almost phonetized symbols representing sounds; that full phonetization had been arrested by the ruling class and the men of letters ; that the phonetic script can be learnt within a week, that it can uphold culture by promoting science and also literature; that simplification of characters alone cannot basically resolve the problems of the writing system; and that homonyms would not be a problem in the phonetic script as much as

Views supporting phonetization which had been rife in the community for many years were expressed strongly at the 1986 Conference and turned into a debate between delegates who supported phonetization and those who opposed it. Rohsenow (2004:30-1) reports that the debate was so strong that the Chairman of the State Language Commission was obliged to explain that the revised position on phonetization was in line with the spirit of the Central Party Committee's policies. This anecdotal information indicates how strongly some believe that phonetization would be the solution to the problems with the Chinese script.

There is also an increasing enthusiasm for complex characters in the community. As mentioned before in this section, the interest is due to a number of factors, such as the influence of more prosperous communities that use the complex character script, the revival of interest in classical Chinese literature, the harking back to the past that was triggered as a reaction to the undesirable effects of the Cultural Revolution, and the growing sense of national pride in Chinese culture and heritage in the face of Western influence.

The desire for complex characters in the community is evidenced by their widespread use on signboards of streets, stores, schools, companies and even government institutions, as well as in advertisements, slogans, television subtitles, etc. (Chen 1999:191). Chen notes further that according to a survey done on the use of complex characters, twenty-five out of forty-eight Beijing universities, and forty-three out of fifty-one restaurants randomly picked in Beijing used complex characters in their signs. The percentage was found to be even higher in Southern Chinese cities like Xiamen and Guangzhou. In addition, calligraphic works of senior politicians published in prominent places in newspapers contain a large number of complex characters. The extent of the interest in complex characters is also reflected in the heated debates that have taken place at higher levels about the adoption of complex versus simplified characters as the national character standard. It has been argued that complex characters should be revived to provide easy access to the Chinese classics and to Chinese communities outside mainland China (Chen 1999:195). Those who fervently support complex
characters are therefore unlikely to view the new character standard which is based on a largely simplified script as the ideal to be pursued.

Similarly, the growing awareness of democracy among the general population runs counter to standardization (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:211). Standardization is seen as a measure that imposes ideological control over language diversity (Tollefson 1991; Williams 1992). It applies more to character-based scripts than to those of alphabetic languages, because people use characters to express their individuality. Moreover, due to the open nature of the writing system, individuals are even able to create characters as a form of self expression leaving their imprint on the language (Zhao and Zhang 2007:116, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:148).

The use of characters in personal names is a domain where diversity has been prevalent from the ancient past. An example is the empress Wu Zetian (武则天) of the Tang Dynasty who coined 19 Chinese characters, including one that indicated that the sun and moon are shining in the heavens, which she used as her own name (Yin 1994:52). At present, people not only create characters for their children’s names, but also choose uncommon names which need to be written with rare characters. Similarly, the practice of using rare characters and also dialectal characters in place names has been common in China. Replacing them with more commonly used characters that are homonymous has been a difficult task due to the emotional attachment people have to these names because of their historical and ethnic significance. The fact that only thirty-five place names out of over 3,000 place names could be standardized under the measure implemented in 1955, indicates the difficulties that surround this measure.

Finally, the current initiative reflects a policy shift in script reform, because what is at the heart of this initiative is making the character script compatible with computer use. This is diverging from the previous policy of improving the quality of manpower by increasing its literacy rate, a policy which has been vigorously pursued over many years. At present, the development of information technology is seen as the contributing factor to national development. This policy shift from a human focus to a machine focus would seem to many as a dehumanization of the language planning process (Zhao 2005:316).
3.4 Japanese Script Reform: Period before 1946

Script reform had become a topic of interest in Japan as early as the late Tokugawa period. This early interest was triggered by exposure to the simplicity and flexibility of the western alphabetic systems, and by books written by western missionaries who noted the adverse effect the script had on literacy and learning. Fascinated by the alphabetic system, Japanese scholars also made particular note of how a simple, concise alphabet facilitated both reading and writing. The interest in reforming the script centred at this time around devising an alphabetic script for Japanese (Twine 1983:116-7).

In spite of the early interest to transform the Japanese script from a logographic script to a phonetic one, the major approach that Japan eventually took to deal with the large number of Chinese characters in the Japanese writing system was character reduction. Several attempts were made since the early modern period to reduce the characters in use, although it was only in the immediate post-WWII years that character reduction was implemented officially as a national script policy. Prior to the implementation of this policy, there were a large number of characters in the Japanese writing system. A survey of school readers, newspapers and literary works carried out in 1933 found a total of 6478 characters. The Daikanwa Jiten published in 1943 listed 50,000 characters.

The early attempts to reduce the number of characters in the Japanese writing system were mostly driven by educational needs. The first such attempt was made by Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1873 through his book, Moji no Oshie (Instruction in Writing) written for children. He believed that abolishing characters altogether would be a time-consuming enterprise which would need careful consideration, as a radical change of that nature and magnitude would otherwise bring about adverse effects. He therefore adopted a gradual approach to deal with character numbers by suggesting to avoid the more difficult characters wherever possible. He calculated that for most general purposes, approximately a thousand characters would be adequate. He put his theory into practice in his book by using only 928 different Chinese characters in its three volumes (Seeley 1991:141, Twine 1983: 118).
Another attempt at reducing the number of characters for children was made by the Ministry of Education in 1887. This was done through the *Jinjo Shōgakkō Chōgen*, Preparatory Remarks on Elementary Schools, which set the number to be used in primary-school textbooks at 2,000. This number remained effective until 1900 when the *Shōgakkō Rei Shikō Kisoku*, Rules for the Enforcement of Elementary School Regulations, further lowered the limit to 1,200.

The first notable attempt to identify the characters for general use also came from the Ministry of Education. The Minister of Education at the time, Ōki Takatō, believed strongly in the need for script reform and initiated a compilation of characters frequently used by ordinary people in 1872. This resulted in a two-volume dictionary published by Tanaka Yoshikado and Ōtsuki Shūji under the name *Shinsen Jisho*, A New Dictionary. The dictionary listed 3,167 characters (Twine 1983:118). This was a significant achievement because the total number of characters found in the 1933 survey was much larger at 6478 characters (Seeley 1991:141).

It was in 1925, that the first limited character list was implemented in Japan. The list had 2,108 characters and was voluntarily implemented by the large newspapers.

Although not implemented as an official measure, this marks an important milestone in the history of Japanese script reform, because for the first time character limitation was implemented beyond the limited focus of education to apply to the wider community. The initiative, however, began as a list of 1,962 characters for general use proposed by the *Rinji Kokugo Chōsakai* (Interim National Language Research Council). The proposal list did not go ahead due to the Kanto earthquake of September 1923 (Carroll 2001:62, Gottlieb 1995:77, Seeley 1991:146).

The proposed list sheds some light on the prevailing mood for script reform. The list was proposed during the late Meiji (1868-1912) and Taisho (1912-1926) periods which was conducive to language reform, as evidenced by the major wave of language reforms that took place at the time (Carroll 2001:52-60). It was in this climate that reforming the writing system also came to be considered as an urgent need due to the contemporary policy of linguistic assimilation inside and outside Japan. However, out of the considered options of using a phonetic script by resorting to *kana* or *rōmaji*, or reducing the number of characters used in writing, the approach that was accepted as appropriate
was the reduction of characters which was the less radical of the two approaches. The choice made by the official script reform experts shows that socio-political factors that surround script reform make it a more difficult task than reforming other aspects of the language.

A subsequent attempt at character limitation was made in 1942 by the Kokugo Shingikai (National Language Council). This time, a list of 2,669 characters, called the Hyōjun kanji hyō (List of Standard Characters), was proposed for use in government offices and general use. The large number of characters on the proposed list indicates the more conservative attitude towards script reform that was prevalent at the time. This was a time when ideological considerations outweighed pragmatic ones in relation to language policy. Therefore, all moves towards limiting the use of characters, or replacing characters by kana or rōmaji, were firmly put to an end, although Japan’s expansion into Asia had created a need to teach the Japanese language overseas and to educate recruits to handle weapons safely. Instead, the role that characters had played in Japan’s history, culture and identity by linking the generations was used as a reason for retaining their use. This mood is reflected in the replacement of the limited character list proposed in 1923 by one that contained a total of 2,669 characters with approximately 700 additional characters (Carroll 2001:65, Gottlieb 1995:97, Seeley 1991:148-9).

The immediate pre-war years are therefore characterised by a climate that necessitated policy measures to make reading and writing Japanese easier, but one that also suppressed the adoption of such measures for fear of harming Japanese culture (Gottlieb 1995:23). A study of the literature of the period indicates that many people perceived ‘language policy’ as official action that applied to the spread of the Japanese language in the conquered territories overseas and not to the language issues at home (Gottlieb 2008:18-19).

Although several limited character lists had been proposed and one had been implemented by the newspapers in the period before WWII, it was only in 1946 that character reduction came to be implemented nationwide as a national script policy.

In contrast to the period before the war, the post-war years in Japan are marked by the implementation of official script policies to reform the Japanese writing system, particularly official measures to reform the use of Chinese characters in writing. The first of these occurred in 1946, soon after WWII.

The official measure which was introduced in 1946 to reduce the number of characters in use was triggered by the political and social transformation that was sweeping through the country after defeat. These socio-political changes resulted in a major cultural and intellectual change that was finally able to resist the long-established opposition to script reform posed by vested intellectual and political interests and a strong ultranationalist ideology. The new perceptions about script reform that were beginning to appear were further boosted by the elimination of right-wing politicians. These transformations helped to make a break with the past anti-reform ideology that had managed to protect the script from any major amendment, thus preserving Chinese characters in their original form (Gottlieb 1995:122-24).

The Allied Occupation of Japan in the post-war years was also a contributory factor to the reform. Although the Occupation forces did not play a direct role in bringing about the reform (Unger 1996), the influence they had on this reform needs to be acknowledged. This influence was mainly in the form of the new concept of democracy imposed by the Occupation forces. This provided a strong reason in favour of reforming the Japanese script because it was argued that simplifying the script was necessary to facilitate mass literacy for people to participate in the public life of a democratic state. The argument was strengthened by the presence of the Occupation forces because they began to make observations on the negative impact the Japanese script had on literacy and to make suggestions that a romanized script should be adopted in place of the traditional Japanese script (Gottlieb 1994:1177).

Members of the Kokugo Shingikai (National Language Council) who were enthusiastic about reforming the script made use of this general shift in the attitudes to and perceptions about script reform. They argued that the high number of characters used in contemporary writing was perceived as an impediment to mass literacy, because they
were difficult for people to remember and reproduce. Also, the writing system was a hindrance for the people to participate in the written debate on public issues in post-war Japan, as it used a large number of characters. As the new constitution placed sovereignty in the Japanese people and not in the Emperor as in previous times, these proved to be reasonable arguments in favour of script reform (Gottlieb 1995:131-132). Although not a radical measure when compared with the initial idea of replacing the logographic script with a phonetic script, the 1946 policy can therefore be seen as a significant step towards improving literacy in the country.

To resolve some of the issues that were found to hamper mass literacy, an official list of characters called the Tōyō Kanji Hyō (List of Characters for Interim Use) was introduced in 1946. The list comprised only 1,850 characters. The Tōyō List was introduced as the prescribed maximum for government departments and documents and also school text books. This meant that characters not on the list were proscribed from use in government publications. While the new character limits were not imposed on the media or private citizens, it was hoped that they would comply with the official character limits (Gottlieb 1995:15, Hannas 1997:216).

Although the 1946 script reform was mainly to do with the reduction of characters, it also gave official approval to many simplified forms of characters through a list that was promulgated in 1949. The list defined graphic shapes for characters in addition to those approved through the Tōyō List. This allowed character shapes that had long been used in handwriting to be used in print (Seeley 1991:157; Unger 1996:58).

In addition, a list of education kanji for school children called the Tōyō Kanji Beppyō was also introduced. The list contained only 881 characters. The list was introduced as a recognition of the fact that the 881 characters specified were adequate for an individual to function effectively in day-to-day life (Gottlieb 1995: 143-144). The Tōyō Kanji Beppyō was introduced as the prescribed number of kanji to be taught during the compulsory school years. The list remained in force until 1981, and school children were taught according to the provisions of this list for approximately thirty five years (Gottlieb 1995:15-16).
On the one hand, the *Tōyō List* can be viewed as a significant step when considering the previous failed attempts to officially reduce the number of characters in the script. The very essence of the reform was reflected in the new Constitution of May 1947, which used only a limited number of Chinese characters, along with hiragana. It thus gave authority to the restricted character list and proved that it was possible to write the most important legal document of the country in a manner easy to understand by the majority (Carroll 2001:69).

On the other hand, the *Tōyō List* was merely a continuation of the existing trend because it was not daring enough to completely overhaul the mixed script and replace it with a full *kana* or *rōmaji* script. The list is therefore viewed as a compromise between the radical reformers in favour of a phonetic script and the conservatives who wanted to maintain the status quo. The position also allowed movement in either direction: towards the complete dropping of characters or towards the maintenance of or gradual increase in the number of characters officially recommended (Carroll 2001:68).

The 1946 reform brought about both costs and benefits. The major benefit was that it facilitated mass literacy by limiting the number of characters required for non-specialist use. This also freed up a large amount of time that was previously devoted to the acquisition of characters which could now be spent on acquiring other knowledge and skills. The major cost was the constraints it placed on written expression which resulted in the practice of writing some words partly in Chinese characters and partly in *kana*, which came to be viewed as unacceptable in later years.

The script policy of 1946 was revised in 1981, reversing the attempts that had been hitherto made to reduce the use of characters in contemporary writing (Gottlieb 1994:1176). The revision to the policy was implemented by recommending a new official list of characters in 1981, called the *Jōyō Kanji List*, in place of the *Tōyō Kanji List* that had been in force since 1946. While the new list had more characters than the previous list, it was to be used only as a guide whereas the previous list had been implemented as a prescriptive list. Socio-political factors of contemporary Japan contributed to this policy revision.
Of the socio-political factors that have been identified by LP scholars as having an impact on script reform (Baldauf 1990:16, Cooper 1989:177, Fishman 1973), what influenced this policy reversal was the resurgence of conservative ideas, generated by economic security. For example, Japan met its export target of US$10 billion by 1967, joined the G7 in 1975, and began to rival the United States in key industries such as automobiles and steel in the 1980s. Economic achievement became a source of national pride from the late 1960s (Hitoshi Tanaka 2007: 2). During this time, economic prosperity triggered nationalistic sentiments in the form of economic nationalism, which was further boosted by a spate of *nihonjinron* literature (literature on issues of Japanese national and cultural identity). Consequently, a conservative mood set in, in relation to script reform (Gottlieb 1995:186).

With economic security and the resurgence of nationalistic sentiments that came in its wake, the argument of the reformers that characters hamper economic development began to lose its strength. The age-old attachment people had to Chinese characters was revived, and the earlier post-war movement to reduce their use began to receive much criticism. In the climate of renewed nationalism, the *Tôyô List* came to be viewed as having several problems. The list was said to be unsystematic as it contained some characters that were very rarely used and lacked some that were frequently used. It had led to disorder in the written language as common compounds were written half in characters and half in *kana* in a practice called *mazegaki*. It was also prescriptive and limited expression for general purposes by limiting not only the number of characters that could be used but also vocabulary and therefore concepts, which resulted in a decrease in expressive ability. It was particularly inadequate for scientists who required even a wider range of characters for scientific terminology, and the literati who required freedom of artistic expression (Gottlieb 1995:184,186). Learning a fewer number of characters than before was seen as resulting in lower literacy levels and academic performance (Gottlieb 1995:184-9).

In addition to renewed nationalistic sentiments, contemporary political ideology also made a strong contribution to the policy reversal of 1981. Ager (2001:184) sees political ideology as an important element in the motivational structure of language policy. Political ideology impacted on script policy in the form of powerful intervention from influential members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) who did not favour
script reform. This made a lasting impact on the 1946 script policy by leading to some major changes in the Japanese script reform arena in the 1960s.

Gottlieb (1995:172–183) describes in detail the political ethos of the time. The partial revision of the ordinance of the *Kokugo Chōsa linkai* (National Language Research Council) in 1962, which was considered to be sympathetic towards the abolition of characters, was the first in a series of events that signalled the official change of direction in relation to script policy. With the revision of the ordinance, the *rōmaji* research division was abolished, the Council’s investigations came under the direction of the Minister of Education, and members of the Council were to be appointed by the Minister. In addition, a sub-committee on language was set up within the LDP in 1966 which had considerable impact on the reversal of the post-war script policy in later years. In the same year, the Minister reaffirmed the three-script system as the Japanese writing system and as the basic premise for future reform action. A request was also made to the Council to stop further reforms and engage instead in reflection and readjustment to resolve the various problems that had arisen after the post-war reforms.

Some pro-character interest groups such as the *Kokugo Mondai Kyōgikai* (Council for Language Matters) and the *Nihon Bungeika Kyōkai* (Japan Writers’ Association) not only supported the changing official direction but also played a major role in initiating it. The combined effect of these changes was a politically-mediated backtracking from the post-war script policy and from any possibility of phonetizing the script as had been intended earlier. Although the pro-reform political parties, the Romanization groups, *Gengo Seisaku o Hanashitau Kai* (Language Policy Discussion Group and the *Nihon Jidō Bungeika Kyōkai* (Japan Children’s Writers’ Association) opposed the new official direction, these groups were powerless to change the course of action in the face of powerful government intervention.

The new list contained a total of 1,945 characters, made up of all the characters in the previous list plus an additional ninety-five characters. The change in the policy, however, was not so much in the scope of the list, but rather in the nature of the list, because character use became more liberalised with the policy revision. In addition, the use of *furigana* (*kana* used to annotate Chinese characters to indicate their sounds (Taylor and Taylor 1995:383) which was proscribed by the previous policy was to be
recognised, which meant that writers could now use characters that were not on the official list. Also, the amount of okurigana (the number of syllables to be written in kana after the Chinese characters) was decreased from what had been prescribed in the Tōyō List.

The new list was announced by the Cabinet in October 1981. The list was declared in the preamble only as a target to be achieved in general areas of society, and not as a requirement for specialist fields or individual writing (Gottlieb 1995:194). This made a significant change to the nature of the list, because whereas the old list had been imposed as a prescribed maximum for all government documents and school text books, the new list was introduced as a guide, relaxing the previous strict limits placed on the use of characters. Also, the new policy did not specify the number of characters to be taught in schools whereas the old policy had specified 881 characters, called education kanji (Kyoiku Kanji), as the limit to be taught for reading and writing during the period of compulsory education (Gottlieb 1995:15-16).

One of the benefits of the new list as mentioned by the official script reform body was that it was more effective in facilitating communication. This is because the previous list had some characters that were rarely used and excluded some that were in frequent use. For example, it did not have some characters that middle school children had picked up from advertisements, posters, signs and from place names and personal names. The new list addressed this problem by revising the old list to make it a better reflection of the actual state of character use in contemporary Japan (Gottlieb 1995:188-9).

The new list also helped to resolve the problem of mazegaki (the practice of combining two scripts in a single word) that had been created by the Tōyō List. This was due to the fact that some compound words had to be written half in characters and half in kana due to the absence of certain characters on the list. For example, in the word sentaku (washing), the first character was on the list while the second character was not. The absent characters became particularly problematic, because foreign loanwords were often used in order to avoid mazegaki and also to replace Sino-Japanese words when the characters needed to write them were not on the list. The practice of mazegaki had been
under much criticism because it was considered as contributing to disorder in the written language (Gottlieb 1995:187).

It was also claimed that the new list was better than the Töyō List because it because it integrated three important aspects that were previously given in separate lists: the standard characters, their standard forms and their on-kun readings (pronunciation). The new list incorporated all three aspects in the one list (Gottlieb 1995:190).

A major cost of the revision was seen as returning language policy from a democratic context to that of pre-war conservatism (Gottlieb 1995: 190). Criticism of the list came mostly from educators who expressed concern about the extra pressure on teaching and learning the additional ninety five characters and their associated on-kun readings. It was also pointed out that the burden of learning additional characters would have a negative impact on the efforts to internationalise the Japanese language. As the reason for the revision was given as fixing the absence of frequently used characters from the list, the frequency of use of the new characters was queried. Survey results on which the additions were based were also queried, and attention was drawn to the National Language Research Institute’s survey of newspapers which found that seventy of the 1,945 characters on the new list were of low frequency (Gottlieb 1995:196-7).

It is important to note that a major cost incurred by this reform is the raising of the standard of character literacy. This is because the official character list is used as the standard of character acquisition in Japan. Raising the bar on character literacy impacted on the teaching and learning of Chinese characters and also on the testing of character acquisition of learners in both the domestic and international contexts.

Neustupny (1983:30) perceives the introduction of the Jōyō List as a measure that ‘did not mean anything beyond the acknowledgement of present-day middle-class usage’. In other words, it catered to the typical middle class user of kanji, disregarding the difficulties of those below this level. Unger (1996:123) perceives the revision as a repudiation of the spirit, if not the substance of the previous reform, a reaction to the concern that ‘if the ceiling created by the Töyō kanji were not transformed into a floor, the trend of events might very well have led to the legal acceptance of rōmaji as an alternative script at least – perhaps to more than that. The idea that the government’s list
of *kanji* was a clearly defined goal had to be replaced with the idea that it was only an entrance requirement into Japanese society.

**3.6 Japanese Script Reform: Period after 1981**

This period is characterised by major socio-political, economic and technological changes in Japan, brought about by Japan’s economic bubble burst, globalization, the spread of information technology, and English Language Teaching (ELT). The decades leading up to the new millennium were particularly marked by such changes. The changes made an impact not only on Japanese society but also on Japanese language and culture in a number of different ways. This section focuses particularly on the changes that took place in the language or in relation to people’s perceptions and attitudes to the language, and on the language policies that were triggered by the actual or perceived linguistic changes.

**3.6.1 Notion of Language Disorder**

A major change that occurred due to the upheaval of this period is the change that took place in people’s perceptions and attitudes to the Japanese language, more specifically, the deep concern that was generated about the state of the language. The notion that the language has become disorderly, corrupt or confused has recurred from time to time in Japan in relation to various aspects of the language, particularly during times of national crisis. This is because of the general perception in Japanese society that the standard of language, particularly that of the written language, is closely linked with the standard of morality in society. Therefore, language disorder was seen as a symptom of social disorder. While disorder in the language was seen only in relation to the written language in the past, this time it was also seen in relation to the spoken language (Carroll 2001:78-9.

The nature of the language disorder was perceived in relation to a number of aspects in both the spoken and written forms of the language. Of these, the increased use of loan words, the decreased use of honorifics and the inappropriate use of greetings observed in the language use of young people were seen as significant issues. Information and communication technology was perceived as a major factor that caused changes in the
Japanese language, particularly in the Japanese script. The changes were thought to have occurred in both the reading and writing practices of contemporary Japanese people, particularly of the younger generation that grew up in the digital communication era. Some of the identified changes are making mistakes when writing characters, the decline in the practice of handwriting, the increased use of abbreviations, neologism and emoticons, and problems related to character recognition when using word-processor facilities (Japanese Preamble 2009, Gottlieb 2000:88, Gottlieb 2008:21-23).

As the period after 1981 was a time of crisis for Japan in many ways, the perception of disorder in the language occupied a central place in people's thoughts at this time. The theme of confusion in language also became a key feature in the discourse of official bodies such as the Language Council and also the media. Pervading the discussions of the Language Council was the belief that linguistic change symbolises changes in society, usually undesirable ones. For example, in a report issued in 1993, the Council stressed the close link between language and culture and declared the importance of working with relevant ministries and other bodies to promote policies to raise the standard of language (Bunkachō Agency for Cultural Affairs 1993 cited in Carroll 2001:79). The council organised debates, conducted research and opinion polls, and drew up standards of usage to address the linguistic problems perceived in relation to different aspects of the language. As a result, problems perceived in honorific language, young people's language and male and female language were discussed widely. The aim of the discussions was to raise language awareness and language standards and thereby strengthen a feeling of national identity among the public leading to a harmonious, orderly society.

It is important for the present study to explore how the discourse of confusion in the language began, because the reproduction of discourses and ideologies they embody is a major theme of the study. It is not clear how exactly the recent discourse began, whether it was initiated by the public or by official bodies responsible for language planning and other language-related matters. Carroll (2001:82-83) notes that the discourse goes back to at least the mid-1970s. While acknowledging the difficulty in pinpointing precise reasons for the genesis of the discourse, she identifies socio-economic changes as a plausible reason, but identifies language policy as having had a more direct impact on public interest in the language. The recommendation made by the Language Council to
promote language education and awareness among the public and the resultant
publication of the popular and widely circulated Language Series published by the
Language Section from 1973 onwards are examples of official action taken in this
regard. Based on these developments, Carroll (2001: 83) concludes that public
sensitivity to change in the language was generated to a large extent by language
awareness encouraged by official promotion and publications.

The Language Council also played a more explicit role in developing the discourse of
language confusion. This is evidenced by its 1995 report which stressed the important
work the State had to do to regulate the language environment and plan for the spread of
‘beautiful and rich language’. This was to be achieved by regulating the language
environments of the homes, schools, communities and the media. In addition, the
Language Council planned to promote opportunities for people to talk about language in
their daily lives through book and video series on language published by the Language
Section. It also aimed to collect opinion from a wide range of people including from
participants of conferences such as the Conference on National Language Problems the
Round Table Discussion on National Language Policy and ensure that these opinions
are reflected in language policies.

The above information sheds light on how language discourses were generated and
spread through the public and the important role the State played in this respect through
its nexus of official institutions and organisations. While institutions such as the media
and schools were used to regulate language usage, official print and video publications
were used to generate public discussion. It is interesting to note the role played by
opinion polls, particularly in eliciting opinion from experts on language matters and
feeding it into official language policies. This intricate system of recycling and
circulation of ideologies about the language may have contributed to imposing the
official language ideology on the people. Fairclough (1989:86) points out that there is a
constant endeavour on the part of those who have power to impose an ‘ideological
common sense’ that holds for everybody in society.

Raising language awareness and language standards was also used as a strategy to
counteract the impact of globalization and the spread of English language teaching,
particularly in the 1990s. The strategy was Japan’s own unique way of counteracting
the cultural homogeneity caused by globalization and the language imperialism and hegemony of English. The new strategy involved broadening the goal of learning English from achieving global literacy to include the additional function of promoting Japanese culture through contact with other cultures and showing the international community the attractiveness of Japanese culture. For this, it was thought necessary to revitalize a sense of worth of Japanese culture in the general public. Due to the close link in Japan between the language and the culture, the way chosen to achieve the broader ELT goal was improving Japanese language skills to nurture Japanese culture and raise public regard and allegiance for the notion of Japaneseness. Therefore, correctness of using the language, in both the spoken and the written form, including the use of the script, came to be seen as of paramount importance to preserve Japanese culture. The strategy of increasing language awareness and correct language usage amounted to the clever use of language as a symbol of moral, social and political order to strengthen the sense of national identity in Japanese people (Hashimoto 2007:30-31).

3.6.2 Impact of Information and Communication Technology

Modern technological innovation made its first impact on language use in Japan in the early 1980s. The year 1984 marked an explosion in word-processor sales in Japan (Gottlieb 1998: 153), and can therefore be taken as the beginning of the personal word processor age (Seeley 1990:186). The word-processor made a revolutionary change in writing Japanese as it facilitated the process of converting kana to Chinese characters. To produce a document using the word-processor, words had to be inputted in kana using the keyboard and converted to characters by pressing the space bar. If more than one character came up on the computer screen, the user had only to choose the one appropriate for the specific context. This meant that people were now in a position to use characters they had not committed to memory or were not very familiar with. This is in stark contrast to the days when people could only use characters that they were familiar with when writing a text, unless they looked them up in a dictionary.

It is commonly believed that the use of the word-processor boosted the use of characters (Gottlieb 2000: 80). This was mainly because word-processors had the ability to produce a large number of characters, far greater than what was required to produce ordinary texts. Today's word-processors can print out all the characters identified in the
Japan Industrial Standards (JIS). The JIS list consists of two sets of characters – 2965 characters in Level One and 3384 characters in Level Two. Although Level One contains basic characters, Level Two contains relatively uncommon characters (Seeley 1990:186, 1994:90). The overuse of characters is also attributed to the ease with which the word-processor could convert  *kana* into characters (Kanda cited in Gottlieb 2000: 80), and the belief ingrained in people during school years that using characters whenever appropriate is the correct way to write in Japanese (Umesao 1988:238). In addition, the overuse of characters is also attributed to laziness on the part of users which made them accept as their first choice the characters offered by the word-processor for native Japanese words usually written in *kana* (Tanaka cited in Gottlieb 2000:83). Tanaka observes that this could increase the proportion of characters in a text to between 60 to 70 per cent.

Another effect on language use brought about by the word-processor was a revival of the non-modern use of characters. For example, native Japanese words such as *arigato* (‘thank you’), *ashita* (‘tomorrow’) *kinō* (‘yesterday’) and *ototoi* (‘the day before yesterday’) came to be written in characters (Gottlieb 2000: 82). Also, a revival of very complex characters which had been proscribed from use in the post-war period took place as a result of word-processor use. The second character of the word 憂鬱  *yūtsu* (melancholy) which has a large number of strokes, and which is normally written in hiragana as 憂うつ, and the word 綺麗  *kirei* meaning ‘beautiful’, normally written in hiragana as きれい, are examples of very complex characters that began to appear in word-processed documents, although they were not on the official list (Gottlieb 2000:86, Gottlieb 2008:20). Gottlieb further observes that due to the officially sponsored character limits that were in force in the post-war period, people had been writing such words half in characters and half in *kana*, when the required character was not one that was officially acceptable. This practice known as *mazegaki* ‘mixed writing’ was not appealing to many, and so the ability of the word-processor to provide characters for both halves of the compound was seen as a helpful change.

The information and communication revolution of more recent times strengthened the new trends in Japanese written culture set by the word-processor. While Internet use facilitated the rapid and wide-spread dissemination of word-processed texts, email and mobile text-messaging facilitated the rapid and instant transmission of word-processed
messages between individuals. This gave rise to a new culture of digital writing which did not require writers to rely on individual knowledge and memory of characters as they had been required to before. The new technology exposed people to a large number of characters in daily life to which they had never had access before. Gottlieb (2008:20) notes that this ‘technology-mediated aspect’ of written culture has definite implications for script policy in Japan.

The level of popularity that these digital media enjoy in the Japanese communications arena show the extent of their potential implications for script usage. For example, the use of the mobile phone which is known as the keitai (‘portable’), has become so widespread in Japanese society that Japan came to be perceived as ‘defining the future of the mobile revolution’ (Ito 2005:1-2). Mobile phone usage and the practice of text-messaging which was at first popular with Japanese youth, later evolved into a communication culture that spanned ages and genders. This is attributed to mobile internet usage as it enabled users to text message across different terminal types or service providers (Ito 2004:4, Kohiyama 2005:68-69). Mobile internet usage started in Japan in 1999, with the rolling out of i-mode (Internet-mode, a service that allows users to access the internet through mobile phones) by NTT DoCoMo (Japan’s leader in wireless technology) (Negishi 2003:58). Also, Japan’s social and cultural norms that discourage disruptions in shared spaces have boosted the use of text-based communication modalities in Japan (Okabe and Ito 2005: 205-217).

3.6.3 The New Jōyō List

The wide-spread use of information and communication technology, which was widely believed to have increased the number of characters used in texts, including the number of characters outside the Jōyō List, led to concerns about the adequacy of the Jōyō List among official language planning bodies. The practice of writing words half in characters and half in kana (mazegaki) also became a major concern for language planners, as it affected the correct use of characters and the beauty of the Japanese script. Discussions therefore began as early as 2005 about reviewing the Jōyō List and replacing it with an updated list that could better reflect contemporary characters use and also facilitate the use of appropriate character use in the community. Revisions were made to the revised script policy of 1981 as an outcome of the discussions, and an
updated list called the *New Jōyō List* was announced by the *Bunkachō* (Agency for Cultural Affairs) in 2009.

The new list contains a total of 2,131 characters (Japanese Preamble 2009). The List has been revised by deleting five characters - ￡ (shaku, an old unit of measure), 銅 (sui or tsumu, a spindle or weight), 銳 (sen, pig iron), 脹 (chō or fuku[reru], to swell), 龈 (momme, a unit of weight) - from the old *Jōyō List* and adding 191 characters that were previously not on the List. While the goal of the *Jōyō List* revision is to make written communication easier for people, the rationale for increasing the number of characters on the list is to introduce people to the non-*Jōyō* characters that are being used in contemporary texts (Japanese Preamble 2009:3). The list was compiled by conducting textual surveys covering a variety of sources such as newspapers, textbooks, family registers and websites (Japanese Preamble:2009:7-13). The new List contains some very complex characters, such as 鼈 *utsu* used to write the word ‘melancholy’.

Similar to the previous *Jōyō List*, the *New Jōyō List* is intended to be used as a guide for the general public to read newspapers, magazines, government documents, law texts and broadcasts. It is not intended as a guide to read specialist texts such as those in the areas of science, technology and art (Japanese Preamble:2009:6).

Public opinion about the draft list was obtained in March 2009. The opinion survey showed that people were not in favour of complex characters and also low frequency characters with difficult readings. After further revision, the public was asked to comment on the list again in September 2009 (The Yomiuri Shinbun May 2009). The List was implemented in Autumn 2010.

3.7 Factors that make radical script reform difficult

As discussed in Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.4 and 3.5, China and Japan have made several attempts to reform their writing systems in order to resolve the issues related to Chinese characters. However, up to the present time, a radical reform such as replacing the logographic script with a phonetic script has not been carried out in either country.
China has adopted a monographic policy on Chinese characters since the Mao era. This position was affirmed at the national meeting of the State Language Commission in 1986 when it was explicitly stated that pinyin is not a phonetic writing system for replacing Chinese characters, but rather a phonetic notational tool to help in the learning of the Chinese language, Chinese characters, and the popularization of Mandarin Chinese, and to be employed where Chinese characters are inconvenient or cannot be used (Su 2001: 113).

The current approach to phonetization is also reflected in the Language Law passed in 2000, according to which pinyin will be used only as the instrument for spelling and sound annotation, as the uniform standard for the spelling in the Latin alphabet of Chinese personal and place names, literature and documents, when Chinese characters are inconvenient or impossible to use, and as the phonetic writing scheme to be used in elementary education (Rohsenow 2004:41-43). What this means is that pinyin is used only as an auxiliary script in situations where characters are difficult to use. However, pinyin has become a popular computer inputting scheme in China today (See Section 2.5)

A similar lack of enthusiasm for phonetizing the script is evident in Japan. The two phonetization movements that were active in Japan in the last two decades of the 19th century were short-lived and came to an end in the early 20th century. Although a large number of scholars supported the kana movement and the rōmaji movement and even publications were made in the two phonetic scripts through the Kana no Kai (Kana Club) and the Rōmajikai (Rōmai Club), the attempts made to phonetize the script did not succeed. While the lack of a simplified written style that reflected everyday speech was a contributing factor to the failure of the movements, an equally important factor was the resistance of the elite who were strongly attached to the existing mixed writing system of Japan (Twine 1991:233-239). Similar to China, the rōmaji script (the Latin alphabetic script) is used in Japan only as an auxiliary script today. For example, it is used to write abbreviated European measurements (eg: cm and kg for centimetre and kilogram), acronyms, transliterations of Japanese words, and European titles of magazines for foreigners. However, as in China, it is also used as a popular and widely-used computer inputting scheme in Japan (Taylor and Taylor 1995:315).
3.7.1 Linguistic Nationalism

The strong attachment to Chinese characters that prevails in the two countries is a major obstacle to a radical reform. The power elite have at times caved into this ideological base, and have at times exploited the ideological sentiments themselves to serve their own ends. The use of LP by the political elite to serve their own ends is not uncommon in language planning. Cooper (1989:81), after reviewing four LP situations in different countries concludes that LP was used in each case to maintain or strengthen elite power.

The emotional attachment that some people have to the character-based script in the respective languages can be interpreted as a manifestation of linguistic nationalism. Maintaining the purity and authenticity of the characters used in the writing system has been an important element of linguistic nationalism in the two countries. According to Fishman (1972: 44-48), the major motivational emphases of modern nationalism have been the belief that the mother tongue protects the spirit or soul of nationality and that linking with the ethnic past provides a link to greatness. The above observation shows the close relationship between linguistic nationalism and the belief that the national language should be guarded from foreign influences and protected in its pristine purity. Edwards (1985:27) asserts that ‘the power of language as a factor of nationalism is indisputable’, and that ‘the link between linguistic nationalisms and language purity and preservation is a strong one’. Wright (2004: 57) sees purism as a need to carefully monitor and protect the language which arises from the 19th century nationalists’ belief that each nation had ‘a singular history and destiny and a particular idiom for their expression’.

Linguistic nationalism in China is related to the view that Chinese characters are central to Chinese culture. As such, they are inseparably linked with ancestral roots, cultural heritage and nationhood. The common belief is that since the characters were created by China’s ancestors and handed down from generation to generation, they should remain intact to maintain their purity and authenticity. The long unbroken history of the writing system makes Chinese characters a national treasure (Zhao and Baldauf 2008: 33). Moreover, Chinese characters are imbued with historicity and cultural heritage. DeFrancis (1984:286) notes that the attachment to characters which boasts a vast body
of literature is a system that is deeply embedded in Chinese society. Also, it is the basis of calligraphy which is a national art form in China.

Seybolt and Chiang (1979:17) note that ancient scholars shrouded writing in mysticism. As a result of being mystified over the years, the general populace see characters as sacred objects whose sanctity should remain unmolested. Taylor and Taylor (1995:74-6) note that Chinese characters have been under an aura of magic, mysticism and power for such a long time that they are treated with national reverence. Wong (1990:58) traces the veneration of characters to their ancient use of linguistic divinity and myth, when they were engraved on bone and bronze vessels and only used by an exclusive group of shamans and sorcerers for divination or for official rites.

Similar to mystification, sanctification too contributes to linguistic nationalism. Although Chinese society has been secular, classical canons were treated with holiness for their moral worth and the role they played in the spiritual life of the people. Consequently, characters with which the books were written were also venerated. Characters were looked upon as having life and spirit and no one dared to violate their holiness. For example, in the civil service examinations, miswriting a character would be reason enough to fail a candidate (Peng 2001 cited in Zhao and Baldauf 2008:34). Also, the well-known history book, Shi Ji (Historical Recordings) report how a high official during the Han dynasty feared being sentenced to death when he found that he had left out one stroke when writing the character 'ma' (horse) (Hu 1998 cited in Zhao and Baldauf 2008:34).

Characters are venerated even in contemporary Chinese society (Lu 1992 and Shang 1992 cited in Zhao and Baldauf 2008:34) note that any paper with characters on it is treated with respect. Taoists priests even keep a hook handy to collect any paper with characters that has been thrown away. The practice of venerating paper with characters can be traced back to the past when such paper had to be ritually burned in altars. These altars, known as xizi ta (pagodas for cherishing the written word) could be found in virtually every city, town and village.

