

GLOBAL HABITUS: COLLECTIVIST AND INDIVIDUALIST VALUES IN CULTURAL CAPITAL AMONG CHINESE MALAYSIAN YOUTH

Rachel Chan Suet Kay*, Juli Edo and Rosila Bee Hussain

Department of Anthropology & Sociology, Universiti Malaya, MALAYSIA

*Corresponding author: rachelchansuetkay@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper highlights how Chinese-educated Chinese Malaysian undergraduate youth display a preference for not only collectivist but also individualist values, as indicated by the cultural capital based on preference in books. The study is based on the theoretical framework of cultural capital as introduced by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and the choice of book preference as indicator follows a large scale study of modern China by Wang, Davis and Yanjie (2006). It is found that contrary to literature which suggests that the Chinese diaspora are more prone to collectivism, respondents of this small-scale study show openness to both collectivist and individualistic values. This indicates a cultural homogenisation effect on the cultural capital possession of respondents. As the study only includes a convenience sample of Chinese Malaysian undergraduates pursuing their undergraduate study through a Chinese-language medium, the findings are not meant to generalise the entire population.

Keywords: books, cultural capital, Chinese Malaysian, individualist values, collectivist values

INTRODUCTION: THE ORIGINS, IDENTITY AND EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE MALAYSIANS

The Chinese diaspora covers approximately 40 million people across all continents of the world, originally leaving mainland China for other places in search of better economic opportunities (Jacques, 2008). Also termed the "overseas Chinese", they continue to possess a strong sense of shared identity based on their powerful attachment to mainland China (Jacques, 2008). In Malaysia there are 6,601,000 people of Chinese ethnicity (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014).

Before achieving Independence in 1957, Malaysia was known as Malaya. Historically, Malaya was a British colony throughout the 19th century. During that time, Chinese migrants from South China arrived in large numbers to Malaya due to economic opportunities such as tin mining. Malaya was then made up of

various ethnicities, from the Malays, to the Indians and Chinese who migrated here for work.

The Southern Chinese migrated to Malaya hoping to succeed in their life endeavours in making money. While doing so, they continued to maintain ties with their families back in mainland China (Cheong, Lee and Lee, 2013). However, when they succeeded in earning a steady income in Malaya, they found it was difficult to leave their prosperous lives behind and return to China. Thus they aimed to settle down, establishing a base in Malaya and developing a need to educate their children.

The powerful attachment felt by the overseas Chinese tended to override regional and political differences (Jacques, 2008), even as its members continued to be involved in the economics, politics and culture of their new homes. However, not all overseas Chinese and their narrative of "Chineseness" could be contained within one single rubric, that of being under the cultural hegemony of China (Ang, 2001). This makes the issue of "Chinese identity" formation complex.

As Malaysia's economy developed and opened up to the global market in the 1970s and 1980s (Nelson, 2008), the nation became a part of the globalisation process. This entailed an opening up of values to embrace free-market ideology and other subsets of the latter which could result in a transformation of individual attitudes. Thus individuals would no longer be solely defined by the values embraced by education. As numerous hyper-globalisation theorists had argued that globalisation would impact the cultural sphere, causing a homogenisation of local cultures, for this reason, we conducted this study to examine if this was indeed the case.

CHINESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA

The centrality of Chinese language to the formation of Chinese Malaysian identities indicates that Chinese language socialisation is important. Tan (1997) states that language is an important indicator of Chineseness for the Chinese Malaysians. This is because literacy in Chinese enables one to read Chinese and have direct access to the Chinese literary heritage with the opportunity to learn more about Chinese history, philosophy, and civilisation in general (Tan, 1997). Education is the socialisation agent responsible for this. Thus we shall look briefly into the history of Chinese-language education and English-language education in Malaysia.

According to Purcell (1948), Chinese-medium schools were formed by the migrant Chinese community in Malaya, inheriting the syllabus from nationalist China. Tan and Santhiram (2010) chronicled the conditions of the Chinese-medium schools and English-medium schools. Chinese-medium schools were originally clan-based and private. They were formed based on the ideology

of the triumphant nationalist party in China. The schools were small, containing 20–30 pupils, with one teacher who was usually a master of many other trades and considered a village elder. The syllabus was obtained from nationalist China, with the ruling party occasionally sending teachers over to Malaya to garner overseas Chinese support. It emphasised Confucian teachings, the knowledge of classical Chinese texts, calligraphy, skill with the abacus, and the ideology of Sun Yat-sen. Students were the children of Chinese migrants who believed strongly in the Kuomintang nationalist belief, and when they completed their education they regarded themselves purely as "Chinese". In the beginning, the British were content to leave them alone until their political activism threatened to overthrow the colonial law and order.

After Malaysia achieved its Independence in 1957, reforms were introduced in the overall national education policy. Tan and Teoh (2014) chronicled the development of Chinese education in Malaysia from 1952 to 1975. This is the period which begins with the British transforming vernacular schools into English-Malay bilingual ones, and ends with the gradual replacement of the English medium with the Malay medium in national schools. According to Tan and Teoh (2014), in 1952 the British enacted the Education Ordinance with the publication of the Barnes Report. This established English-Malay bilingual primary schools, also known as national schools, to replace Chinese and Tamil vernacular schools which the British colonial officers initially supported but later viewed negatively in terms of achieving national unity. Many Chinese vernacular schools elected to switch to the national medium as well, in order to receive state funding. These were called National-Type Chinese Schools, or Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan Cina (SJKC). SJKC schools initially used the English-language medium of instruction, but switched to Malay 10 years after Malaysia's Independence. But some Chinese vernacular schools did not switch, and so did not receive state funding and were called Independent Chinese High Schools. Chinese educationists in Malaysia had all throughout, intended to maintain the upholding of Chinese language as the medium of instruction, together with an internal Chinese school culture. Ting (2013) differentiated the remaining "Chinese schools" from schools that were formerly "English schools". Ting (2013) wrote that from 1970 to 1982, the English-medium schools experienced a gradual transition into becoming Malay medium schools. Schools which had converted from the Mandarin medium were known as "Chinese-conforming schools", while those converted from the English medium were called "English-conforming schools" (Ting, 2013). Thus, there was still a demarcation between the two types of education systems, which could result in its students still being socialised into different values.

All throughout this, a social movement known as *Dongjiaozong* was established to safeguard the interest of Chinese educationists in Malaysia (Ang, 2009). It comprises *Dongzong*, which is the United Chinese School Committee Association of Malaya and *Jiaozong*, which is the United Chinese School

Teachers' Association of Malaya (Ang, 2009). Because of its active role in defending Chinese education as a symbol of Chinese culture and rights, it is highly looked up to (Ang, 2009). As a social movement, however, *Dongjiaozong* faces pressure from globalising forces to adapt, especially in the aspect of nation-building in Malaysia (Ang, 2009). Thus, this may also spell a change in the flow of cultural values and norms in Chinese-language schools.

THE GLOBALISED CONTEXT

The current context of this study is the globalised world. There are many definitions of globalisation, but we shall select one of the most comprehensive ones by the sociologist Malcolm Waters (2001):

a social process in which the constraints of geography on economic, political, social, and cultural arrangements recede, in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding, and in which people act accordingly.

The boundaries of the world are overcome and people need to be aware of this process. This definition contains both materialist (boundaries receding) and idealist elements (awareness). Another sociologist, Roland Robertson, outlines that awareness is composed of a global phenomenology that connects the individual to the rest of the world (Waters, 2001). Hyper-globalists, or those who believe in and advocate globalisation as a real process with real consequences, outline that for it to happen it must affect economic, political and social-cultural dimensions (Giddens and Sutton, 2013). According to Zawawi (2004), globalisation both homogenises and fragments. Because of this traversing of borders, the question of culture, identity, the media, and how they are intertwined arises (Abdul Rahman, 2011).

Major theorists of globalisation, such as sociologist Leslie Sklair with his global system theory have often attributed the process of globalisation to the transnational elite. Also known as the transnational capitalist class, this social group is divided into four fractions, which are the "owners and controllers of transnational corporations and their local affiliates; globalising bureaucrats and politicians; globalising professionals; and consumerist elites which include merchants and media" (Sklair, 2000). The media which they control serves to project desirable images of the transnational elite as citizens of the world, as well as of their origin country or places of birth (Sklair, 2000).