Chinese characters are not perceived as just signs with which to read and write, but as having a magical quality and power. Therefore, they are thought to bring good or bad
luck to their users. Certain characters with auspicious meanings, such as the characters for longevity, wealth and fortune are used to decorate many common objects in everyday use such as fans, bowls, boxes and fabric. Scrolls with Chinese calligraphy are used to adorn houses. Brand names of certain products, such as wines and cigarettes, use characters with lucky meanings. Personal names also use characters with good meanings. It is commonly believed that character shapes influence people's fates. So, people go to the extent of changing their given names if they are written with characters that do not have good shapes. Similarly, certain characters representing words with negative connotations tend to be avoided, including words which are homophones with those words (Taylor and Taylor 1995:75-76).

In addition to the historical and cultural bond with Chinese characters, many people in China believe that the script is a mark of identity and a unifying factor among the people of China. The possession of a distinctive script is particularly seen as helpful to distinguish its users from peoples of other nationalities and to help China survive as a nation. People who cherish this view also believe that resorting to phonetic writing would lead to linguistic and thus to political disintegration (De Francis 1950:218-221).

Finally, there are firmly-established and widely-circulated myths about the advantage of using Chinese characters. Chief among these are the belief that characters are information-oriented, that they contribute to the development of intelligence, that they are language independent and therefore universal, that that they provide a unifying force enabling speakers of different dialects to communicate through writing, and that they are structurally logical and scientific which makes them easy to learn (De Francis 1984:131-220, Unger 2004:1-12).

Linguistic Nationalism in Japan is based on a key concept of the Japanese perception of their language. Known as kotodama – 'the spirit or soul of the Japanese language' – this concept has largely contributed to linguistic nationalism, more specifically to the ideology of linguistic purism. The term conveys the idea that the Japanese language which is considered as unique is inseparably linked with the essence of the Japanese national spirit. Therefore, the language and also the script are considered as objects of veneration that should never be tampered with (Carroll 2001:36, Gottlieb 1995:87).
Carroll (2001:32) sees language purification as ‘one of the most pervasive ideologies underlying the attitudes towards the Japanese language and language planning’. In the Japanese situation, language purism applies not only to the protection and preservation of the lexicon but also to that of the writing system. Japan borrowed Chinese characters to begin its writing system over 1500 years ago. Although two other scripts are also used today to write Japanese, characters have a special place in the writing system. While the ability to use characters is considered a mark of erudition, the use of characters whenever appropriate is seen as the correct way to write Japanese (Umesao 1988:238). In addition, characters are not perceived as just a tool for written communication. They are perceived as ‘icons of the essence of Japanese culture’ (Gottlieb 2008:16), and as a ‘repository of the long and rich cultural heritage of Japan’ (Taylor and Taylor 1995: 341). Therefore, any attempt to reduce the number of characters in writing is seen as harming the cultural heritage of Japan.

Although sentiments about language purity can be rife in a nation, the history of language planning shows that such sentiments can be utilized for language modernization. Commenting on the attempts to modernise the Turkish language, Fishman (1972:79-80) shows how language modernization decisions were rationalized and legitimized via authenticity sentiments. For example, the massive European borrowings into the Turkish technical vocabulary were rationalized on the basis that all European languages were initially derived from Turkish. The vernacularization and simplification of the Turkish non-technical vocabulary were rationalized on the basis that the language of the Anatolian peasant was a model of purity and authenticity as it had been the least influenced by foreign influence.

However, neither China nor Japan utilized nationalistic sentiments about the script to carry out a radical script reform. China had a good opportunity to do so twice during the Mao era, when there was official enthusiasm to devise a phonetic script in the early days of the new regime, and later during the Cultural Revolution when a massive nation-wide attempt was made to break from the cultural shackles of the past. Japan had a similar opportunity to resort to the kana script in the years immediately following the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, when nationalism promoted script reform and demands were made to abandon Chinese characters in favour of kana (Gottlieb 1995:86-8). None of these opportunities were utilized to carry out a radical reform of the scripts.
3.7.2 Changing Perceptions about Mass Literacy

The changing official perceptions about mass literacy in relation to national development have also been an obstacle to a radical script reform. History shows that when mass literacy is seen as conducive to economic growth the leadership is willing to move away from their allegiance to the character script. This is supported by the fact that the most radical script reforms to date in the two countries — the character simplification scheme carried out in China in 1956, and the character reduction scheme carried out in Japan in 1946 — occurred at times when improving the quality of manpower through literacy was seen as necessary for national development. However, with the advent of computers, nation building is seen as more aligned with technological development. Therefore, the development of information technology processors is at the heart of the new Chinese initiative. Similarly, during the economic boom, Japan backtracked from the ideal of mass literacy on which its 1946 reform was based, and began to adopt a more conservative approach towards script reform, which resulted in significant revisions to the original script policy in 1981. The new Japanese initiative has moved even further away from the ideal of mass literacy and caters to the needs of the literati rather than to the needs of those who are yet to acquire functional literacy.

3.7.3 Lack of Public Participation

Although views and ideologies that stand against a radical script reform are prevalent at present in both China and Japan, there are also views that run counter to such official hegemony (see Section 3.3.3). However, there is no avenue for these to come out into the open and foster into a counter ideology due to the lack of a healthy public forum. Blommaert (1999:8) emphasizes the importance of such debates as they help to develop the political process through the involvement of a variety of social actors, such as politicians and policy makers, academic and non-academic experts, interested members of the public, and the media. Debates are seen as the points of entrance for civil society into policy making, and are therefore seen as opportunities for the public to engage in the shaping of policies. The shaping process is mainly a process of shaping textual tools, such as the interpretation of policies and the illustrative applications of policy statements to various areas of social life and social experience. The media have an
important role to play in providing a forum for language policy debate. However, the media in both China and Japan appear to be weak in this regard, due to the state control of the media in the two countries.

The media in China are controlled by the Chinese leadership through a variety of direct and indirect measures. The prominent direct intervention measure is state censorship. The Zhonggong Zhongyang Xuanchuanbu (Central Propaganda Department) carries out the censoring and monitoring of national level media, such as CCTV, People’s Daily and high-profile scholarly and popular publications, while provincial and local level departments are in charge of censoring and monitoring all non-classified sources of information in their regions, including advertising. In addition, there are regional and central level news monitoring groups made up of veteran Party cadres who had formerly worked in the media or as propaganda officials. These groups keep watch on content in the print, radio and television media, and scholarly articles in the arts and the social sciences. At the same time, more indirect means are also used, such as the setting up of propaganda guidelines that set the norms for public discourse, the use of laws and regulations that are public, detailed and specific, the use of the market as a means and a justification for control, and the introduction of rewards for compliance (Brady 2008:94, 119-120).

Within a political context where information pluralisation in traditional media still remains unchanged, new digital media play a significant role in providing information to the public. Cross nation websites have enormous advantages over China’s mass communications system in providing alternative information and news sources. This allows Chinese users to gain information and news that they cannot get from traditional media or prohibited public access. The existence of alternative sources of information and news is an important prerequisite for a free society (Zheng 2008:93).

Moreover, the rapid spread of information technology from the 1990s and into the early twenty-first century has created forums with the potential to create a new public sphere (Brady 2008:126). This has made it possible for social groups to initiate novel forms of collective action to expand their political influence, and even challenge the state. Although in some cases, their actions led to the regime’s crackdown, such as in the case of Falun Gong and the China Democracy Party, the state was compelled to make
concessions with social forces in other cases such as the outbreak of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and the abrogation of the measures for Custody and Repatriation of Vagrants and Beggars in cities (Zheng 2008:81). Such action enables social forces to exert pressure over the regime and promote political openness, transparency and accountability to a great degree. These developments are important parts of political liberalization. Compared with the situation before the information age, Chinese leaders are now more accountable to citizens and are willing to change old policies and political practices as long as the existence of the regime is not threatened (Zheng 2008:102). While personal freedom has increased enormously in China since 1989, resulting in greater freedom for people, such as the freedom to travel, to choose their own job, to school their child outside the state education system, the leadership has made special attempts to reach out to students in order to remove them as a pressure group in Chinese society. Consequently, improved opportunities have been provided for graduates through increased salaries, greater freedom to study abroad, increased access to higher education, as well as greater transparency in access to employment in the government system (Brady 2008: 187).

However, even the new digital media have not escaped the strict control of the government. While the Golden Shield provides choke points that inspect every piece of data that passes through, all Internet users are required to provide their real names and personal details when signing up for an account (Rolf 2009:131). The Great Red Firewall blocks China based users from accessing banned sites. Nine Internet access providers control China’s physical lines to the outside world, and traffic over these lines can be restricted by means of filter, software that deny access to specified Internet addresses. The most popular search engine in China, baidu.com, cooperates with government policies by blocking access to an extremely wide range of sites, including many which are not necessarily associated with dissidents. The other leading search engines used in China, google.cn and cn.yahoo.com also block sites, to varying degrees (Brady 2008:131-132).

Although the state uses a variety of measures to control digital media, technology is a double-edged weapon and so, people have found ways around these control measures. Using proxy servers and the virtual private network (VPN) to skirt the Great Firewall, changing servers to outwit censorship on blogs and using code words to get around
filters on blocked sites are some strategies used by Chinese computer users today to overcome state control of digital media (Hays 2008). Even in the traditional media, a small group of Chinese journalists challenge state control by pushing the boundaries of what is politically acceptable, to attract readers to their newspaper (Brady 2008:81).

In Japan, the government influences the media indirectly through a structural system that upholds a close relationship between journalists and politicians. This system is based on kisha (press) clubs which are unique to Japan. Altman (1996) explains how kisha clubs foster an interdependent relationship between reporters and their news sources. The three main kisha clubs, the Hirakawa Club, the Shakaito Club and the Nagata Club are affiliated with a specific institution or organisation in Japanese government and society: the Hirakawa club based in Hirakawa-cho is affiliated with the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Shakaito Club, also called Yato Club (opposition club), with the Japan Socialist Party (JSP), the largest opposition, and the Nagata Club located in Nagata-cho with the Prime Minister’s office. The reporters in these kisha clubs are provided a room with equipment and staff by the organizations they cover, which results in an interdependent relationship between reporters and their sources. Also as Krauss (1996 b: 256) notes, ‘in the course of covering their agency’s top officials, reporters are expected to go on yomawari, ‘night rounds’. They drop in on the officials’ homes late at night, where they are served food and drink by the official and where they get an informal and off-the-record background briefing of sorts. It is here that reporters learn what is really going on behind the press releases and formal statements. Yet they often cannot or do not report these out of deference to the honesty and openness of the official’. This close relationship with the news source makes it difficult for the reporter to write independently or critically. Also, this gives officials the opportunity to manipulate the news in a one-sided fashion, knowing that their reporter’s dependence on them for information will deter contradiction in the news reports.

However, the media play another important role in Japan, that of the watchdog. Farley (1996: 133) describes the function of the role as ‘ferreting out and exposing the wrongdoings and incompetence of those in authority’. The purpose of the watchdog role in other words is to work on behalf of society to protect the public interest, by serving as a check on excessive power, and by purging bad elements and shaking up the power structure. Farley (1996) sees the watchdog role as important because other institutions
that are capable of performing the role to a certain extent, such as opposition parties, parliamentary question-and-answer sessions or legislative committees cannot be successful unless their effort is reported and disseminated in the media. Also, these other bodies may be linked to the state and can therefore be constrained.

In addition to an active public forum, the potential people have to participate in social activism is another factor that helps to bring about a radical script reform. In spite of a democratic system of government, Japanese people have not demonstrated much willingness for such activism in the past. Carroll (2001:114) attributes this to a culture that values endurance and compliance rather than individual assertiveness, and a complacent attitude adopted particularly towards language issues. Hirata (2002:33-38) attributes it to the socio-political values and practices established in the past to promote economic growth: the regulation of civil society activity by the state through legal restrictions placed on citizens’ associations; the paternalistic role played by a strong and efficient bureaucracy; and the incorporation of Confucian values into the state ideology, such as respect for authority, conformity to group interests, and maintenance of order and stability.

However, with the maturation of the industrialization process and the spread of globalization, past values and practices are losing their hold on society. This is likely to lead to a more active civil society in Japan that engages in public discussion and political participation, and the emergence of civil society organizations which would result in more social activism in the community. Signs of this new social order are reflected in the active interest taken by Japanese society in environmental issues which resulted in high participation at the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and the active role played by large numbers of people in helping out victims of the Kobe earthquake in 1995.

3.8 The Future of Script Reform

Although there are many factors that inhibit a radical script reform in China and Japan, there are many scholars, including specialists in information technology, who have recognized the pressing need for the adoption of a phonetic script. Chen Mingyuan, a Chinese information processing specialist, declared in 1980 that the computer is the
gravedigger of the Chinese characters and the midwife of the alphabetic script (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:289). Others believe that at least a situation of digraphia between Chinese characters and a phonetic script is required (Su 2001:109). Given the popular use of pinyin for public and personal Internet domain names and email addresses, plus its use as an inputting scheme for Chinese characters, digraphia can be taken as the de facto policy for Chinese computer users when working online. Unger (2004:12) makes a similar observation when he comments that though not officially acknowledged, digraphia is a practical reality for Japanese computer users at present, although they seldom read texts in their native language in the Romanized script. Unger believes that the role of rōmaji would expand further in the future due to the need for digital networking, because unless romanization becomes an alternative to the current Japanese script, Japanese does not have the capacity to become a language of international electronic communication (Unger 2004: 147). Gottlieb (2008:121) notes that the use of messaging through mobile phones has brought about a new situation in script use in Japan, with greater use of the kana script where characters would normally be used.

DeFrancis (2006:20-21) proposes three possible scenarios in relation to Chinese writing in the future. In the first scenario, the government ends its reluctance to expand the role for pinyin and approves a situation of digraphia where those who have the ability would achieve biliteracy by becoming literate in both characters and pinyin, while those who do not will at least become literate in pinyin. In the second scenario, the government adopts a policy of benign indifference and allows pinyin to have an expanded role without actively supporting it. In the third scenario, the government continues its present policy of suppressing the expansion of pinyin, but due to the users of computers, mobile phones etc. the use of pinyin will expand on its own till it supersedes the use of characters.

Rohsenow (2001:137) proposes a scenario similar to the last scenario above, but only in relation to digital media and communication systems. He believes that such a scenario would arise when more people use pinyin as an inputting scheme and use it without converting it into Chinese characters. This however, would result in a situation of digraphia, where both scripts operate side by side, instead of the logographic script being superseded by the phonetic script. This scenario is likely in the expanding cyber
environment of the future, as cutting down the extra time that it takes to convert *pinyin* into Chinese characters would become increasingly necessary.

However, the first and second scenarios are also not unlikely in the future. The fierce promotion of *putonghua* by the government may result in more people being able to use the *pinyin* inputting scheme with accuracy. Also, as observed by DeFrancis, the pragmatism of the Chinese leadership is likely to prompt a reassessment of their position in relation to *pinyin*. This is likely to happen in the information society because functional literacy will be a valuable resource in this context. In the information society, knowledge is regarded as a resource, and it replaces productive labour as the source of value which yields future profits. Knowledge is also regarded as a commodity which can be bought and sold in the marketplace. An increasing proportion of the social structure of the information society will consist of professional and technical workers, many of whom are concerned with the production, processing, or distribution of information. These information occupations will be the key contributing factor to the success of the economy (Allen 1996:540).

According to Mair (1991:7), the situation of digraphia that is likely to unfold in the future would lead to positive socio-political changes in both China and Japan. It would alter the traditional configuration of social and intellectual life by creating a new paradigm for functional literacy (See 2.4), by forcing literacy restricted to some sectors of the population to extend to mass alphabetic literacy. It would also make a political impact on China by increasing democratization in the country.

### 3.9 Summary

Both China and Japan attempted to reform their writing systems in modern times in order to deal with the challenges imposed by the logographic scripts and adapt them to modern usage. Mass literacy was at the centre of the initial script reforms, and therefore, the main goal of reforming the scripts was making them easy to handle by ordinary people. However, in this early stage, both countries chose the option of simplifying the scripts rather than replacing them with phonetic scripts. In the initial phase of script reform, China chose to reduce the number of strokes in characters while Japan chose mainly to reduce the number of characters in the writing system. The Chinese character
simplification scheme of 1956 and the Japanese character reduction scheme of 1946 were the first major script reforms of China and Japan implemented in modern times.

A total of three attempts were made in China to simplify the Chinese script. While the first one was the most conservative, the last one was the most radical. However, the attempt that was successful and remains in force to this day was the more moderate second simplification attempt.

The short-term goal of all three efforts was the education of the masses. The first two attempts were carried out with the long-term goal of modernizing the country which was triggered by the defeat suffered in the Opium Wars. The last attempt, though not prompted by the Cultural Revolution, was influenced in a major way by the socio-political circumstances surrounding it. This was particularly the case with the expansion of the modest character list which had been the initial product of the third simplification effort.

The first simplification attempt was initiated and carried out by the educated elite, with only a minor role played by the government. The second and third attempts were initiated and carried out as a top-down process with vigorous state intervention. The third attempt, however, was more people-oriented than the second, as the list contained a large number of characters that had been simplified by the masses. Also, the group that was directly responsible for drawing up the final list largely consisted of non-scholar members drawn from the general public.

The history of Japanese script reform shows how the dominant ideology that prevailed from pre-war times up to the present impacted on language policy and planning in Japan. As evidenced by the detailed account provided in Section 3.4, anti-reform views and ultra-nationalistic sentiments hampered official script reform in the pre-war period. Although the move to democracy and the associated beliefs about people’s need for literacy helped to formulate a policy to reform the script in the post-war period, the main approach that was chosen was the moderate one of character reduction. Also, the stiff resistance to script reform that reform enthusiasts encountered in the post-war script reform debate, and the revival of Nihonjinron theories after the economic boom of
the 1960s show the extent to which this ideology had penetrated into influential circles that could influence script reform.

The impact of the pro-character ideology on Japanese script policy can also be seen in the changes that have been made to the original post-war script policy. Since character reduction was implemented as an official measure in 1946, the number of characters specified for education purposes as well as for general purposes has increased. This is apparent from the revisions made to the Tōyō Kanji List that was introduced in 1946. The liberalising of character use endorsed by the policy revision points to a shift in Japanese script policy, from a literacy-centred approach to a more conservative approach that marginalised the initial government enthusiasm for mass literacy.

In both China and Japan, carrying out a radical script reform to the level of replacing the Chinese logographic script with a phonetic script, is difficult for many reasons. Chief among them are the nationalistic sentiments that surround the script and the exploitation of these sentiments by the power elite, the changing official perceptions about the need for mass literacy for economic development, the lack of a public forum for language policy debate, and the general reticence demonstrated by the Japanese people towards social activism.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter indicates the power that top-down language planners of China and Japan have over the language policy formulation process. Over the years, the general tendency of the planners has been to preserve the Chinese logographic script except in the few rare moments when replacing this script with a phonetic script was considered. However, such attempts did not materialize and the closest that both countries could get to a radical reform was the character simplification attempts made during the Mao era in China, and the character reduction attempt made in the immediate post-WWII era in Japan. The latest script initiatives in the two countries show that a conservative approach has been adopted again to deal with the challenges posed by the script.

The chapter suggests that conservative reforms of this nature are likely to create and maintain social and economic inequality, as character literacy is the key to knowledge in
character-based communities. Such inequalities are likely to intensify in the information society where knowledge becomes both a resource and a commodity. However, the demands placed on the Chinese logographic script by information and communication technology is likely to open up a situation of digraphia where the phonetic script would function as the writing system for online communication. The likelihood of a new public sphere opening up due to information technology in China, and the likelihood of people engaging in social activism due to the formation of social organizations in Japan make the emergence of a situation of digraphia even more promising.
CHAPTER 4
LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 3 indicated that a genuine script reform that would help to resolve the script issues faced by China and Japan is difficult at present. The chapter suggested that this leads to a situation of bi-literacy, that is, a double standard in relation to literacy, which causes social and economic inequality in the community. This chapter reviews the literature that is relevant to the study to provide a theoretical basis for the study of script reform in China and Japan, with a particular focus on the new studies that deal with social justice issues that arise from language planning and policy.

The chapter first provides a general overview of the field of LPP. Next, it focuses on the area of LP research which is concerned with the political aspect of LP, particularly issues of social justice and inequality that language policies could lead to. To this end, factors that cause social justice issues are discussed, such as agency and ideology, the power of actors engaged in top-down LP processes, and the process of ideological (re)production. In addition, strategies that can be used to respond to social justice issues are surveyed, with particular attention to approaches that LP researchers can adopt to alleviate such issues. The analysis of policy-related documents is reviewed as a significant solution in this regard.

Finally, the chapter stresses the need for further research in relation to investigating social justice issues likely to arise from the new script initiatives of China and Japan, highlighting the value of a comparative study of the two countries.

4.1 General Overview of the field of LPP

The first use of the term ‘language planning’ is attributed to Einar Haugen in relation to language standardization in Norway, when he defined the term as ‘the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community’ (Haugen 1959:8). Since then, language planning and policy have been defined and re-defined by a number of scholars in the field (Baldauf 2004, 2006, Cooper 1989, Fishman 1968, Haugen 1972, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, Rubin and Jernudd 1971, Spolsky 2004).
Language planning and policy are broadly defined in the following manner:

'Language planning is normally thought of in terms of large-scale, usually national planning, often undertaken by governments and meant to influence, if not change, ways of speaking or literacy practices within a society (Baldauf, 2006:147).

'The exercise of language planning leads to or is directed by the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is the body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system' (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997:xi).

Language planning constitutes several types of activities. Haugen's (1959:8) initial definition refers to one such activity, similar to what is known today as corpus planning. Subsequently, Kloss (1969:81) introduced the twin activities of status planning and corpus planning, Cooper (1989:157-163) the activity of acquisition planning, and Haarmann (1990:104-105) and Ager (2005:1035) the activity of prestige/image planning. Broadly speaking, status planning concerns choices relating to the status of a language, corpus planning concerns the forms of a language, acquisition planning concerns the teaching and learning of languages, and prestige/image planning concerns the promotion of languages, or as succinctly put by Baldauf (2006:150) the four activities are about 'society', 'language', 'learning' and 'image' respectively.

Corpus planning constitutes two processes of language planning - codification and elaboration, which is also known as cultivation. Codification refers to the selection and standardization of a linguistic norm. Elaboration or cultivation refers to the development of the language to cope with new domains of language use (Cooper 1989:144-149, Eastman 1983:70-74, Haugen 1983: 270-6, Kaplan and Baldauf 1997:38, Liddicoat 2005:994).

Codification entails formalizing a set of linguistic and literate norms in order to reduce variation in the language. An important task in this respect is making decisions about which dialectal variety of the language will function as the basis for the standard language. Choosing one dialectal variety as the norm from several existing ones favours the group of people speaking that variety as it gives them prestige and also a head start
in the race for power and position. In situations where a recognized elite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm is bound to prevail (Haugen 1966:932).


Elaboration entails the development of new linguistic resources for a language, such as the development of new lexical items, registers and text types. This becomes necessary when a language needs to be used in domains and for functions which it had not been previously used. Sometimes, elaboration is used when a change in the sociolinguistic context of a language has taken place instead of a functional change. This type of planning, which includes the application of linguistic purism, non-discriminatory language and stylistic simplification, is also considered to be types of language renovation (Liddicoat 2005:999).

Both codification and elaboration have been active in the Chinese and Japanese language planning arena. Codification was implemented in China when the Beijing dialect of Mandarin Chinese was selected as the basis of the norm for Chinese in 1913, and in Japan when the dialect of the Tokyo Yamanote area was selected as the basis of the norm for Japanese during the Meiji restoration of 1868. These dialects were selected due to the economic, political and social power exerted by the relevant centres at the time. Norm selection particularly favoured the Chinese speakers of the norm, namely the Mandarin speakers, because of the large variations that exist between the dialects of the seven large dialect groups in China, which are as different as English from Dutch or Low German (Chen 1996b:227).

Graphicization in the form of modifying the script has been a recurring LP activity in both countries due to the challenges posed by the Chinese logographic script when applied to modern use. Elaboration played an important role when speech and writing were unified through the baihua movement in 1919, in China, and the genbun itchi
movement during the Meiji period in Japan. This was an attempt to simplify the written language to make it more accessible for the general public.

A number of LP frameworks have been developed over the years to conceptualise the language policy and planning process. Language planning goals which are served by the different LP activity types and approaches have received much attention from scholars in this respect (Ager 2001:12, Baldauf 1997:61, Baldauf 2006:149-52, Cooper 1989:98, Haarmann 1990:104-5, Haugen 1983:275, Hornberger 2006:28-9, Nahir 1984:296). Goals have been considered as an important aspect in the LP process as they determine the direction of change that is intended by language planners, which is not always influenced by linguistic ends (Cooper 1989:123). This is because power maintenance or power struggle are generally behind the immediately visible or explicitly declared goals of language planners (Cooper 1989:81-2).

Haugen (1966:933) was one of the first to develop a framework encompassing LP goals and approaches. Haugen's initial framework comprises four LP dimensions, where language is viewed in terms of norm and function, and the object of the planning is seen in terms of society and language. The four aspects were seen as selection of norm, codification of norm, elaboration of function and acceptance by the community, with the first two referring to the norm and the last two to the function of language. The model was slightly revised in later publications (Haugen 1987:59), where the four aspects were seen as selection, codification, implementation and elaboration, with selection and implementation seen as the responsibility of society, and codification and elaboration as the responsibility of linguists and writers.

Hornberger (2006:28-9) provides a synthesis of existing frameworks in a single integrative framework. This framework represents the three LP types of status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning and the two LP approaches of policy planning and cultivation planning proposed by previous scholars.

Baldauf (2005:958-62 and 2006:149-52) provide a comprehensive framework that examines planning goals from eight LP perspectives and three different levels. The eight perspectives constitute the four activity types of LP (status planning, corpus planning, language-in-education planning and prestige planning) considered under the
approaches of policy and cultivation. The goals can operationalize at the macro, meso or micro levels. In terms of this framework, Chinese and Japanese language planning related to the character script fall under the activity of corpus planning, more specifically corpus standardization, within the policy planning approach. The goals operate at the overt macro level as the policies are formulated by official language planners engaged in a top-down process and are enforced through legislation.

The models developed by Cooper (1989:98) and Ager (2001:12) are different from the above as they are not presented in a matrix of LP types and approaches. They are also more concerned with the political nature of LP goals.

In addition to LP goals, the framework developed by Cooper also considers a number of other LP variables, such as actors, socio-political and economic conditions, decision making process, method of implementation, and target population. The variables are discussed in a sequence-like format that simulates the LP process that takes place in a real-world situation. In Cooper's framework, goals are called 'ends' He sees policy decisions that are made by politicians in power and/or other influential people in a society as being motivated by the wish to extend their privileges or to avoid a threat to their power. This view is based on the notion that what is valued in politics is only what is useful to keep a stronger group in power or to embarrass or defeat their opponents. According to this framework, power maintenance or power struggle are behind the immediately visible or explicitly declared goals of language planners (Cooper 1989:81-2).

The model developed by Ager (2001:12) identifies seven motives for LP and policy actions: identity, ideology, image creation (creating a positive image for the outside world), insecurity (eg: language insecurity which means fear that one's language is inadequate for social needs), inequality, integration with a group and instrumental motives for advancement. The last two motives concern the individual more than states, governments and communities. Ager (2001:8) also distinguishes between types of motives, as 'target', 'objective' and 'ideal'. He views the target as a precise, achievable, identifiable point, which is also measurable and often quantifiable; the objective as a long-term and future-oriented mission or purpose; and the ideal as a vision or intention which is an idealistic future state unlikely to be achieved, but essential as an end-point
towards which planning is ultimately directed. According to Ager’s framework, the development of the new character lists is the immediate target of the recent language planning activities in the two countries.

4.2 New Trends in LP Research

A new trend has emerged in LP research which recognizes that relevant decision making is influenced by socio-political and economic factors rather than by purely linguistic reasons (Baldauf 2005, Cooper 1989, Liddicoat 2005, Ricento 2000, Tollefson 1991, 2006, Williams 1992, Wiley 1999). Ricneto (2000:198) observes that early research largely responded to the perceived needs of new, developing nations, and therefore focused to a large extent on typologies and approaches to language planning. While acknowledging the importance of technical linguistic skills for corpus planning in particular, Baldauf (2005:961), Cooper (1989:123), and Liddicoat (2005:994) note that it also involves decision-making that has a social and political aspect.

Tollefson sees the technical dominance of early LP as an overwhelming concern with the apolitical analysis of technical issues such as terminology development rather than the underlying social and political forces affecting language policy (Tollefson 2006:42). Wiley (1999:17) describes the early phase of LP research as having been influenced by the common assumption that language planning is essentially technical and, thereby, non-political. Williams (1992:123) adopts a similar view in relation to the apolitical nature of early LP research when he says that ‘most planners involved with language planning have seen their task as ideologically neutral’. Liddicoat (2007b:20.1-20.2) observes that most attention in the analysis of LP has focused on which aspect of language is being planned rather than on how the aspect of LP being planned is understood in the planning process. He notes that the latter is of more significance, because often, it is the underlying conceptualisations which largely determine the effectiveness of language policies in affecting the language behaviours being planned.

Tollefson (1991:26, 31) refers to the approach adopted by early LP research as the ‘neo-classical approach’ and the approach adopted by more recent research as the ‘historical-structural approach’. Traditional research was characterised by the assumption that language policies are usually adopted to solve problems of communication in
multilingual settings and to increase social and economic opportunities for linguistic minorities. The development of traditional LP research traced by Eastman (1983:110) reflects the orientation of this type of research, from seeing planning chiefly as a tool of standardization (1935-1959), to seeing it as the study of language problems and their solutions (1960s), to the study and practice of managing language change (1970s). The early stages of LP research were particularly focused on solving language-related issues faced by multi-ethnic communities in developing nations, such as language loyalty, choosing a national language in ethnically complex states, and language change and language maintenance (Eastman 1983:116-17).

Tollefson (1991:28) observes that LP research under the neo-classical approach did not evaluate what was external to the planning process. While the researcher was seen as positioned outside the historical context, the primary responsibility of the researcher was seen as analyzing the planning process as a mere observer. The researcher’s only criterion for evaluating language policies was whether the stated goals had been achieved. Therefore, researchers did not enquire what appropriate policies might be nor did they judge the equity or fairness of policies.

On the other hand, the main aim of LP research under the historical structural approach is to investigate the historical basis of policies and to expose how policy decisions advantage or disadvantage particular political and economic interests. This is because language policy is seen as a mechanism which sustains the interests of dominant socio-political groups, and LP institutions are seen as inseparable from the political economy, as no different to other class-based structures. In contrast to the neo-classical model, the primary goal of research and analysis in the historical-structural model is to uncover the historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies and that constrain individual choice. Structural factors influence language planning decisions through their influence on planning bodies and on the socio-political goals to which those bodies are committed. Moreover, language planning is conceptualized as a historical process inseparable from structural considerations. The unit of analysis in the historical-structural approach is thus the historical process instead of individual choice as in the neo-classical approach. Planning and policy decisions are therefore seen as affected by a wide range of historical and structural considerations, such as the role of the country in the international division of labour; the level of socio-economic development of the
country; the political organ of decision making; and the role of language in broader social policy (Tollefson 1991:32-3).

The distinction that has been noted between early and more recent LP studies in terms of language modernization is also present to some extent in relation to the Chinese and Japanese script reform movements. Early studies about China's initial script reform are largely apolitical in nature (Guan Xi (1957), Wei Que (1957), Jian Bozan (1957), Jin Hua (1957), Wang Nianyi (1962), Zhou Shuyi (1962) and Wen Hua (1973). They mainly focused on technical issues related to the reform instead of analyzing the political motivations of the government that initiated them. For example, they highlighted technical issues such as the methods used to simplify the script, and practical problems related to the promulgation of simplified characters (Chen, 1957:154).

Later studies differ from these due to the attention they give to socio-political and economic factors. There are some significant studies in this regard that have investigated the script reforms of China and Japan (Carroll 2001, Chen 1999, 1996a, Gottlieb 1994, 1995, 2001, 2008, Hannas 1997, Rohsenow 2004, Unger 1996, Zhao and Baldauf 2008). Zhao and Baldauf (2008) should be particularly noted here as they provide an analysis of past Chinese script reforms from a political perspective as well as a vivid and comprehensive account of the socio-political context of the new standardization initiative. Similarly, while Gottlieb (1994, 1995, 2001, 2008) provides political analyses of the past script reforms in Japan, starting with the initial one implemented in the immediate post-war years, Carroll (1997, 2001) provides a similar analysis of the reforms, including the failed attempts that took place before the initial one, and the more recent reforms of the post-1980s.

4.3 Factors that Affect LP Decisions

As a result of the new concern with the socio-political and economic aspect of LP, factors such as agency, power, ideology and hegemony took centre-stage in the recent history of LP. Baldauf (1982: 1-6) is one of the first LP scholars to have drawn attention to the important variable of agency in LP situations. Ricento (2000:208) sees agency as 'the key variable that separates the older, positivistic/technicist approaches from the
newer critical/postmodern ones’. A possible reason for the late emergence of agency as an important LP variable is that until recently, the focus of LP has been on macro processes, and language planners in these top-down settings have been viewed as an unbiased group who objectively examine contemporary national needs and make decisions to address the issues in the best interest of the nation (Baldauf 2006:154).

Cooper (1989:98) relates agency to actors in his LP accounting scheme. Actors are perceived as ‘formal elites, influentials, counter-elites, non-elite policy implementers’. Cooper argues that in LP as in politics, it is the elites who usually benefit even when the language planning activity is not initiated by them. They also have enormous power over the target population as they have the ability to make vital decisions in relation to what linguistic terms would be ruled in or out during language planning activities.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:5–6) view actors as working within four basic areas: (1) governmental agencies involved at the highest level; (2) education agencies, sometimes acting under the impetus of higher level structure or acting in lieu of higher level structure; (3) other quasi-governmental or non-governmental organizations acting according to their own beliefs; and (4) all sorts of other groups or in some cases influential individuals creating language policy as an accidental (or sometimes purposeful) part of their normal activity. Of these, Kaplan and Baldauf view governmental agencies as being the most powerful and their planning as having the broadest scope, because governments generally have the power to legislate and the ability to foster incentive structures and disincentive structures to enforce planning decisions.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996:413–18) point out that multiple actors are involved in the process of language planning and implementation, such as states, institutions and classroom practitioners. Although not directly involved in the language planning process, state-level actors play an important role as decision makers by deciding which languages will receive support and which languages will be repressed. Institutions include schools, organized religion, media, civic and other private and publicly subsidized organizations, and the business community. Institutions play an important role in language planning by reproducing belief systems and opinions. Classroom practitioners who act at grass root level are directly related to the ultimate language
users, the students. They are key players not only because they are implementers of policies but also because of the potential they have to transform classrooms and promote institutional change.

However, in traditional top-down LP processes, agency usually remains in the hands of powerful language planners who formulate policies from above. Therefore, what happens most often at the meso and micro level is merely providing support for the implementation of macro policies. This means that the fundamental planning is conceptualised and carried out at the macro level with the other levels taking an implementation role (Kaplan and Baldauf 2003:201-2, Li 2010:447-9 and Ramanathan 1999:228). Due to this arrangement, the people on the ground with inside knowledge about linguistic issues do not have the opportunity to contribute to the formulation of equitable policies.


Power refers to the ability to achieve one's goals and to control events through intentional action. It is fundamental to both individual action and social organization. There is a dynamic relationship between individual agency and social structure, particularly in institutions, because they constrain and provide meaning to individual actions. Power is exercised through coercion, including physical violence, and through the manufacture of consent. The latter refers to the capacity of dominant groups to gain
consent for existing power relationships from those in subordinate positions (Tollefson 1991: 10).

Ideology refers to normally unconscious assumptions that have come to be seen as common sense. As ideology is largely unconscious, it is naturally conservative. There is a close relationship between ideology and power, because generally common-sense assumptions help to sustain existing power relationships. Also, ideology contributes to the manufacture of consent by shaping behaviour, more specifically, by helping to create assumptions about right and wrong, and acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Ideology is an intrinsic part of society itself because it arises from the actual practices undertaken by institutions in society. Institutional practices that ensure that power remains in the hands of the few are therefore seen as hegemonic practices (Tollefson 1991:10-13).

The new studies find that language planning is not ‘ideologically neutral’ (Pennycook 1995:39, Williams 1992:123), or ‘empty of ideological content’ (Tollefson 1991:11), but rather that the development of language policies is an ideologically positioned process, in which the prevailing discourses affect the language, focus and purpose of policies (Liddicoat 2007b:20.1). As language policies are seen as safeguarding the interests of powerful groups in society and promoting their views and ideologies, the new trend is to particularly look for ideologies, values and views that may lurk behind language policies disguised as solutions to language problems. This is because ideological processes are generally invisible and create inequality while making it appear as a given condition in the social system (Hornberger 2006:34, Tollefson 1991:10, 2006:43-4). Language modernization and standardization which influenced language planning in the past, and the policy of monolingualism which is often enforced explicitly or implicitly in monolingual societies are examples of such common-sense solutions to linguistic inequality that have the capacity to impose ideological control on diverse groups (Tollefson 1991:10, Williams 1992:127, Wiley 1999:17-18).
4.4 Social Justice Issues Caused by LP Decisions

New LP studies focus on social justice issues that have been caused by specific views and ideologies that influenced LP decisions. Chief among these is the theory of modernization, which was closely linked with the concept of linguistic homogenization. The new studies also focus on social justice issues that have been caused by more recent factors such as the spread of English to non-English speaking countries and the influx of immigrants and refugees to parts of the developed world.

Williams (1992:124-27) notes from ‘a theoretical sociological perspective’ (Fishman 1992:vii), that LP decisions in the past were influenced by the theory of modernization which was characterised by a specific world view that divided states into the modern and the traditional. While ‘modern’ was specified as having features of the western states to which the researchers belonged, ‘traditional’ was identified as lacking in these features. Therefore, most LP practitioners saw traditional languages as requiring modernization (Eastman 1983:117), which was seen as beneficial as it provided economic modernization to those less-developed states. The drive for modernization was closely linked with the notion of ‘a common language of wider communication’ (Eastman 1983:66) and the notion that linguistic homogeneity correlates with economic development, educational advancement and political modernization and stability (Fishman 1968:60).

However, the modernization theory was critiqued by sociologists and economists in the 1960s who argued that the lack of economic development in the traditional states was derived not from the lack of western traits or homogeneity, but rather from the exploitative nature of the relationship between the economically developed states and the subordinate underdeveloped states. Williams (1992:127) observes that this shift in perception that occurred in sociology and economics was not reflected in the field of LP concurrently. Fishman (1992:viii) however, welcomes the contribution made by sociological theories, hypotheses and methodologies to the field of sociolinguistics from which they had been absent before.

Although language planning had not developed as a field of study during the early language modernization phase of China (1911-1928), studies that extolled language
modernization were common in the literature on Chinese language. As the main obstacle to national unification was seen as the lack of a common language of wider communication, establishing a common spoken standard and establishing a common written form that reflected the spoken standard were the major language reform goals that China attempted to achieve at the time (Zhou 1986:7). Early writers saw language unification as the precursor to modernization of the character script and also as vital for the national economy and the people's livelihood (Wu 1955:62-3). Language unification was also seen as conforming with the natural evolutionary changes of the Chinese language (Zhang 1955:68).