The mass media is one of the main platforms in spreading the awareness of globalising forces and its values. In today's globalised world, the media is all pervasive and omnipotent, and is a shaper of opinions, attitudes and beliefs (Abdul Rahman, 2011). It includes not only print forms but also electronic and

new media, allowing us to access almost anything in 24 hours a day, seven days a week (Abdul Rahman, 2011). This accessibility to the Internet continues to increase, enabling one to learn about practically anything through it (Adlina, 2005).

The issue of values thus arises in the scope of culturally globalised mass media. Malaysian academicians and journalists have discussed the impact of global media on the local media (Adlina, 2005). For instance, Uthman (2003) writes about the "decadent values of the Western world through the global media" and Md Salleh (2001) states that "most of the film, sitcom and drama series shows on TV in Malaysia are transmitted from the USA, UK Europe and Australia, embracing values that are familiar to the Western communities" (Adlina, 2005). This gives support to the position that cultural globalisation is essentially Americanisation. While the world may be considered "borderless" by some, a large proportion of transnationally produced mass media do come from the USA, followed by the UK, and Europe. In general, the inculcation of western style and values on local food and fashion is considered as the assimilation of global culture into Malaysian traditions (Mohd. Pileh, 2001; Zakaria, 2001; Sulaiman 1998; in Adlina, 2005).

However, not all theorists agree that globalisation is the same as Americanisation, or that cultural flows only spread out from the West. For example, Appadurai (1990) distinguished "scapes", or geographical regions influential in different aspects of globalisation. This can be seen where countries like China, Japan, and Korea have also become influential in the production of transnational mass media, especially in the case of the expansion of the Chinese film industry to include international stakeholders (Frater, 2015) and the case of the global K-pop phenomenon (Shim, 2006). Hence, in our choice of books we have chosen both books which were originally popular in Europe and in East Asia.

Thus, the question for us is, under the influence of cultural globalisation, can the aforementioned notion of "Chineseness" based on language and education still hold water? This study delves into this issue by looking at the case of a selected group of Chinese youth in Malaysia.

CONFUCIAN AND WESTERN LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Confucian values have long been mentioned in numerous studies of ethnic Chinese. It has been used to denote the Chinese civilisation itself (Hu, 1997). Behaviour and attitudes unique to the Chinese have been said to stem from the practice of this philosophy, which rooted itself in ancient China more than 2,000 years ago. A recent study by Huang and Gove (2012) described Confucianism as practiced by Chinese families and the education process. Based on a study in the US, they noted several characteristics central to Confucianism that pertains

specifically to the interdependence between family structure and education. According to Huang and Gove (2012),

Confucianism is embedded in Chinese culture and places value on education at the societal, familial, and individual levels. Chinese cultures value the collectivist ideology which affects family functions and behaviours. Education is considered a family business and an interdependent process for many Chinese families. Filial piety is a very significant virtue in Chinese families. The Chinese education system is highly structured. Family hierarchy and harmony is highly valued.

From this collection of values, the Confucian individual is subservient to the family's wishes (especially the parents and elders), is collectivist and emphasises group harmony, and places great importance on individual achievement through education, acknowledging the family's crucial role in the latter.

Collectivism has often been attributed to Confucian societies. Hofstede (1984) classified Chinese-majority societies such as China, Taiwan and Singapore as collectivist, and this was echoed by many others such as Leung and Bond (1984), Shenkar and Ronen (1987), and Lockett (1988) who found a strong group orientation particularly in China (Wong, 2001). The influence of looking towards mainland China may have been pivotal in educating Malaysian ethnic Chinese towards embracing similar group orientations.

Confucian values have also been contrasted to the West, creating an East vs. West dialectic. Confucian values are often credited for the creation of "Asian values", which was said by Lee Kuan Yew to be the reason why Asian nations differ in terms of orientation towards the Western concept of "democracy" (Dalton and Ong, 2005). Indeed, much of the literature has compared Confucian values (or its subset "Asian values") against Western democratic principles. These studies claim that because of Confucian traditions, "East Asian societies are paternalistic, accept hierarchic authority, and community-oriented characteristics that promote order and consensus". They claimed that conversely, Western societies are "rights-based and individualistic, which is congruent with the competitive elements of democratic competition" (Dalton and Ong, 2005).

However, there are in fact several similarities and differences between Confucianism and Western liberal democracy (Hu, 1997) as shown in Table 1. The main similarity between Confucianism and Western liberal democracy is that both believe in utilitarian goals. The major difference between the two value systems then, is that while Confucianism believes in social hierarchy, the importance of the family, ethics and the rationality of human beings; Western liberal democracy believes in equality, individualism, the rule of the people and the law, and has a pessimistic view of human nature.

Table 1: Similarities and differences between Confucian and Western liberal democratic values (Hu, 1997)

Similarities	Differences	
	Confucianism	Western liberal democracy
Oppose despotism	Assumes that human beings are educable and rational; disagrees with pessimistic assumption.	Pessimistic assumption on the nature of human beings, e.g. selfishness and prone to conflict.
Believe that the interests of rulers and the people to be closely related and mutually beneficial	Prioritises family as a basic social unit, and the value of filial piety over individualism. Believes in social hierarchy.	Prioritises equality as a goal.
Confucianism defends people's rights, and bears similarity to Kantian deontology (Durkheim, in Giddens 1971)	Prefers ethics over law	Prefers rule of law
Advocate active participation in politics	Not concerned with selecting rulers; though it acknowledges that a commoner may become a ruler.	Believes that in leadership, people should select and control rulers.
Prioritises civic virtue, such as benevolence and propriety	–	–

However, this paper acknowledges that in real life, no value system can be practiced in such a clear-cut way. Over the course of human history, the practice of both value systems has diverged from the time they were first introduced. Confucianism, which stemmed from China, had diverged in the way it was practiced throughout the course of history. While its practice is now commonly associated with collectivism, most commonly caricatured as rote learning, Confucius' own personal life was driven by a desire for lifelong learning through experience (Smits, n.d.)¹. Confucius advocated learning by first memorising and repeating the basics, then later progressing to mastery by experimenting with new techniques (Smits, n.d.). However, this second part of Confucius' approach to learning was often ignored. In ancient China itself, other notable philosophers who studied Confucius' works had also challenged his assumptions or innovated upon his ideas, such as Mencius, Xunzi, and Han Feizi. Mencius innovated an argument style based on the appeal to emotion, while Xunzi adopted a pessimistic view of human nature. Han Feizi meanwhile introduced Legalism which contrasted with Confucianism as the former advocated the strict rule of law over the latter's focus on benevolence. In modern China, significant events such as the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 led towards the clamping down of cultural practices which originated from the "Four Olds" – old customs, old habits, old culture, and old thinking – inspired by

Confucianism (*Spice Digest*, 2007). This transformed the education system in China (*Spice Digest*, 2007). However, the outcome of this development was not absorbed by Malaysian Chinese-language schools.

Where liberal democracy is concerned, it has also been practiced with differing results. According to Held (1993), due to events of the Second World War, some philosophers considered the European Enlightenment as the origin of domination and totalitarianism in the West (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1972). Meanwhile, as of today, superpowers such as the United States which were founded on the principles of liberal democracy such as individual freedom and equality, face challenges from the economic ideology of neoliberalism. Economic neoliberalism advocates a free market on the surface but essentially threatens individual liberty by reducing the power of nation-states to support individuals' welfare, and instead making individuals responsible for themselves (Payne, 2006). Under such a condition, individuals are encouraged to become more competitive, instead of focusing on utilitarian good. Fukuyama (1989) claimed that the West had triumphed precisely because of its adherence to free trade policies, giving rise to a "consumerist Western culture". In fact, this ideology became so widespread that it was later transmitted to China as well, according to Fukuyama (1989). Also, theorists such as Mukand and Rodrik (2015) claim that most of today's democracies are not strictly liberal democracies but are actually electoral ones.