In China, the attempt to bring about linguistic unification resulted in Mandarin being chosen as the language of wider communication as it was the largest of the eight dialectal groups of Chinese, and also because it had the largest body of vernacular literature which had been widely circulated all over China during several centuries. Consequently, putonghua based on the spoken varieties of Mandarin was recognised as the common spoken standard, while baihuawen in which a large body of widely circulated vernacular literature had been written over several centuries was chosen as the standard of modern written Chinese (Chen 1996b:227, Zhou 1986:8).

The approach of choosing one dialectal variety as the common language of wider communication was not without ramifications as it positioned speakers of other dialectal varieties at a linguistic disadvantage. However, social justice issues that resulted from language unification received the attention of writers only much later. Chen (1996b:227) notes that speakers of non-Mandarin dialects were particularly disadvantaged by this reform measure because of the vast differences that exist across the major dialect groups of Chinese, which make them as different as English from Dutch or Low German. Chen further notes that the imposition of baihuawen as Modern Written Chinese (MWC) displaced Classical Chinese writing which up until then had served as the common written language for all dialectal groups. The difference between the two written varieties was that while the classical variety was not associated with any of the dialects, MWC was the written vernacular variety of Mandarin speakers (Chen 1996b:224-5, 227). Moreover, the imposition of baihuawen as the common written form of Chinese also meant that non-Mandarin dialectal speakers had to acquire literacy through this variety. Although not seen as such by contemporary writers, the common spoken and
written standards of Chinese had the potential to create and sustain socio-economic inequality in Chinese society. This is because standard language, whether in written or spoken form, favours those who master it as it functions as a passport to good jobs and positions of influence and power in national and local communities (Fairclough 1989:59).

Heinrich (2005) shows that a similar view about language unification was present in relation to the Japanese dialects in the Ryukyu Islands during the Meiji period in Japan. Although dialectologists saw the Ryukyuan language varieties as distinct from those of the main islands, the Meiji government claimed that all language varieties within the boundaries of the state were part of the national language. Therefore, the Ryukyuan varieties came to be regarded as yet another Japanese dialect group, although one that deviated strongly from standard Japanese. As such, this dialect group was viewed as having a serious language problem that had to be fixed. As a result of this, Japanese language dissemination came to be pursued intensively in the Ryukyu Islands since 1879 through negative and coercive measures. Heinrich relates this view to the language ideology that became widespread across the world with the emergence of modern national states, which pressured minority language speakers to express their loyalty to the state by abandoning their mother tongue.

The recent spread of English to third world countries in order to modernize them is another aspect of LP that has received the attention of new LP studies. The new studies see this trend as linked to the theory of modernization that dominated language planning in the past. Tollefson (1991:82) sees the link as two-fold. First, English is seen as ‘a tool’ for the process of modernization. Second, monolingulism, preferably English, is perceived as beneficial for societies aspiring for modernity, while multilingualism is seen as a characteristic of unmodernized, traditional societies. However, the widely accepted belief that English is a tool for modernization is seen as incomplete because it fails to take into account the inequality and exploitation that the spread of English causes in developing countries, in terms of unequal relationships between developed and developing societies, and also in terms of institutionalizing inequality in developing societies (Tollefson 1991:83-4). The spread of English is also seen as detrimental to indigenous culture and identity (Tollefson 2002a:12-13, Tollefson 1995:5, Huebner
1999:12) as demonstrated by the impact on indigenous languages in the USA, Solomon Islands and Hawaii.

Pennycook (1995:40-1) shows how English functions as a gatekeeper to positions of prestige in society due to the vital position it has achieved in relation to education in many countries, particularly in the former colonies of Britain. This applies not only to countries which have largely chosen English as the medium of instruction such as Kenya (Pennycook 1995:41), but also to countries which have chosen local languages as the medium of instruction such as India and Sri Lanka. In the latter type, a small group of English-speaking elites continue with the same policies imposed by their former colonizers, sustaining access to English language education as a crucial determinant of social prestige and wealth. Parakrama (1995) and Ramanathan (1999) expose how this is enacted through language policies in relation to the teaching of English in Sri Lanka and India respectively, which are former British colonies.

Phillipson (1992:35-6) finds that the spread of English has destroyed cultural identity by imposing an economic order that makes workers and consumers lose their ties to traditional institutions, not only in the developing countries but also in the non-English speaking developed world. He exposes how arguments are used to legitimize English linguistic imperialism and how they are articulated in academic and political discourse and made to interact with popular sentiment so that they become part of common sense and draw nourishment from it. (Phillipson 1992:271). Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1999:112) note that the promotion of English and the spread of Western discourse practices and epistemology have led to the disintegration of indigenous cultural identity in parts of the Third World under Anglo-European influence, such as the Solomon Islands. McCarty (2002:286) observes that language policies in the US have taken their toll on indigenous languages, destroying approximately half of the 300 languages once spoken and subjecting around 90% of the remaining to imminent disappearance.

Critical analysts point out that similar to language modernization, linguistic unification and language standardization have been usually prescribed 'as panaceas for socio-economic ills' (Wiley 1999:17). In addition, monolingualism has also been generally perceived as the natural and ideal condition in multilingual societies. From this perspective, language diversity is seen as a problem that is largely a consequence of
immigration. Monolingualism is also commonly thought to have a positive effect on literacy development whereas multilingualism is supposed to have a negative one (Wiley 1999:25-6). However, critical analysts show that when a language or a language variety functions as a gatekeeper for employment and/or higher education, it becomes 'a key marker of socio-economic class and power' (Tollefson 1991:136).

Williams (1992:144-5) shows how standardization, which is a key feature of corpus planning, is not a passive process that arises from social consensus, because the state is closely involved in producing and reproducing the standard/non-standard distinction. He sees standardization as legitimizing inequality because choosing the dialect of the dominant class as the standard is legitimising the status of that particular class over other classes. Williams notes with reference to British English that it tends to be produced and re-produced in terms of a continuum, the ends of the continuum being Standard English and regional dialects. He emphasizes that a class dimension exists in these varieties, which involves the power elite of the dominant class on the one hand and the proletariat on the other, and that the legitimization of the hierarchical distinction between the two varieties is not politically neutral.

New LP studies have examined policies of monolingualism and language standardization in several different countries. Policies of language education and multiculturalism in Australia (Chiro 2010, Tollefson 1991); the English Only policy in the USA (Donahue 1995, Wiley1999); the Speak Mandarin Campaign in Singapore (Bokhorst-Heng 1999), and minority language policies in India (Schiffman 1996, Sonntag 2002) are some examples. These studies show how policies of monolingualism and language standardization have led to the marginalization of certain dialects and minority languages, the destruction of linguistic diversity, the loss of language rights, and the creation and sustenance of socio-economic inequality.

Of the studies that examined monolingualism in multilingual settings, those that explored Australian multicultural policies need particular mention due to the policy shift that has taken place in the recent past. Chiro (2010:113-14) traces the development of Australian multicultural policies - starting from the vision for a multicultural Australia that began to take shape under the Fraser Liberal-Country government in 1975 through the formulation of new policies that promoted multiculturalism under the Hawke-
Keating Labour governments from 1983 to 1996. Tollefson (1991:180) pays particular attention to the Lo Bianco Report of 1987 and the many language and multicultural programs that came in its wake as a result of its recommendations. The Report proposed a language policy with two broad social aims: universal English language learning, and social justice for those who do not speak English. It aimed to achieve the first through English as a second language programs and the second directly through native language education for children and the provision of information and services for those who do not speak English, and indirectly through increased contact among cultures resulting in enhanced tolerance and understanding of cultural diversity.

However, Chiro (2010:118) shows that these multicultural policies were not sustainable in later years due to the heightened perception within the Anglo-Australian majority that minorities, migrants and indigenous communities are a threat to their wellbeing. He views the election victory of the neo-conservative Howard federal government in 1996 as signalling the end of Australia’s multicultural experiment, rolling back thirty years of multicultural policies, and enshrining an enduring vision of Australia as a monolingual and monocultural society.

Similarly, Liddicoat (2010) examines the waxing and waning of state enthusiasm for language education in Australia over the past years. He traces how the National Policy on Languages (NPL) of 1987, which envisioned engaging all students in language learning throughout the years of compulsory education, was reduced to merely an expansion of the current level of participation in language learning with a focus on improving the quality of programs, under the Australian Language and Literacy Policy (ALLP) of 1991. This policy shift brought about a movement away from explicit mandating of language education in state and territory policies. While teacher supply was identified as a significant factor in the shifting of focus on language policies, Commonwealth policies failed to affect teacher supply and teacher education for which the Commonwealth had direct responsibility, leading to a dearth of necessary personnel to implement language policy goals (Liddicoat 2010:13-14, 19-22).

New LP studies have also explored the impact of monolingualism in the Chinese and Japanese contexts (Chen 1996b, Heinrich 2004, 2005, Yang 2007). Chen (1996b:224, 226-7) makes a note of the reluctance expressed by successive Chinese governments to
develop distinct writing systems for the main non-Mandarin dialectal groups. This is in spite of the fact that some non-Mandarin dialects, such as Cantonese, Wu and Southern Min have a literary tradition that serves some functions of a written language form, and that a written form would largely aid the preservation of the dialects and their cultural heritage. A major reason for the approach is that developing dialectal writing is seen as detrimental to the unity of China because the use of a common written form, as in Classical Chinese or MWC, is seen as providing a strong unifying force across the many Chinese dialects.

Yang (2007:5-7) examines the fierce promotion of putonghua in recent years undertaken by the Chinese government. He makes particular mention of the state declaration made in September 1998 to make putonghua the standard spoken tongue nation-wide by the mid-twenty-first century, and the Lanaguage Law that was approved in October 2000 to promote communication among diverse groups of speakers through putonghua and standard Chinese characters. He reveals how the Language Law has provided a powerful framework for a range of government actions by sub-national governments. For example, in Shanghai which is well-known for its local dialect, the municipal government has promulgated a set of rules to implement the Language Law in March 2006, according to which College and Vocational School graduates and students who major in teacher training and performance arts are required to achieve high standards in the putonghua test conducted by the Shanghai Putonghua Testing Centre. In addition, Shanghai local newspapers are not allowed to publish in the local dialect and cinemas and TV stations are not allowed to show films and TV dramas in the local dialect.

Heinrich (2005) focuses on the rapid disappearance of the Ryukyuan languages in Japan due to the promotion of standard Japanese in the islands. He notes that although a standard orthography has been established for the language varieties of the Okinawa Island group and teacher training has been introduced, Okinawan has not been introduced in schools, which means that education in both public and private schools is conducted exclusively in Japanese and it is not possible to study Ryukyuan even as a second language. He comments on the dichotomy observed in the current national and international language policies of Japan which ignores linguistic and cultural diversity within the country while recognising it on an international level.

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In addition to examining the inequality and exploitation caused by certain language policies, scholars have also focused on how ideological processes are produced and reproduced in societies and how they impact on language policies (Auerbach 1995, Blommaert 1999, Lo Bianco 1999, Pennycook 2001, Ramanathan 1999, Van Dijk 1989, 1998).

Blommaert (1999:11) observes that ideologies do not take root automatically, but are constantly reproduced by means of a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices, such as campaigns, regimentation in social reproduction systems such as schools, administration, army, advertisement, publications (the media, literature, art, music) and so on. Reproduction of ideologies leads to normalization, i.e. a hegemonic pattern in which the ideological claims are seen as normal ways of thinking and acting.

Van Dijk (1998:5-6) identifies discourse as central among social practices that reproduce ideology. This is because ideology is typically expressed and reproduced through discourse. To understand what ideologies actually look like, how they work, and how they are created, changed and reproduced, discursive manifestations of ideologies need to be examined carefully. Therefore, the goal of the critical analyst is to look for manifestations of ideology in discourse (Pennycook 2001:82). Van Dijk (1989: 22-3) further notes how discourse reproduction is controlled by power groups in modern societies. He explains how different power groups exercise power over the forms of reproduction, distribution and articulation of discourse, such as mass media organizations and their corporate owners and symbolic elites, such as journalists, writers, artists, directors and academics.

Lo Bianco (1999:44) explains how ideological processes impact on language policies. He distinguishes between explicit and implicit language policy by referring to the former as policy declared formally to usher in change, and the latter as existing practices that may have been established by past policy. He views the existing practices as entrenched or naturalised by the daily practices of schools, mass media and other such powerful institutions. He articulates the relationship between implicit and explicit language policy as the movement of selected policy from the undeclared domain which
exists as practice to the publicly announced domain. This process is coloured by the motivations of language planners, as well as their interests, ideologies, preferences and values, shaping and providing context for the selections made.

A number of LP studies have explored how hegemony is achieved through powerful institutions such as schools (Auerbach 1995:12, Ramanathan 1999:226-7, Tollefson 1991:7). Auerbach exposes how dynamics of power and inequality appear in every aspect of the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom, from the physical setting of the classroom to needs assessment, participant structures, curriculum development, lesson content, materials, instructional processes, discourse patterns, language use and evaluation. She draws attention to taken-for-granted practices that oppress learners in various ways:

We are forced to ask questions about the most natural-seeming practices: Where is the class located? Where does the teacher stand or sit? Who asks questions? What kinds of questions are asked? Who chooses the learning materials? How is progress evaluated? Who evaluates it?

Ramanathan (1999) examines how hegemonic practices adopted in relation to English language use in India keep English and the privileges associated with it out of reach of those who are disadvantaged due to their economic situation or caste or both. She observes that the Indian middle class assumes a position of relative power through its access to English and that institutional and educational practices in India keep this privilege within the reach of the middle class and inaccessible to low-income learners although motivation to learn English is very strong in the country. This discrimination goes on in spite of a widely circulating discourse of equal opportunity for learning English in the Indian school system.

In addition, some studies have revealed how the indirect acts of governing shape individual and group language behaviour. This includes the practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators and other state authorities, as well the rationales and strategies they adopt (Tollefson 2006:46-50). Pennycook (2002) shows that the policy on medium of instruction in colonial Hong Kong was not merely about selecting the language of education, but was rather a part of a broad cultural policy aimed at creating a docile
community that would be politically passive and willing to cooperate in its own exploitation; and Moore (2002) reveals how the Australian government in the 1990s successfully defined the views of linguistic minorities and professional English-language educators as factional concerns and thus marginal to policy-making dominated by government officials working in the national interest. Her analysis highlights the art of governing whereby state authorities harness moral and cultural mythologies to shape public opinion and control the range of policy options seen as legitimate.

4.5 Solutions for Social Justice Issues Caused by LP Decisions

In addition to probing the factors that cause inequality and discrimination in LP, the new studies have also explored possible solutions to issues of social justice brought about by LP measures. An important step in this direction is empowering those affected by LP processes in various ways. The new studies suggest that this can be done by providing knowledge and opening up opportunities for people to participate in the decision making process. First, cultural and linguistic empowerment needs to be provided to those who have been adversely affected by LP measures. Second, agents at the micro and meso levels should be empowered to enable them to play a more proactive role in the decision making process. Third, the target populations for whom particular policies are formulated should be enabled to participate in discussion and negotiation. The interest in empowerment that manifests itself in various forms in the studies stems from critical theory. As discussed earlier in the section, an important tenet of critical theory is that knowledge is power and that understanding the ways of oppression is a first step towards taking action against oppressive forces.

McCarty (2002:291) proposes special schools for indigenous populations in the US, schools whose goal is education in the broadest sense, that is, schools organized around principles of kinship and reciprocity in order to cultivate the talents and resources of the community, foster a sense of shared purpose and hope, and create a community around the school. She writes in detail about the local school in Rough Rock, Arizona, where the experiment was tried for the first time in 1966 with success. Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2002:313) make a similar proposal to broaden the concept of education in the rural areas of the Solomon Islands and other such contexts in the Third World, to include not just conventional schools, but village learning experiences, knowledge
construction, processes and activities anchored in local indigenous culture. They therefore, argue for schools that integrate Western and indigenous epistemology, praxis, pedagogy, and knowledge, giving them equal weight (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo 2002:322).

Some scholars believe that conventional methods of empowerment do not always help to eliminate socio-economic inequality. Bullivant (1995) critiques the ideology and rhetoric of empowerment reflected in the Australian language and cultural programs planned with the objective of empowering ethno-cultural minorities. He distinguishes several phases through which various pluralist ideologies have evolved in Australia since the major waves of immigration that took place in the period following the Second World War. He finds that each phase can be matched with a particular view of empowerment in which language has played a greater or lesser role. He argues that the debates over the ideology of multicultural education in Australia of the past tended to ignore the historical and structural basis for economic inequality, focusing instead on educational reforms which were incapable of resolving problems that have deep historical and structural roots.

Tollefson (1991:184-5) supports the above view by elaborating on how historical and structural factors impeded socio-economic advancement for migrant populations despite language and cultural programs provided by government policies in the past. He shows how English proficiency has been used in Australia to determine which individuals and groups have access to economic resources and political power. He explains how non-English speaking migrants are attractive workers for the large number of unskilled, low-paid jobs which are subject to the swings of boom and recession in the country. Due to issues relating to child care, transport and other problems, they find it difficult to make use of educational programs provided by the state to prepare them for work in an English-speaking environment. He argues that empowerment of marginalized groups cannot be achieved solely through language and cultural programs.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996:418) argue that particular groups at the meso and micro levels, such as teachers need to be empowered by providing a planning role in language policy development so that they can become policy makers instead of being mere policy implementers. One way teachers can make policy is by becoming researchers in
partnership with their students as a means of making changes in their lives insider or outside the classroom. Participatory research of this nature is seen as helpful to break down barriers between research, curriculum development, teaching, learning and evaluation. Teachers are seen as becoming catalysts for policymaking when they act in support of and in collaboration with students and their communities. Li (2010:447-49, makes a similar argument for the empowerment of English teachers in the PRC who at present play only a secondary implementation role in the language planning process. The inside knowledge that such people have about various related issues would provide them with the right context to participate in the decision making process in a major way. One way that this outcome can be achieved is by involving teachers in curriculum design and teaching materials selection.

Most new studies also acknowledge that sectors of the general population for whom the policies are made should have the opportunity to participate in discussions and negotiations of the policy-making process. Lo Bianco (1999:44) argues that to formulate language policies that transcend ideological colouring, it is participatory democratic processes rather than instruments of social sciences, such as surveys and questionnaires that will help. This is because what is required for an equitable selection of policy to be made is negotiating the selections with and ensuring that they are influenced by those most likely to be affected by the ultimate policy decisions.

Based on a review of language policies and language choices of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah (2005:440-43) stresses the importance of the agency of people in negotiating languages, policies and power in their favour. He observes how local people resist the Tamil-Only monolingual policy as well as the English Only policy in the English as a Second Language Programs and use creative strategies to negotiate the extreme policies. He therefore argues that there is a need for local and international policy makers as well as LP scholars to recognise the agency of subaltern communities to negotiate language politics in creative and critical ways. He recommends that an important responsibility for critical LP scholars is to help people see how they can negotiate their own interests in the face of imperfect and often unfair current policies.
Although seen as a beneficial measure, it may not be easy to establish the participatory policy-making approach. This is particularly so in countries like China and Japan where the socio-political context may not be adequately conducive to such an approach (see Section 3.7). It has been observed that in spite of the reform and open-door policy of 1978 and the open economy and the opening of society that followed in its wake, China’s political system still remains authoritarian (Zheng and Fewsmith 2008:1), and that censorship is still tight on all media in China, including the new electronic media (Brady 2008:119-20). Similarly, it has been observed that due to the regulation of civil society activity by the state (Hirata 2002:33-8) and a culture that values endurance and compliance rather than individual assertiveness (Carroll 200:114), social activism has not been strong in Japan.

In addition, it has been noted that there are factors other than those related to politics and culture that stand in the way of the participatory policy-making approach. Li (2010:448-9) observes in relation to teacher-involvement in national educational policy-making in China, that although the government has begun to encourage classroom teachers to become involved in the process of policy-making, the teachers’ indifference to policies and lack of enthusiasm about reform have contributed to their low status in curriculum development. She recommends that teachers themselves need to try to develop a more democratic environment by making professional advancement and volunteering to contribute to educational reform.

Even in democratically-oriented polities where a participatory policy-making approach is possible, there are factors that could stop it from working in a way that would yield productive results. This is attributed to the ideological underpinnings of language attitudes and language practices not only of the planners but also of the public participants themselves. In other words, the people themselves play a key role in their own victimization. Therefore, hegemony as domination by consent (Gramsci 1971 cited in Yoo 2005:4), or ideological power constituted by taken-for-granted practices (Fairclough 1989 cited in Yoo 2005:4) are likely to be active even in processes that are perceived as democratic decision making processes. What this means is that the influence of social structures and dominant ideologies on individual choices can still be very strong.
Ball (1993:11) sees policy as a process because policies are both contested and changing, and are always in a state of flux. While policies shift and change their meaning in the political arena, one important reason for this is that key policy actors change over the years. This leads to changes in the representations of policies, because policies are represented differently by different actors. Sometimes the change in key actors is a deliberate tactic to change the meaning of policy. Therefore, at all stages of the policy process, there can be different interpretations of policy, including interpretations of interpretations. And these attempts to represent or re-represent policy can lead to confusion among the public.

Just as policies have multiple actors, the texts in which policies are encoded are often not the work of single authors or of a single process of production. The texts are the product of compromises at various stages of the policy process, such as the points of initial influence, legislative formulation, the parliamentary process, and interest group articulation. For this reason, policy texts are not necessarily clear, closed or complete. To bring about some clarity and regularity to the encoding of policy, analytical schemes have been devised by policy scholars. The binary template devised by Ball (1997) for educational policy and the accounting scheme devised by Cooper (1989) for language planning policy are examples. These help to both describe and analyse policy.

Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992: 10) discuss the impact the state has on policy. Reviewing educational policy in the UK, they argue that the state control model of policy distorts the policy process. This model entails a linear conception of policy because policy makers and policy implementers are conceived as distinct and disconnected sets of actors. In such a linear conception of policy, theory and practice are not only separate but theory is also favoured. In addition, the language of implementation strongly implies that the government position within policy filters down through quasi-state bodies. Bowe et al further note that it is in the government’s interest to promote such a linear view of policy.

Policy authors also exercise power on the policy process because they make concerted efforts to assert control by the means at their disposal. One such resource is discourse. Gee (1990: 143) views discourse as ‘a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network’. Ball (1993:14-15) finds that discourse has an important role in relation to policy because the
struggle over the enactment and interpretation of policy is set within a moving discursive frame. In these terms, the effect of policy is primarily discursive.

Policy discourse constructs certain possibilities for thought by ordering and combining words in particular ways and displacing and excluding other combinations. As it is subject to such prohibitions, it is closely linked with desire and power. Moreover, policy discourse determines not only what can be said and thought, but also who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Therefore, it has the effect of making only what some people say or think meaningful or authoritative. Ball (1997:270-1) notes that in the field of education policy, while policy usually appears only in the interactions of politicians, administrators, teachers and researchers, parents appear only as consumers or clients and students as commodities. There is therefore no place for the standpoints of parents and students. The accounting scheme devised for language planning policy is a robust scheme as it helps to assess through the rubrics of ‘actors’ and ‘target population’ whether both groups are represented meaningfully and also whether the voice of both groups is captured effectively.

Fairclough (2000:132) provides an instance from British politics where public consultation is often simulated rather than genuinely activated. He reveals how the British Green Paper, which in the British system of government is a document where the Government sets out its plans for public consultation and discussion, is carefully managed through the use of promotional language by powerful politicians. There are also many instances in the text which suggest that the writer is looking ahead to the implementation of the reform when the purpose of the document is opening up consultation about the reform proposal. Based on this analysis, Fairclough concludes that it is a document which makes real dialogue difficult rather than encouraging it, as it claims to do.

As factors that affect the participatory policy-making approach exist in many socio-political contexts, various strategies have been suggested to overcome such influences. The strategies are mostly in relation to empowering people to stand up against oppression by educating the public about the potential damage that can be caused by macro policies. Some studies argue that LP researchers have a vital role to play in educating the public in numerous ways to make the participatory policy-making process
work in a meaningful way. Bringing to light issues of social justice caused by language policies is an important way in which LP scholars and researchers can make a contribution in this regard. Opening the public eye to equity issues and exposing the invisible links between language policies, social inequality and ideology would help the public develop a critical attitude in relation to language policies.

Donahue (2002:159) emphasizes the importance of developing an informed and sceptical citizenry in relation to language policy and educational reform. Commenting on the Official English policy in the state of Arizona, he observes that when anomie is the ordinary condition of modern life, it helps those in power to have an extraordinary advantage by manipulating ideological confusions. In other words, it helps those in power to sustain their positions by purposely confusing the public and private ideological certainties of the citizens. He suggests that modern citizens must react with an aggressive analysis of any public policy initiative which undertakes language planning or educational reform. Any urged reform must be scrutinized to find out whether there are any positive outcomes for the general public. It is necessary to be especially cautious about the use of coercive language in this regard. In order to adopt a critical linguistic approach to analyzing political and educational policy, it is necessary to identify and characterize all ideological strains which underlie policy initiatives. If such an analysis finds that ideas are incoherent, or inconsistent and mismatched, then it is likely that manipulation by those in power is present.

Tollefson (2002:4) proposes a bottom-up approach and recommends that the ability to critically read language policies should be developed in scholars and students in language policy studies so that the social and political implications of particular policies adopted in specific historical contexts could be understood. Tollefson argues that in order to do so, it is necessary to distinguish between the discourse of policy debate and the consequences of policies. This is because policy documents and the rationales offered for them by policy makers and state authorities are very often taken at face value. Developing a critical perspective towards language policy helps to understand how public debates about policies have the effect of precluding alternatives, making state policies appear to be the natural condition of social systems. In addition, such a critical perspective aggressively investigates how language policies affect the lives of individuals and groups who often have little influence over the policy making process.
Yoo (2005:4) suggests that educational settings are the best for developing the ability to read discourse in policy debate and to assess the potential effects of language policies. He recommends ‘critical pedagogies’ (‘education grounded in a desire for social change’) promoted by Pennycook (1994:297) as good candidates for this purpose. Developing a ‘critical eye for discursive intervention into LP’ on the part of students is seen as a prerequisite for a democratic policy making process.

Lo Bianco (1999:76) emphasizes the importance of investigating the ways in which consent for policies is manufactured by policy makers. To this end, he recommends two research approaches: conducting interviews with those affected by the decision making process and document analysis of official policy and other texts, media, and public addresses.

A number of other scholars have made observations about the importance of analyzing the construction of texts by LP researchers. Van Dijk (1989:28) notes that power elites have the ability to manage the control of relevant information by being selective about the information they provide, releasing information that is favourable to them and constraining information that is unfavourable. He notes further that such intentions are realized through various techniques used in texts. Fairclough (2003:71, 110) observes the importance of communication in modern societies and how communication is used strategically to manage public opinion and perceptions to bring about policy change. He views ideology as the ‘prime means of manufacturing consent’ (Fairclough 1989:4). Tollefson (2002:424) emphasizes the importance of examining ‘the role of public political discourse and the mass media in LPP processes, particularly the role of political leaders in shaping public discussion of language issues’.

### 4.6 Studies that Analyzed Policy Texts

While not many studies analyzed policy discourse, the few that did, seldom used a clear framework for data analysis. This affected some good analyses of policy discourse because they had the tendency to become subjective. Examples of such studies are MacCaluim and McLeod (2001), Dixon 2009 and Mulderig (2003).
MacCaluim and McLeod 2001 critically analyzed the Macpherson Report (the report of the taskforce on the public funding of Gaelic). They found that the report was short and not very detailed. They also found that it did not fully examine the existing means of support for Gaelic organisations such as existing arrangements and structures for public support. The researchers further noted that the recommendations made by the task force were vague and ambiguous, and that there were problems in the way in which the recommendations were justified. These included weak arguments and the provision of inadequate factual information.

A strength of this study is the attempt made to critique the document in terms of the adequacy of the information provided and the way in which it was presented. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, by critiquing the adequacy of the information provided, the reader can get an idea of whether or not the flow of information is being controlled by the writer. By analyzing the method of information presentation, it is possible for the reader to get an understanding of what the writer’s true intention is in writing the text. However, the fact that no clear analytical framework was used for either of these purposes is a considerable weakness. This is because it is not clear on what grounds the criticisms were made. This has the effect of making the analysis of the document somewhat subjective.

Dixon 2009 examined the assumptions relating to language planning and second language acquisition underlying Singapore’s language-in-education policy. He also examined how they are related to current theory in the field, and how the case of Singapore supports or challenges the different theories. This policy states that the majority of children should be taught in a non-native medium and their ‘Mother Tongue’ (an ethnic heritage language that is not necessarily spoken in the home) taught only as a single school subject. Dixon discovered four assumptions underlying the policy- Beginning a second language early leads to higher proficiency; more time devoted to learning a language will result in greater proficiency; the ability to learn more than one language is related to general education achievement in the language; maintaining the ethnic language will protect ethnic identity, sense of ‘rootedness’ and cultural values. As assumptions were not always explicitly stated, and may not be picked up by readers, it is important that researchers expose them for public scrutiny. In
doing so, Dixon has encouraged opposition to the policy by opening up an opportunity for struggle.

Mulderig (2003) is a study that stated the theoretical orientation of the study without explicitly stating the analytical framework that was used for data analysis. In this study which was carried out in the UK, Mulderig analyzed the representation of key social actors (the government, teachers and students) in education. Mulderig used two documents for this purpose- the 2001 White Paper Schools: Achieving Success, and the 2002 Green Paper 14-19: Extending Opportunities, Raising Standards.

Mulderig found that the government is represented as an enabler and a mediator in relation to the needs for reform triggered by the economic demands of the 21st century, and also as the collective will to succeed in it. This was achieved in the texts by a particular use of the word we which involved exploiting its referential ambivalence. With reference to the representation of pupils and young people, Mulderig found that both were represented as mainly passive, secondary actors who received support and guidance from the government, policies, teachers and schools. With reference to the representation of teachers, it was found that the ideal teacher was portrayed as being committed to addressing the needs of individual students and raising standards. The ideal teacher was also perceived as engaging in collaborative work, self-regulating, and constantly involved in upgrading his or her professional skills by making use of development programmes.

Taylor (2004) is one of the few studies that used a comprehensive framework for data analysis. The framework used in the study is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) proposed by Fairclough 2001 and 2003. In her study, Taylor investigates how CDA can be used to explore how language is used in policy texts. More specifically Taylor examines how CDA can be used to document hybrid genres and discourses, and to expose competing discourses and marginalized discourses. For her analysis, Taylor used extracts of text from three key policy documents- Queensland State Education 2010 (QSE 2010), Destination 2010 The action plan to implement QSE 2010 and Queensland the Smart State. By analyzing these documents, Taylor identified a subtle discursive shift in the policy implementation process that involved a marginalization of social democratic discourses, especially the discourse of active citizenship.
Another example of a study that used a comprehensive framework for data analysis is Lee Kean-Wah and Thang Siew Ming (2010). The study used an analytical framework consisting of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) based on Fairclough (1999, 2001). The framework was used to do a CDA analysis of the Malaysian Smart School Conceptual Blueprint, a concept that revolves around the notion of employing information and communication technology as one of the tools to support and improve the teaching-learning cycle. The policy document was produced by the Ministry of Education of Malaysia with the purpose of implementing the Malaysian Smart Schools (MSS). The researchers upon analyzing the document found that the Malaysian Smart School Blueprint policy like many texts can be considered a hybridised text containing competing discourses. This is a characteristic it shares with other texts found in government services.

A strength of both studies discussed above is the use of an analytical tool to analyze the chosen texts. This helps to obtain systematic information about strategies used in the documents to manage public perceptions and justify policy decisions. However, a weakness in the tool is that it does not appear to account for the amount of information given to the public in the document. This means that it is difficult to get an understanding of whether or not the document producer is controlling the flow of information for their own gain.

4.7 Need for Further Research

Although the importance of discourse analysis has been emphasized by scholars to investigate social justice issues, the approach has only been used to some extent in relation to education policy (Taylor 2002, Kean-Wah and Ming 2010), but much less in relation to language policy. Particularly, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is seen as appropriate for the analysis of policy-related documents because it helps to make an in-depth investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes and also how language works within power relations. It therefore provides a comprehensive framework which allows researchers to unravel how policy documents work.
Also, LP studies that investigated social justice issues through other approaches, examined the issues mostly in relation to the activity of status planning or language-in-education planning (see Section 4.4). There are hardly any studies that considered the issue in the corpus planning area.

Finally, no studies to date have been conducted on the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives announced in 2009, let alone on the possible equity issues that could be caused by these policies. Also, a detailed, comparative study has not been conducted yet on the LP situations in China and Japan, although they face similar challenges in their attempt to adapt the Chinese logographic script to the demands of the 21st century.

4.8 Summary

The chapter opened by providing a general overview of the field of LPP. This section included broad definitions of the field, different activities and approaches that constitute language planning, and frameworks that attempted to conceptualize the language planning and policy process with a particular focus on LP goals.

Next, the chapter distinguished between the early phase of LP influenced by the neoclassical approach, which focused on the apolitical analysis of technical issues, and the later phase influenced by the historical-structural approach, which focused on historical and structural pressures that lead to language policies.

The chapter then looked at some important factors that affect LP decisions such as agency, power, ideology and hegemony. The power of actors engaged in top-down LP processes and the process of ideological (re)production were discussed in relation to the impact they have on language policies.

The chapter next reviewed the literature on social justice issues caused by language policies and strategies that can be used to respond to the issues. While looking at the possible solutions to social justice issues, attention was particularly given to the need to raise public awareness about inequitable policies. The importance of analyzing policy-related documents was emphasized as a first step towards achieving this goal. This was
followed by a review of the small body of literature that has already made an attempt in this direction.

Finally, the chapter stressed the need for further research in relation to investigating social justice issues likely to arise from language policies. Such studies were particularly considered to be necessary in relation to the new character reform initiatives of China and Japan as they are relatively new and therefore, have not been studied much. As comparative studies of Chinese and Japanese script reform situations are also lacking, the value of such a study was highlighted in relation to the new script initiatives.

4.9 Conclusion

In order to respond to the unequal power relationship that exists between language planners and language policy recipients in top-down policy formulation processes, this chapter emphasized the importance of raising public awareness of inequitable language policies. While acknowledging the contribution that can be made by the analysis of policy-related documents in achieving this goal, the importance of using systematic and versatile tools for such analysis was also stressed. It was suggested that tools that help to analyze policy discourses to find out how discursive strategies are used to manage public perceptions need to be supplemented by tools that help to assess the adequacy of information provided to the public.
CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH DESIGN

The literature review in Chapter 4 identified a substantial body of research that explored social justice issues caused by language policies. These studies focused on the factors that cause such issues when formulating language policies, and proposed solutions to improve the situation. An important solution in this respect was examining language policies to expose any social justice issues that can be caused by these policies. This was considered to be necessary because information in such policies is usually controlled and strategies are used to manage public perceptions to manufacture consent for the policy decisions. Chapter 4 also suggested that examining the new script initiatives of China and Japan is both timely and pertinent in this respect. Chapter 5 describes the research design used in the present study for this comparative investigation.

The chapter begins by presenting the research questions developed from the problem statement and aim identified in Chapter 1. Next, the chapter identifies the qualitative approach as the research approach and the document analysis method as the research method chosen for the study. The chapter describes the chosen research approach and research method, and explains why they were chosen. This is done by referring back to the research questions to show that the research approach and research method were determined by the research questions.

The chapter then describes the data used in the study. To this end, the two document types used in the study are identified, namely, official documents posted on the websites of state language planning bodies of China and Japan, and online media documents that give information and engage in discussions about the recent script reform initiatives in the two countries. A description is provided about the two document types used, with reasons for choosing them.

Finally, the chapter describes the data collection and analysis methods used in the study. This is done by explaining how the documents were selected, how the data was extracted from the documents and how the data was analyzed. The analytical frameworks used for data extraction and analysis are identified as the Accounting
Scheme for the Study of Language Planning devised by Cooper (1989: 97) and the framework for Critical Discourse Analysis devised by Fairclough (2003:27). The two analytical frameworks are described and the reasons for using them are explained.

5.1 Research Questions

The literature review showed that due to the power exercised by official language planners, unjust language policies are likely to be formulated in top-down policy formulation processes. However, equity issues caused by such policies are generally concealed from the public eye when information is provided to the public about the policies. Therefore, many LP scholars have stressed the importance of analyzing the construction of policy-related documents by investigating the ways in which consent for policies is manufactured by policy makers. It has been specifically noted that power elites have the ability to manage the control of relevant information by being selective about the information they provide, releasing information that is favourable to them, and constraining information that is unfavourable. In addition, communication is used strategically to manage public opinions and perceptions to bring about policy change. It has been particularly noted that examining the role of official discourse and the mass media in LPP processes is relevant in this regard (Fairclough 2003:71, 110, Lo Bianco 1999:76, Van Dijk 1989:28, Tollefson 2002b:424).

The aim of the present study was to investigate on a comparative basis how the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives were communicated to the public by official language planning bodies and the media. In order to achieve this aim, the following two research questions were developed.

1) Was information provided to the public controlled? If so, how was this achieved?

2) Were public perceptions managed to legitimize policy decisions? If so, how was this achieved?
5.2 Research Approach

Scholars on research design emphasize the importance of choosing a research approach and method that is appropriate for the research questions (Evans and Gruba 2002, Punch 2005). They have also identified the differences between the two main research approaches: the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 2, Punch 2005:187, 237-238).

Quantitative research conceptualizes reality in terms of variables and relationships between them. It uses data in numerical form, and necessarily pre-structures data, because it is based on measurement. Probability sampling is generally used with samples chosen to be representative of a larger population, so that findings from the sample can be inferred back to the population. Therefore, samples are much larger than in qualitative studies, and generalizations through sampling are considered to be important (Punch 2005:187). In addition, quantitative research does not consider context of the data as central and therefore strips the data of its context. It uses well-developed and codified methods for data analysis, which brings objectivity to research and increases the capacity it has to replicate the research.

In contrast, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world, which means that the qualitative researcher studies phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to understand and interpret them in terms of the meanings people bring to them. It uses non-numerical data. In addition, qualitative research is sensitive to context and process. It also aims for in-depth and holistic understanding of situations. Therefore, samples can be smaller than in quantitative research as they can yield a large amount of data. Instead of probability sampling, a purposive sampling strategy is commonly used with some purpose or focus in mind. Also, unlike quantitative data that is necessarily structured, qualitative data may range from structured to unstructured. Holism and richness are the hall marks of qualitative data.

The research approach that is used in the present study is the qualitative approach. This approach was considered to be better suited for the study for several reasons. First, the research questions developed for the study are qualitative questions and therefore demand a qualitative approach. They indicate that the aim of the present research is to
study a process - the process of providing information to the public by official language planners and the media. The qualitative approach is better suited for process-oriented studies. Second, the investigation in the present research requires an in-depth study of a situation in its context, bringing to light the implications it has for the people involved.

However, the study uses data that is pre-structured, that is data with pre-established categories at the point of collection. Therefore, it leans more towards the controlled end of the research continuum for qualitative research. Consequently, this study also pre-specifies the research questions unlike some qualitative research where the research begins with only general questions, allowing the specific research questions to emerge as the study advances (Punch 2005: 23). Using pre-established categories for data collection was considered to be important for this study as they help to make systematic comparisons of data (Punch 2005:57). The present study is a comparative study and therefore comparison of data is central to the study. The study makes a number of comparisons across documents within each country and also between the two countries. The pre-established categories used in the study are categories that were identified in the frameworks used for data extraction and analysis (See Section 5.6 for more information).