To this extent, the current practice of value systems may change. However, we assume that in terms of cultural capital, individuals aim to live up to the ideals of each value system. We can thus conceptualise each value set as a Weberian ideal type. For the purpose of this paper, we will refer to the Confucian value set as "collectivist values" and the Western liberal democratic value set as "individualist" values. We highlight the existence of both collectivist and individualistic values in the three main book choices among respondents. Then we will match the review of each book to respondents' own claimed values.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

In this study, cultural capital has been the framework used to indicate the tastes of individuals. Bourdieu (1984) first coined the term cultural capital to describe the worldview, life experiences, and lifestyle preferences of select groups of people demarcated by their relations to the means of production. Cultural capital includes three forms, which are the objectified, institutionalised, and embodied forms. The embodied form is the *habitus*, or lived dispositions; the objectified form is the consumption of commodities; and the institutionalised form includes the legitimacy accorded to forms of cultural capital by social institutions such as education (Igarashi and Saito, 2014).

The backbone of this study is based on a survey questionnaire designed by the first author, complemented by an in-depth interview regarding respondents' attitudes towards their acquired norms and values. In totality we included 64 questions spanning all three forms of cultural capital. However for the purpose of this paper, we focused on book preference, which is a form of objectified cultural capital, as well as respondents' personal values, a form of institutionalised cultural capital.

The population studied was Chinese Malaysian youth aged between 18 to 25 and studying at the tertiary level in education institutions near Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia's capital city. Purposive sampling was used to define the population while convenience sampling was used to identify individual respondents. Because this study is exploratory, probability sampling was not required. New Era College was chosen for the Chinese-medium institution because it was founded by *Dongjiaozong*. New Era College was established as a Chinese tertiary educational institution for the realisation of a complete Chinese education system in Malaysia.² In total, 60 hard copy filled questionnaires were obtained.

BOOK PREFERENCES AS OBJECTIFIED CULTURAL CAPITAL

Book preferences were used to indicate cultural capital among 400 modern Chinese couples in China (Wang, Davis and Yanjie, 2006). According to Wang, this indicator has been widely accepted to indicate cultural diversity and societal cleavages, even in the work of Bourdieu (1984). We will discuss our classification of our selected book genres based on Wang, Davis and Yanjie's (2006) categorisation of book preferences into four main factors out of 22 genres (Table 2). Wang, Davis and Yanjie (2006) carried out a study of cultural capital in modern urban China based on the reading habits of 400 couples.

Based on the classifications of book genres, we tried to integrate similar genres of books according to the four factors. We included one example of an aesthetically coded literary book (*Kafka's The Castle*); three examples of popular fiction (*Hosseini's The Kite Runner*, *Rowling's Harry Potter* and *Tong Hua's Bu Bu Jing Xin*); one example of business-related text (*Kotler's Introduction to Marketing*); and one example of family life which includes children's books (*Fujiko's Doraemon*). As of 2014, Malaysians on average now read about 14 books a year, and have less difficulty accessing a variety of books because of the Internet and social media, according to the National Library of Malaysia.³ Still, given that our scope includes university students only, we chose these books because of their recognisability among the Malaysian public, for their availability in bookstores, and for their likelihood of being popular among university students.

Table 2: Shaoguang Wang's classification of book genres into four main factors

	Genre Factor	Sub-genre
1	Aesthetically coded, intellectually challenging, factual/documentary books	Poetry/prose, masterpieces of literature, philosophy, foreign relations, reportage, biography, current events
2	Popular fiction	Romance, martial arts, detective, sci-fi
3	Business-related	Stocks, bonds, management
4	Family life	Education/children's books, romance, everyday life

Among these books, three were originally published in English, one was originally published in Mandarin, one was originally published in German and one was originally published in Japanese. This reflects a variety of major international languages in our selected range of books. However, all these books have later been translated into English, while Doraemon was translated into Malay, Malaysia's national official language. This overcame any possible language barrier to our respondents.

We attempted to discern respondents' book preferences by posing them a question, which was "If you could choose only one book out of this exhaustive list, which book would you choose?" We used actual book names rather than genre names as we wanted to minimise the difficulty of respondents' decision-making because of possible confusion. Using only one book also minimises the difficulty of coding responses, as allowing more than one choice may cause response overlap. Table 3 represents the classification of the six books given as choices to respondents in our close-ended questionnaire. The books below are classified by language, genre, and content.

Table 3: Book options given to survey respondents, classified by language, genre and content

Book	Language	Genre	Content
<i>Harry Potter</i>	English	Young adult fiction	Magic, fantasy, parallel universe, trials of growing up
<i>Kite Runner</i>	English	Popular fiction	Friendship, political issues, trials of growing up
<i>The Castle</i>	English	Literary fiction	Philosophy, critique of bureaucracy/social criticism
<i>Introduction to Marketing</i>	English	Academic textbook	Basic marketing concepts (with marketing being a subject applicable to a wide variety of degree courses)

(continued on next page)

Table 3: (continued)

Book	Language	Genre	Content
<i>Doraemon</i>	Japanese (original) – Available in Malay and English translation	Manga	Science fiction, trials of growing up, very implicit social critique of technology
<i>Bu Bu Jing Xin</i>	Chinese	Popular fiction	Fantasy, time-travel, historical fiction, romance

ANALYSIS OF VALUES IN RESPONDENTS' THREE FAVOURITE BOOKS

In this section we highlight the three most preferred books as claimed by respondents. We then discuss the presence of both collectivist and individualist values in all three books.

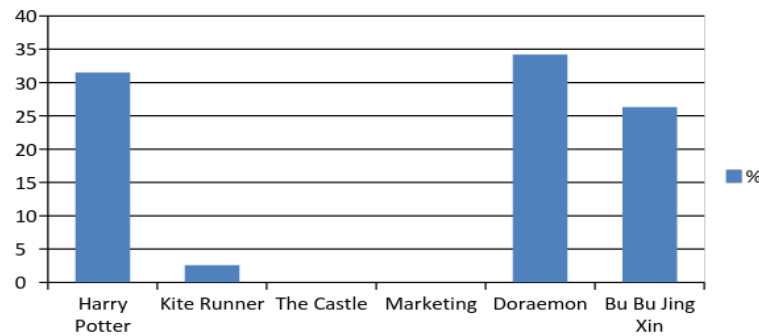


Figure 1: Respondents' book preference.

Based on our survey responses, the three most preferred books are *Doraemon*, followed by *Harry Potter* and *Bu Bu Jing Xin*. Two of these books were originally created by East Asian authors while the other was created by a European author. *Doraemon* is the creation of Japanese cartoonist Fujio F. Fujiko while *Bu Bu Jing Xin* is written by Chinese novelist Tong Hua. *Harry Potter* is written by British author J. K. Rowling. All three have been adapted into a different medium due to their popularity, which include both television and on the big screen.

We examine the contents of each of the books. The first book, *Doraemon*, is "[...]about a robot sent from the 22nd century by protagonist Nobita's future generations who are suffering from poverty due to Nobita's folly, lack of intellect and short-sightedness. The robot helps him to become smarter."

This comic book series was conceptualised in the 1970s in Japan, broadcast as a TV show, and later enjoyed popularity in other Asian countries. Subsequently, it had also enjoyed popularity in the West. According to Adhikary (2015), "one thing that had enormously fascinated all children is *Doraemon's* collection of over 1,800 secret gadgets". *Doraemon* enjoyed such wide appeal because of the technological advancements depicted in its content. Also, "*Doraemon* offers kids the answers for all their questions and fulfils everything that a child would want through his gadgets" (Adhikary, 2015). It provides an idealistic, utopian world where problems can usually be solved easily. Children are attracted to the moral content where *Doraemon* exhibits prosocial acts of helping, sharing, donating, co-operating and volunteering (Adhikary, 2015).