5.3 Research Method

As with the research approach, what determines the research method is the research questions developed for the study. Some research methods that are commonly used in qualitative research are the interview method, the observation method, and the document analysis method.

In the qualitative approach, the interview is a method that helps to find out about people's views and opinions and their perspectives on the world, or obtain an account of an event or episode they have experienced, or a biographical account of their lives (Fontana and Frey 2000:646-647). Therefore, it is a good method to use when seeking to understand others.

Observation is a method that helps to learn about human activities and of the physical settings in which such activities take place (Angrosino and Mays de Perez 2000: 673).
Therefore, it is appropriate for research that seeks to understand the day-to-day life of people.

The document analysis method is appropriate for situations when the researcher is interested in looking beyond what people say to find out what they do and really mean. (Jupp and Norris 1993:46, Hodder 2000:705). The research method used in the present study is the qualitative document analysis method.

A document can be defined as any symbolic representation that can be recorded or retrieved for analysis. Document analysis refers to an integrated method for locating, identifying, retrieving, and analyzing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning. In the document analysis approach, all documents that are selected can be used as data (Altheide 1996:2).

The term ‘document’ is broader than ‘text’, because contemporary documents often express their contents in multi-modal forms. Therefore, in addition to words, documents frequently contain other elements such as pictures, diagrams, emblems and also sound, as in the case of an electronic document (Prior 2003:5).

Document analysis can be done using either a quantitative research approach or a qualitative research approach. The qualitative document analysis method is different from its quantitative counterpart, as it does not quantify data. For example, the content analysis method which is a quantitative approach, counts the frequency with which certain themes or words appear in a document. Therefore, content analysis is used in investigations based on questions that require quantitative answers. Content analysis is also typically concerned with the content and surface meaning that is manifest in a document rather than its deeper layers of meaning. Also, content analysis assumes that there are attributes, attitudes and values relating to individuals, and that these are represented unambiguously in the content that is manifest in documents (Jupp and Norris 1993:41).

The question whether to use a quantitative document analysis approach or a qualitative document analysis approach depends mainly on the aim of the study. The aim of this study was to examine the information provided to the public by official LP bodies and
the media about the new Chinese and Japanese script reform initiatives. More specifically, the study aimed to determine whether the information provided by these documents was controlled, and whether any special strategies were used to justify the policy decisions. As this study focuses on the process of information provision, a quantitative approach to document analysis, such as content analysis was not considered as suitable for the study. This is because the aim of the study cannot be achieved by quantifying data.

Another reason for choosing a qualitative document analysis method for the present study was its concern with more than the surface meaning that is manifest in documents. This is because the actual motives of language planners may not always be evident in the documents, especially if the policies are not equitable and raise undesirable effects. The qualitative document analysis method helps to uncover such deeper layers of meaning in documents.

The qualitative document analysis method that was chosen for this study is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis helps to explore how spoken and written language is used, how accounts and descriptions are constructed, and how complex processes are used in the production of social meaning (Punch 2005:224). Fairclough (2003:2-3) distinguishes between two important approaches to discourse analysis – approaches that include detailed analysis of texts and approaches that do not. Fairclough notes that the former focuses on the language of texts but tends not to engage with social theoretical issues, while the latter is inspired by social theory but tends not to analyze texts. Critical discourse analysis is an approach that attempts to transcend the division between the two approaches. It shows how language can be involved in ‘non-obvious ways in social relations of power and domination, and also in ideology’ (Fairclough 2001:229 cited in Punch 2005:224). This approach to discourse analysis places emphasis on the analysis of texts as well as on social theoretical issues. As such, it is more suited to this study than either of the other two approaches. This is because it aims to analyze official and media documents related to the new script reform initiatives of China and Japan, with a view to exposing how language may have been used to divert public attention away from any social justice issues that are likely to be caused by the policies.
5.4 Data

The study used documents to obtain data. A wide range of documents have been identified as sources that can be used for research purposes. These include documents such as completed surveys, interview schedules, official records and statistics, institutional memoranda and reports, government pronouncements and proceedings, newspaper or television news transcripts, photographs, field notes, diaries, letters, essays, personal notes, biographies and autobiographies. The increased technological capacity to record and retrieve information has expanded the range of potential documents. For example, video cameras have made it possible to document routine interaction (Altheide 1996:3, Jupp 1996 cited in Punch 2005:184-5).

Documents that are relevant to research have been categorised into three groups according to their type: primary documents which are the objects of study, such as newspapers, magazines, TV newscasts, diaries, or archaeological artefacts; secondary documents which are records about primary documents, such as published reports about primary documents that are one step removed from the initial data source; and auxiliary documents which are neither the main focus of investigation nor the primary source of data for understanding the topic although they can supplement a research project (Altheide 1996:3).

Documents are viewed as a valuable resource for research because historical and contemporary documents provide a rich source of data (Punch 2005:184). They are also considered as important because they can have causal effects on contemporary society, which can be short-term or long-term. In the short-term, documents can cause changes in people's knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values. They also have longer-term causal effects, such as the impact that the prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts can have on people's identities as consumers. Understanding these consequences and effects are seen as important in order to raise moral and political questions about contemporary societies (Fairclough 2003:8, 14).

The documents used in the present study are primary documents. Documents are particularly important for the present study because they are a major vehicle through which language policies are disseminated to the public. Also, policy related documents
play an important role at the stage of seeking public views about language policies. This applies particularly to the release of draft character lists in character based communities like China and Japan. At such moments, the usual practice is to release the lists with written texts explaining the reasons for compiling a new list or revising an existing list along with the rationale for including and excluding certain characters. A major focus of the present study is to examine this type of document to find out what information is given to the public and how the information is presented. Thirdly, at this stage of a script reform initiative, media play an important role in disseminating information about the reform initiative. This task is usually carried out through written documents.

The study used a collection of online documents written about the new Chinese and Japanese script reform initiatives announced in 2009. The collection consisted of two types of documents: official documents published by state script reform authorities and media documents. Official documents were used to find out what information was provided to the public about the initiatives and how the information was presented. This was an important aspect of the investigation as it aimed to find out whether the information flow to the public was controlled in a way that favours the official script reform authorities that represent the state. Media documents were used to find out the role the media play in disseminating information about the new script reform initiatives, more specifically, whether the media reproduced information, views and ideologies expressed by the official documents. This was considered to be important because the media could serve as spokespersons for powerful individuals, organizations, or the state due to their ability to strategically control information.

The study used online material for a number of reasons. With respect to the official documents, online material is more accessible to the general public due to its constant availability at the touch of a button, when compared with obtaining the information from the relevant departments or through other avenues.

With respect to the media documents, online newspapers are more popular among the public today than the printed form and are more likely to be read. Also, using online media documents give the researcher the opportunity to access a wide variety of media material by visiting websites other than the regular news sites, such as those owned by business groups and information and technology organizations.
More importantly, the Internet is a powerful communication medium which is instantaneous in effect and global in scope. Also, it is multimodal because it can combine all the traditional media types of audio, video, text and imagery. This means that it can simultaneously perform the functions of all the traditional media at a much higher speed. The speed of publication is particularly important for this study as the time allowed for public feedback on the draft character lists is approximately one month in both China and Japan. This means that rapid postings on the Internet can be expected at this time, as it is a special advantage not shared by traditional print-base media.

5.4.1 Official Documents

The study used three official documents published about the new Chinese and Japanese script reform initiatives. The official documents were obtained from the websites of official bodies responsible for the formulation and dissemination of language policy in China and Japan: the Jiaoyu Bu (Ministry of Education (MOE)) and the Yuyan Wenzi Yingyong Yanjinsuo (Research Institute of Applied Linguistics/RIAL) in China, being the two institutions responsible for the compilation of the Tongyong Guifan Hanzi Biao (List of Standard Common Characters); and the Bunkachō (Agency for Cultural Affairs) in Japan, being the institution responsible for the compilation of the Shin Jōyō Kanji Hyo (New Jōyō List).

The RIAL was set up within the Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Yuan (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences CASS) in 1984 and is under the dual administration of the Guojia Yuyan Wenzi Gongzuozuo Weiyuan Hui (State Language Commission (SLC)) and the MOE. It functions as the research arm of the SLC. The RIAL’s daily research activities concern all aspects of language planning in China. A major part of its activities is related to studies on theoretical and practical issues concerning the sociolinguistic application of language and script. In addition to providing research-based support for LP decision-making, the RIAL also performs several other functions, such as editing and publishing LP journals, conducting training and testing activities and arranging consultative services on language affairs (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:74).

The Bunkachō (Agency for Cultural Affairs) in the Monbushō (Ministry of Education), Japan, comprises the Kokugo Shingikai (National Language Council (NLC)), which is
responsible for formulating official language policy. The NLC was established in 1934 to replace its predecessors, the Kokugo Chōsa Iinkai (National Language Research Council) (1902-1913) and the Rinji Kokugo Chōsakai (Interim National Language Research Council) (1921-1934). The Japanese Language Section of the Ministry oversees the running of the administrative affairs of the NLC, and also disseminates the policies it formulates once they are accepted by the government. The Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo (National Language Research Institute) established in 1948 is the research arm of the NLC, and provides much of the material for the policy deliberations of the NLC (Gottlieb 2001:24-6).

Two official documents were obtained about the new Chinese script initiative, one published by RIAL on 12 August 2009 (Chinese Preamble hereafter), and the other published by the MOE on 19 August 2009 (MOE Document hereafter). The document published by RIAL consists of 132 pages. It is entitled the List of Standard Common Characters and consists of the new character list and a preamble to the list. The document published by the MOE consists of eleven pages. It is entitled ‘Answers to questions about the List of Standardised Characters’. It is a document that was published in China Education Daily, which is an MOE publication intended to serve the needs of leading cadres, teachers, students and other staff employed in education institutions. One official document was obtained about the new Japanese initiative published by the Agency of Cultural affairs on 16 March 2009. The document consists of 224 pages. The document is entitled the Shin Jōyō Kanjihyō Shian (Draft New Jōyō List) and consists of the new character list and a preamble to the list. These documents were selected as they were the best sources of information about the new lists, being the most comprehensive and relevant documents posted on the official websites. Section 5.5 describes how the documents were selected and the sampling strategy used in the selection procedure.

The Chinese Preamble has a title page headed, Tongyong Guifan Hanzibiao Zhengqiu Yijian Gao (The List of Standard Common Characters- version released for public comment), followed by a table of contents and a section with the heading, Tongyong Guifan Hanzibiao Shuoming (The List of Standard Common Characters- an explanation). The document gives information about the new list under eleven numbered points. The headings cover information such as the nature of the List, the
total number of characters, the number of tiers and the number of characters in each tier and the resources used to compile the List. The Preamble also gives information about the changes that have been made to the existing list of characters, such as, the number of characters that have been newly simplified, the number of variants and complex characters that have been revived, the number of character shapes that have been adjusted. The section, "The List of Standard Common Characters- an explanation," was the only section with text to analyze.

The MOE document is structured under ten sections, dealing with the following information: the significance of implementing the List of Standardised Characters, the principles upon which the List is based, the nature of the List, how the List will be used in various areas after it is announced, the logic behind the tiers of the List and the number and type of characters in the first and second tiers, the nature and the source of the third tier, the rules used when collecting characters for the third tier, the range of use of the characters in the third tier, how the List will deal with the variant problem, how the List will deal with the problems caused by characters simplified by phonetic substitution, and the adjustment to Song style fonts.

The Japanese preamble consist of a preface, part I which gives information about the List, Part II the actual character Lists and Part III which tells the reader what reference material was used. Part I is structured as follows: The section title, 'Part I Basic reasoning' appears at the top of the page with information given under the following main headings: '1. The development of the information society and the nature of the character policy'; '2. The nature of the New Jōyō Kanji List'; '3. How the characters and on and kun readings were selected'; '4. How the character shapes were chosen'; and '5. Other related information.' Part II begins with an introductory section explaining how to read the character lists. Then the main list is presented showing all the characters followed by a set of additional lists. Part III contains a list of the 191 newly added characters, the changes made to the on and kun readings and examples of the how to use characters that have the same shape but different kun readings.
5.4.2 Media Documents

The study used a total of thirty online media documents published about the new Chinese and Japanese script reform initiatives. In order to choose the most relevant documents for the study, only documents written about the proposed new character lists were chosen. This is because devising new character lists is fundamental to the new initiatives.

The Chinese media documents chosen for the study can be placed into three categories, based on the type of website from which they were obtained. The first category consists of news texts from reputed news websites such as *People.com.cn*, *Xinhua Net* and *Guangming Wang*. The second category consists of news texts that appeared on large commercial China-based web sites such as Sohu.com and Sina.com. The third category consists of news texts that appeared on other sites such as provincial news websites, and the websites of a reputed business magazine.

The Japanese media documents can be placed into two broad categories, also based on the type of website from which they were obtained. The first category consists of texts from the websites of reputed newspapers such as the *Asahi Shinbun* and the *Yomiuri Shinbun*. The second category consists of texts from other news websites such as 47 news and *Tokyo Web*, IT sites written by specialists and the websites of businesses.

5.5 Document Selection Procedure

The study used purposive sampling when choosing the documents to obtain data, which is a sampling strategy used in qualitative research. This means sampling in a deliberate way with some purpose or focus in mind (Punch 2005:187). The focus in the present study was on online official and media documents written about the new Chinese and Japanese character lists formally announced in 2009. Examining documents written about the new character lists was important as they are the main feature of the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives. Purposive sampling therefore helped to weed out material that was not directly relevant for the study. An example of a document that did not provide relevant information about the new script initiative was a report about the situation of language use in China. This document gives information about various
aspects of language and script use such as the situation regarding the current use of characters. The name of the new character list was mentioned once and only very briefly in the body of this document when discussing another issue. More information is given later in this section about how purposive sampling was used to eliminate this type of document.

The document published by RIAL was found by accessing the homepage of the Research Institute of Applied linguistics through http://www.yys.ac.cn/. The search word, tong yong guifan hanzi biao (通用规范汉字表, The List of Standard Common Characters) was typed in Chinese characters in the search box on the website. The search resulted in a document consisting of the draft character list which was released for public comment on 12 August 2009, along with a section giving information about the list. The section giving information about the list (Chinese Preamble hereafter) was approximately four pages in length. As it was a brief document, a search was conducted on the website of the Ministry of Education for a more substantial official document.

The document published by the MOE was found by accessing the homepages of the Ministry of Education through http://www.moe.edu.cn/. The search word 通用规范汉字表 (The List of Standard Common Characters) was typed in the search box on the website. This resulted in a number of documents containing information about the new character list. However, only one of these contained a substantial amount of information while the other documents only mentioned the List in the course of discussing another matter. The most comprehensive document appeared to be giving answers to questions that were raised in relation to the list. The document consists of eleven pages.

The draft of the new Japanese List was accessed through the website of the Agency of Cultural affairs at http://www.bunka.go.jp/. The search was carried out by entering the word Shin Jōyō Kanji Hyō (新常用漢字表, The New Jōyō Kanji List) in the search box on the homepage of the website. This resulted in a page with a number of links that matched the search word. The topmost link was about gathering public opinion about the new list. Clicking on this link brought up another page with instructions on how to give feedback about the new list and a link to download a copy of the list. The document that was downloaded consisted of the draft of the new Japanese List.
and a section giving information about the list (The Japanese Preamble hereafter). This section was approximately twenty pages in length.

In order to find media documents published on the new official character lists, the two search words 通用规范汉字表 (The List of Standard Common Characters) and 日本的新常用汉字表 (Japan's New Jōyō Kanji List) that were first typed in the official websites were next typed in the Google search box. This resulted in a number of media documents containing information about the new character lists.

Of these, only documents that appeared on news websites and other professional sites such as those of businesses were chosen. This was done in order to make sure that this sample of documents did not include any blogs. Care was also taken to make sure that the word 通用规范汉字表 (The List of Standard Common Characters) and the word 新常用汉字表 (‘The New Jōyō Kanji List’) appeared in the titles of the documents. This was to ensure that the whole document was written about the new character lists as it is unlikely that documents that only mention the search words in the body of the document would result in a sufficient amount of data to analyze.

5.6 Data Extraction and Analysis Procedures

A modified version of the language planning accounting scheme devised by Cooper (1989:97) and a modified version of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework devised by Fairclough (2003:27) were used to extract and analyze data. While Cooper’s Accounting Scheme helps to find out whether adequate information has been provided about a language planning situation, it does not help to find out whether any special strategies have been used to win the consent of the audience. Similarly, Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis framework helps only to analyze the manner in which information is presented to the public, but does not help to assess the adequacy of that information. Therefore, both frameworks were used together so that one would complement the other, allowing for a more comprehensive analysis.

Cooper’s Accounting Scheme comprises eight main LP categories including some subcategories. The eight main categories are Actors, Behaviours, Target Population, Ends,
Conditions, Means, Decision Making and Effects. To keep the analysis manageable, a preliminary analysis was conducted to choose the most relevant categories for the study. Therefore, the scheme used in the study is a modified version of Cooper’s Accounting Scheme. The modified version used in the study is given at the end of this section.

Fairclough’s CDA framework comprises three categories, namely, Genre, Discourse and Style. Genre concerns activity, such as reporting, explaining, and persuading. Discourse concerns representation, that is, how aspects of the world are represented. Style concerns how people identify themselves in discourse. Style is more concerned with how an individual writer identifies himself or herself in discourse. As the focus of the present study is how information is provided to the public by official LP bodies and the media as a whole rather than how a particular writer in the group provides such information, style was considered to be less relevant for the study. Therefore, only Genre and Discourse were used as the pre-established categories for this study. The modified version of Fairclough’s CDA framework used in the study is given at the end of this section.

First, data was extracted from the chosen documents using Cooper’s accounting scheme. This was done by going through each document using the eight categories specified by Cooper to identify information that fitted each pre-established category. Data extracted was compiled under the pre-established categories for each document.

Next, data was extracted using Fairclough’s CDA framework. First, a preliminary analysis was carried out to categorize the information in the documents into themes. This was done to analyze the presentation techniques in the documents in smaller segments so that variation within documents would be more visible. Two main themes emerged from this analysis: factors that led to the new script initiatives and policy decisions made to respond to issues with the script. The former was named the representation of factors and the latter was named the representation of official action. Next, information under each theme in each document was scanned to extract data that was relevant for the categories of Genre and Discourse identified by Fairclough (see Chapter 7 Introduction for more information about the procedure). The data extracted was compiled under the respective themes for each document.
The data extracted under Cooper's accounting scheme was assessed to find out whether the information provided was controlled for any of the eight LP categories. The data extracted under Fairclough’s CDA framework was assessed to find out whether any special strategies were used under the two categories of Genre and Discourse to manage public perception and justify policy decisions. The data was then compared across official and media documents within each country as well as between the two countries in terms of the pre-established categories.

Cooper’s accounting scheme was chosen for analysis as it is a robust framework that allows the researcher to systematically assess the adequacy of the information given about a language planning situation. As it helps to analyze the information under eight LP categories, it allows the researcher to assess the adequacy of the information provided on different aspects of the initiatives under study. The data obtained by applying the framework to the documents is invaluable in determining to what extent the script reform bodies and the media control the flow of information. This is significant as managing the control of relevant information is an expression of power according to (van Dijk 1989:28). In addition, it also helps to find out on exactly which aspects of the initiatives the inadequacies are most prominent. Moreover, Cooper’s framework allows detailed comparisons to be made in terms of the eight categories between the two countries, as well as across the official documents and media within each country. More information about Cooper’s LP Accounting Scheme is given in Appendix 1.

**Modified Version of Cooper’s Accounting Scheme**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What actors</th>
<th>Eg: Formal elites, influentials and authorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Attempt to influence what behaviours | A. structural (linguistic) properties of planned behaviour (e.g. similarity)  
B. purposes/functions for which planned behaviour is to be used |
| Of which people | Type of target (e.g. primary v. intermediary) |
| For what ends | A. overt (language-related behaviours)  
B. latent (non-language –related behaviours) |
| Under what conditions | A. situational (events, transient conditions)  
| | B. structural  
| | 1. political  
| | 2. economic  
| | 3. social/demographic/ecological  
| | C. cultural  
| | 1. regime norms  
| | 2. cultural norms  
| | 3. socialization of authorities  
| | D. environmental (influences from outside the system)  
| | Informational (data required for a good decision)  

| By what means | (e.g. authority, force, promotion, persuasion)  
| Through what decision making process | A. Formulation of problem/goal  
| | B. Selection of alternatives  
| With what effect | Predicted consequences  

Fairclough’s CDA framework was used in the study as it helps to systematically analyze presentation techniques used in texts. This is because, the chosen dimensions of, Genre and Discourse help to show how discursive strategies are used to legitimize policy decisions. Therefore, the analysis of presentation strategies used by applying the framework is useful in determining to what extent top down language planners manage the perceptions of the public.).

**Modified Version of Fairclough’s CDA Framework**

| Genre | Activity  
| | Reporting/ persuading/ explaining  
| Discourses | Representation  

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5.7 Summary

The study used the qualitative approach and the document analysis method as they are the most appropriate for the research investigation identified by the aim and research questions. This is because the aim of the study was to explore how information was provided by official Chinese and Japanese language planners and the media about the new script initiatives formally announced in 2009. It was not possible to achieve this aim by quantifying surface data, as it required an in-depth analysis of documents that shows how written language is used, how accounts and descriptions are constructed and how social meaning is produced in documents.

The study used online official and media documents written about the new Chinese and Japanese script reform initiatives to obtain data. Official documents were used because top-down language planners produce such documents to convey information about new policies to the public. Media documents were used because they not only help to disseminate information about policies but also provide a forum for debate and discussion. Purposive sampling, which is a qualitative sampling strategy, was used to select the documents for the study.

Two frameworks were used in the study to extract and analyze data, namely, the framework devised by Cooper for the study of language planning and the framework devised by Fairclough for Critical Discourse Analysis. Data was extracted from the chosen documents by using pre-established categories specified in the two frameworks. The data was then assessed to find out whether the information provided was controlled and whether public perceptions were managed to justify policy decisions. Next, comparisons were made across the official and media documents within the same country and also between the two countries in terms of the pre-established categories to understand the approaches adopted by the different document producers.
5.8 Conclusion

The chapter explained why a qualitative documentary analysis approach was chosen to carry out the investigation identified by the research aim and research questions of the study. However, a structured approach was adopted by using pre-establishing data collection categories to enable the many systematic comparisons of data that are intended to be made in the study. It is expected that the combination of the two approaches will strengthen the study by complementing each other. Similarly, two analytical frameworks were used to answer the research questions developed for the study, which also complemented each other. It can be concluded that the combination of different approaches makes the research design of the current study a robust one.
CHAPTER 6
ANALYSIS 1: CONTROL OF INFORMATION

Chapter 4 observed that those in power have the ability to manage the flow of information to the public by being selective about the information they provide, releasing information that is favourable to them and constraining information that is unfavourable, and that such intentions are realized through various techniques used in texts.

This chapter presents the results of the investigation conducted to find out whether the information provided to the public in the selected documents was controlled. This is the first of the two investigations conducted in the study to examine how information is presented in the documents.

The investigation was carried out by analysing the documents using Cooper's LP Accounting Scheme (1989:98), more specifically, by applying the eight LP categories identified in Cooper's scheme to each document type chosen for the study. To achieve this, each document was scanned for any information that might fall under each of Cooper's categories. The information thus gathered was arranged by category under each document.

The highlights of the information gathered from the four document types is now presented under each of the eight categories identified by Cooper. This arrangement allows all the information relevant to a category extracted from the different documents to be viewed under that category, and also to make comparisons across the documents under each category. The information provided by the two Chinese official documents is considered together as the purpose of this analysis was to find out what information the public received from the official language planning bodies and not the information that each individual document provided. The information is presented first for the Chinese official documents, second for the Chinese media documents, third for the Japanese official document and last for the Japanese media documents.
6.1 Analysis of Strategies that help to control information

This section presents the results of the investigation conducted to find out whether the information provided to the public was controlled. It points out areas where the information was controlled and also focuses on the strategies used to control the information. At the same time, it makes comparisons across the different documents in terms of the eight variables identified by Cooper.

**Actors:** Cooper’s framework mentions three categories of actors. They are formal elites, influentials and authorities.

Of the Chinese official documents, only the Preamble makes a direct reference to actors. The document refers to only one type of actor mentioned in Cooper’s framework - language planning authorities. For example, the Preamble explicitly states that the Ministry of Education and the *Guojia Yuyan Wenzi Yingyong Weiyuanhui* (National Committee of Language and Script Work) implemented the List of Standard Common Characters. However, this information only refers to LP authorities who are merely government officials who represent the state. The information does not establish which power elites are responsible for the new initiative. Providing this information is particularly necessary in the Chinese context due to the role that has been played by powerful and influential individuals in script reform in the past. An example is the revival of six complex characters when the General List of Simplified Characters was republished, purely on the insistence of a political elite and against the better judgement of the State Commission of Language Work (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:231). The absence of detailed information about the powerful, higher level actors could therefore create ambiguity about the people who are actually responsible for the reform.

The Chinese media documents also refer only to language planning authorities as actors but they do so with more detail than the official documents. Language planning authorities are sometimes referred to by the specific Ministries or by the specific government departments they represent, as the Ministry of Education, or the Committee of National Language and Script work. Sometimes, the language planning bodies they represent are referred to generally as ‘government departments’. Language planning authorities are also referred to by their names, such as Li Yuming and Wang Ning, and
sometimes more generally as ‘expert scholars’, ‘researchers’ etc. However, similar to
the official documents, the media documents do not say who is responsible for the new
initiative at a higher level, nor do they clarify the role played by the officials as in the
Japanese Preamble.

The Japanese Preamble specifically states the actors responsible for the new initiative,
similar to the Chinese Preamble, but mentions more actors and also more details about
their responsibilities and their specific actions than the Chinese document. The actors
that are mentioned are the Monbukagakudaijin (the Minister of Education, Culture,
Sports, Science and Technology), the Bunkashingikai (Culture Deliberative Council),
Kokugobunkakai (the National Language Subcommittee), the Keigo Shōiinkai
(Honorifics sub Committee), the Kanji Shōiinkai (Kanji Sub Committee) and the Kanji
Shōiinkai Wāingu Grūpu (Kanji Subcommittee Working Group). The Japanese
Preamble also refers to another actor (presumably educators), when it states that the
expectation (presumably of the official LP authorities and the government they
represent) is for the new characters to be taught in an appropriate manner. However, the
reference is made in a vague, indirect manner as it does not state explicitly who has this
expectation and/or who is expected to carry out the said task.

The Japanese Preamble provides a detailed account of the actions carried out by some of
the explicitly stated actors in the policy formulation process. For example, it states that
on 30 March 2005, the Minister requested the Culture Deliberative Council to refer the
two items known as the ‘Formation of a specific policy relating to Keigo (honorifics)
and the ‘Type of kanji policy that is needed in the information era’ to the National
Language Subcommittee for examination. At its 29th meeting on 16 May 2005, the
National Language Subcommittee established the Keigo Subcommittee and the Kanji
Subcommittee to examine the two items.

The Keigo Subcommittee compiled a draft report based on its work under the name
‘The Guidelines for Honorifics’. The report was approved by the general meeting of the
Deliberative Council on 2 February 2007 and was submitted to the Minister. Similarly,
after serious discussion about relevant issues, the Kanji Subcommittee established the
Kanji Subcommittee Working Group at its 17th meeting on 17 October 2007 to conduct
specific work related to the matters under discussion. The Working Group conducted
the work that was deemed necessary by the Kanji Subcommittee and prepared a draft plan for the Subcommittee to examine.

The series of events given above helps to understand not only the actors responsible for the new character policy, but also the role they played in policy formulation. The Monbukagakusho (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology/Ministry of Education) comes out clearly as the initiator of the policy in the account provided.

The Japanese media documents refer to actors briefly as the Ministry of Education, the Committee of experts of the Ministry, the Agency of Cultural Affairs, and the Culture Deliberative Council. They therefore, refer not only to the Ministry that is responsible for the initiative but also to the officials within the Ministry who carried out various activities in relation to the revision of the list of characters, and other relevant LP bodies. However, they do not mention anyone above the level of the officials and also do not explain how the officials fit into the policy formulation process.

The Japanese media documents also refer somewhat indirectly to schools. Although they are generally implementers of the policy, they would have to take an expanded role when teaching the new characters. This is because the authorities have left open some aspects related to the teaching of the new characters. For example, although it is specified that the new 196 characters will be taught spread across several years of junior high school, the number of new characters to be taught in each year nor the exact characters to be taught are not specified.

Similarly, while it is stated that not all the new characters will be tested at university examinations, the characters that will be tested are not identified. As a result, teachers will be required to make important decisions in relation to the choice of characters that need to be focused on at different levels of secondary education, as well as for university examinations. The media documents attribute this to the differences among high schools in terms of academic achievement, which do not allow the formulation of a uniform policy for the teaching of the new characters.
Decisions made by language educators in relation to the new characters to be taught at different levels in high school may be viewed as policy decision or implementation by different groups. Cooper (1989:89) observes in relation to the above issue that ‘what appears as implementation at one level may be policy at another’. Cooper further points out that while a municipal school board running a bilingual education program for selected minority groups would not view the choice of textbooks for the program as a policy decision, the teachers who make the decision could view it as such.

**Behaviours:** Cooper’s framework mentions two main categories related to the behaviour that language planners intend to influence. They are mainly comparing structural properties of the planned behaviour with those of the existing behaviour and stating the functions of the planned behaviour. These categories are important because they show the extent of the changes made to existing policy. Cooper says that when there are only a few differences between the old and the new behaviour and also within the new behaviour, and when the extent to which the new behaviour will be applied is clear, there are more chances for the public to adopt the new behaviour.

The official Chinese documents specify a number of structural properties of the new list. First among these is the number of tiers, the number of characters, and the type of characters in the new list. The new list has three tiers, with 3,500 characters in the first tier, 3,000 characters in the second tier and 1,800 characters in the third tier. The first tier contains frequently used characters, the second tier less frequent characters and the third tier characters for special use.

The documents further mention that while 103 characters were deleted from the existing first tier, 103 new characters were added to replace them. Also, 500 characters were deleted from the total of 7,000 characters in the existing list, and a new tier was added with 1,800 characters. In addition, the documents mention the revival of some variants, the simplification of some traditional characters, and the shape adjustment of some Song style fonts.

The documents also compare some structural properties of the new and the old lists. For example, comparisons are made in terms of the coverage of characters in the first and second tiers. While the addition and deletion of characters has improved the coverage of
characters in the first tier, the deletion of characters has not decreased the coverage of characters in the second tier. However, comparisons are not made between the type of characters that were deleted from the list and the new characters that were included. More specifically, comparisons are not made in terms of the type of words in which the deleted characters and the new characters occur.

Comparisons are also made in terms of the type of characters included in the two lists, but mostly in relation to the third tier. An important difference between the two lists in this respect is that the new third tier includes characters that are commonly used in specialist areas. For example, some characters in the new third tier are those that only publishers may need to produce but which many people may need to read, such as characters used in medicines, food and drink nutrition and in classical Chinese teaching material used in schools.

Again, some characters in the third tier are those required in names of people and places which are not high frequent characters because they are not famous names. However, they are required frequently in service areas, such as post offices, financial institutions, and transport.

The documents also mention the function/purpose for which the new list is planned by specifying the context in which it is to be used. For example, it is stated that the new list will be implemented as the standard for character use in areas of common use in society, that non-list characters will be allowed only if they are historical common use characters, that the simplification of non-list characters and the use of non-list characters in surnames will be allowed only with permission, and that the revived variants will have their range of use specified by a note attached to the list.

However, there is ambiguity surrounding handwritten character use because it is not stated explicitly whether non-standard characters can be used when writing characters by hand. As a result people are left to wonder whether they can use unofficial characters in public spaces and for calligraphy.

The Chinese media documents mention the number of tiers in the new list and the number of characters in each tier. The information is the same as that provided by the
official documents in this respect. In addition to this, the media documents also describe the type of characters in each tier. For example, the first tier consists of most frequently used characters that mainly satisfy the character usage needs of basic education and the popularization of culture, the second consists of characters of lower frequency, and the third consists of characters needed for specialist areas closely linked with the lives of the masses and the popularization of culture.

The Chinese media documents also mention that the new list contains fifty-one variants that were revived from among previously abolished variants which are mainly required in names of people and places.

The media documents compare structural properties of the two lists in terms of the total number of characters, types of characters that have been deleted and types of characters that have been added. Although the total number has increased by 1,335, some characters have been deleted from the existing list. Among the deleted characters are dialectal characters, variants, and characters used in old jargon. Among the new characters are six revived traditional characters and fifty-one revived variants. It is stated that not many traditional characters have been revived and that China’s policy of using simplified characters remains unchanged.

The media documents also mention some functions of the new innovation, such as the limited range of usage for traditional characters and revived variants. For example, they can be used only in specific place names and surnames. However, the documents are ambiguous, because similar to the official documents, they do not state whether standard characters apply to handwriting.

There are some inconsistencies in the information provided by the official documents and the media documents in terms of the new behaviour. The official documents do not mention that there were dialectal characters among the characters deleted from the list. Also, the official documents give the reason for reviving variants as improving clarity in written expression, while the media documents give the reason as providing characters required in personal and place names. The official and media documents create ambiguity as they report the same change made to the list of characters in different ways. This is likely to cause confusion to the public.
The Japanese Preamble refers to the changes made in the new list. Among the major changes mentioned is the addition of 191 characters to the list. Also mentioned are changes made to the pronunciation of some characters, such as the deletion of one *kun* pronunciation of a character and the addition of pronunciations used in contemporary society, as was felt necessary. The number of the added pronunciations are not specified. The document also states that the practice of handwriting will be re-introduced into the school curriculum.

The Japanese Preamble also compares structural properties of the existing behaviour (The *Jōyō Kanji* List) with those of the new behaviour (The New *Jōyō Kanji* List). According to the Japanese Preamble, the New *Jōyō Kanji* List is similar to the *Jōyō Kanji* List in terms of the nature of the list because it is a collection of the most commonly used characters that are used in day to day situations in social life such as law texts, public documents, newspapers and broadcasts. Another structural comparison that is made between the lists is in relation to the definition of the term, ‘*kanji* use.’ According to the Preamble, the use of *kanji* in general levels of society refers to the *kanji* knowledge of those who have completed compulsory education and have experienced general social life to a certain degree. This definition is the same as that given in the existing *Jōyō Kanji* List. Making these comparisons to show how similar the old list is to the new list will, according to Cooper (1989:98), help to make the new behaviour desirable among the general public.

The Preamble also notes a difference between the two lists in terms of the shape of characters added this time. It explains that when the *Jōyō List* was compiled in 1981, the shape of the new characters added to the list was modified to be compatible with the shape of characters in the existing list. When compiling the New *Jōyō List* however, the shape of the new characters added will not be modified. However, any complications that may arise due to the lack of homogeneity in character shapes is also not explained.

The Japanese Preamble also clearly states the functions of the new list by specifying the contexts in which it is to be used. The Japanese Preamble, however, does it more comprehensively than either of the two Chinese official documents. For example, it is stated that the list is to be used as a guide for general contemporary Japanese texts used
in society, such as law texts, public documents, newspapers, magazines and broadcasts. The list does not apply to specialist areas such as science, technology and the arts, but it is expected that characters on the list will be used when representing specialist words that are widely used in society. Neither does it apply to the representation of proper nouns. However, exceptions can be made in the case of *kanji* used in the names of places (prefectures) which are common use characters. Also, the list does not apply to the printing of ancient texts written by famous writers. People are expected to use their discretion in such situations depending on the circumstances with respect to the use of characters on the list. Most important of all, the Japanese Preamble states that the list does not apply to handwritten texts. This is an important notification as people are not left to wonder whether list characters apply to handwritten communication or not. In this respect, the Japanese Preamble is not ambiguous about this aspect of the reform, unlike the Chinese official documents.

The Japanese media documents mention a number of changes made to the existing character list which also includes comparisons of structural properties between the two lists. Among the differences mentioned are the addition of 196 characters, the deletion of five characters, the increase in the total number of characters to 2,136 characters, the addition of characters with many strokes that are difficult to write, the addition of eleven characters used in place names, the addition of the pronunciation of characters, and the addition of characters with their original shapes.

The Japanese media documents also refer to the functions of the new behaviour. Similar to the Japanese Preamble, it is said that the list will function as a guide. However, the media documents mention an additional function as well. The new function is in terms of teaching the new characters in schools. It is specifically stated that the new characters will not be taught in primary school. It is also stated that only the pronunciation of characters will be taught in junior high school and that the writing of the new characters will be taught in senior high school. It is also indicated that of the 196 new characters, students will be required to write by hand only those characters that are not difficult to write. From the point of view of the educators, this information is ambiguous. This is because the number of characters to be taught for hand writing will be interpreted in different ways by different educators.
**Target population:** Cooper mentions two categories of targets in his language planning framework. They are individuals/organizations and primary/secondary targets. He also mentions opportunities provided for the target population to learn the new behaviour as another important aspect that needs to be covered under this variable.

The Chinese official documents do not directly state who the target population is, which makes this aspect ambiguous. Instead, information about the target population is contained within information provided under other variables. For example, when describing the means of implementing the new initiative, which is the Language Law, the official documents specify that it will apply to organizations, such as all national organizations, schools and other providers of education and the hospitality industry.

According to this information, the primary target population comes out as organizations. Although this implies that individuals who work in these organizations or use their services will become secondary targets, this information is not explicitly provided.

Again, when providing information about the variable of Behaviour, the official documents mention that the new behaviour will apply to the names of all new-born babies. The target population in this situation can be understood as the parents of the new-born babies. This information however, is given when describing the type of characters included in the new third tier of the list.

The Chinese media documents do not mention the target population either directly or indirectly.

Similar to the Chinese official documents, the target population is ambiguous in the Japanese Preamble because it does not identify these groups clearly. They are implied when it is stated that the new characters will be taught in an appropriate manner in schools, by taking into consideration the developmental stage of young students. This group could therefore be taken as educators.

In contrast to the Preamble, the Japanese media documents refer to both primary and intermediate targets, directly and indirectly. Some primary targets mentioned are document producers in government departments, newspapers, magazines and broadcasts,
and those who write words half in characters and half in kana, high school teachers and writing instructors, and educators who set Japanese language examinations. These primary targets are mentioned directly. Some intermediate targets are junior and senior high school students who are required to learn the new characters and senior high school students who will be taking university entrance examinations. These targets are mentioned indirectly, because references to these groups occur within information provided in relation to how the new characters will be taught in schools. This information includes elaborate information about learning opportunities available for students. For example, the 196 new characters will not be all taught in the final year of junior high school as was the practice after the introduction of the Jōyō List. Instead, the load will be spread across several years of junior high school in order to reduce the burden on students. It is also reported that the teaching of the new characters will be split in terms of recognition and writing of the characters. While recognition of the new characters will be taught in junior high school, only the writing of the characters will be taught in senior high school. Also, the testing of the new characters will begin only after a period of three years.

The information given about the teaching and testing of the new characters positions the Japanese media documents in a better position than the Chinese media documents in relation to information provision. Although the number of new characters added to the set of educational characters is fewer under the Chinese initiative, the increase is still substantial, and requires information about learning opportunities provided for the target population.

**Ends:** Cooper mentions two categories of ends in his framework. They are overt ends which are language-specific and latent ends which are non-language-specific.