At the same time however, a closer reading of it reveals author Fujiko's message about the overreliance on technology as revealed by Nobita's frequent follies, where sometimes even technology itself does not solve his problems in the long run. However, this message is unlikely to be picked up by children but might entice the older viewer, such as university students. Therefore it might still be favoured by the older set as reading material because of the meaningfulness of its message. At the same time, the characters who are children maintain some level of innocence and curiosity, which readers may be refreshed by.

The second most popular book, *Harry Potter*, is a saga of a boy wizard who lives in the modern industrial world, originally unaware of his abilities and is bullied by his "foster" family. The protagonist, Harry, later comes to discover that he has magical powers and is sent off to school in the wizarding world. This book series was later adapted into a bestselling movie series. Along the way he discovers that he is an important figure in defeating the evil forces threatening the wizarding world and must take action to put an end to it. While the protagonist travels from the mundane daily life of post-industrial Britain to a "fantasy world", important themes common to ordinary life still exist, in particular stratification. The concept of race and hierarchy exist where the relationships between Wizards and Muggles (non-magical folk) are concerned; a caste system where magical folk who cannot do magic (Squibs) are considered to be at the lowest tier or social importance and are denied privileges; a social class system where the richer, more established wizarding families such as the Malfoys abuse the established but relatively poor wizarding families such as the Weasleys (Vollmer and Gappa, 2007). In the novel, the orphaned and socially precarious Harry navigates all of these in his quest to rid the wizarding world of evil and reclaim his true place as a wizard of good standing. Harry shows collectivist behaviour in his actions, where he often acts for the good of others (Vollmer and Gappa, 2007) despite struggling with his tormented childhood and newfound identity. The novel, while centralising a few characters such as Harry and his best friends Hermione and Ron, is essentially collectivist, embodying the ideals of a classless, virtuous utopian society (Vollmer and Gappa, 2007).

The plot of the third most popular book, *Bu Bu Jing Xin*, centers around time-travelling.

The plot centers around time-travelling Ruoxi (Xiaowen) as a Manchu aristocratic lady, and her love life influenced by the harsh political conflict during Emperor Kangxi's reign.

Originally, it was written by Tong Hua as an online serial novel, gaining a massive online following. The author has claimed that she intended to provide an alternative to the existing lighthearted popular romance novels in the market, by aiming for a tragic ending and the feeling of "emotional abuse" (Tang, 2014). This book has then gone on to become famous among Chinese-language readers in other countries, even resulting in an online English-language translation.⁴ It was also adapted into a bestselling TV series.⁵

This book was a hit with Chinese readers mainly because it reflected the struggles of the youth born in the post-1980s generation, during China's One Child Policy era (Tang, 2014). According to Tang (2014), the first chapter, where the protagonist Xiaowen is introduced, depicts the life of post-1980s urban white collar working women, of which Xiaowen is a member.

The book contains several themes which both readers from China as well as overseas can identify with. First is the "individual struggle" which dominates the post-1980s generation's belief system (Tang, 2014). Secondly, it is the boredom which compels individuals of this generation to search for identity and belonging, relying sometimes on escapism such as fantasy worlds in novels (Tang, 2014). Their individuality spurs them to react to uncertainty by pursuing new values and moral meanings (Tang, 2014). Interestingly, this book which covers the historical Manchurian Qing dynasty in China features all these values which relate to individualism and alienation.

Now we analyse the collectivist and individualist values present in all three books. Among the collectivist values, the opposition of despotism is present in *Harry Potter* and *Bu Bu Jing Xin*, though it is not such a strong theme in *Doraemon*. The values of industriousness is also a strong theme in *Harry Potter*, with its main character Hermione often shown displaying a hardworking and perseverant attitude, and benefiting from it. This value is also emphasised in *Doraemon*, where despite being more technologically advanced, *Doraemon* often reminds Nobita about the importance of character development and to not rely on technology alone to solve problems. Team work is also highlighted in *Doraemon*, as is in *Harry Potter*, where the main characters often get together to discuss solutions to problems and working together to solve them. In both books, the importance of setting aside personal differences in order to get along is depicted. Among the individualist values, pessimism is rarely present in *Doraemon*, and even when it does it is portrayed as undesirable and needs to be overcome. In *Harry Potter*, the main characters do occasionally feel helpless, and undergo

conflicts with each other, but this is also portrayed as something that needs to be resolved. The actual act of being or thinking in a pessimistic fashion is not lauded. Equality is prioritised in *Harry Potter*, where the main characters are fighting against the various forms of social stratification which exist in their universe, such as caste and class. To do this, they displayed the individualistic values of taking risks, sometimes defying authority, and critical thinking to achieve their goals.