The Chinese official documents mention the overt, language-specific ends, to a large extent. Foremost among these is solving the difficulties experienced in specialist areas due to the lack of characters. Four types of words are specified as lacking necessary characters. They are personal names, place names, science and technology terms, and Classical Chinese expressions in teaching resources for primary and junior high school.
Other language specific ends mentioned in the official documents are reflecting the different needs people have for different characters by devising a tiered list; improving the clarity of written expression by reviving variants, and unifying character shapes by adjusting the shape of Song style fonts.

The official documents also mention non-language specific ends as facilitating the smooth operation of computers and implementing the Language Law to regulate character use. The MOE document stands out among the Chinese documents as it mentions a non-language specific end that is not mentioned in any of the other documents. This is the reference it makes to the new national strategy which is of paramount importance to the nation, so much so, that it is compared to a pillar that supports the nation. The MOE document states that script standardization will help the nation achieve this goal.

Similar to the official documents, the media documents also mention both language-specific and non-language specific ends. They are mainly responding to people’s language use which has changed dramatically in the information era, reviving variants to be used in surnames out of respect for people’s family traditions; adjusting character shapes to bring them in line with the Song fonts so that character shape will be regular and systematic; unifying existing character standards, regulating the characters in information databases to facilitate the smooth operation of IT applications; promoting standardization of the national language and the script; and facilitating the smooth implementation of the Language Law.

The Japanese Preamble mainly mentions several overt, language-specific ends. Chief among them are: assessing the effectiveness of the Jōyō Kanji List to function as a guide for contemporary kanji use at a time when information and communication technology is developing rapidly and making an impact on kanji use; dealing with proper nouns which until now have not been the target of a clear national policy; revitalizing the practice of handwriting as the rapid spread of information processors has resulted in less opportunities for people to write characters by hand in day to day situations; and formulating a general kanji policy which takes into consideration all the kanji that are used in Japan including JIS Kanji and characters for people’s names.
In the Japanese media documents, Ends are generally framed as Effects. Chief among these are reducing the use of *mazegaki*, enabling characters to be read correctly and words to be converted into the correct characters (when typing), enabling students to read a large number of new characters in junior high school, enabling people to use non-list characters with furigana, and updating the existing official list to reflect contemporary character use and also to respond to the changes in character use brought about by the use of information and communication technology. These goals can be taken as language-specific goals some of which were determined by the use of information and communication technology. The goals reflect an attempt to aid character recognition for online reading and word-processing.

**Conditions:** In Cooper’s framework, five types of conditions are mentioned as possible factors that could affect language planning contexts. They are situational, structural, cultural, environmental and informational conditions.

According to the official Chinese documents, one important situational condition that prompted the new character standardization initiative appears to be the rapid technological change that is occurring in the country. The official documents identify the cause for this rapid change as the new national strategy. The changes associated with this phenomenon resulted in an expansion of the use of language and an expansion of the use of computers in the service sectors. These factors led in combination to an urgent need for characters required for several specialist areas such as names of people, names of places and science and technical terms used in daily jargon.

The official Chinese documents also mention several structural conditions as having prompted the new initiative. Among these are political factors such as the need to implement the Language Law introduced in October 2000 and the need to address problems created by previous script policy.

The Chinese media documents mention situational and structural factors, similar to the official documents. The situational factors are the dramatic change that has occurred in language use in 21st century China, and the rapid development of information technology, both of which have resulted in the need to expand the range of character use and standardize the script. However, they do not attribute these changes to the new
national strategy, as the official documents do. The structural factors mentioned are the implementation of the Language Law and rectifying problems caused by previous script policy. In addition to the situational and structural factors, the media documents also mention cultural factors in the form of family traditions in relation to the revival of variants. This factor is not mentioned at all in the official documents.

Cooper stresses the importance of truthfulness in information given about an LP situation and suggests that the critic should verify the information against external sources (Cooper 1989:47). The discrepancies that surface between the official documents and the media documents in relation to the category of Conditions create considerable ambiguity about the actual reasons that led to the new reform.

The Japanese Preamble also mentions some situational factors that prompted the new policy initiative. They are related to technological change, in the form of the development of information and communication technology and the resultant spread of information processors such as mobile phones and computers. According to the Preamble, these factors have caused character use to change dramatically. The Japanese Preamble refers to a structural change when it states that the Jōyō List was compiled before the computer era and should therefore be updated to reflect contemporary character use.

The Japanese media documents refer mainly to a situational change, namely, the change that has taken place in relation to the widespread use of information and communication technology and its impact on character use. The perceived changes in character use are the ease with which difficult characters can be produced on information and technology processors, and the exposure people now have to many characters that they are not familiar with and cannot produce by hand. The Japanese media documents do not refer to the structural change mentioned in the official document. Similar to the Chinese documents, the discrepancies found between the official and media sources in relation to the category of Conditions make people wonder about the actual reasons that triggered the reform.

**Means:** Four types of means are mentioned in Cooper’s model for the implementation of language policies. They are authority, force, promotion and persuasion. According to
Cooper, authority rests on legitimacy and consists of three categories: rational legitimacy which rests on the perceived lawfulness of the rules, traditional legitimacy which rests on the sanctity, authenticity, or greatness of the tradition which the ruled perceive the ruler upholding and representing, and charismatic legitimacy which rests on the perceived sanctity, heroism, nobility, or other valued characteristic of the ruler.

Although the means of implementing the new initiative appears to be the Language Law, the official documents do not provide this information directly. It is given as a condition that demands a standard list of characters to be implemented. Implementing the new list by a special law means that it will be implemented by authority. However, there is some ambiguity about this means of implementation as the Chinese official documents do not mention whether there are penalties for non-compliance.

Similar to the Chinese official documents, the Chinese media documents also mention the Language Law as the method of implementation. An interesting deviation however, is the effort made to acquire traditional legitimacy in the name of national culture.

The Japanese Preamble mentions that the New Jōyō List will function as a guide for character use. The Preamble however, goes to great lengths to counteract the view that a character list does not serve any purpose and to establish the view that a list is required. This shows that out of the four types of means mentioned by Cooper, promotion and persuasion are the means used to implement the list. In addition, the new character list will be implemented not as a guide but as a compulsory measure in all schools, requiring students to acquire the new characters and also the ability to write them by hand. This imposition is an example of using institutional practices to enforce the official list of embedded characters. However, this vital piece of information comes through indirectly contained within information given about learning opportunities.

The Japanese media documents indicate that the new official list will function as a guide. This implies that the means of implementation is based on the discretion of people. However, they also refer to the teaching and testing of characters in schools which implies that education institutions will also be used as a means of implementing the new list. This makes the nature of the list and the means of implementation ambiguous.
because although the list is called ‘a guide’ it is not implemented as one in all social contexts.

**Decision Making Process:** Cooper mentions a sequence of activities in relation to the decision making process that can be applied to language planning. They are: the identification of the problem, the search for information relevant to the problem, the production of possible solutions, the choice of one solution, the implementation of the solution and a comparison of predicted and actual consequences of action. Of these, identifying the problem is particularly important because the way one defines the problem affects the whole policy set to deal with the problem.

Both China and Japan identify the problem with their respective scripts as a problem that has come up due to rapid technological development, and not as the difficulties that arise from the attempts made to use an archaic logographic script for the needs of a modern society. As a result of this, their policies are geared to amending the scripts instead of considering other options to solve the problem, such as phonetizing the scripts.

Decision making also includes how language planners select among alternatives in an effort to standardize terminology, orthography etc. Descriptions of their selections of alternatives, their weighing of alternatives, and the outcome of that weighing are vital to an understanding of the inclusion and exclusion of items.

As mentioned under the variable of Behaviours, the Chinese official documents provide information about the decision making process in relation to the selection of characters for the new third tier. However, they do not provide similar information about the decision making process in relation to the deletion of characters from the previous list. This creates ambiguity about the efficacy of the list as some readers could interpret it as a change that affects written expression in non-specialised contexts. As a substantial number of characters have been deleted – 135 characters from the previous first tier and 500 characters from the previous second tier – this ambiguity could lead to confusion among the public.
The Chinese media documents mention that the choice of characters in the first and second tiers of the new list is based on the frequency of usage. They differ from the official documents as they provide a decision making criterion for the addition and deletion of characters in the first two tiers.

The Japanese Preamble provides much information about how characters were selected for the New Jōyō List. This is an important aspect of the LP process as it provides transparency in relation to the choice of characters. For example, the document mentions that the new characters added to the Jōyō List were chosen because they were high frequency characters with high combinatory potential, or characters that are necessary because they make expression clearer, or are required in place names, or are widely used in society, even though they may not be high frequency characters. Similarly, some characters of high frequency were not selected if their combinatory potential is low, or they are frequently used only in proper nouns.

**Effects:** Cooper emphasizes the importance of comparing the predicted or hoped for consequences of a policy with the actual outcome of that policy. In order for this to take place language planners are required to specify the predicted outcomes of a policy before implementing it.

The official Chinese documents mention only the expected benefits of the policy initiative. The expected benefits are closely linked with the expressed purposes. For example, the main benefits are the facilitation of contemporary character usage, the facilitation of information technology and the implementation of the Language Law. Having a character standard that is able to reflect the different needs people have for different characters, providing the characters necessary for data storage in computers and for specialist areas, obtaining a unified set of fonts with standardized shape and improving clarity of expression are other expected benefits. However, the official documents do not deal with any of the negative impacts that are likely to be caused by the initiative.

Chinese media documents mention a range of positive effects that are likely to flow from the new initiative. Some positive effects mentioned are the effects on primary and junior high school language education, effects on culture, the development of science
and technology and the daily lives of people. In addition to these, solving the variant problem, the character issue in relation to simplified and complex characters, the character shape issue, and the facilitation of information data storage and information exchange are also mentioned as positive effects. It is very rarely that the media documents mention negative effects. One such effect is that some people will have to change their ID cards due to the changes made to the shape of characters.

Similar to the Chinese official documents, the Japanese Preamble mainly gives information about the expected benefits of the new initiative. Among these are achieving a character list that can be used as a guide, which takes into account the widespread use of information processors, and developing the ability in the community to use characters properly.

In contrast, the Japanese media documents refer to both positive and negative effects of the policy. The main benefit is improving written expression by making more characters available for general use. This includes eliminating the practice of mazegaki (the practice of writing words partly in characters and partly in kana), increasing the diversity in writing, and improving the quality of written documents. The ability that junior high school children will have to read a large number of new characters is also seen as a benefit.

Among the stated negative effects are the complications that would arise in relation to the use of computers and the confusion that would arise in relation to the teaching of the new characters in school. The first is said to occur as a result of not changing the shape of the new characters to fall in line with the existing characters. The second is said to occur as a result of not identifying the exact characters that should be taught in each grade at junior and high school level. The pressure that will be placed on school students is also seen as a negative effect.

6.2 Summary

This chapter investigated the control of information provided to the public in the Chinese and Japanese official and media documents. Information from the documents
was analysed separately for each document type under the eight variables identified by Cooper.

The analysis revealed that the information provided by the Chinese official documents was not satisfactory for any of the variables. The information provided by the Japanese official document was found to be satisfactory for three variables only, namely, for Actors, Behaviour and Target Population. The reason for this situation was that there was frequent ambiguity in the information provided by the Chinese and Japanese official documents.

The information provided by the Chinese media documents was found to be satisfactory for two variables only, namely, for Target Population and Effects. Although the information provided for Actors, was not wholly satisfactory, the media documents provided less ambiguous information for Actors. Similarly, while information provided about negative effects was totally left out in the official documents, this aspect was not altogether absent in the media documents. While the media documents did not mention the national strategy as a condition, they provided more information about the deleted characters and the revived variants than the official documents. Similar to the official documents, the information provided was not always explicit.

Although the media documents left out information about the national strategy, leaving room for ambiguity in relation to the category of Conditions, they were less ambiguous about the deleted characters and the revived variants than the official documents.

The information provided by the Japanese media documents was satisfactory for three variables, namely, for Behaviour, Means and Effects. Although the information provided for Ends was not adequate, more information was provided about language-specific Ends, which indicated that language and script improvement was central to the new initiative. However, the decision to revitalize the practice of handwriting did not feature prominently in the media documents. The implicit information given about the variable of Target Population indicated that instead of functioning as a guide in all contexts, the new character list functions as mandatory in relation to some contexts. The information provided by the media documents was not always explicit.
6.3 Conclusion

It can be concluded that both the Chinese and Japanese documents attempt to control information provided to the public about various aspects related to the new initiatives. The fact that the Chinese official documents do not provide satisfactory information on any of the variables is perhaps due to the more stringent nature of this initiative when compared with the Japanese. The major difference between the two initiatives is that the Chinese initiative adopts a character reduction policy enforced through a special law, while the Japanese initiative adopts a character expansion policy and leaves character use to the discretion of individual users most of the time.

The media in both countries do not appear to provide an active public forum for language policy debate, as evidenced by the role they play in generally maintaining the status quo in relation to the challenges posed by the logographic scripts. However, neither do they play a totally servile role to the government as indicated by the provision of some vital information that is not provided by the official documents. The Japanese media documents particularly provide a more balanced picture about costs and benefits of the new initiative when compared with the Chinese.
CHAPTER 7
ANALYSIS 2: MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS

It was suggested in Chapter 6 that language planners in both China and Japan tended to control information that was not favourable to them when providing information about their respective character initiatives to the public. The main strategies used in this regard were not providing adequate information and not providing information explicitly. However, the literature showed that top-down language planners are also likely to manage public perceptions in order to justify their policy decisions. Therefore, the documents were analyzed again to find out whether any strategies were used for this purpose. This chapter presents the results of this second investigation.

The second investigation was carried out by analyzing the documents using Fairclough’s CDA Model (2003:27), more specifically, by applying the categories of genre and discourse identified in Fairclough’s model to each document type chosen for the study. Analyzing the presentation techniques in the documents under these pre-established categories was considered to be important to pinpoint similarities and differences within documents and between documents. As a preliminary analysis showed that the information in the documents falls into two major themes, the information was analyzed under each of these themes, wherever possible. This was achieved by first analyzing the information that belonged to the first theme in a document in terms of genre and discourse, and then doing the same with the information that belonged to the second theme in the same document. The procedure was then followed with each document type used in the study. This strategy was expected to surface further variations present within the documents. The two themes are 1) factors that led to the new initiatives and 2) official action carried out under the new initiatives. The former will be referred to as the representation of factors and the latter as the representation of official action.

First, the chapter presents the results of the analysis under the two major themes and makes comparisons between the two themes within each document type. This is an important comparison because it shows on which aspect of the initiatives the document producers made a greater attempt to justify policy decisions. At the same time, the chapter makes comparisons across the different documents to show which strategies
were used in the different documents to justify policy decisions. Next, the chapter focuses on the similarities and differences that were found between the official documents of each country and the corresponding media documents. This comparison helps to show the extent to which media documents followed the official documents.

Quotations are given from the relevant documents to illustrate the use of various techniques when appropriate. All quotations used in this chapter are given in the form of English translations. The translations are the author's own. Codes were created to identify the quotations, ranging from 3A to 3E. 3A identifies the MOE Document, 3B the Chinese Preamble, 3C the Chinese media documents, 3D the Japanese Preamble and 3E the Japanese media documents. Quotations that belong with each document or document type are presented under the relevant code in a numbered sequence. In addition, a glossary is provided in Appendix 2 to explain the presentation techniques that are referred to in this chapter.

7.1 Intra-Document Comparisons

This section makes comparisons between the two main themes under which the data were analyzed: the representation of factors that led to official action and the representation of official action. Information gathered from each chosen document type is presented under each of the two themes. The information under each theme is also presented in terms of the dimensions of genre and discourse identified in Fairclough's framework (Fairclough 2003:27).

MOE Document/Representation of Factors: In the MOE document, the factors that led to official action are given under the heading 'The Significance of Implementing the List of Standard Characters in Modern Chinese'. The section consists of five paragraphs. According to the MOE document, several factors contributed to this outcome: information technology needs; contemporary language needs; and demands of the Language Law. The first factor was triggered by the new national strategy developed at the turn of the century, for which information technology was of paramount importance and which required a set of standard characters for its operation. The second factor was triggered by the emergence of science and technological terms into daily language use and the computerization of record keeping and data retrieval in a number of service
areas, both of which required an updated list of standard characters. The third factor was triggered by the introduction of the Language Law in October 2000 which also required a new standard list of characters for its implementation.

The textual analysis shows that the above section appears to have two main purposes: the purpose of informing the reader which factors led to the implementation of a new character standard, and at the same time persuading the reader that a new character standard is indispensable. Genre is usually defined in terms of the purpose of the activity that goes on in a text (Fairclough 2003:70-1). In these terms, the section can be viewed as having a hierarchy of purposes – the relatively explicit purpose of presenting the factors that led to the development of the new standard character list, and the higher implicit purpose of convincing the reader that the answer to the specified social and linguistic needs is the implementation of a new list of standard characters. The persuasive nature of the text was observed at a number of different levels.

The global or higher level semantic relation in the section is that of the problem-solution relation which is very commonly found in policy documents. The problem is presented in the section as the lack of an up-to-date set of standard characters which is required for a number of purposes: to develop information technology, to address contemporary language needs and to implement the Language Law. The solution is presented as implementing a new character standard. The section describes the character standardization initiatives carried out in the past by previous governments. It also represents the current character situation where past standards are not capable of coping with the challenges placed by the modernization of society in general, and by the development of information and communication technology in particular. It represents the urgent need for a new character standard in relation to three different purposes: development of information and communication technology, addressing the needs of contemporary language use and the implementation of the Language Law.

The problem-solution relation helps to position the current character situation as going through a crisis and in need of a solution. It not only helps to represent the current situation as a problem, but also helps to define the problem in a particular way. In this particular instance, the problem is defined as the incapacity of past script standards to meet the needs of contemporary society, and the solution is identified as the
implementation of a new character standard to replace the old standards. Framing the problem and solution in this particular manner helps to divert attention away from the fundamental problems that underlie the character script and seeking viable options to resolve the problems.

The genre evident in the representation is the report genre, as shown by the local semantic relations between clauses and sentences which are predominantly those of addition and elaboration. The report genre is commonly used in policy documents. What is special about this report, however, is that it is an account that merely creates an impression of the current character situation rather than a concrete picture of the situation. This is a feature of the hortatory report genre which is increasingly used in policy documents. Such texts often appear to be promotional than analytical, concerned more with persuading people that the proposed policies are the only practicable policies than with opening up dialogue (Fairclough 2003:96). They are descriptions with a covert prescriptive intent, aimed at getting people to act in certain ways on the basis of representations of what is happening at present. The description of the impact of modernization on Chinese language and society is an example.

This particular description constructs the current socio-linguistic situation in China as a critical problem that is facing the entire nation. Legitimization is the main technique that is used to create this effect. The type of legitimization used is mythopoiesis (legitimization conveyed through narrative). The technique helps to conjure up a picture of a transformed China which has been swept over by a new wave of modernization. Although not a narrative, this particular use of legitimization can be considered a form of mythopoiesis as it helps to create the impression of a socio-technical upheaval (Fairclough 2003:99). The description consists of a string of claims about the changes that have taken place in the language and in the society. None of the claims are supported by any evidence. As a result, the reader is stormed by one unsupported claim after another within a short stretch of writing. (3A1-3A5 give examples to illustrate how unsupported claims are used to achieve this effect).

3A1 In the past 20 years, following the modernisation of our country and the rapid development of informatization work, language use in our country changed dramatically

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3A2 The development of scientific technology and the rise in the standard of education have caused scientific and technical terms to expand and enter people's daily lives. The breadth and depth of the link between language standardization and the development of society is unprecedented (MOE 2009).

3A3 The print industry has replaced mechanical printing with laser printing as the main means of publication (MOE 2009).

3A4 Dictionary compilers mainly use computers ....... (MOE 2009).

3A5 In social life, government departments in charge of household registers, post offices, financial affairs, and insurance and the hospitality industry already use computers for data storage and retrieval ....... (MOE 2009).

Claims about the socio-linguistic changes that are said to have taken place in contemporary China help to legitimize the proposed policy. In other words, particular policies are portrayed as made inevitable by the way the world now is. This strategy is now commonly referred to by the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's famous expression, 'There is no alternative', widely known as the TINA principle (Fairclough 2003:99). It is for this reason that policy documents tend towards report, particularly the hortatory report, rather than exposition.

Legitimization strategies are also used to persuade the reader that implementing a new character standard is the inevitable solution to the problems that have come up in relation to the script. Rationalization, authorization and moral evaluation are used to this end. Rationalization is used to present standardization as the approach chosen by the government, or as the approach chosen by state-supported language planners, to respond to new linguistic and technological needs in contemporary Chinese society (See 3A6-3A7).

3A6 The List of Standard Characters will be implemented in order to facilitate the development of information technology (MOE 2009).
3A7 The List of Standard Characters will be implemented in order to facilitate contemporary language needs (MOE 2009).

Authorization is used to show the state solution as one that is being demanded by the Language Law (See Appendix 3A8).

3A8 The List of Standard Characters will be implemented in order to meet the demands of the Language Law (MOE 2009).

Moral evaluation is used to depict script standardization in a positive light by referring to things that are of value to the society (See 3A9-3A10). The first example refers to something that is demanded by the masses. The second example draws a metaphorical link between the national strategy that is of paramount importance to the nation and script standardization.

3A9 Implementing a character standard that facilitates contemporary language use has already become an important event for the relevant people and will be something the masses will demand (MOE 2009).

3A10 At the turn of the century, our country adopted a new national strategy, and information technology became one of the main pillars of achieving this aim. Language and script standardization is the base upon which the nation's information technology is built... (MOE 2009).

In addition to the above strategies, discourses are also used in the section to legitimize policy decisions. An inter-discursive analysis showed that there are two main discourses in the section. An inter-discursive analysis of texts is concerned with identifying which discourses are drawn upon and how they are articulated together. A text can be seen as drawing upon a discourse even if the realization of that discourse in the text is minimal, amounting just to a single word (Fairclough 2003:128). The two main discourses in the section are the discourse of character standardization and the discourse of breaking with past script policy to adapt to a new era. The former represents standardization as the solution to the challenges posed by information and communication technology. The latter represents past policy measures as requiring review. The two discourses are underpinned by a related discourse, the discourse of character supremacy. This discourse is based on the belief that an archaic, logographic script can be amended
effectively to serve the needs of a modern society. While the discourse of character supremacy is a long-standing, well-established discourse in China, the two discourses present in the examined document are relatively new.

The discourse of character standardization is identified by the word ‘standardization’ which is used repeatedly in a number of different forms, such as ‘standardization’, ‘standard’ (as both noun and adjective), and ‘standards’, used in combination with a variety of words (e.g.: character standardization, script standardization, language standardization, a social standard, a new standard, past standards, character standards, scattered standards, various standards, standard characters, a standard character booklet, a standard character policy). The discourse of breaking with the past to adapt to the future is identified by words that conjure up a new era and a bygone era. Some words and phrases that have connotations of the past are ‘the first half of the twentieth century’, ‘after the new China was established (after 1949)’, ‘since the 1950s’, ‘past standards’, and ‘the era of printing with lead blocks’. Some words and phrases that have connotations of a new era are ‘the modernization of our country’, ‘the rapid development of the IT industry’, ‘new era’, ‘new circumstances’, ‘new standard’, ‘new national strategy’, ‘contemporary language needs’, and ‘contemporary language use’.

Semantic relations between words also help to distinguish discourses as they show how different discourses structure the world differently (Fairclough 2003:129). In this section, semantic relations of equivalence and difference are created through a process of classification. This strategy help towards ‘creating and proliferating differences between objects, entities, groups of people etc. and collapsing or subverting differences by representing them as equivalent to each other (Fairclough 2003:88). An example of this strategy is provided in 3A11.

3A11 The implementation of the List is an important measure that will facilitate the smooth implementation of the language law. This will be achieved by unifying and improving existing character standards, eliminating inconsistencies between various standards and unifying scattered standards, making a standard character policy and its legal impact clear and establishing the extension of the concept of “standard characters” mentioned in the Law to areas of common use. This will have the effect of
spreading "the standard characters" mentioned in the Law of Common Language Use throughout general levels of society (MOE 2009).

In the above example, a relation of equivalence is first created between concepts related to past standards and then between concepts related to the new standard. Then, a relation of difference is created between the two categories. Both collocation (the pattern of co-occurrence of words) and hyponymy (the re-wording of a particular word or expression) are used to create a relation of equivalence between concepts related to past standards. For example, words such as ‘existing’, ‘scattered’ and ‘various’ occur in collocation with the word ‘standards’. Hyponomy is used to re-word ‘existing standards’ as ‘scattered standards’ and ‘various standards’. Through re-wording, a relation of equivalence is textured between concepts that are not normally associated (Fairclough 2003:127), suggesting that standards established in the past and still existing today are diverse and not streamlined and therefore need to be replaced by a single uniform standard.

A relation of equivalence is created between concepts related to the new standard through words such as ‘a standard character policy’, ‘the concept of standard characters’, and ‘spreading the standard characters’. The two categories of past and present standards are then placed in a simultaneous contrastive relation of difference. This textual process of meaning-making amounts to building up meanings around the concept of a new standard. It is an important element in the process of seeking to achieve hegemony for the state-approved character initiative.

The relation of equivalence and difference is further enhanced through the use of evaluation by representing past standards in a negative light and the new standard in a positive light. Both explicit and implicit evaluations are used, implicit evaluation embedded in statements of fact. Expressions such as ‘smooth implementation’, ‘unifying and improving’ and ‘eliminating inconsistencies’ are evaluations that simultaneously represent past standards in a negative light and the new standard in a positive light. Even the word ‘facilitate’ is a positive evaluation because it implies that everything that follows the word is desirable. Expressions such as ‘the extension of the concept of standard characters’, ‘making a standard character policy ... clear’ and
‘spreading the standard characters... through out general levels of society’ positively evaluate the implementation of the new standard.

Another striking feature that is common in the discourses is the exclusion of elements usually found in the representation of concrete events, such as social actors (see Appendix 2), times, places and the means of events. While social actors are usually participants in clauses, not all participants are social actors (eg: inanimate objects). The exclusion of social actors particularly helps to manufacture consent in policy documents. This is because diverting the reader’s attention away from such actors can make an undesirable situation appear as something that happens to people rather than something that is done to people (Fairclough 2003:149). (3A12 gives an example).

3A12 The National Law of Common Language and Character Use of the People’s Republic of China announced in October 2000 stipulates: “The country will promote putonghua, and promote standard characters,” and also makes clear “national organizations will adopt putonghua and standard characters as the working language and script,” “Schools and other providers of education will teach putonghua and standard characters through their Chinese language courses. The Chinese resources used will meet the nation’s character standards,” “The hospitality industry will adopt standard characters as the basic working script” (MOE 2009).

In the above example, there is no social actor in the first sentence because the Language Law which is the key participant is not a social actor. In addition, the social actors that are included are not represented by name but by category and as a group instead of as individuals (eg: ‘other providers of education’, ‘the hospitality industry’). The representation of social actors is mainly impersonal (the country, schools, national organizations), and the reference is more generic (‘the country’, ‘schools’) than specific (‘our country’, ‘schools in regional areas’). Due to this abstract representation, no individual or individuals can be held responsible for the formulation or the implementation of the Language Law and the impact that it will have on society.

A similar effect is created by the use of nominalization. Nominalization excludes participants in clause, and shifts agency to abstract processes or entities that operate as nouns. It also brings about a loss of certain semantic elements of clauses such as
modality. Therefore, nominalization helps to generalize particular events or series of events. Nominalization is generally used in genres of governance because 'it can erase or even suppress difference' and 'also obfuscate agency, and therefore responsibility and social divisions' (Fairclough 2003:132, 144).

Nominalization is used in the current representation, particularly when referring to the changes that have occurred in the Chinese language and society. As a result, only an image of the current situation is constructed instead of a concrete picture. For example, it is 'language use in our country' that has changed dramatically and it is 'modernization' and 'the rapid development of informatization work' that have brought about this change (see 3A1); it is 'the development of science and technology' and 'the rise in literary levels' that expanded scientific and technological jargon and made it enter the daily lives of people and it is 'language standardization' and 'the development of society' that have become closely linked in an unprecedented manner (see 3A2); it is 'implementing a character standard' that has become an important event for people (Appendix 3A9); and it is 'the implementation of the List' that will facilitate 'the smooth implementation of the Language Law' (see 3A11).

Time and place are also frequently excluded in the current representation. For example, the social change that is said to be taking place in the country is not represented as taking place in specific places or localities in China (rural/urban, long-established/newly developed etc.), and change in character use is not represented as taking place in specific domains of language use (advertising, fiction etc.) or in relation to particular users (scholars, professionals, students, etc.). Similarly, socio-linguistic changes are not represented in terms of specific points in time or in terms of specific durations of time.

Although the current situation is depicted through a generalized, abstract representation, an interesting difference was noted in the representation of events that took place in the past, particularly in relation to time references (see 3A13).

3A13 Contemporary character standardization work in our country began in the first half of the 20th century. The post 1949 era, (after the new China was established) saw the dawn of a new era of script standardization under the leadership of the State Council. Since the 1950s, the main department responsible for language and script
standardization work and other related departments announced many character standards, took the first steps towards realising a transition to a social standard for characters, promoted the education of our country, and the development of culture and the science and technology industry (MOE 2009).

In the above example, both specific points in time and durations of time are mentioned (e.g. 'after the new China was established', 'after 1949', 'in the first half of the 20th century', 'since the 1950s'). It appears that social events that happened during previous governments are represented in a more concrete manner than those taking place under the present government. This strategy helps to expose any weaknesses in past policy in a mild, indirect manner. The use of this strategy is more prominent in the representation of official action that follows this discussion.

The above analysis showed that the representation of factors has the features of a highly promotional text. This was evident from the use of the global semantic relation of problem-solution, the use of the hortatory report genre, and the use of legitimization; and also the representation of the two major discourses through the use of relations of equivalence and difference, and the exclusion of social actors, time, place and means of events. It appears that a great effort has been made on the part of the official language planning authorities to convince the readers of the MOE document that a new standard character policy is indispensable.

**MOE Document/Representation of Official Action:** This representation was found to be different from the representation of factors. The difference was observed in terms of genre.

In terms of genre, the representation of official action differs from the representation of factors. An important reason is that the hortatory report genre is not used in this representation. In addition, there is also some use of exposition in this representation. In contrast to a report which is a generalized description, exposition is a description of concrete events or processes. Policy texts that do not use exposition can be seen as limiting policy options and portraying the socio-economic order as simply given (Fairclough 2003:95). However, exposition is used intermittently in this representation. This suggests that it is used for a particular purpose. In this representation it appears to
be used to expose past errors and remind the readers of the relevant past events that caused these issues. Although exposition usually helps to open up dialogue in policy documents, it doesn’t help much in the present situation, as it is used only in relation to past policy.

Exposition is used in combination with persuasion and reporting in the representation of official action. An example is the section about the revival of variants. It appears that in this section, the writer attempts to explain to the reader why some variants have to be revived. The section starts by giving a definition of strict variants and by explaining why they were abolished in the past. Next, it states that the past official policy in relation to variants was that they could not be used in contemporary texts written for general purposes, and could be used only for special purposes such as the re-printing of ancient texts. Then, it clarifies why this policy measure created a problem and how attempts were made to rectify the problem in the past by reviving and reviewing variants. Finally, it highlights the different approach taken with variants under the new initiative and gives an account of which variants were revived and where in the list they were placed.

The use of temporal, contrastive, and causal relations in addition to the additive and elaborative semantic relations indicate that the section on variants does not follow the normal report genre. The analysis showed that while exposition is used to explain why variants were treated as non-standard characters in the past, additive and elaborative semantic relations are used to list specific past and current policy actions taken in relation to variants. The account also gives concrete details about the exact times when revisions were made to the variant list and also how exactly they were made. Therefore, there are many references to time, which introduce time depth, that is, a sense of how changes over a certain period of time can produce effects subsequently (Fairclough 2003:95). There are also references to means and reference to time. Inclusion of these elements makes the representation more concrete than the representation of factors previously discussed.

The reason for using exposition here could be because at one point in time there was much discussion about the revival of complex characters and a decision was made that traditional characters would not be revived (People’s Daily 13/8/2009) (also see Section 171
3.3.3). However, as fifty-one variants have been revived and placed in the new list, it is possible that those in charge of compiling the new list felt the need to clearly explain why the variants had to be revived. In other words, it is possible that the controversy surrounding the issue of reviving abolished complex characters is what led to the use of exposition in this section.

The section, however, is not devoid of persuasion, which indicates that a hybrid genre of reporting, exposition and persuasion are used in the section. The analysis showed that persuasion is used when defining variants, by setting up a relation of equivalence and difference together with the use of evaluation. This is done by using the expression ‘strict variants’ to create a difference between variants that are strictly variants and those that are not. Strict variants are then presented in a negative light with the use of negative evaluations such as ‘create redundancy’ ‘increase the burden on memory’, and ‘belong to the realm of non-standard characters’. Against this backdrop, the current problem is presented as having abolished variants that are not ‘strict variants’. By creating a difference between two types of variants, the present policy on variants is distinguished from the past, as one that values variants that are not ‘strict variants’ in contrast to one that abolished them. (3A14-3A15 give sentences to illustrate how the difference is achieved).

3A14 The definition of variants in the strict sense is: a set of characters that have the same sound and meaning, the function of remembering words is exactly the same and there is only a slight difference in their shapes. They can also be exchanged with another character in the set in any context without affecting the meaning. As can be seen, from the perspective of function, variants place a burden on memory (MOE 2009).

3A15 But, some of the “variants” in the adjusted list of variants are not strict variants. Placing these variants in the category of “non-standard characters” and deleting them sometimes does not benefit the clear expression of meaning (MOE 2009).

In addition to this, a relation of equivalence and difference is simultaneously created by using one set of words to refer to the old policy in relation to variants (‘a simplistic cancelling and abolishing’) and another set to refer to the new policy (‘scientific principles’, ‘principles that will ensure stability and principles that seek the truth’, ‘a
method of treatment that identifies and discriminates’), and then setting up a difference between the two sets of words. This lexical arrangement strengthens the establishment of the new policy as clearly distinct from the old. (3A16 gives an example to illustrate how the simultaneous use of equivalence and difference helps to distinguish between the two policies).

3A16 When the First List of Verified Variants was adjusted to create the List of Standard Common Characters, scientific principles, principles that will ensure stability and principles that take into account the actual usage of characters were used. Emphasis was placed on the shape, meaning and sound. A re-examination of this set of characters was conducted, and it was stipulated that for these words from now on a simplistic ‘cancelling’ and ‘abolishing’ will never again be used, but instead a method of treatment will be used that ‘identifies’ and ‘discriminates’ (MOE 2009).

Setting up relations of equivalence and difference as shown above contributes towards making a text persuasive. Moreover, the textual process of meaning-making plays an important role in the political process of seeking to achieve hegemony for particular view and beliefs. When such relations are repeated in various types of texts they help to exclude possible alternatives (Fairclough 2003:101). The strategy therefore contributes towards consolidating the power of an influential minority who are able to make decisions in relation to aspects of language use.

Exposition is also used in the Song font section, along with persuasion. Similar to the variant section, the use of exposition was observed when recounting how the General List of Print Fonts (GLPF) was replaced with the List of Generally Used Characters in Modern Chinese, creating a problem with the font style of characters.

When persuasion is used in this section, it is for the purpose of legitimization and evaluation to convince the reader that the font adjustment is essential and inevitable. Authorization is used to legitimize the measure by attributing it to the opinion of experts and the public. Evaluation is used to cast adjusted characters in a positive light and unadjusted characters in a negative light. This is done through words associated with ‘unify’ such as ‘unifying treatment’, ‘unifying principles’, and ‘unite and perfect’ used in relation to adjusted characters and the word ‘disunity’ used in relation to a situation
where font adjustment has not taken place (See 3A17-3A18 for examples that illustrate the use of both legitimization and evaluation). Another example is the representation of the rules that are used to change the fonts. Evaluation is used here through words such as ‘logical’, ‘beautification’ ‘unified’, ‘regular’ and ‘systematic’ to cast the rules in a positive light (See Appendix 3A19 for an example).

3A17 The characters in the General List of Print Fonts will be slightly adjusted as part of the implementation of the List of Standardized Characters based on the opinions of the masses and experts and also through the use of character shape treatment principles. Also, a unifying treatment will be given to the new collection of characters (MOE 2009).

3A18 Character shape adjustment must make use of some unifying principles and make use of the current character adjustment, and sum up and perfect existing principles and create a set of principles that can be used in case the number of characters expands. (This will ensure that) a situation of disunity among character shapes will not arise (MOE 2009).

3A19 The changes made to the strokes of the Song characters through the use of the principles should be based on logical rules. Five rules for stroke shapes were established when adjusting the fonts this time. These rules were derived from existing standards and at the same time will be used to examine the new standardized characters and determine whether or not the new standard characters match these rules. Through this adjustment and refinement of character shapes, the Song fonts were gradually unified causing the shapes of the characters to be consistent and systematic (MOE 2009).

A similar mix of exposition and persuasion was found in the section about character simplification. Persuasion is used in the section to represent the complications arising from the indiscriminate simplification of characters in the past. Both positive and negative evaluations are used here. Examples are the words used to positively evaluate the simplification method based on analogy (eg: ‘maintain’, ‘easy’, ‘reduce’ and ‘convenient’) and the words used to negatively evaluate the less discerning method used in the past (eg: ‘destroyed’, ‘complicating’ and ‘disorder’). While the former set of words enhances the benefits of the technique based on analogy, the latter set of words enhances the impact the previous technique had on the structure and beauty of the character system. (3A20 gives the relevant extract).
3A20 The motivation behind conducting a simplification of characters by analogy is to maintain the systematic nature of simplified characters, make it easy to differentiate characters, generally reduce the number of strokes and make reading and writing convenient. When this principle is applied within a limited range, (one) cannot say that it is not useful for maintaining the system of characters structures... after the number of characters increased dramatically, characters with the same form appeared; after some traditional characters were simplified using character components, the original structure was destroyed, affecting the logic behind the structure and destroying the beauty of the form; the simplified components created a larger number of forms that have never been used, complicating the whole character system and creating disorder (MOE 2009).

An inter-discursive analysis showed that the two major discourses observed in the representation of factors re-appear in the representation of official action. The standard character ideology is re-produced particularly in relation to the standardization of variants and Song fonts. The discourse distinguishes between standard and non-standard characters through the use of words such as ‘the category of non-standard characters’, ‘the realm of non-standard characters’, ‘in need of standardization’, ‘the standard’, ‘stroke standardization’, ‘standard characters’, ‘existing standards’, and ‘the new standardized characters’, and also by setting up relations of equivalence and difference between the two categories. The ideology of breaking with the past to cope with the future is re-produced in relation to the problems caused by past policy. While distancing itself from past policy by negatively evaluating past policy outcomes, the discourse positively evaluates current policy measures by associating them with ‘logical rules and ‘rules that follow scientific principles’.

It can be concluded that the MOE document is a ‘strategic’ text in the sense used by Fairclough (2003:112). However, the representation of factors was found to be more persuasive than the representation of official action in this document.

The various linguistic features and discursive conventions used in the discourses help to convey a particular vision and world view. In this particular case, it is a representation of the values and perspectives of those who developed the policy as well as of those
they officially represent. The MOE document is therefore based on common ideologies shared by both the official language planners and the politicians in power that they represent. There are a number of assumptions associated with the main ideologies such as the belief that character use has changed dramatically due to technological advancement, that up to this point in time the script adequately met the linguistic needs of contemporary Chinese society, that the current problem is that past character standards are not capable of coping with new linguistic challenges, that implementing a standard list of characters is the solution to the current problems, that this can be successfully enforced by introducing a language law. The MOE document reflects the attempt made by its producers to achieve universal status for the value systems and associated assumptions embodied through its discourses. However, ideological variation can be expected even with a popular discourse unless it has achieved ideological common sense.

**Chinese Preamble/Representation of Factors:** This is a much shorter document when compared with the MOE document. It consists of four pages, with the information presented in dot points. The representations of the representation of factors and the representation of official action are analyzed separately for this document.

The representation of factors is represented very briefly in the Chinese Preamble. In fact, the representation consists of one long sentence in a four-page document. Given the amount of space devoted to this representation, it can be surmised that this aspect was backgrounded in the Preamble. It is also interesting to note that while contemporary language needs and the demands of the Language Law are specifically mentioned, no reference is made to the national strategy and to the importance of information technology to the strategy, which was mentioned as a factor in the MOE document. (3B1 gives the relevant sentence).

**3B1** In order to promote "The Law of Common Language and Script of the People's Republic of China," to promote the standardization of the nation's common language and script, to facilitate the language needs of the information era, the Ministry of Education and the National Committee of Language and Script Work implemented "The List of Standard Common Characters" (Chinese Preamble 2009).
Semantic relations between clauses in the sentence are mainly those of rationalization. There are three of these relations within the sentence, all used through purpose clauses (eg: in order to promote the Law of Common Language and Script of the People’s Republic of China, ‘to promote the standardization of the nation’s common language and script’, ‘to facilitate the language needs of the information era’). Although this type of rationalization is common in policy reports, a cluster of them occurring in the same sentence indicates that legitimization is foregrounded to justify the implementation of the new list of standard characters. People are more likely to accept the initiative if they understand what motivates it and why it is all necessary from a reform point of view (Fairclough 2003:91). Although rationalization is used predominantly to justify the implementation of standard characters, no attempt is made to represent the current character situation as in urgent need of reform, and position character standardization as the inevitable solution. The absence of the above feature indicates that the hortatory report genre is not used in the Preamble as in the MOE document.

Traces of the standardization discourse are present even in this short representation. This is reflected in the implicit and explicit references made to the promotion and benefits of standardization. The other characteristic feature of the representation is the presence of an activated social actor in subject position (eg: The Ministry of Education and the National Committee of Language and Script Work). This is a rare occurrence when compared with the MOE document which shows a general tendency to exclude agency, particularly in relation to current policy action. Apart from the social actor, forms of activity (promote, facilitate, implement) and objects of these forms of activity (the law, standardization, language needs, the list) are also included in the sentence. However, time, manner and means of events are excluded. What the inclusion and exclusion of elements shows is that it is the forms of activity in particular which are given prominence. Therefore, what matters more here appears to be the activities that were carried out rather than the person who performed them. When considering the degree of inclusion and exclusion of elements of events, it can be concluded that the representation of events is more concrete than abstract.

**Chinese Preamble/Representation of Official Action:** The activity of reporting information was found to be common in the current representation. This is evidenced
by the semantic relations between sentences and clauses which are predominantly those of addition and elaboration. This indicates that the primary activity in this part of the document is informing.

However, this representation neither has the features of a ‘promotional’ text, in the sense the term is used by Fairclough (2003:106). First, legitimation is not predominant as in the representation of factors of the document. Also, other persuasive devices, such as lexical and grammatical metaphor, evaluation, collocation and hyponymy that are prominent features in the MOE document and other such promotional texts are not used in the Preamble.

The discourse of breaking with past policy appears in this representation, although the realization of the discourse is minimal (Fairclough 2003:128). The discourse is realized through the reference that is made to the unification of past standards, and the use of the evaluative words ‘fixed’ and ‘improved’ in relation to those standards. (See 3B2).


In contrast to the representation of factors, the representation of official action is generally less concrete. This is mostly due to the exclusion of social actors, which is realized by the use of non-human agents (see 3B3-3B4 for examples).

3B3 The List contains fifty-one variants from “The First List of Verified Variants (not in the strict sense)”... (Chinese Preamble 2009).

3B4 The List slightly adjusted forty-four characters in the List of Generally Used Characters that do not conform to the rules for character stroke change set out in the General List of Print Fonts (Chinese Preamble 2009).

On the whole, the Chinese Preamble appears to be more informative than explanatory or persuasive. Therefore, it can be said that the main purpose of this document is giving
information to the public about the new character initiative. The brevity of the document, the presentation of information in the format of dot-points and the absence of exposition or persuasion in the document suggests that either no resistance to the writer’s views was expected from the readers, or that the opinion of the general public was not considered to be as important as that of the readership of the MOE document.

Although the Preamble is markedly different from the MOE document in its presentation techniques, it conveys the same vision and world view conveyed by the latter. It embodies the ideology of standard characters and presupposes that standardization can alleviate the present difficulties posed by the logographic script. It also sees past policy as in need of review and revision.

Reporting official action briefly and authoritatively is likely to make the readers accept what is said without much questioning. Reporting in this manner does not help to open up public dialogue.

**Chinese Media Documents/Representation of Factors:** The report genre is predominant in the Chinese media documents when representing the factors that led to official action. However, the media documents also use exposition to some extent in this representation. The use of exposition can be seen in short stretches interspersed with reporting, where causal relations occur between sentences and clauses (see 3C1-3C4 for examples).

**3C1** ‘Any standard is appropriate in a fixed period of time and has to be developed and reformed as times change.’ Wang Lijun explained that the original standards played a significant role in the character use of people in the past but due to the limited nature of modern technology the standards have some mistakes. For example, various frequently used characters that entered the list are not commonly used. Also, standards released by various departments are not always internally consistent and it was necessary to conduct a thorough unification and improvement (of the standards) (Ifeng.com August 12 2009).

**3C2** ‘Since 1949, China has used many standards. But unsystematic adjustments have caused many inconveniences and especially after the transmission of characters on
computers, problems associated with non-standard character use became apparent and it became necessary to implement an all encompassing character standard, a committee member of the committee of experts pointed out. (Caijing Magazine undated).

3C3 In 21st century China, language use has changed dramatically due to the development of various industries and especially the rapid development of informatization. The main impact that these changes have on social character use are: 1, A concentration of the frequently used common characters........2, The number of characters that are used has increased to a certain extent. 3, Informatization demands that characters are standardized and that social characters become even more standardized (Sohu August 12 2009a).

3C4 Professor Wang Lin Jun of the department of literature at Beijing Normal University said that (a new list needs to be implemented) because people's language use has changed dramatically in the information era and as such the script should also be revised to reflect this (Netease August 13 2009).

In the given examples, the reasons or results of events are highlighted, instead of just asserting that the events took place, allowing readers room for critical consideration of the given information. The following phrases/clauses from the examples have explicit and implicit causal relations (Eg: 'due to the limited nature of modern technology'; 'But unsystematic adjustments have caused many inconveniences'; '.....due to the development of various industries'; and 'The main impact that these changes have on social character use are .......'). The short stretches of exposition observed in the Chinese media documents appear to be for the purpose of explaining certain aspects of the new initiative to the public.

The media documents also use persuasion in this representation. However, the use of persuasion is not predominant as in the representation of factors of the MOE document. Also, the main persuasive technique used is that of rationalization which is a basic form of legitimization. This is in contrast to the MOE document which even used features of the hortatory report genre in the representation of factors.

The common global semantic relation present in this representation is that of problem-solution. The problem is identified in the same manner, that is, as the inefficiency of
past standards to deal with new socio-linguistic challenges. Identifying the problem in this way helps to consolidate the approach taken by the state script reform authorities and disregard the fundamental problems that are inherent in the logographic script.

The discourse of the standard character ideology and the discourse of breaking with past script policy are both re-produced in the media documents. The discourses tend to be more concrete than abstract due to the inclusion of elements such as agency and time. For example, while social actors are mentioned, there is a general tendency to make them personal (‘expert scholars’, ‘researchers’) and specific (‘our nation’, ‘21st century China’, ‘the Department of Literature at Beijing Normal University’) and also to represent them by name (‘Professor Wang Lijun’, ‘Li Yuming’). Representation by name occurs when other voices are brought in to the report which is a fairly common practice in news reports. However, using personal pronouns to refer to social actors also contributes to the personal element found in this representation. Also, there are activated social actors who are ‘doing things and making things happen’ (Fairclough 2003:145. Similarly, there are also many references to time in the media documents (See 3C5-3C7 for examples).

3C5 As early as 1988, our nation released “The List of Generally Used Characters in Modern Chinese” (7000 characters) and “The List of Frequently Used Characters in Modern Chinese” (3,500 characters): After 21 years, why is it necessary to implement “The List of Standard Common Characters? (Ifeng.com August 12 2009).

3C6 Since 1949, China has created many standards of character use. But unsystematic adjustments caused many inconveniences. This Law was announced in October 2000 and is the first such Law to be made effective in our country in the 21st century (Caijing Magazine undated).

3C7 In 21st century China, language use has changed dramatically (Sohu August 12 2009a).

Chinese Media Documents/Representation of Official Action: This representation is similar to the representation in the previous section in terms of activity. Semantic relations between clauses and sentences are mainly those of addition and elaboration which show that the main activity is reporting information. However, there are short
stretches of text with other types of relations in a number of media documents, particularly in relation to variants. This shows that exposition is used now and again for a very specific purpose, such as explaining the reason for reviving a particular variant. When causal relations are interspersed with semantic relations of addition and elaboration, an element of critical thinking is introduced into the text. This is because when one event is shown as having been caused by another event or leading to another event, the process of the events becomes explicit.

In addition to reporting and exposition, the use of persuasion was also observed in this representation, but to a greater extent than was observed in the representation of factors. Evaluation and legitimization strategies are used sometimes separately and sometimes in combination to convince the reader that character standardization is necessary and will bring about benefits to society.

The legitimization strategies that are frequently used are authorization and rationalization. 3C8-3C9 give examples that use authorization by referring to family traditions and the Language Law to legitimize the revival of variants, and the new list of standard characters respectively. 3C10 gives an extract that uses rationalization at a basic level.

3C8 These characters ("氾" (fan, float, drift out), "仝" (tong, be alike, similar, identical), "淓" (xi, small stream, brook), "线" (xian, thread, cotton), "甭" (ning, would, rather) were seen as the variants or the traditional characters of "泛"、"同"、"溪"、"线"、"匆"; but very few people know that they were originally used as surnames. Out of respect for family traditions, these characters will be placed in the third tier as characters to be used in surnames when implementing the List of Standard Common Characters this time (Ifeng.com August 12 2009).

3C9 The List is legally enforceable, but the relevant experts agree that it is best not to use non-list characters when naming as this will cause people a lot of unnecessary problems. For example, the computers that contain data for permanent residences, data needed to create bank deposits and data needed for insurance purposes may not contain characters for the names of every person (People.com.cn August 13 2009).
3C10 In order to implement "the Law of Common Language and Script Use of the People's Republic of China," and promote the regulation and standardization of the national language and script, meet the needs of language use in the information era and that of a developed society, the Ministry of Education and the National Committee of Language and Script Work conducted research into "The List of Standard Common Characters" over eight years. (Xinhua August 12 2009)

3C11 gives an extract that uses evaluation to cast the standard list in a positive light. The words 'diverse' and 'liberal' and the phrase 'places emphasis on the transmission of culture' simultaneously position the new list in a positive light and the old list which is lacking in the particular characteristics in a negative light.

3C11 The new list is a diverse one, a liberal one and one that at the same time places emphasis on the transmission of culture' (Guangming Wang April 11 2010).

3C12 gives an extract that uses both evaluation and legitimization together to promote the new list. The word 'logical' positively evaluates the first two tiers of the list. The words 'the range of characters used in the new century' contain an implicit positive evaluation as they highlight the versatility and the modernity of the list by referring to it as one that has a range of characters that are required in modern times, and also as one that has performed a difficult task. At the same time, legitimization is used in the form of rationalization through purpose clauses.

3C12 'A first and second tier were constructed in a logical way, a third tier was added and some variants were revived in order to satisfy the range of characters used in the new century, satisfy the demands of the concept of standardization and promote the information facilities of the nation,' Li Yuming, the head of the information management section of the Ministry of Education and a member of the national language committee said (Guangming Wang April 11 2010).

However, the analysis shows that instances when exposition and persuasion are used in the media documents are not very frequent, and that for the most part, the texts engage in reporting information related to the new policy initiative.
The two major discourses that are present in the official documents are again reproduced in the media documents when representing official action. Of these, the discourse of breaking with the past to cope with the future is more prominent here than the discourse of standard character ideology. This was explicit particularly in relation to the revival of variants (See 3C13-3C16 for the discourse of breaking with the past, and 3C17-3C19 for the discourse of standard character ideology).

3C13 From now on variants will not simply be eliminated by selection and abolished but instead their actual usage will be considered (Sohu August 12 2009b).

3C14 Wang Ning said that the variants will not simply be eliminated by selection and abolished (Scitech Daiiy August 13 2009).

3C15 Variants will not be ‘eliminated by selection’ and ‘abolished’ but The List of Standard Common Characters will consider the actual usage of the variants. This time the List will “release” and convert 51 variants, which were originally in the 1955 First List of Verified Variants but have since been deleted, into ‘Standard Common Characters’ (Caijing Magazine undated).

3C16 The List will not simply eliminate variants by selection and abolish them but will consider actual usage (Sohu August 12 2009a).

3C17 Standardization will make things convenient... if we only think about ourselves and (use characters as we please) people won’t be able to understand (what we write) and there will not be any positive outcome. (People.com.cn August 13 2009).

3C18 According to the relevant departments, one reason for implementing the List is facilitating computer databases and their regulation and making the characters better conform to a single standard. (Dahe August 20 2009).

3C19 The new character list is a liberal and diverse one and at the same time one that places emphasis on the transmission of culture. (Net ease August 13 2009).

The representation of the two themes is also similar in terms of the level of concreteness used in the representations. While a range of social actors are mentioned in the current representation, they are sometimes referred to by name (Eg: Wang Ning, Professor Wang Ning, Li Yumin). They are also made more specific than generic most of the time.
(Eg: the Director of the Information Regulation Section of the Language and Script Section of the Ministry of Education, the Leader of the Group of Experts Researching the List and Professor of the Department of Literature at Beijing Normal University, the relevant departments, 20,000 people, a person with the surname ‘spring).

Another reason that makes the discourses concrete is the many references made to the time of actions. For example, the years in which certain character lists were released are frequently mentioned (See 3C20). In addition, details such as the number of characters in tiers and the number of tiers in the lists also contribute to making the discourses concrete (See 3C21-3C22).


3C21 Among these, the first tier contains 3,500 characters which are the most frequently used characters, satisfying the character needs of basic education and the transmission of culture. The second tier contains 3,000 characters. Their frequency of use is lower than that of the first tier. Along with the first tier they contain a total of 6,500 characters .... The third tier contains 1,800 characters .... (Caijing Magazine undated).

3C22 Compared with the 7,000 characters in the List of Generally Used Characters in Modern Chinese released in 1988, this time 1,335 characters have been added to the list of Standard Common Characters, and thirty-five characters have been removed from the List of Generally Used Characters originally containing 7,000 characters. These thirty-five characters are rare characters, dialectal characters, variants and also old jargon. There are even some ‘incorrect’ characters ...(Caijing Magazine undated).

It can be said that the Chinese media documents use reporting predominantly while using exposition now and again to explain and clarify matters to the public. The use of persuasion is rare in these documents. In terms of discourses, the media documents mainly reproduce the official ideologies. The representation of events was found to be
concrete at times due to the use of exposition and the manner in which social actors are represented. However, this was not sufficient to prompt queries from the public that would lead to public dialogue.

**Japanese Preamble/Representation of Factors:** In the Japanese preamble, the factors that led to official action are given under the section, ‘Basic reasoning’, covering five pages. This five page section is further divided into six sub sections. According to the preamble, several factors contributed to the introduction of the New Jōyō List: the spread of personal computers and mobile phones and the impact they have had on people’s character use, the need for a general policy on kanji that takes into account the relationship between JIS kanji and kanji used in people’s names, the lack of a clear policy on proper nouns, and the need to determine the role of handwriting in a time when ‘informatization’ is advancing rapidly.

The purpose of this representation is to give information to the reader about the factors that led to the implementation of a new standard list of characters and also persuade the reader that a new list is essential. While the explicit purpose appears to be informing the reader, the higher implicit purpose appears to be convincing the reader that the new character initiative is the inevitable solution to the perceived problems in the current character situation.

In addition to the relatively local semantic relations, there is a more global or higher level semantic relation of problem-solution is used in this representation. The problem is presented as the dramatic change that has occurred in character use due to the development of information and communication technology and the inability of the current Jōyō List to function in such an environment. The solution is presented as revising the Jōyō List because it was compiled without taking into account the widespread use of information processors in recent years and reviving the practice of handwriting characters. Identifying the problem in this way helps to evade the issue of addressing the inherent problems in Chinese characters used in the Japanese script. It also helps to put forth the view that character standardization is the inevitable solution to the current problems posed by the logographic script, without discussing other considered options. In other words, the relation of problem-solution helps to achieve
hegemony for the particular views about the script held by official script reformers and the political power group they represent.

The report genre is used in this representation as evidenced by semantic relations between sentences and clauses which are overwhelmingly those of addition and elaboration. While the report genre is commonly used in policy documents, the level of persuasion used in such texts can vary. The more the act of selling predominates, the more ‘strategic’ (Fairclough 2003) the text becomes. The analysis showed that considerable time and energy is spent in this representation to sell the character solution proposed by the state script reform authorities.

A strategy that is frequently used to convince readers that the state-initiated character policy is the right way to resolve the perceived script problems is legitimization. The type of legitimization used in this representation is authorization. This is realized by referring to authorities (see 3D1-3D3), and also to culture (see 3D4). The strategy helps to win support for particular policy actions by stating or implying that they are approved or recommended by important entities or have traditional value.

3D1 According to the reasons for the inquiry, as stated by the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, it is important to examine character writing from two perspectives: the relationship between handwriting and the acquisition and use of kanji, and the fact that handwriting is itself a valuable cultural asset (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D2 By taking into account the reasons stated above, the Culture Deliberative Council confirmed that it is necessary to revise the Jōyō Kanji List which is the guide for kanji use.... (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D3 It (the subcommittee) also confirmed that the heart of “a general kanji policy” is “a kanji list that is a reflection of a national language policy (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D4 By taking into account the situation described above and putting aside the notion of a practical world where economy is valued, it is important to promote the idea that “writing by hand is also extremely important as a Japanese cultural asset” throughout society (Japanese Preamble 2009).
Another strategy employed to sell the state script policy is inducing readers to act, in this case, to accept the policy as necessary. This is achieved by representing the current character situation as going through a dramatic change and alternating these with implicit injunctions. The implicit injunctions are realized through clauses with the words ‘it is necessary’/ ‘it is important’ or others with similar meaning. These clauses suggest that policy actions they refer to are important or necessary and therefore should be accepted without contention. The use of this particular strategy shows that some elements of the hortatory report genre are present in the section (see 3D5-3D10 for examples).

3D5 Amid various types of social change, the development of information and communication technology, and the resultant spread of information processors such as mobile phones and computers have caused character use to change dramatically. In these circumstances, the time has come to re-examine the Jōyō Kanji List, the guide for kanji use to be used when representing contemporary Japanese (announced by the cabinet in 1981) to determine whether it can still function as a guide for kanji use even now at a time when information and communication technology is developing rapidly (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D6 The number of characters for people’s names has increased dramatically compared to what it was previously due to the revision of the law governing family registers of 27 September 2004. This in itself means that the number of characters that can be selected for names has expanded but at the same time, by taking into account this situation, it is necessary to promote the view of using the appropriate kanji that takes into consideration the social aspect of names (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D7 Also, the nature of writing has changed dramatically, but the act of reading itself has generally remained unchanged. To be more specific, information processors at present play the role of assisting “the act of writing” rather than “the act of reading.” .... In this period of time that has been called the information era, one can appreciate the importance of this line of thinking through the fact that the volume of information that is received has increased dramatically (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D8 This in itself means that the number of characters that can be selected for names has expanded but at the same time, by taking into account this situation, it is necessary
to promote the view of using the appropriate kanji that takes into consideration the social aspect of names (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D9 By taking into account the situation described above and putting aside the notion of a practical world where economy is valued, it is important to promote the idea that "writing by hand is also extremely important.... (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D10 It has been requested that the way in which hand written characters are dealt with at a time when information and communication technologies are developing rapidly be treated as a matter of great importance (Japanese Preamble 2009).

Evaluation strategies are also used for the same purpose. An example is negative evaluation used in relation to the current Jōyō List. This is done by creating an uncertainty about the efficiency of the list in the context of rapidly developing information and communication technology, and then making a contrast between the current list which was released before the advent of information and communication technology and contemporary times which are characterized by widespread use of the technology, casting the current list in a negative light. (3D11-3D12 give examples).

3D11 In these circumstances, the time has come to re-examine the Jōyō Kanji List, the guide for kanji use to be used when representing contemporary Japanese (announced by the cabinet in 1981) to determine whether it can still function as a guide for kanji use even now at a time when information and communication technology is developing rapidly (Japanese Preamble 2009).

3D12 By taking into account the reasons stated above, the subcommittee confirmed that it is necessary to revise the Jōyō Kanji List which is the guide for kanji use because the Jōyō List which was released in 1981 was compiled without taking into account the wide spread use of information processors in recent years (Japanese Preamble 2009).

Discourses that embody language ideologies are present in the current representation. The discourse of language and script improvement is the one that is predominant here. The discourse embodies the ideology that the Japanese language needs to be repaired as it has been affected by social and technological changes. The ideology is based on two major beliefs - that a robust list of characters to use as a guide and the practice of
writing characters by hand are required to improve the efficiency of both reading and
writing. The former belief is supported by the assumptions that readers need to know a
large number of characters to read contemporary texts in the information era, and that
writers need to use characters with discernment so that written texts do not become
difficult to read due to the ease of producing characters on computers. The latter belief
is supported by the assumption that handwriting helps with character acquisition and
character recognition, and so with producing characters on computers for which a good
knowledge of characters along with character recognition skills are needed.

The theme of change is central to the above discourse as the emphasis is on various
changes in the language and the script brought about by information and
communication technology and other social changes. According to this discourse, these
factors have made a dramatic change in the use of characters. The change in character
use is said to impact on aspects of the language such as reading and writing. The
repeated references to the change in character use help to foreground the current
caracter situation as a problem that is need of a solution. The theme of change is
sometimes combined with the theme of uncertainty and inefficiency. This is done by
creating an uncertainty about the efficacy of the list in the context of rapidly developing
information and communication technology. The current list which was released in
1981 before the advent of information and communication technology is juxtaposed
against contemporary times which are characterized by widespread use of the
technology, casting the current list in a negative light. Here, the discourse of change
gives way to a discourse of uncertainty and inefficiency. While the discourse of change
helps to create a hegemonic consensus on the inevitability of change that is occurring in
caracter use due to the rapid development of information and communication
technology, the discourse of uncertainty suggests that the official guide of character use
is outdated and needs to be re-examined and reformed to meet the challenges posed by a
modernized society (See 3D11-3D12 above and also 3D13 below for examples that
illustrate how the themes of change, uncertainty and inefficiency are textured into the
discourse).

3D13 There is a view that the existence of the Jōyō Kanji List has lost all meaning at
present when many kanji can be simply used by using information systems (Japanese
Preamble 2009).
A discursive analysis shows that the discourse is not constructed in a concrete manner. A number of techniques contribute to this effect. First, the use of nominalization makes the representation of processes abstract. Nominalization shifts agency to abstract processes or entities that operate as nouns. For example, it is ‘the development of information and communication technology’ and ‘the resultant spread of information processors’ that caused character use to change dramatically, and ‘the rapid spread of information processors’ that created less opportunities for people to write characters by hand in day to day situations. When nominalization is used, elements of clauses such as participants and modality get excluded. The exclusion results in a generalized, abstract representation of processes in which responsibility and social divisions become obscure through the elimination of agency and suppression of difference (Fairclough 2003:144).

Second, the frequent exclusion of social actors, manner, means, time and place of events makes the representation of social events also abstract. As a result, only an image of the current character situation is constructed instead of a concrete picture. Social actors are mostly excluded. This is mainly due to the large number of structures without agents and due to a lesser extent to clauses where non-human actors are activated (eg: ‘writing environment’, ‘information processors’, ‘information systems’, ‘the JIS kanji’, ‘the characters’, ‘the results’, ‘the characteristic of contemporary kanji use’). Excluding agency of action through the use of strategies above helps to evade responsibility for the actions. The exclusion of social actors specially helps to universalize particular actions to the whole of society. For example, in the section about the practice of handwriting, the exclusion of social actors helps to generalize the link the writer makes between writing characters by hand and the ability to acquire characters to all learners of kanji. Although the observation the writer makes appears to apply to the kinaesthetic type of learner, the exclusion of agency helps to generalize the view to all types of learners (See 3D14 for an example).

3D14 During handwriting practice, by repeatedly writing kanji, various senses (visual and tactile), the feeling of the movement of the hand when writing are simultaneously involved. As a result of this, the brain is stimulated and at the same time, this contributes greatly to the acquisition of kanji (Japanese Preamble 2009).
When social actors are included, they are generally made abstract by referring to them by category (e.g. 'the Minister', 'the respondents', 'the writer', 'the reader', 'the child') instead of by name, and by making them impersonal ('the information society', 'most people', 'many people'). However, more specific actors are also sometimes present (e.g. 'our country', 'the contemporary information society', 'the sub-committee', 'the Agency of Cultural Affairs'), where reference to actors is mainly generic. Similarly, social actors that are included are sometimes made active and sometimes not. Some examples of social actors that are not made active are 'our country's', 'the writer's', 'for people's names', 'one's', 'of the Minister of Education', 'of the individual', 'of many people', 'for the child', 'for people', 'to everyone', 'in the contemporary information society'). In these examples, social actors are not active because they appear in possessive form or in prepositional phrases. However, activated social actors are not altogether absent. Some examples of activated social actors are 'the majority of respondents, the sub-committee', 'many people', 'by the reader', 'by the Agency of Cultural Affairs', 'by most people', 'by the information society', and 'let us'.

Due to the general exclusion of social actors and the mixed representation of social actors that are included, this representation cannot be called an entirely concrete representation. The repeated themes of change, uncertainty and inefficiency and representations that are not entirely concrete help to consolidate the ideologies embodied by the discourses.

**Japanese Preamble/Representation of Official Action:** In the Japanese Preamble, information about official policy action taken under the new character initiative is given in a separate section. According to the information given, the main policy measures are updating the existing Jōyō List by adding 196 characters to compile the New Jōyō List and the re-vitalization of the practice of writing characters by hand in the school curriculum.

The explicit purpose of this representation appears to be giving information to the reader about official action taken under the new character reform initiative. This purpose is realized through the report genre as evidenced by the semantic relations between sentences and clauses which are overwhelmingly those of addition and
elaboration. The use of the report genre is predominant in the account given about the selection of characters for the new list. Here, the official action of character selection is represented as a step-by-step procedure.

However, the representation of official action also consists of highly persuasive sections. Therefore, although the explicit purpose of the representation is giving information about the various official actions taken under the new character reform initiative, the higher implicit purpose appears to be convincing the reader of the benefits of the new policy measures.

A strategy that is frequently used for persuasion is legitimization. The type of legitimization used is authorization. For example, in the section about the re-vitalization of handwriting, authorization is used to support the claim that handwriting is very important. This is achieved by quoting results from an opinion survey that was conducted about the methods people use to learn kanji. According to this survey, 74.3% of respondents felt that repeatedly writing kanji by hand is a useful method of learning kanji. Authorization is again used to support the claim that writing characters by hand will not diminish in the future or ‘become a thing of the past. This is achieved by quoting the results from another survey in which the vast majority of people (71% of the respondents) chose the option, ‘Kanji are an important script that are indispensable to the representation of Japanese.’

Sometimes, even exposition is used to legitimize claims (see 3D15). For example, when describing the process of writing a character by hand, an explanation is provided where causal relations between clauses and sentences are used. This is then used to support the claim that handwriting is a significant factor in the acquisition of Chinese characters. Exposition is again used to support the claim that handwriting helps people choose the correct character from the list of characters that appears on the screen when typing.

3D15 It is necessary to engage in handwriting practice in the relevant years of study in primary and junior high school where characters are acquired. During handwriting practice, by repeatedly writing kanji, various senses (visual and tactile) as well as the feeling of the movement (of the hand when writing) are simultaneously involved. As a result of this, the brain is stimulated and at the same time, this contributes greatly to the
acquisition of kanji. Acquiring kanji in this way not only causes one to thoroughly familiarise oneself with how the basic strokes of characters are written but also in the future to correctly differentiate (similar) kanji. This is linked to character proficiency, which allows one to correctly use characters (Japanese Preamble 2009).

The discourse of script and language improvement is continued in this representation with more vigour than in the previous section. An example is the representation of official action in relation to the use of Chinese characters in names. Semantic relations between sentences and clauses in this representation are those of addition and elaboration, which indicate the report genre. However, the aim here is not simply informing the reader, but also promoting a view. Even though legitimation is not used here as in the previously discussed section on handwriting, it appears that a view is still being promoted. This is evidenced by clauses that contain the words, ‘It is necessary to’ and ‘should’ which are frequently used in this section. This indicates that an unspecified agent, apparently the state script reform authority that represents the government, intends to promote the view of appropriate character use (see 3D16).

3D16 The number of characters for people’s names has increased dramatically compared to what it was previously due to the revision of the law governing family registers of 27 September 2004. This in itself means that the number of characters that can be selected for names has expanded. However, at the same time, it is necessary to promote the importance of using the appropriate kanji that takes into consideration the social aspect of names. More specifically, the selection of simple frequently used characters is good for the future of the child. (National Language Research Institute “position paper/manifesto regarding characters for people’s names” 1952). This awareness should be generally inherited/grasped and:

1. Choose kanji that are easy to read and understand by considering the view of social quality/responsibility while taking into account the view of an inheritance of culture and the freedom to choose names.

2. Choose kanji that are appropriate for children’s names based on the meaning and reading of the kanji.
It is necessary for general society to have a common understanding of this way of thinking (Japanese Preamble 2009).

Japanese Media Documents/Representation of Factors: The Japanese media documents generally focus on the impact of information and communication technology on character use when representing factors that led to official action. This information is provided mainly by using the report genre. This is evidenced by the semantic relations of addition and elaboration between clauses and sentences that are predominant in the representation of factors that led to official action. This is in keeping with the report genre generally used in news reports and also in policy-related documents. However, it was found that brief stretches where exposition is used are at times mixed with reporting in this representation (see 3E1-3E6 for examples). The use of exposition is realized in these examples through the use of explicit causal relations (eg: ‘as a result of’ and ‘due to’). Sometimes implicit causal relations are also used as in 3E3. Persuasion was found to be the least common activity type in this representation.

3E1 The following statement was given as the reason for revising the List this time: ‘Many characters appear as a result of the development of information processors and let us make sure that these characters can be properly read.’ In the end it appears that the focus was increasing the number of characters for recognition and not increasing the number of characters to be written by hand (Yeemar March 16 2008).

3E2 The Culture Deliberative Council discussed the revision (of the Jōyō List) over five years in an attempt to respond to a situation where characters that cannot be written by hand can be produced easily due to the spread of word processors and mobile phones (47 News November 30 2010).

3E3 The fact that even difficult characters can be produced easily through the use of the conversion function due to the spread of word processors and mobile phones was given as the reason for the addition of characters to the Jōyō List this time (Sekai Nippo Undated).

3E4 The revision that began in 2005 due to the spread of word processors and mobile phones will be done to ensure that, “characters can be read correctly,” and that
"words can be converted into the correct characters (when typing)" (Yomiuri Shinbun April 23 2010).

**3E5** The following statement was given as the reason for revising the List this time: "Many characters appear as a result of the development of information processors and let us make sure that these characters can be properly read." In the end it appears that the focus was increasing the number of characters for recognition and not increasing the number of characters to be written by hand (Yeemar March 16 2008).

**3E6** These days, 10,050 characters can be found in levels one to four of the JIS character codes and these characters are actually being used. Because of this, there are cases where characters not on the Jōyō List are being used in actual documents (Informe Undated).

The discourse of language and script improvement was not prominent in this representation. It was materialized only occasionally, when concerns were expressed about the possible negative effects that information technology could have on the language and the script.

Agency was sometimes included and sometimes excluded in this representation, which made it both abstract and concrete.

**Japanese Media Documents/Representation of Official Action:** Similar to the representation of factors, the report genre is predominant in this representation. This is evidenced by the semantic relations of addition and elaboration between clauses and sentences that are frequently used. Therefore, the main activity in this representation also appears to be reporting.

As in the representation of factors, the use of exposition was also found interspersed with reporting. This was realized by causal relations between clauses and sentences (see 3E7-3E9 for examples). In the given examples, there are explicit and implicit causal relations between clauses and sentences. Some explicit causal relations are 'such as', 'because of', 'as a result of', and 'due to'. The sentence 'It is necessary to increase the number of jōyō kanji in response to the change in times' is an example of an implicit causal relation because it implies that the act of increasing Jōyō kanji is a result of the
change in times. Therefore, it can be said that the media documents engage in explaining issues to some extent, while mainly engaging in reporting.

3E7 It is pleasing to see that the kanji kana mix of ‘mazegaki’ will be fixed as a result of the revision being done this time. This type of representation that is born of expediency is unacceptable even though some characters are difficult to write because they have a large number of strokes (Sekai Nippo Undated).

3E8 Because there are characters that are not part of the “Shift JIS” character codes among the 196 that will be added, information systems will be greatly affected (IT Pro December 11 2009).

3E9 As a result of this, forms of expression that have a bad reputation such as mazegaki (the practice of writing part of a kanji compound in hiragana) and kakikae (the practice of replacing a character with one that is not normally used) will become less prevalent (Sekai Nippo Undated).

As with the representation of factors, the least common type of activity was found to be persuasion. However, persuasion was used in relation to the revitalization of the practice of handwriting in the school curriculum and the resulting issue of teaching the handwriting of the new characters in schools.

Evaluating the handwriting of new characters negatively and then offering minor concessions to minimize the problems helps to divert the attention of readers from the issues associated with the initiative. Apart from the added burden placed on students to learn to write the new characters by hand, educators are left with the responsibility of making decisions in relation to what characters need to be taught when and what characters need to be tested in public examinations.

It was found that the Japanese media documents made an attempt to make this official action desirable to the public. This was achieved by juxtaposing the undesirable aspect of handwriting with minor concessions offered by the state script reform authority to ease the anticipated difficulties related to the issue. The technique helps to background the pressure placed by the handwriting initiative on students who are required to acquire all 196 new characters in school.
Evaluation is a common strategy that is used to achieve the above. Words with a negative connotation are used to refer to the teaching and testing of character writing in schools. While words such as 'burden', 'heavy' and 'load' generally refer to the challenge posed by the handwriting of the new characters, words such as 'characters that are difficult to write by hand' particularly refer to the difficult structure of some characters.

Concessions are frequently introduced along with the negative evaluations to minimize the pressure of handwriting the new characters. Concessions are introduced in terms of the number of years students are given to learn the characters; in terms of the number of characters students have to learn for examination purposes; and in terms of the number of years students are given before testing of the new characters begins (see 3E10-3E12 for examples that show how the two strategies work together).

3E10 During the last revision in 1981, although it was decided that all ninety-five added characters would be taught in junior high school, this time as 196 is a large number (of characters), the load will be spread across various years of junior high school in order to reduce the burden on students (Asahi Shinbun September 30 2010).

3E11 As questions that test every Jōyō Kanji will appear on university entrance exams, the meeting of experts had discussions with the relevant people from universities and senior high schools and requested that concessions be made in the case of dictation questions so that the burden on students taking exams will not be too heavy (Asahi Shinbun September 30 2010).

3E12 It has been decided that 196 characters which were added through the revision of the Jōyō List will be taught in junior and senior high school from 2012. This was decided at the meeting of experts of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology on the 29th. The burden placed on students taking exams was taken into consideration, and exam questions (that test the new characters) will only appear in senior high school and university entrance exams from 2015 which is after three years of learning the new characters in junior and senior high school (Asahi Shinbun September 30 2010).
The discourse of language and script improvement was found to be prominent in this representation. This is because official action represented here is intended to respond to the impairment of the language and the script (see 3E13-3E14).

3E13 The revision that began in 2005 due to the spread of word processors and mobile phones will be done to ensure that, “characters can be read correctly,” and that “words can be converted into the correct characters (when typing)” (Yomiuri Shinbun April 23 2010).

3E14 It is necessary to increase the number of Jōyō Kanji to respond to the change in times. The expressive power of the language will improve (Yomiuri Shinbun June 14 2010).

Similar to the representation of factors, the representation of official action is characterized by a mix of abstract and concrete representations. One reason for this is that social actors are sometimes included and sometimes excluded from the representation. 3E15-3E17 gives examples of instances when agency was excluded. 3E18-3E20 give examples of instances when agency was included. Circumstances of events, particularly time are also mentioned in this representation (see 3E21-3E23).

3E15 In the end it appears that the focus was on increasing the number of characters for recognition and not on increasing the number of characters to be written by hand (Yeemar March 16 2008).

3E16 As a result of this, forms of representation that have a bad reputation such as mazegaki (the practice of writing part of a kanji compound in hiragana) and kakikae (replacing character with one that has is not usually used) will become less prominent (Tokyo Web December 1 2010).

3E17 In the last revision in 1981, although it was determined that each of the added ninety-five characters would be taught in the third year of junior high school, this time as 196 is a large number of characters, the teaching load will be spread across several years of junior high school in order to reduce the burden placed on students (Asahi Shinbun September 30 2010).
The committee of experts of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology decided on the 29th that students will learn to read the characters in junior high school and write them in senior high school from 2012 onwards (Asahi Shinbun September 29 2010).

The Kanji Subcommittee of the National Language Division of the Culture Deliberative Council which has been working on the revisions to the Jōyō Kanji List (1,945 characters) agreed upon the revisions to which 196 characters were added (Yomiuri Shinbun April 23 2010).

The government announced the new Jōyō Kanji List in the cabinet, the guide for kanji use with a total of 2,136 characters where 196 new characters have been added and five character have been deleted in the cabinet on the 30th (47 news Nonember 30 2010).

This is the first time in twenty-nine years that the Jōyō List is being revised (Yomiuri Shinbun June 14 2010).

It was decided that junior high school students are to learn to read most of the Jōyō Kanji and senior high school students are to get used to the reading of the kanji and that character instruction based on the New Jōyō Kanji List will begin from 2012 (Tokyo Web December 1 2010).

It was determined that the 196 new characters which were added as a result of the revisions made to the Jōyō Kanji List will be taught in junior and senior high schools from 2012 onwards (Asahi Shinbun September 30 2010).

The representation of factors and the representation of official action were found to be similar in the Japanese media documents. While reporting which is sometimes interspersed with exposition was found to be the predominant activity, persuasion was found to be the least common activity in both representations.

The two representations were not completely similar in terms of discourse. This is because it was found that the representation of official action was characterised by a strong presence of the discourse of language and script improvement, while this discourse was not prominent in the representation of factors. However, it was found that
both the representation of factors and the representation of official action comprise a mix of abstract and concrete representations. The reason for this hybrid feature was due to the inclusion and exclusion of agency and elements of circumstances in different parts of the representations. It can be said that in this respect, the Japanese media documents are similar to the Chinese documents.

### 7.2 Inter-Document Comparisons

The analysis showed that there is variation between the Chinese and Japanese official documents and the corresponding media documents in terms of the strategies used.

The Chinese MOE document turned out to be the most persuasive of all the Chinese documents. This is because it uses the hortatory report genre and other persuasive techniques such as the relation of problem-solution and legitimization, including mythopoiesis to a great extent. The Chinese media documents are much less persuasive when compared with the MOE document. This is mainly because the hortatory report genre is not present in the media documents. Also, while the media documents use legitimization only occasionally, they do not use mythopoiesis which is a highly persuasive legitimization strategy. In addition, the media documents use exposition interspersed with reporting to explain and clarify matters to the public. This feature was common to the representation of both the representation of factors and the representation of official action. In contrast, while exposition is not present in the representation of factors in the MOE document, in the representation of official action, exposition is often used for the purpose of persuasion.

The Chinese Preamble is closer to the media documents in terms of the level of persuasion used than to the MOE document. This is because apart from rationalization, which is a very basic from of legitimization, it does not use other persuasive techniques. However, the Chinese Preamble does not use exposition either, as was observed in the media documents.

The Chinese official documents use two main discourses, that of character standardization and that of breaking away from past script policy. The discourses and the ideologies they embody are reproduced in the media documents, but in a more
concrete manner. However, this element is not widespread and was therefore found to be insufficient to prompt queries from the public and lead to a public dialogue.

The Japanese Preamble was found to be more persuasive than the Japanese media documents. This was due to the use of the hortatory report genre and the relation of problem-solution used in the official document. While elements of the hortatory report genre are not present in the Japanese media documents, they also do not use other persuasive techniques frequently.

The discourse of language and script improvement was found to be predominant in the Japanese Preamble. This discourse embodies the ideology that the Japanese language has fallen into a state of disarray due to socio-technological changes and is in need of repair. The ideology of repairing the language is manifested in the beliefs that a new official list of characters and a revival of the practice of handwriting are required to improve reading and writing. The beliefs are fashioned by the assumptions that a large number of characters are required to read contemporary texts and that handwriting helps with character acquisition and character recognition, which in turn help with reading and producing characters on computers.

The Japanese media documents reproduce the official discourse and the ideologies it embodies, but in a more concrete manner. However, similar to the Chinese media documents, this element is localized and was therefore not found to be strong enough to prompt queries from the public and lead to a public dialogue.

7.3 Summary

This chapter investigated the management of public perceptions in the Chinese and Japanese official and media documents. The investigation was carried out using Fairclough’s CDA model.

The strategies used in the documents were analyzed separately for the official and media documents for each country under two major themes: the representation of factors that led to official action and the representation of official action. Under each
theme, the discursive strategies were analyzed further, under the dimensions of Genre and Discourse identified by Fairclough.

The analysis revealed that persuasive genres are used to a high extent by the Chinese MOE document and the Japanese Preamble when representing both themes. The difference that was observed between the Chinese MOE document and the Chinese Preamble in this respect is particularly noteworthy.

The analysis also revealed that the Chinese and Japanese official documents use discourses that embody official ideologies when representing the two themes. The representation of events in these discourses was found to be more concrete in the Chinese Preamble when compared with the other two documents. While the media documents in both countries reproduce the official discourses, the representation of events in these discourses is more concrete than that found in the Chinese MOE document or the Japanese Preamble.

7.4 Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Chinese MOE document and the Japanese Preamble attempt to manage public perceptions by using discursive strategies. This feature was observed more frequently in these official documents than in the media documents. The differences observed between the MOE document and the Chinese Preamble in terms of persuasion is perhaps due to the different audiences for which they were written. The media in both countries attempt to reproduce the official discourses and the ideologies embodied by the discourses. However, the representations are more concrete in the media documents than in the official documents due to the more frequent presence of elements such as agency and time.
CHAPTER 8
COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF ANALYSES

It was suggested in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 that language planners in both China and Japan tend to control information and manage public perceptions in the chosen documents by using a number of strategies. It was also suggested that these strategies are used to varying degrees in the different documents. It is important to find out what Chinese and Japanese language planners aim to achieve by controlling information and managing public perceptions.

This chapter provides a comparative discussion of the implications arising from the findings of the analyses conducted in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, namely, the implications of controlling information and the implications of managing public perceptions to legitimize policy decisions. A comparative discussion of this nature is appropriate as it helps to understand the similarities and differences between the processes used by the two countries to provide information about their respective policies.

First, the chapter presents a comparative discussion of the implications arising from the control of information provided to the public. To this end, the chapter focuses on each variable in Cooper's Accounting Scheme (1989:98) on which the Chinese and Japanese documents do not provide comprehensive information, and discusses the implications of the these issues. Next, the chapter presents a comparative discussion of the implications arising from the management of public perceptions to legitimize policy decisions. When discussing the implications arising from this aspect, the chapter focuses on both genre and discourse in Fairclough's CDA model, and discusses the implications of using these strategies to legitimize policy decisions.

8.1 Implications of Information Control

Analyzing the Chinese and Japanese sources using Cooper's Accounting Scheme showed that the Chinese documents did not provide clear information on any of the variables identified by Cooper, while the Japanese documents did so on some of the variables.
Providing information about the people responsible for LP decisions, particularly those who initiate new policies, is an important aspect in any language policy discourse. This is because it is an important element in 'a descriptively adequate account' (Cooper 1989:97) of a language planning situation. Focusing on actors also indicates an important shift in focus in LPP, from seeing LPP as a set of scientific procedures to seeing it as having a focus on context (Baldauf 2004:2).

The analysis of information in Section 6.1 showed that Chinese sources do not provide explicit information on the variable of Actors. This issue diverts public attention away from high-ranking figures who are responsible for the new policy decisions. Explicit information about high-level actors is particularly important in the Chinese LP context. In the new Chinese political order, it is not clear to the public who is responsible for LP decisions. This is in contrast to the previous era when Mao’s interest in LP was common knowledge and Premier Zhou Enlai’s involvement in LP and his ultimate authority on LP matters was well-known. However, since 1986, it has not been clear to the people who the ultimate decision-makers are in relation to LP decisions, although it is generally known that LP decisions are given final approval by the Leadership (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:274). When these important actors are not directly mentioned, people are less likely to see the decisions as arising from the political power elite.

In addition, individuals with political power and/or social status (intellectual elites) play an important role in influencing LP in China. Although the latter do not have the legitimate power to engage in decision making per se, they have the power to influence the behaviour of influential figures. The situation gets more complex because some intellectual elites in China have substantial political power as they hold key positions in the administration. Sometimes it is not even possible to say who is more powerful in creating effective outcomes in the processes (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:226). When only actors on the lower rungs of the LP process are mentioned, the public are unable to see who is directly responsible for the new direction. It makes the policy seem to arise from inevitable and impersonal processes (Fairclough 2003:45).

Another variable on which Chinese documents do not provide clear information is Behaviours. A major reason for this is that they do not make adequate comparisons between the new and old character lists in terms of their structural properties. Apart
from comparing the difference made by the addition of a new tier with 1,800 characters for special use, the documents do not compare the differences made by adding and deleting characters in the first and second tiers of the previous list.

These changes are substantial as approximately a hundred characters have been deleted from the first tier and replaced by new characters, and five-hundred characters have been deleted from the second tier without any replacement. Moreover, they are likely to have adverse effects on many people.

For example, as characters on the first tier are used as the official measure of character literacy, the addition and deletion of characters from this tier means that learners have lost a hundred familiar characters and are required to learn a hundred new ones in their place. As characters on the second tier are common use characters, the deletion of five-hundred characters from this tier means that writers will have to do without these characters in the future, by trying to find substitute standard characters for them, or by trying to find substitute words for words which require the deleted characters.

Similarly, the Chinese documents do not compare important differences between the two lists in terms of their functions, particularly in relation to the new Language Law. For example, unlike the previous list of characters, the new list is likely to apply to hand-written or hand-painted characters in public space. This is because Article 14 (2), (3) and (4) of the Language Law states that the standard will apply to written language for the facilities in public places, signboards and advertisements, and names of enterprises and other institutions. The new list is also likely to apply to the use of characters in public space because the use of traditional characters and dialectal characters in public has become a concern for the government at present (see 3.3.1). If the new list does apply to public space writing, it may have an impact on street signs, shop signs and other name signs that use non-standard characters. Consequently, this may affect numerous government and non-government institutes and organizations, shops, restaurants, hotels etc. that use non-standard characters for businesses and advertising purposes. The control of character use in public space is an issue that is much criticized as rigid and unreasonable as it applies to handwritten work (Chen 1999:195).
Moreover, if the new character shapes apply to handwritten characters, people will be required to re-learn the new shapes of the characters which have undergone shape-modification. If the changes are minor as stated in the Chinese sources, perceiving the differences and remembering them would be difficult. The difficulty would cause much inconvenience if the characters that have been affected occur frequently in day to day usage and will also be a disadvantage for learners if they are among the characters in the first tier which are used for educational purposes. The changes will also require ID cards to accommodate the new shapes as mentioned in the Chinese media documents (see 6.1).

When the differences between the lists in terms of their structural and functional properties are not made adequately explicit, it is not easy for people to make comparisons between the existing script policy and the new initiative. As a result, most people may not grasp the full extent of the introduced changes and may not understand the impact the changes will have on themselves and the wider community.

Another variable on which the Chinese language planners do not provide any explicit information is that of Target Population. This information is scattered in the official and media texts and has to be gleaned from information that belongs with other variables, such as Behaviour and Means.

The information that comes through these other variables indicates that a large number of individuals and groups of people are primary targets of the new initiative. They are mainly people who choose names that require non-standard characters when naming children, communities that choose names with non-standard characters for places, writers who use words that require non-standard characters in written publications, and also perhaps commercial and non-commercial organizations that use non-standard characters in public space for business and advertising purposes. There are also a large number of people who are intermediary targets. They are people who use the services provided by a large number of institutions such as national organizations, schools and other providers of education, and organizations in the hospitality industry. For example, this could mean that schools will not enrol children who have names that require non-standard characters, newspapers will not publish articles, announcements, advertisements etc. that use non-standard characters and administrative bodies will not
release funds for the development of any towns or villages that use names with non-standard characters. Although there are a large number of people who would be adversely affected, this information is not given in a clear, comprehensive manner.

When information about the Target Population is not clearly provided in terms of primary and intermediary targets, the people at whom the policy is directed tend to recede to the background. There is a gamut of people at whom the Chinese initiative is directed, which consists of institutions, corporate bodies, individuals, and groups of people. However, it is not easy to focus on them as they are not properly identified.

Information provided under the variable of Ends was found to be ambiguous in both Chinese and Japanese documents. This was mainly due to the discrepancies observed in the information provided under Behaviour and Ends. What the discrepancies suggest is that the actual motives behind both the Chinese and Japanese character initiatives are much larger than what is explicitly stated under the variable of Ends.

Ager (2001:7), who refers to Cooper’s Ends as Motives, observes that ‘the motives for language planning are not always clear, nor openly stated, nor always understandable’. Ager adds that motives may be understood by looking at other aspects of the language planning process. For example, the activities that a state carries out to promote language spread within and beyond its borders may point to its desire to foster a positive image of its language(s). This could be driven by a sense of competition in relation to languages used outside the country or from objectives of political or economic colonialism, or from a desire to improve the status of the country in the international community (Ager 2001:179). Based on such observations, Ager (2001:9) identifies seven motives for language planning and policy actions: identity, ideology, image creation, insecurity, inequality, integration with a group and instrumental motives for advancement.

A close look at the policy actions or the behavioural changes planned by China shows that what is at the heart of China’s character initiative are measures that help with the development of information and communication technology. This is evidenced by the attempt made to compile a character standard consisting of a set of characters with a fixed number and with a uniform shape. While the new initiative restricts the number of characters to 8,300 characters, including characters used in personal and place names,
the shape of characters is unified under one style of font, that of the Song font style. Uniformity of characters in both shape and number are essential qualities for an efficient system of information and communication technology that can operate smoothly.

China’s interest in standardizing the script to develop information and communication technology appears to be tied to a larger national goal. This is evidenced by the reference made in the MOE document to the ‘new national strategy’ to which information technology is said to be central. Outside sources show that China is in the process of adopting a neo-industrialization strategy to match the post-industrialist paradigm of the West. Information technology plays an important part in this strategy as it combines and synchronizes informationization and industrialization as mutually complementary processes (Yu 2008:24). (See 3.3.1 for more information). China’s attempt to devise a new character standard to develop information technology can therefore be seen as an effort that is being driven by a sense of insecurity arising from its own technological limitations.

The above analysis reveals that China appears to have more than one motive behind its character initiative, or rather different types of motives. Ager (2001:8) distinguishes between types of motives, as ‘target’, ‘objective’ and ‘ideal’. He views the target as a precise, achievable, identifiable point, which is also measurable and often quantifiable; the objective as a long-term and future-oriented mission or purpose; and the ideal as a vision or intention which is an idealistic future state unlikely to be achieved, but essential as an end-point towards which planning is ultimately directed.

According to the distinction made by Ager, the ‘target’ of the Chinese character initiative is to implement a list of standard characters that is able to respond to the linguistic needs of contemporary society, such as providing adequate characters for new scientific and technological jargon in daily use, for Classical Chinese teaching resources in schools, and for computer data storage in the service sector. The ‘objective’ is the smooth operation of information and technology systems which at present is handicapped by the lack of an efficient character standard. The ‘ideal’ appears to be the broader one of heading into an information age on par with the developed world. While having three levels of motives, the Chinese sources mention only the target and the
objective explicitly as Ends. The ideal is not only expressed indirectly, but also expressed only to the readership of the MOE document.

In addition to the insecurity caused by a rapidly developing global information society, China appears to be affected by issues closer to home—the increasing appearance of complex characters and dialectal characters, not only in public space but also in printed matter. It has been observed that the recent proliferation of these characters in the public space and their presence in printed matter have become a cause for concern not only for the political leadership but also for members of the public (see 3.3.1).

The use of complex characters is politically charged as the simplified and complex orthographies symbolise the long political unease between Taiwan and the mainland. In a bid to counteract the perceived threat of Taiwan as a model for China’s democratization, China directly criticizes Taiwan’s domestic politics and negates the Taiwan model of politics, and also prevents Taiwan’s cultural products from flooding the Chinese market (Brady 2008:166). Therefore complex characters are generally associated with the influence of Taiwan. For example, the campaign to resume complex characters on the mainland which reached its peak in 1994, was officially attributed to Taiwanese influence (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:103-104).

Similarly, the growing use of dialectal characters is a sensitive issue as it indicates the increasing influence of regionalism. In a country that consists of several major dialect groups which diverge from one another as Dutch from English (Chen 1996b:225), a common written and spoken language play an essential role in promoting national unification. While putonghua serves as the common spoken form of the language, Modern Written Chinese serves as the common written form, and any change that impacts on this equilibrium would be seen as counter-productive to the state. It is for this reason that China has not taken an interest so far to develop separate orthographies for the dialects that do not have one at present (Chen 1996b:231-232). In recent years, with increasing economic prosperity in the regions, regional identity has been growing, boosting enthusiasm for local culture and diversity. An example is the impact of localism on putonghua promotion, which compelled the national language authority to move away from the previous mono-norm of the national pronunciation standard by categorizing it into several grades and levels (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:213).
In Ager’s terms, the ‘objective’ of the character standardization measure can therefore be seen also as managing the disorderliness perceived in character use, and the ‘ideal’ as keeping the influence of Taiwan and the regions at bay. Therefore, controlling the use of dialectal characters and complex characters, while devising a set of standard characters for efficient computer use, helps the Chinese leadership consolidate their power against the domestic issues. It has been noted that indirect acts of governing, which include the practices of politicians, bureaucrats, educators and other state authorities, can impact on individual and group language behaviour (see 4.4).

An examination of the policy actions or the script behavioural changes planned by Japan shows that measures that develop the national language are central to its character initiative. The main measures introduced by the Japanese initiative are updating the Jōyō List and revitalizing the practice of writing characters by hand. These are the targets of the Japanese initiative. Updating the Jōyō list is expected to help with recognizing the larger volume of characters that people encounter in reading and to eliminate mazegaki, the practice of writing words half in characters and half in kana, generated by the inadequacy of characters in the previous lists. Revitalizing handwriting is expected to improve character acquisition which would in turn improve both reading and writing of the national language. Both targets therefore help to achieve the objective of language improvement.

Japan’s attempt to complement the Jōyō List and re-introduce handwriting to improve the national language appears to be related to a larger national goal, the ideal, as Ager calls it. As expressed by the Preamble, Japan is concerned by the changes that have taken place in character use due to the widespread use of information and communication technology and the resultant changes perceived in the practice of reading and writing in Japanese. The notion of language disorder has been a growing concern in Japan since the 1970s, as disorder in the language is perceived as a weakening of national identity. At the same time, Japan has been experiencing a threat to its national identity as a result of its efforts to develop English proficiency in the country. The Japanese response to this identity crisis has been to raise the standard of written and spoken Japanese. In seeking to increase language awareness and correct language usage, and to promote a sense of valuing the national language, Japanese
language planners are implicitly also seeking to strengthen the sense of national identity (Carroll 2001:110). Japan's character initiative appears to be driven by this attempt at identity construction (Ager 2001:9) as the effort Japan makes to improve the script is a vital part of the campaign to improve and stabilize the national language in order to strengthen national identity.

It is interesting to note that the Chinese ideal of participating in the information society and the Japanese ideal of re-constructing national identity, which appear to be driving the character initiatives of the two countries, spring from a single source - globalization. However, the different ideals have been triggered by different demands made by globalization, the demand for two different ‘global literacy skills’. China’s ideal appears to have been shaped by the demand for information technology and Japan’s ideal by the demand for English literacy.

The common issue observed in the Chinese and Japanese texts in relation to the information provided about ends is that it is limited to the immediate ends of the initiatives. The broader national vision that is sought through the immediate ends is not explicitly stated. When such information is not provided, it is not possible for the public to assess the value of the policy by weighing the benefits against the costs incurred.

The information provided on the variable of Conditions by both the Chinese and Japanese sources was also found to be lacking in transparency. When the government, or officials who represent the government, or the media present conditions for a particular problem or situation without supporting information, most readers are likely to accept the conditions without further query due to the authority and power of the information providers. Therefore, in such situations, providing less information helps to win majority support, particularly if the conditions cannot be supported effectively. This issue will be discussed further in Section 8.2 under the management of public perceptions in the Chinese and Japanese documents.

Another variable on which China does not provide explicit information is that of Means. In China, the new list of standard characters will be enforced by the Language Law. The use of a special law to enforce a language policy can be seen as a stringent measure, and also as an expression of power by official language planners and the government they
represent. Providing limited information about such a law helps to minimize the severity of the new law in the eyes of the public. Of special importance is the inadequacy of information related to how various institutions such as national organizations and educational institutions will control the use of non-standard characters as they appear to be the primary targets of the new initiative.

Relevant information about the Language Law should be given to the public when providing information about the new initiative because they are closely linked. The inadequacy of information in this regard implies that the authorities assume that either people are already familiar with the new law or assume that it is not relevant for the purpose of the official documents. However, it is all the more important that the public have all the relevant information about this aspect of the new initiative, because the examined documents were produced and published at the stage of seeking public opinion on the new character list.

The Decision Making Process is another variable on which both the Chinese and Japanese documents lack transparency. The major omission is the lack of information provided about other considered options. The examined documents show that both China and Japan identified the issue they are confronted with as arising from the incapacity of the past character lists to respond to new social changes. The Chinese documents attributed this to the dramatic change in language use that has occurred in contemporary Chinese society and the demands placed on the script by information and communication technology and the language law. The Japanese documents attributed the incapacity to the large number of new characters that people encounter in contemporary texts due to the use of information and communication technology, and the difficulties people experience in character recognition due to the declining practice of writing characters by hand.

The identification of the problem as the incapacity of the existing official lists narrowed the options to just the single solution of devising a new official list of characters. The Chinese language planners identified the rectification of the issues caused by past script policy and the incorporation of the many previous character lists into a single efficient one as related solutions. The Japanese language planners identified the revitalization of the practice of handwriting in schools as a related solution. Identification of the problem
and solution in this manner move the focus away from the broader underlying problems of the Chinese character script (see Section 2.4 and 2.5).

Cooper refers to a similar issue with decision making in relation to an education policy in the US. When the poor attainment of American school children from ethno-linguistic minorities was viewed as an outcome of a mismatch between their verbal resources and the language of instruction, initial instruction via the children’s mother tongue appeared as a reasonable solution to the problem. However, if the problem had been viewed as the outcome of economic exploitation, not only would different solutions have been proposed but different agencies of reform would have been selected as well.

In addition to this issue, the Chinese documents are not adequately transparent about the decision making process applied to the inclusion and exclusion of some characters from the existing list. Information provided by the Chinese media documents indicate that some dialectal characters were deleted from the list. The omission suggests that a transparent process was not used for character selection. In such a situation, providing as little information as possible about the issue is to the advantage of those responsible for the policy decision.

If the surfaced issue is due to an actual shortcoming in the decision making process itself, this may have several implications. First, it has led to the maintenance of the character script along with the many challenges it faces at present, rather than considering other options. The omission is all the more damning when considering the time of its occurrence because this opportunity could have been used to find a more permanent solution for the challenges posed by the logographic scripts.

Similarly, the lack of a transparent decision-making process appears to have led to the disappearance of dialectal characters from the official list, which hitherto had been considered as acceptable. The ramifications of this situation cannot be fully assessed without information about the number of characters that were deleted and their usage. However, if the deleted characters had been in high frequent usage among dialectal speakers and/or if they had been used to write personal and place names or other such words with cultural significance, the impact of the loss would be high.
Finally, both the Chinese and the Japanese sources do not give adequate attention to the variable of Effects, focusing only on the benefits that will flow from the new initiatives. This omission shuts out the costs of the initiatives from the public eye. The costs are higher for the Chinese community more than for the Japanese, due to the character reduction policy adopted by the Chinese language planners.

Central among these is the impact of restricting characters used in personal names to the standard characters on the list. This can be viewed as an infringement of individual rights, particularly if surnames have to be written with substitute characters. Not only will this affect the original meaning of the names but also family clan identification. Although non-standard characters in surnames may be allowed with permission, whether everybody will have this special privilege is uncertain. It was noted before that a large number of non-standard characters are used in personal names at present. Although 2,500 characters can cover 98% of modern Chinese names, this number has to be increased to 72,000 to accommodate the 2% that fall outside the standard limits (see 3.3.1). As the total number of standard characters on the new list is 8,300, this means that a substantial number of names cannot be represented by the standard characters. Also, controlling the number of characters used in names facilitates the making of all names computable, which is a way of imposing tight control on individuals and their activities.

Similarly, given that a large number of place names use non-standard characters, the impact of character standardization on place names will also be significant. Moreover, characters used in place names are imbued with a special symbolic significance as they are closely linked with that place, the people who belong to that place, and events that have happened in that place through many generations (Zhao and Baldauf 2007:292, 296, Zhao and Baldauf 2008:144).

Another significant effect of the new script initiative is the cost that will be incurred on the non-Mandarin dialects of Chinese. This is mainly because they have many sounds that cannot be represented by the characters that represent sounds in the Mandarin dialect. An example is the word stock of the Southern Min dialect, 25% of which does not have adequate representation in the traditional Chinese script (Chen 1996b:228). The standard character rule will particularly affect dialectal place names, as a large
number of such names are written with characters that have been created due to the inability of existing characters to represent them. Replacing these characters with standard characters is likely to change their original meaning and affect the cultural and emotional significance attached to the names in which they are used (see 3.3.1 for more information). Character standardization is also likely to affect dialectal writing in China. Therefore, character standardization will especially have a significant impact on dialectal traditions and cultures. Moreover, character standardization is likely to affect the spoken forms of the dialects due to the fierce campaign to speak putonghua, which is simultaneously enforced by the Language Law. There is a strong possibility that language and script standardization in China will gradually lead to the homogenization of the linguistic diversity that characterizes the Chinese community, as it has done in Singapore due to the ‘Speak Mandarin Campaign’ (Bokhorst-Heng 1999:261).

Another group that is likely to be adversely affected are those who are in the process of achieving character literacy. The disadvantage to such learners is likely to be two-fold, because some characters that they had already learnt may have been dropped from the first tier, while some characters that they are not familiar with have been newly added. However, the Chinese documents are silent about the difficulties that the new initiative may have caused learners. Neither do they mention learning opportunities provided for these learners. This reflects a policy shift from character literacy to computer literacy. In addition, the official character list is likely to be updated regularly, because it has been stressed that any standard is only effective within a fixed period of time and needs to be reformed, as the standard needs to be in line with the times (Wang 2004:175, Wang 2009:3). This means that changes to the list will be made again and again in the future, repeatedly disadvantaging learners. According to Professor Wang Lijun of the research group engaged in updating the official list of characters, the list will undergo a minor revision in three years, and a substantial revision in ten years.

Many people could also be adversely affected by the adjustment of character shapes such as 王 (wang, king), 木 (mu tree, wood) and 愤 yong (to urge, to incite). Although the adjustment is said to be minor, it will affect forty-one characters at present, and possibly more in the future, if the shape adjustment is applied to more characters. The impact will be greater if the affected characters are high frequency characters. Also, the change in practice will be a sensitive issue if the characters are required to write
personal names and place names. This will require people to change the way they write these characters which means giving up long-term habits and re-learning to write them in the prescribed manner. Minor changes are not easy to adopt as they are more difficult to distinguish and remember.

A literary cost will be incurred on writers, particularly, those who write for the public such as journalists, academics, and other authors of written publications. They will be required to use other characters in place of any non-standard ones that they require. In the event that appropriate substitutes are not available, and permission cannot be obtained to use the non-standard characters, they may have to replace entire words in which the non-standard characters occur. As a result, their writing would become restricted, and also, certain words in the language may disappear with time. In a society that is gradually changing from a totalitarian political context to a more liberal one, script standardization which imposes unifying standards could be seen as taking away individualism, creativity and the freedom of writing for the sake of computerization (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:251).

Finally, financial costs will be incurred to re-print material, such as dictionaries, school text books, government brochures and other publications, the updated list of official characters etc. As mentioned by the Chinese media documents, an additional cost will be incurred in changing ID cards to accommodate the shape change applied to some characters. There will also be costs related to enforcing and spreading the standard characters throughout the country.

The Chinese initiative can be called a machine-oriented move as the major target is to devise a set of characters that is able to support and enhance information and communication technology. The number of people who will benefit from this move is not likely to be very high in China because computer use has not yet spread throughout the country. The immediate beneficiaries of the current initiative would be mostly the urban population, which only accounts for approximately 40% of the total population. Even in this group, only some people would be able to afford a computer and even fewer people would be able to get access to the Internet (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:214). Therefore, it is only a small minority that would benefit from the new Chinese initiative, largely, the computer literate urban youth of China.
Those who will benefit the least from the new initiative are those without functional literacy. Achieving functional literacy is more challenging in character-based communities than in alphabetic communities (see Section 2.4). This group will therefore include large numbers of the population, particularly those in the vast rural areas of China, the ethnic minorities and people in low socio-economic classes. Considering options other than maintaining the character script would have helped to bring about functional literacy for the masses.

As both the Chinese official and media texts provide explicit information only about the positive effects of the new initiative, it is likely that the attention of most readers would remain focused on the positive effects. In addition, the likelihood for readers to focus on the negative effects of the initiative is slim, because these effects mostly concern people who are backgrounded in the texts, and because information about adverse effects occurs in bits and pieces, embedded in information related to other variables.

In Japan, the new character initiative appears to benefit those who are already proficient in character literacy. The addition of 196 characters to the list is to help with reading the large volume of information that is available on information and communication systems and to overcome mazegaki, the practice of writing words partly in characters and partly in kana. In addition, the large number of additional characters and the ability to use characters outside the official list with furigana would also help written expression.

The main goals of the new policy indicate that it has drifted further away from the original policy of 1946 than when it was revised in 1981. The goal of the original policy was the education of the masses, and so, the number of characters was reduced to 1,850 through the Tōyō List. The revision made to the original policy in 1981 through the Jōyō List was a shift from the goal of mass literacy, not so much in the number of characters added but in the change of scope of the list from a prescriptive list to a guide. The number of characters added then was only ninety-five. In contrast, the changes made to the official list this time can be viewed as a reversal of the original policy also in terms of the number of characters added to the list.
The addition of a large number of new characters to the official character list, and the revitalization of the practice of handwriting are likely to increase the number of characters used in contemporary texts. The former policy action will encourage writers to use more characters in their writing. The latter action will compel schools and other educational institutions to ensure that children acquire more characters and use them in their writing. Using a high number of characters in writing will thus become a widespread practice throughout the literate community. As a result, the ability to read contemporary texts will depend on the acquisition of a higher number of characters.

The current policy revision also places a ‘burden’ on high school students, which according to media texts, is acknowledged by the script reform initiatives. While the new characters include some very complex characters, the emphasis placed on writing them by hand makes it even harder to attain mastery over the new characters. Language planners acknowledge the difficulty as evidenced by the many concessions made to ease the learning of the new characters.

Despite the many costs that will be incurred by both the Chinese and Japanese script initiatives, the information provided to the public is not adequate for people to fully comprehend the impact of the initiatives. In the market model of language planning envisaged by Cooper (1989:79), the price of the planned product is considered an important determinant of its appeal just like with any other consumer good or service. The price of a language product applies in different ways. The price includes the tangible costs incurred in the form of publishing guides, style manuals and other aids to familiarize the public with the innovation, or in the form of reprinting dictionaries, school text books and other printed material to reflect the changes made in language use. The price also includes the energy costs and psychological costs in the form of the conscious effort required of the target population to learn a new way of speaking and writing and unlearn or resist the habit of a lifetime.

This is particularly true in relation to orthographic reform as it is considered to be a particularly sensitive area in language planning, as evidenced by the recent debates over spelling reform in Europe. Even minor changes made to the orthography of a language are difficult for most people to accept because spelling habits constitute the most obvious part of language to which loyalty can be tied (Coulmas 1989:260). Therefore, it
is important to make people fully aware of the changes that are made to a writing system through language policies, well before the policies are implemented. However both the Chinese and Japanese texts control information about the undesirable aspects of the initiatives that is vital for such an understanding.

8.2 Implications of managing public perceptions

The discourse analysis in Section 7.1 showed that both the Chinese and Japanese documents use discourse strategies under the two dimensions of genre and discourse identified in Fairclough’s CDA model to legitimize policy decisions. In terms of genre, the MOE document and the Japanese Preamble were found to be the most persuasive, while the Chinese Preamble was found to be the least persuasive. Both the Chinese and Japanese media texts were found to be less persuasive than the MOE document and the Japanese Preamble, but more persuasive than the Chinese Preamble. In terms of discourse, it was found that the official documents made a particular attempt to embody official ideologies in discourse, and that the media generally reproduced the views and ideologies presented by the official documents.

The two main strategies used by both the Chinese and Japanese documents in terms of persuasion are hybrid genres and the relation of problem-solution. This was particularly evident in the MOE document and the Japanese Preamble, and to a lesser extent in the media documents. While the former strategy allows the document producers to use persuasion in an unobtrusive manner, the latter allows them to frame the current script situation in the respective countries in a particular manner that helps them to achieve their own interests.

Both the Chinese and Japanese documents use two types of hybrid genres to communicate the respective character initiatives to the public. They use a combination of reporting and persuasion to convey the factors that led to official action, and a combination of reporting, persuasion and exposition to convey policy actions planned under the new initiatives. It was also observed that while the media texts use hybrid genres to a lesser extent, the Chinese Preamble does not use them at all. When reporting is mixed with persuasion, people are unlikely to see that the document producers are doing anything more than giving information. Adding exposition to this genre mix
makes the use of persuasion even less visible, because the document producers are then seen as giving information and also explaining things along the way.

Hybrid genres that inform readers and persuade them at the same time have become a feature of public communication practices of a range of organizations in many countries today. The reason for this is seen as the orders of discourse in a number of domains becoming colonized by the advertising genre due to the promotional culture of modern societies (Fairclough 2003:112). The change in communication practices that has occurred in organizational discourse, where the focus had merely been informing the public in the past, has led to a change in organizational text types, such as policy documents, university prospectuses, company annual reports, bank information brochures etc. These texts are seen today as simultaneously informing and promoting (Fairclough 2003:112-15).

Fairclough (2000) observes in relation to his work on policy processes in Britain, that governments are increasingly using what are ‘essentially promotional genres’ to bring about socio-political change. Even in countries such as Britain, where policy formulation takes place in a more democratic context, governments use such genres to communicate with the public in a one-sided manner when the communication processes is made out to be public consultation. Fairclough (2000:254) argues that promotional genres are increasingly being used today in these countries to ‘manage public perceptions’. The popular genre used for this purpose is the hortatory report genre.

Although written in a different political context, the MOE document and the Japanese Preamble use some of the features of the hortatory report genre, such as the legitimization strategy of mythopoeisis and injunctions, when representing factors that led to the new script initiatives. This was an interesting finding, particularly in relation to the Chinese document when considering the propaganda model which was pervasive in the country during the Mao era. However, (Brady 2008:179) observes that China has rejuvenated its propaganda and thought work methodology to conform with its economic changes and has adopted strategies used in western industrialized countries to ‘guide public opinion and ‘manufacture consent’. In this effort, China has moved from mass propaganda to mass communication, creating a modern propaganda model consisting of concepts from mass communications theory, public relations, advertising,
social psychology and other areas of modern mass persuasion (Brady 2008:3). The MOE document perhaps reflects this shift.

Fairclough (2003:45) notes that politics is seen as a struggle for hegemony, a particular way of conceptualizing power. Amongst other things, it emphasizes how power depends on achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resource to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power. It can be said that the more ‘strategic’ a text is the greater the struggle it has made to achieve this. In these terms, the MOE document and also the Japanese Preamble, though to a lesser extent, appear to have made a considerable effort to convince its readership of the need for a new character list and justify the policy actions taken towards achieving this goal. However, when persuasion is combined with reporting, and sometimes also with exposition, people are unlikely to see that the text has the implicit purpose of persuading the readers, in addition to the explicit purpose of informing them and/or explaining things to them.

Another strategy that is exploited by the documents to manage public perceptions, particularly the MOE document and the Japanese Preamble, is the relation of problem solution. The strategy here is to present the current script situation and other related issues as a problem for which the best solution is the one proposed by the official script reform authorities that represent the state. The problem and the solution are developed over lengthy stretches of text using a variety of persuasive techniques such as legitimization, evaluation and relations of equivalence and difference. Both the Chinese and Japanese documents present the problem with their script mainly as the lack of an efficient set of characters that can respond to the socio-linguistic transformation their respective societies have undergone due to recent technological development. In addition to this, China also points to past script policy as contributing to the problem. Defining the problem and solution in a particular way compels the public to accept the given definitions, which in the case of the solution, is none other than the policy itself.

Decision making is also identified by Cooper (1989:91-2) as an important LP variable during which process the language problem and its solution are defined. According to him, the way the problem is defined influences the policy which is set to deal with the problem. Cooper further notes that different societies may differ in their perception of
the problem, and attributes it to the political culture of a society. The earlier view of LP as the application of technical-scientific solutions to solving given or inherited language problems is challenged today by the view that problem-making is the key issue in language policy discourse. While the problem is seen as constructed by language, the very language that constructs the problem is seen as implying or stating the origin of the problem, attributing responsibility and authoritatively vesting responsibility for its solution. While the problem setting discourse defines the solution, defining the problem helps to create the policy. Discursive devices are then used to immobilize opposition, or to gather support, and legitimize the action made inevitable through the original construction of the problem (Lo Bianco 1999:60). Taking the discourse of Official English in the US as an example, Lo Bianco states that the most commonly asserted problem in the discourse is the ‘multilingual excess whose cost and inefficiencies are intolerable and must be curtailed, and whose social effect is divisive’. As the multilingual excess is constructed as costly and divisive, the solution is constructed as curbing the costs and uniting the nation.

The analysis based on Fairclough’s CDA model showed that the Chinese Preamble uses persuasion in a very limited manner, whether in terms of using hybrid genres or in terms of using the problem-solution relation. The difference in terms of the level of persuasion between the MOE document and the Chinese Preamble is surprising as they are both official documents published on official language planning websites. The texts were also produced around the same time - the MOE document on 19 August 2009, and the Preamble on 12 August 2009. The difference that was observed in the presentation techniques does not therefore appear to be related to the time of text production. That the Preamble is the text with higher visibility is evident because it appeared as an introduction to the new list when it was announced to the public, and is therefore likely to be read by the large number of people who look at the new list. In spite of this, the Preamble does not have the volume of material found in the MOE document nor its persuasive techniques. The reason could be that they are written for different audiences. The MOE document states that it was first published in China Education Daily (the primary newspaper of the Ministry of Education), which suggests that it was written for the readership of this newspaper. The apparent differences between the two documents perhaps indicate that achieving the consent or acquiescence of this audience was considered to be more difficult or more important for the state script reform bodies than
that of the general public. This proposition is supported by observations made in relation to a shift in the political power base in China since 1986, from the working class to the educated, particularly to the educated youth (Brady 2008:187). The brevity of the Preamble and the presentation techniques used in the document suggest that not much significance is attached to the opinion of the general public in relation to language planning issues, or that not much resistance was expected from the general public.

It is also interesting to note the variation between the two preambles produced for the draft character lists by the two countries on the occasion of releasing the lists to obtain public opinion. While they both perform the same function, that of providing information to the public about the new character initiatives, the brevity of the Chinese Preamble and the less attention given to using persuasive techniques makes it markedly different from the Japanese Preamble. The highly persuasive techniques used in the Japanese Preamble indicate that winning public support is an important objective of the Japanese text. The text uses persuasive discourse to deal with such issues of resistance and uses expository discourse when public consensus is expected. In contrast, the manner of presenting information is more consistent in the Chinese Preamble because the regular report genre is used throughout the document. This again confirms that the text producers adopted a more complacent attitude towards the readership of this official document. It also indicates that they were not interested in either persuading the public or explaining to the public what is planned and why.

As mentioned in Section 7.1, both the Chinese and Japanese official texts convey ideologies through discourses – the discourse of character standardization and the discourse of breaking away from past script policy in the Chinese documents; and the discourse of language/script improvement in the Japanese texts. The views which are represented are not new but are from existing discourses that have been circulating through the community over a period of time (See Section 3.3.2 and Section 3.6.1). Both discourses, however, appear to have their roots in two popular, well-established ideologies – the character supremacy ideology of China and the *Nihonjinron* ideology of Japan. The new as well as the old ideologies are exploited by those in power in the two countries to maintain the logographic scripts in order to serve their interests and consolidate their power. As agency is in the hands of official language planners who operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education in both China and Japan, the
likelihood is high for LP decisions to be influenced by the ideologies of the state power elites.

An important role played by the discourses in the analyzed documents is suppressing resistance to official ideologies. Several strategies are employed for this purpose: first, constructing discourses which contain repeated themes and generalized abstract representations of events; second, responding to counter-views that exist in the community; and third, flooding the media and other public communication avenues with official discourses to establish a strong presence of the official view. The socio-technical upheaval represented in the Chinese MOE document and the Jōhōka Jidai (information era) represented in the Japanese Preamble to convince the reader of the urgent need for script standardization and language improvement respectively, are examples of the first strategy. Responses made in relation to views that do not favour the revival of variants in the MOE document and in relation to views that do not favour the use of an official character list in the Japanese Preamble are examples of the second strategy. The publication of a large number of online official and media documents that promote the official view during the short time span allowed for public feedback on the list is an example of the third strategy.

The representation of the socio-technical upheaval in China and the ‘information era’ in Japan help to reiterate the standardization ideology promoted by Chinese language planners and the language improvement ideology promoted by Japanese language planners. This is because through generalized abstract representations they construct the contemporary socio-linguistic situation in the two countries as signalling an imminent catastrophe, which can be averted only by taking measures to standardize the Chinese script and improve the Japanese script and language. This impression is created through the use of nominalization, lexical metaphor, and relations of equivalence and difference. In addition, the absence of explicit agency helps to suggest that there is general consensus for official views and actions. The exclusion of agency is pervasive in both active and passive sentences in the relevant sections. Social actors are excluded most of the time. In active sentences, this is done by using processes or inanimate entities in subject position instead of human agents, and in passive sentences, by excluding agency altogether. Absence of agency, while purporting objectivity and factuality, suggests consensus, thereby discouraging dissent.
An alternate way of representing the events would be providing concrete accounts that entail analysis, causality and expository argument instead of just abstract description. Such accounts would also introduce time depth, a sense of how changes over a certain period of time can produce effects subsequently. In relation to the socio-technical upheaval represented in the MOE document, a concrete, analytical account would explain the impact of a computerized service sector on contemporary society by giving information about the number of services that have been computerized, the proportion of the services in rural and urban areas, the number and percentage of people that experience difficulties in relation to characters when using these services, the number of characters that are causing the difficulties, and the period of time that the difficulties have existed. It would also discuss options other than script standardization that would help to solve the problem.

Similarly, in relation to the representation of Jōhōka Jidai (the information era) in the Japanese Preamble, a concrete, analytical account would explain the impact of information and communication systems on character use instead of creating an image of the perceived change. It would also provide comparisons between the volume of kanji sighted by the general public before and after the information age, the number and percentage of people who view more kanji now than before on a day-to-day basis, the age and education level of people who are subject to this phenomenon, the number of kanji that pose difficulties for readers of online material when compared to readers of printed material, the number and percentage of the population who do not get an opportunity to write characters by hand, and the extent to which this affects their character recognition ability.

Due to the absence of such analyses in the above discourses, readers get a mere impression of the changes that are said to be taking place in society and in reading and writing practices, rather than a proper understanding of the phenomena or of their contingency. In the absence of opportunity for critical evaluation, the likelihood is high for the constructed scenarios to remain unquestioned and for the official ideologies to get established without resistance.

With respect to responding to counter-views, the MOE document responds to the revival of abolished variants by using evaluation to create a negative attitude towards
‘strict variants’ and to emphasize that not all abolished variants were strict variants. Detailed explanation is provided to explain why variants were treated as non-standard characters in the past, and how the abolishing of characters that were not strict variants created a long-term problem. The Japanese Preamble responds to the view that an official character list is not necessary by authoritatively asserting the need for one. The assertion is based on the claim that an official character list is required to guide character use in Japanese writing so that contemporary texts will be written in a manner that is easy to understand.

The substantial number of online media documents about the new Chinese script initiative posted during August 2009 shows how the media is used to spread official ideology in China. These media documents show that they were published online between 12 August 2009 and 25 August 2009. This is significant because the time period assigned for people to give feedback on the List was between 12 August 2009 and 31 August 2009. Some media documents were also published online in quick succession on the same day. For example, on 12 August 2009, a media document about the new list was published at 10:53 a.m., and 11:20 a.m. Some media texts appeared within a few minutes of each other- 2:57 p.m., 2:59 p.m., two texts at 3:22 p.m. and one at 3:23 p.m. This indicates that a large volume of media documents about the new List appeared online during this period. This in turn may mean that most people were exposed to online news texts that primarily support the view of the script reformers during this crucial period. The publication of a raft of online media documents very close to one another can be viewed as an attempt by the media to provide people with enough information so they could give adequate feedback. However, the one-sided, pro-reform view that comes out through these documents shows that a rapid dissemination media was used to quickly spread the official view about the new script initiative, giving people little time to question the material they are presented with.

8.3 Highlights of Possible Social Justice Issues

As revealed by the above discussion, although the new Chinese and Japanese initiatives are likely to cause social justice issues, the likelihood is high for them to go unnoticed due to the strategies used to control information and manage public perceptions. The issues that are likely to be caused by China’s initiative appear to be greater than those
likely to be caused by Japan’s initiative. This is because of the more stringent nature of the Chinese initiative that arises from its character reduction policy and its decision to enforce the new initiative by a special law. Highlights of the possible social justice issues are given below for each country while identifying areas where transparency is required when providing information to the public.

First, China’s new character initiative will compel people to restrict their writing to the prescribed standard characters. This could have an impact on the writing of individuals, depending on the subject matter and the style of writing. However, it is likely to affect dialectal writing more than Modern Written Chinese (the standard) which is based on Mandarin, because many sounds in the Chinese dialects cannot be represented by the character set used to represent the standard (see Section 3.3.1 and 4.1). The initiative is also likely to restrict individual freedom in public space writing for business and advertising purposes. Article 14 (2), (3) and (4) of the Language Law states that the standard will apply to written language for the facilities in public places, signboards and advertisements, and names of enterprises and other institutions. This suggests that the standard also applies to hand-written or hand-painted characters.

Second, the character restriction will apply to both personal and place names. This measure will impact on people’s rights to use a name of their choice for their children. It will also impact on people’s rights to choose a name they wish to use, for example, on a new street, village, town etc. While it was mentioned in the examined documents that the measure will apply to the naming of new-born babies, it was not clarified whether the measure will apply to existing place names. Background information obtained on this issue revealed that there are around 4,000 or more place names at present that require non-standard characters and that eliminating these characters will have a negative impact on those place names (see Section 3.3.1). The restriction placed on personal and place names could even cause certain names, most likely many dialectal names to disappear, if appropriate substitutes are not available to represent them.

Third, the addition and deletion of characters in the first tier will place extra pressure on learners of the language as they have to adjust to the changes. Changes made to character shapes will compel people to re-learn the new character shapes, remember them, and use them accurately.
Fourth, the new initiative will incur financial costs to re-print ID cards to accommodate the new character shapes, to re-print school text books, dictionaries, character lists etc. to include the new characters that have been added and to delete the characters that are no longer considered as standard.

Similarly, the policy decisions made by the Japanese language planners are likely to make a significant change to the three-script system used in the country, making the use of the script more challenging than at present. The large number of characters added to the existing list of characters, making the learning of all new characters obligatory for high school students, and reviving the practice of handwriting in schools are likely to increase the number of characters in the Japanese mixed script in the coming years. This change would gradually increase the number of characters that people need to acquire to be able to read contemporary texts, and would therefore raise the bar of character literacy imposed for examination and employment purposes even higher. Although the new list of official characters is imposed only as a guide, it is actually enforced as an obligatory measure through institutional practices such as the school curriculum, and character literacy tests.

The control of information and the management of public perceptions observed in the examined documents are an intrinsic part of policy texts and policy discourse. Policy texts are generally constructed as reports which are generalized descriptions and not descriptions of concrete events or processes. They portray the socio-economic order as simply given, and as unchangeable by policy. They are concerned more with persuading people or urging people to believe that the policy solutions proposed by policy makers are the only practicable policies rather than opening up public dialogue discuss them (Fairclough 2003:95-6). They exercise power by producing 'truth' and 'knowledge' through discourse. There is little opportunity for obvious adversarial responses to this process of subjugation. Policies are read and responded to in discursive circumstances and therefore the effect of policy is primarily discursive (Ball 1993:14-15).

However, the effects of language policies are likely to have a much greater impact on societies than other policies. Since of late, language planning scholars have come to perceive LP implementation as a two-way model – the planner and the recipient. In this model, the recipients' attitude to language products and the acceptance of language
products are considered as important (Zhao and Baldauf 2008:270). Cooper (1989) conceives the promotion of a planned language product in terms of marketing commercial produce. Haarmann (1990) in his prestige language planning model stresses the importance of how the target population views and attaches prestige value to language products. This emerging trend in language planning gives a new interpretation not only to policy formulation but also to policy communication. A transformation of the policy communication process by applying prestige cultivation and image building principles would bring about beneficial results to language planning efforts in the Chinese and Japanese contexts.

Both the Chinese and Japanese language planners could therefore adopt a more transparent approach by providing adequate information about the new initiatives, and by using exposition to provide explanation and analyses, instead of attempting to just inform and/or persuade the public.

Chinese language planners could also provide more information about Behaviour in terms of the 103 characters that were deleted from the first tier of the list; the 500 characters that were deleted from the second tier of the list; dialectal characters and characters used in colloquial expressions that were deleted; the number of personal names and place names that cannot be represented by the standard characters on the list. The public should also be informed whether the new standard applies to existing place names and public space writing.

In terms of Means and Target Population, Chinese language planners could provide more information about how exactly the primary targets of the initiative, namely, the national organizations, educational institutions and the hospitality industry will control the script behaviour of individuals, namely, those who do not use standard characters. Also, more information can be provided about the procedure to gain permission to use non-standard characters, penalties that would be imposed on individuals for non-compliance with standard characters, and learning opportunities that will be made available for people to learn the new behaviour, that is, to learn the new characters added to the first tier and the shapes of characters that have been changed.
Both the Chinese and Japanese language planners could provide more information about the Conditions that are said to be driving the new script initiatives. The Chinese planners should provide survey results to confirm the claim that an explosion of computer use has occurred which demands a new set of characters. The Japanese planners should provide research results to confirm the claim that a large number of characters not on the Jōyō List have appeared in contemporary texts.

Language planners in both countries could provide more information about Decision Making. They should explain what other options were considered before deciding to revise the existing character lists and why those options were rejected. The Chinese language planners should also provide more information about how characters were selected for addition and deletion.

Finally, Ends could be considered against Effects and explanations should be provided to show how the Ends transcend any negative effects. This requires a clarification of motives behind the new initiatives. More specifically, the Chinese planners could explain what positive outcomes there are for the general public as a whole in standardizing the script, and the Japanese planners should likewise explain what positive outcomes are there for the general public in updating the Jōyō List.

In addition to providing more information about the new initiatives, the Chinese and Japanese language planners could use exposition rather than reporting and persuasion in the official documents. The present study showed that the media documents attempt to do this to some extent, but the attempt is not wide-spread enough to counteract the impact of reporting which is the predominant genre in the documents.

8.4 Summary

This chapter provided a comparative discussion of the implications of controlling information and managing public perceptions to legitimize policy decisions.

With respect to the first analysis, the chapter focused on implications arising from the control of information provided to the public. The discussion revealed that the information provided by the Chinese language planners is not comprehensive on any of the LP variables while the information provided by the Japanese language planners is
not comprehensive on most of them. It was found that this helps to shut out the full impact of the initiatives from the public eye, making them appear more desirable to the public. The control of information also helps to prevent the public focus on other possible options such as phonetization that could better solve the current issues related to the use of Chinese characters. With respect to the second analysis, the chapter focused on implications arising from the management of public perceptions to win public consent. The discussion revealed that the use of hybrid genres that both inform and persuade at the same time help to persuade the public in an unobtrusive manner. Also, framing the language problem in a particular manner helps to define the solution (the planned policy) in a way that is favourable to top-down language planners. The chapter also focused on the fact that the MOE document is more persuasive than the Chinese Preamble, which suggests that winning the consent of the former readership is more difficult or more important for the Chinese language planners.

The chapter revealed that as a result of the repeated use of discourses that embody official ideologies and the production of strong responses to counter-ideologies, it was possible to stifle alternative narratives and establish the official view firmly. Similarly, it was found that due to the constant reproduction of the official view through the media and the lack of media scrutiny at any useful level, the position of the power elite could be consolidated. In addition, the strategic use of language that is generally used in the official documents helps to make people accept what the authorities say without much scrutiny.

In the course of this discussion, many social justice issues that could be caused by the two initiatives came to light. Issues likely to be caused by the Chinese initiative appear to be greater than the issues likely to be caused by the Japanese initiative, perhaps due to the more stringent nature of the Chinese initiative.

8.5 Conclusion

It can be concluded that although the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives are likely to cause many social justice issues, the issues are likely to remain unnoticed by the public. This is because the information provided to the public is controlled and public perceptions are managed through the use of special strategies. The variation that
was observed across different sections of documents as well as across different documents in terms of information provision and information presentation suggests that language planners make a greater effort to win public consent when they expect greater public resistance due to undesirable features in their policies.

6.4 Findings & their Relevance

This section presents the findings from the research undertaken, discusses the main conclusions and suggests the implications for future study.

6.4.1 Summary of Findings and Main Conclusions

The study aimed to answer the following research question: 'to what extent are official public communications in language policies accurate?'

Research Questions: 1. To what extent are official public communications in language policies accurate? 2. Are public communications inaccurately summarized policy information?

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CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

This chapter summarises the major findings from the study to address the research questions, draws conclusions based on the finding and discusses their implications. The chapter also focuses on the significance and limitations of the study and discusses the potential for further research. To this end, the chapter brings together information from the background chapters and the literature review, and also from the results and discussion chapters. This helps to review the findings of the study in relation to the respective socio-political contexts of China and Japan.

The chapter consists of two main sections: The first section presents the findings from the study under the two research questions, draws the main conclusions and discusses the implications of the study. The second section comments on the significance of the study, and discusses its limitations as well as the potential it has for further research.

9.1 Findings from the Study

This section presents the findings from the study under the two research questions, draws the main conclusions and discusses the implications of the study.

9.1.1 Summary of Findings and Main Conclusions

The study aimed to answer the following research questions: 1) Is information provided to the public controlled? 2) Are public perceptions managed to legitimize policy decisions?

Research Question 1: The first research question queried whether the information provided to the public by the official and media documents is controlled. This question was considered to be important as it helps to find out the extent to which the document producers provide, constrain or withhold vital information about the script initiatives. The extent to which information is controlled in the chosen documents was assessed by using Cooper’s LP Accounting Scheme (see Section 6.1).
The investigation revealed that both the Chinese and Japanese documents control the information provided to the public about the respective script initiatives. This is done by providing information that is not adequate, and at times, information that is not explicit. The inadequacy of information was observed to be less wide-spread in the Japanese documents as it was not evident in relation to all the variables identified in Cooper’s Accounting Scheme. It was also revealed that while there are some differences between the information provided by the official and media documents, the media in both countries generally do not counter official information, but merely elaborates and clarify what is said in the official documents. The investigation also revealed that while many social justice issues are likely to be caused by the two initiatives, they are likely to remain unnoticed because information provided to the public is controlled.

**Research Question 2:** The second research question queried whether public perceptions are managed by the official and media documents to legitimize policy decisions. This question was considered to be important as it helps to find out the extent to which the document producers manufacture public consent by using various discursive strategies. The extent to which public perceptions are managed in the chosen documents was assessed by using Fairclough’s CDA model (see Section 7.1).

The investigation revealed that both the Chinese and Japanese documents manage public perceptions when presenting information about the relevant script initiatives. This is done by using a variety of strategies related to genre and discourse to present information to the public. It was also revealed that the use of persuasive techniques is evident to a greater extent in the Chinese MOE document and the Japanese Preamble than in any of the other documents. It was also found that the Chinese and Japanese language planners use discourses that embody official ideologies, respond to counter-views to suppress resistance to official ideologies, and make a strong presence on the Internet by publishing their own views. However, the media documents do not put forward any alternative discourse to what is produced by the official documents, but instead help to circulate and reproduce the official ideologies. The investigation also revealed that strategies used to manage public perceptions help to cover up the many social justice issues that are likely to be caused by the initiatives.
Based on the findings from the study, it can be concluded that both the Chinese and Japanese documents control information provided to the public and manage public perceptions by using a variety of strategies. More importantly, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these strategies are used particularly to divert public attention from aspects of the initiatives that are likely to cause social justice issues. Therefore, it is quite likely that the new script initiatives in both countries would be accepted by the public as good policies, despite the potential they have to cause many adverse effects in the respective societies. The possibility for such a situation is heightened by the fact that the media in both countries tend to adopt a servile approach in relation to the language planning decisions made by official language planners, and generally relay the official information and reproduce the official ideologies.

The above findings reflect the considerable power exercised by the official language planners in the language policy formulation process of China and Japan. First, the Chinese and Japanese language planners are able to formulate policies that could cause many social justice issues. This is because language policy is currently formulated through a top-down process in the two countries, where the recipients of the policies do not have much opportunity to make a contribution to the policy making process.

Second, the Chinese and Japanese language planners are able to control people’s knowledge by providing information that is only favourable to the policy makers. While all document producers exercise power over what to say and what not to say, the power of language planners is much greater because the documents they produce are about measures that impact on the language behaviours of people and are also read by large numbers of people. The inadequacy or the total absence of information as well as the provision of information in an indirect manner on some aspects of the policies show that planners keep vital information away from the public, particularly those aspects of the policies that are undesirable.

Third, the Chinese and Japanese language planners are able to exercise power over people’s judgements by managing public perceptions through the use of a range of discursive strategies. Persuasion is not only the dominant form of presenting information in most of the official documents, but it also helps to achieve hegemony by inducing people to think in a certain way that is favourable for the policy makers. The
occasional use of exposition is mostly for the purpose of legitimizing official actions or promoting official views.

While the above findings confirm that an unequal power relationship exists between official language planners and the public for whom they make language policies, they also show the contribution that policy texts make to sustain that relationship. The literature suggests that top-down language planning processes like that in China and Japan need to be transformed into participatory policy making processes in order to achieve equitable language policies that benefit the whole of society (see Chapter 4). However, the findings of the present study show that changing this situation around and creating an environment that enables the formulation of more equitable policies in the two countries is not going to be easy. This is because the superior status of the policy makers in terms of power and the high-handed approach they adopt in giving information to the public do not create opportunities to open up dialogue with the public. The fact that the media do not make any worthwhile contribution towards changing this power imbalance is another important factor that stands in the way of achieving a more balanced approach in policy formulation.

9.1.2 Implications of the Study

To move towards a participatory model of language planning, in which policy planners and the public engage in public dialogue, it is necessary for the planners, the media and the public to adopt an approach which is different to what is evident at present.

Policy makers should adopt a more transparent approach in policy documents. In order to achieve this, adequacy of information as well as consistency across documents should be maintained. Transparency of information will benefit not only the public but also the policy makers as it helps to win public trust and support (see Section 6.1). It is also important to encourage the genuine use of exposition to explain the policies rather than promoting them through persuasion or merely reporting policy action (see Section 7.1). In addition, making agency explicit and making representations of events concrete would help to make the policy process more open.
The media should adopt a more independent approach in providing information to the public about new policies. This could be done by making up for inadequacies in the information provided by official sources, and by creating opportunities to publish counter-ideologies to the official discourses. At the same time, the public should take more interest in LP related matters.

The proposed changes may sound unlikely to happen, particularly in the context of China's authoritarian system of government, the cultural milieu of Japan, and the servile nature of the media in the two countries. However, China has departed from its propaganda system of the Mao era which required cutting off people from outside influences, because it does not suit its modern economy based on international trade. Realizing the value of a relatively free flow of information in a modern 'knowledge economy', the Chinese leadership has adopted much of the methodology used in modern industrialized societies to guide public opinion and bring about consent. Although all media, including the Internet, are highly monitored and censored in China, there is a small number of journalists who continue to push the boundaries set by state censorship, while Chinese netizens have become technology savvy and so, have the capacity to override state censorship on the Internet to some extent. Moreover, recent events show that public opinion matters to the state more than in the past, particularly that of the educated youth. For example, while public outcry has been able to change the state direction on certain policy matters, the state has directed its attention to the educated youth providing them with more opportunities than before (see Section 3.7.3). Also, the Second National Conference on Language and Script held in 1986 shows that participants were given the opportunity to discuss different views about the future of Chinese language and script reform (see Section 3.3).

Some of these changes are reflected in the special way in which the language planners deal with the readership of the MOE document. First, as was discussed previously (see 7.1 and 8.2), the MOE document makes a considerable attempt to win the consent of the readers of China Education Daily through the use of discursive strategies. This was the document that had the highest level of persuasion out of all the documents that were examined. Also, the difference between the MOE document and the Chinese Preamble is striking in terms of the level of persuasion used, which shows that the former document makes a special effort to legitimize official action for its readership. Second,
there is a note at the top of the MOE document which states that the opinion of experts in other relevant fields were sought in the process of compiling the new standard list of characters and that consensus was reached among these participants. This indicates that the document producers have gone to great lengths to convince their readership that there was much consultation during the compilation of the list and that it is not the outcome of decisions made by just the official language planners that represent the state.

Similarly, it has been observed that the socio-political context in Japan which was a deterrent to social activism in the past is changing due to the impact of domestic and global forces. While the strong, paternalistic system of bureaucracy is losing its hold on Japanese society, civil society organizations are gaining ground in Japan. The wide public participation that was seen in matters of local and international importance in recent years (see Section 3.7) indicates a promising future for Japan in relation to social activism.

Although the media in China and Japan do not adopt an independent approach, the role played by the media in relation to LP matters is not totally without hope. This is because there is some evidence to suggest that the media would play a more independent role over time. First, while the media largely relayed official information, there were some instances when they shed light on important matters. The revelation by the Chinese media that there were dialectal characters among the characters deleted from the list, and that the revived variants are to be used only in names, and the documents published in the Japanese media questioning the validity of an official character list when the JIS list with a much larger repertoire of characters is available to the public, and expressing concerns about problems that will be caused by having characters with simplified and complex shapes on the list are examples (see Section 6.1). Also, although both the Chinese and Japanese media use persuasion to promote official action, such instances are rare unlike in the official documents. Again, while the media in both countries use discourses that embody official ideology, the representations in the discourses are more concrete than those in the official documents.

The promising signs are not many, but they still show that both China and Japan have the potential to move towards a participatory model of policy making. However, this
situation will not arise automatically, and therefore requires a significant effort from the public.

In order to move towards a participatory model of language planning, the potential for language policy dialogue that is currently evident in China and Japan needs to be transformed into reality. To achieve this, the public in the two countries need to play a more proactive role in relation to language planning matters. The first step towards achieving such a goal is making the public aware of the present language policy formulation process in the respective countries, and particularly, of how information about language policies is conveyed to the public by official and media documents. This is where critical discourse analysis can make a significant contribution to the current LP situation in China and Japan, because it helps to expose how information is controlled in policy-related documents and how consent is manufactured to win support for the policies. This helps to raise public awareness about the social justice issues that are likely to be caused by such policies, and how public attention is diverted from such issues through policy discourse.

Although the analysis of policy documents plays a major role in raising public awareness, the approach is not without limitations, particularly when applied to the socio-political contexts of China and Japan (see Section 3.7). This is because of the deep-rooted language ideologies that exist in these societies that have helped to maintain the Chinese logographic script over many years. As a result, the concept that the character script should be maintained appears to have become common sense in the two countries. This is evident from the lack of any media documents that queried the usefulness of preserving the character script although it is an impediment to functional literacy and the use of information and communication systems.

Therefore, while identifying ideological strains which underlie policy initiatives through CDA (see Section 4.5), educating the public about the challenges posed by the logographic scrip (see 2.4 and 2.5 ) when applied to modern use would also be required to change the top-down LP process into a participatory process. To this end, the production and reproduction of alternative discourses to the official discourse would be necessary, such as the inherent nature of the Chinese logographic script (2.3), the socio-economic inequalities caused by the sustenance of the script (see 8.1 and 3.9), and the
value of a phonetic script at least in a situation of digraphia (see 3.7). Such counter narratives were available in the early Mao era in China (see 3.3) and during the late 19th century in Japan (see 3.7), but were silenced in later years by growing conservatism towards reforming the character scripts.

9.2 Significance of the Study

This study has made a significant contribution to language policy research by examining on a comparative basis the new Chinese and Japanese script initiatives formally announced in 2009. While these initiatives have not been the subject of any other detailed study as yet, a comparative study of this nature has not been carried out even on a past Chinese and Japanese script policy, although the two countries experience similar challenges in their attempt to adapt the Chinese logographic script to modern needs. Most importantly, this study is significant in that it has shown the power exercised by top-down language planners not only in the formulation of language policies but also in communicating the policies to the public.

This study also contributes to language policy research in terms of the novel approach it used for the analysis of the chosen policy-related documents. The study used two analytical tools to complement each other when extracting and analyzing data - Cooper’s Language Planning Accounting Scheme and Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis Model. This two-pronged approach used in the study enabled the researcher to examine the documents from two related perspectives – in terms of whether the information provided is controlled and whether public perceptions were managed to legitimize policy decisions. One approach alone would not have made this a comprehensive study as it was found that the document producers at times provided inadequate information, at times used strategies to manage public perceptions, and at times did both.

9.3 Limitations of the Study and Future Directions

A limitation of the study is that it used the pre-established categories identified in the two analytical frameworks to extract and analyze data. This approach was chosen as it helps to make comparisons across data in a systematic manner, which is particularly
important for the present study due to its comparative focus. The method, however, precludes researchers from getting the full benefit of the qualitative approach which allows free observation of whatever data is available in the examined documents.

Also, the study only examined documents that were published around the formal announcement of the new script initiatives in 2009. The purpose was to capture the information that was provided to the public when their opinion was sought on the new official character lists, as this is a significant moment in character-based communities. However, this method did not allow a full exploration of the related policy discourse from the early planning days of the initiatives up until their formal announcement. Such an investigation though illuminating, would not have been manageable within the scope of the study.

The present study indicates several future directions that would enrich the study and extend further the contribution it makes to the area of Chinese and Japanese script reform. An important area of research in this respect is examining how script policy documents were written in the past in the two countries, in other words, whether the information provided to the public in those times was controlled, and whether discursive strategies were used to legitimize official actions. This could be done by examining official documents circulated when promulgating a new script policy or releasing a new character list in the past, as well as related media documents. Such a study would allow an exploration of any evolution that is taking place towards a consultative approach in policy making.

Also, examining the implications of the policies from a bottom-up perspective would be important to find out how they are implemented in local contexts, such as provincial administrative and educational institutions. This would also provide the opportunity to find out who the adopters, non-adopters, quick adopters and slow adopters are, and whether there would be any differences among adopters in terms of age, gender, dialectal background, educational status etc. Another related aspect that can be explored is the impact of policies on the language behaviours and practices of people in local contexts, for example, whether the use of non-standard characters disappears as expected or is replaced sometimes by pinyin in the Chinese writing system, and whether the use of mazegaki wanes in the Japanese writing system as expected, or continues.
regardless of the opportunity given to use more Chinese characters. Both areas of research would entail interviews with actors directly or indirectly involved in decision-making as well as with people affected by the decision-making process.
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Appendix 1: Cooper’s Language Planning Accounting Scheme

Cooper’s language planning framework consists of the following elements: the actors who did the planning, the behaviours they attempted to influence, the population they targeted, the ends that motivated them, the conditions under which they operated, the decision-making rules they used in policy formulation, the means they used to implement the policies, and the effect they achieved or hoped to achieve.

**Actors:** Actors consists of formal elites, influentials and authorities. Formal elites are those officially empowered to initiate policy or make policy decisions. Influentials are the privileged sectors of society who may influence the formal elites. Authorities are those who engage in the actual formulation of policies. The level at which the policy decision is made is also important, because what appears as policy making at one level may be implementation at another.

**Behaviours:** This includes both the structural and functional properties of the planned behaviour. For example, in planning the acquisition of a language, an important structural property to be considered is the extent to which the target language is similar to the known languages. Generally, this amounts to the familiarity of the innovation. Function refers to the purpose for which the innovation is planned. For example, when trying to introduce a new written style, it is important to recognize that different written styles are appropriate for different purposes.

**Target population:** The Target Population consists of primary and intermediary targets. The plain language movement of the United States primarily targeted corporate bodies because the movement aimed to improve the comprehensibility of various corporate documents such as consumer contracts, warranties, government forms, regulations, instructions and legislation. In this situation corporate bodies were the primary targets. They were intermediary targets in the LP situation initiated by the feminist movement, because the feminists targeted professional organizations to change their editorial policies to impose the use of non-sexist language. They tried to influence the communicative behaviours of individuals by first influencing the behaviour of professional organizations.

**Ends:** The primary motive for public policy formulation is seen as stress (Ellsworth and Stahnke 1976 cited in Cooper 1989:90). Stress is defined as the impairment of the authorities’ ability to govern, which may range from the threat to a single authority’s
tenure in office to threat to a regime, to the entire political order. Therefore, policy
decisions derive largely from authorities’ response to or avoidance of a threat to loss of
power. Because rise in stress may damage public confidence, authorities try to deal with
potential disorder in a routine manner, before disturbances become serious enough to
impair the authorities’ ability to govern.

Conditions: Conditions that influence policy can be seen in terms of four broad
categories: situational, structural, cultural, and environmental conditions. Situational
factors are relatively temporary conditions or events that have an immediate impact on
policy, such as wars and riots, economic cycles (depression, recession, inflation),
natural disasters, political events (the extension of suffrage, change of government,
achievement of independence), and technological change.

Structural factors are more permanent in nature than situational factors because they are
associated with the relatively unchanging features of a society’s political, economic,
social, demographic, and ecological structures. Type of regime (military or civilian,
socialist or non-socialist), form of government (parliamentary, non-democratic), and
prior policy commitments are some of the political factors. Among the economic factors
are the type of economic system (free market, planned, mixed economy), the economic
base (primarily agrarian or industrial, diversified or dependent on a single product), and
national wealth and income (size and growth rate of gross national product). Social,
demographic and ecological factors include population (age structure, birth rate,
communal division, geographical distribution, level of education), degree of
urbanization, and geographic location (access to sea or landlocked, proximity to
militarily strong or weak neighbours). As structural factors are more long-lasting they
are likely to have a more sustained and thus a more predictable impact on policy than
situational factors.

Cultural factors refer to the attitudes and values held by groups within the community or
by the community as a whole. This includes political culture as well as institutions and
arrangements such as sex roles, marriage, the family, and religion.

Environmental factors are events, structures, and attitudes which exist outside the
system by which decisions within it are influenced. These include the international
political environment (cold war, détente), international agreements, obligations,
pressures (World Bank loans, treaties), and private international corporations.
Means: This refers to the manner in which the new policy is implemented – whether through authority, force, promotion or persuasion. Authority refers to the psychological relationship between the ruler and the ruled and the resultant acceptance by the ruled that the ruler’s right to make and enforce laws is legitimate. This means that people accept the policy because it is imposed by some authority. Force refers to the ability of rulers to put their decisions into effect by punishing non-compliance through violation or evasion of the rules.

Decision Making: Rules applied in decision making are an important aspect of a language planning situation. A sequence of activities comprising six steps is identified according to the rational model of decision making. They are 1) identification of the problem, 2) search for information relevant to the problem, 3) production of possible solutions, 4) choice of one solution, 5) implementation of the solution and 6) a comparison of predicted and actual consequences of action. Of these, defining the problem is of special significance because the way the problem is defined influences the policy which is set to deal with the problem. Decision Making also includes how language planners select among alternatives in an effort to standardize terminology, orthography etc.

Effects: These refer to the outcome of a LP process, the actual or the predicted consequences of a policy.

(Based on Cooper 1989:72-97)
Appendix 2: Glossary of Terms Used in the CDA Analysis

Abstract/Concrete Representation of Social Events

Elements of social events can be represented in an abstract manner or in a concrete manner. An abstract representation mostly excludes agency. The use of nominalization, passive verbs, intransitive verbs, inanimate nouns as agents of verbs, or human agents in a generic sense results in making a representation abstract. For example, processes can be represented as entities through nominalization, instead of representing them as processes by using clauses or sentences with verbs. This is done by transforming clauses into nominals or noun-like entities. Nominalization results in the exclusion of the agents of processes, such as people who initiate processes, or act upon other people or objects.

In addition to the exclusion of agency, other elements of social events such as objects, means, times, and places are also excluded in an abstract representation of social events (Fairclough 2003:12-13, 124).

Authorization

Authorization is ‘legitimization by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law and of persons in whom some kind of institutional authority is vested’ (Fairclough 2003:98).

Causal Relations

Causal relations are a type of semantic relations between sentences and clauses. They generally show relations of reason, result and purpose. These semantic relations are usually marked by connecting words such as, ‘due to,’ ‘as a result of,’ ‘because’ etc. However, causal relations are not always explicitly marked (Fairclough 2003:89).

Collocation

Collocation is a regular habitual pattern of co-occurrence between words. It refers to words that most frequently precede and follow any word which is in focus, either immediately or a few words away. Different discourses may use the same words but they may use them differently. One can identify these differences by focusing on the semantic relations between the words used (Fairclough 2003:213).
Discourses

Discourses relate to how a writer represents different aspects of the world: the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the mental world of thoughts, feelings, beliefs, and the social world. Discourses differ in how they represent elements of social events (processes, people, objects, means, times, places). Social events can be represented at different levels of abstraction and generalization. Discourses are also distinguished by the linguistic features that realize the discourse. These can be both lexical and grammatical. Discourses within a text can be thought of as representing a particular aspect of the world and as representing it from a particular perspective. Therefore, textual analysis of discourses helps to focus on the aspects of the world that are represented in a text and understand the particular perspective from which they are represented (Fairclough 2003:124).

Equivalence and Difference

Equivalence and Difference are types of textual relations. Relations of difference help to differentiate between various entities (people, objects, organizations etc.) in texts, while relations of equivalence help to collapse differences between them (Fairclough 2003: 88).

Evaluation

Evaluation is the explicit and implicit ways in which writers commit themselves to values. When evaluation is explicitly expressed, the evaluative element can be found in the attribute of an evaluative statement, which may be an adjective such as ‘good’; or a noun phrase such as ‘a bad book’; or an adverb such as ‘dreadfully’ or a verb such as ‘chickened out’. Implicit evaluation is triggered by certain words such as ‘help’. An example is the sentence ‘This book helps to ....’, because whatever follows ‘helps to’ is likely to be positively evaluated. Implicit evaluation also depends on assumptions of shared familiarity with implicit value systems between the writer and the reader (Fairclough 2003:171-173).

Genre

Genre relates to the activities a writer engages in within a text. In other words, it is about what the writer is doing in the text, whether (s)he is reporting, explaining, persuading etc. and what strategies are used when engaging in these activities.
Linguistic features in a text depend on genre, therefore, the linguistic analysis of a text sheds light on the nature of its activity (Fairclough 2003:69-72).

**Higher Level Semantic Relations**

Meaning relations that occur over long stretches of text are called global or higher level semantic relations. Two common relations of this type are *Problem-Solution* and *Goal-Achievement* relations (Fairclough 2003:91-92).

**Hortatory Report**

Hortatory Report is a common contemporary genre, particularly in the domain of policy formulation in government. It constitutes descriptions with a covert prescriptive intent, aimed at getting people to act in certain ways on the basis of representations of what is. The use of *mythopoesis* (legitimization through narrative) and *moral evaluation* (legitimization by reference to value systems) tend to predominate in the hortatory report (Fairclough 2003:95-96).

**Hyponymy**

Hyponymy is the re-wording of a particular word or expression. Through re-wording, a relation of equivalence can be textured between different concepts. The re-wording of ‘globalization’ as ‘economic progress’ that occurs in some contemporary discourses is an example (Fairclough 2003:127).

**Moral Evaluation**

Moral Evaluation is ‘legitimization by reference to value systems’. It often occurs together with *Rationalization* and *Mythopoesis* which are other types of legitimization (Fairclough 2003:98).

**Mythopoesis**

Mythopoesis is legitimation through narrative. A form of Mythopoesis is used in policy documents that portray particular policies as made inevitable by the way the world now is. In such documents, claims about what is the case alternate with predictions about what will happen and what needs to be done to prevent adverse consequences. Although legitimation is not conveyed through a narrative in the strict sense, the implication is that certain good things will happen if the inevitable policies
are implemented, and certain bad things will happen if they are not (Fairclough 2003: 98-99).

Nominalization

‘Nominalization is a type of grammatical metaphor which represents processes as entities by transforming clauses (including verbs) into a type of noun. For instance, ‘employees produce steel’ is a non-metaphorical representation of a process, whereas ‘steel production’ is a metaphorical, nominalised representation. As this example shows, nominalization often entails excluding social agents in the representation of events (in this case, those who produce steel.) It is a resource for generalizing and abstracting which is indispensible in, for instance, science, but can also obfuscate agency and responsibility’ (Fairclough 2003:143-145, 220).

Problem-Solution Relation

Problem-Solution Relation is a text organization method. It is a type of higher level semantic relation that occurs over a long stretch of text. The problem-solution relation is present in a text that is organized in terms of a Problem and a method for Solution. Many advertisements are built around this relation because the problem is the particular need of potential customers and the solution is the product that is made to respond to the problem. The problem solution relation is also commonly found in policy texts because a policy is formulated as a solution to a problem (Fairclough 2003: 91).

Rationalization

Rationalization is ‘legitimization by reference to the utility of institutionalized action’ or procedures or structures in achieving certain agreed ends (Fairclough 2003:99). An example of legitimization in a particularly explicit form is specifying what motivates actions, procedures etc. in the form of semantic relations of purpose, to foreground their rationality. The semantic relations of purpose are usually explicitly marked by connectors (‘so that,’ ‘the purpose of this,’ ‘in order to’) (Fairclough 2003: 98-99).

Semantic Relations between Sentences and Clauses

These are meaning relations between sentences and between clauses within sentences. The main semantic relations are causal, conditional, temporal, additive, elaborative and contrastive/concessive relations. News reports are a type of narrative and so temporal
relations between events are usually specified in a news report. A news report also gives
details about events, and so, additive and elaborative relations are also found in a news
report Fairclough 2003: 89).

**Semantic Relations between Words**

These are meaning relations between words. Constructing such relations is a way of
classifying and grouping certain words together in terms of meaning. Hyponymy and
collocation are examples of semantic relations that can be created between words.
Semantic systems constructed in a particular way help to generate particular visions of
the world and therefore, play an important part in the political process of seeking to
achieve hegemony (Fairclough 2003: 101).

**Social Actors**

Social actors are participants in social processes. However, all participants are not social
actors. Social actors can be represented in a number of different ways. First, they can be
included or excluded in the representation of events. Second, if they are included, they
may function as nouns or pronouns, as subject or object, in activated or passivated role.
Third, they may be represented personally or impersonally (e. g. referring to employees
as ‘human resources’), named (given personal names), classified in terms of a class or
category e.g. ‘teachers’), or referred to specifically or generically. How social actors are
represented is of social significance. For example, if ‘the poor’ are consistently
passivated (represented as subject to the action of others), the implication is that they
are incapable of agency (Fairclough 2003:222).

**Strategies of Legitimization**

There are four main strategies of legitimation used in texts. They are Authorization
(‘legitimization by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law and of persons in
whom some kind of institutional authority is vested’), Rationalization (‘legitimization
by reference to the utility of institutionalized action’), Moral Evaluation
(‘legitimization by reference to value systems’) and mythopoesis (‘legitimization
conveyed through narrative’) (Fairclough 2003: 98).