Conversely and interestingly, as opposed to the many collectivist values found in *Harry Potter*, *Bu Bu Jing Xin* contains many individualistic values. As chronicled extensively by Tang (2014), the novel contains the major themes of romance and competition for the Qing Dynasty throne. The novel is based on actual historical events during the reign of Qing Emperor Yongzheng. The protagonist, present-day Xiaowen, who time-travels into the past and ends up as courtier Ruoxi, falls in love with the royal princes who are contending for the throne and is implicated in their struggle for the position as Emperor. Throughout this, Ruoxi often displays individualistic values such as taking risks, defying authority, and being celebrated for being outstanding in terms of intelligence. For example, Ruoxi finds it difficult to fit in with the life of the imperial family, misbehaves, and later on disobeys an order to marry one of the princes (Tang, 2014). The princes are also always shown to be competitive in their individual struggle to gain the throne, highlighting the conflicted political environment and complexity of humanity in the Qing court (Tang, 2014). Moreover, the ending deliberately assumes a pessimistic tone, where Ruoxi dies at the young age of 34, from disease and self-condemnation, never having married the Yongzheng Emperor not even as a concubine (Tang, 2014).

This shows that a clear demarcation between value preferences among respondents cannot be made. This paper concludes that reading material among respondents in this study reflect a combination of both individualistic and collectivist values, and this implies that the dichotomy between Confucian and liberal democratic values has been blurred. Apart from this, the reading habits of Chinese Malaysian youth do not appear to be divided mainly along linguistic lines. Chinese-educated respondents did not display any language preference, choosing the Malay-translated (in lesser cases English-translated) *Doraemon* series over the Chinese-language novel (which has an English-language translation⁶).

While the Chinese Malaysian continues associating with ethnic identification, they have not resorted to choosing reading material solely based on language preference. This may be due to several factors. Firstly, reading is a private activity for some people, and people may relax their impression management while alone, backstage. Thus a front stage ethnic affiliation need not be displayed while in private. Secondly, the proliferation of prosumption activities on the Internet have left us with an availability of fan-translated

material, in the case of the lack of officially translated versions. Because of this, avid readers no longer need to choose reading material based on language.

The reason why genre surpasses language in book preferences may be because of the themes found in these books. The respondents were students undergoing tertiary education and are at the age cohort of 18 to 25. At this age, using Erikson's developmental psychology term, they are at the stage of finding their identity. Such themes that relate to going in quests to discover oneself, facing trials and tribulations throughout, may be of greater interest because of its immediate relevance.

It is apparent that the content surpasses language and genre choice in our respondents' book preferences.

MATCHING BOOK PREFERENCES TO PERSONAL VALUES

Having discovered the pattern of book preferences among our respondents, we sought to discern if the individualistic and collectivist values present in its contents matched respondents' own personal values. Respondents were thus asked, "Throughout your years in school, which of the following values were you most exposed to? (Includes values from teachers, peers, school social activities, and textbooks.)" This question enquires about the guiding norms and values which respondents acquired during their primary and secondary school years, whether officially from the education syllabus (teachers and textbooks), or from the environment in school (peers and school social activities). This is an attribute of institutionalised cultural capital.

Respondents were allowed to choose more than one response option. The response options included filial piety, hard work, wealth, success, individuality, teamwork, getting along, taking risks, defying authority, intelligence, and critical thinking. Inspired by the Confucian and liberal democratic value sets, we classified the following values according to the collectivist versus individualist rubric:

Table 4: Classification of values according to individualist and collectivist orientations

Collectivist values	Individualist values
Filial piety	Individuality
Hard work	Taking risks
Teamwork	Defying authority
Getting along	Critical thinking
	Wealth
	Success
	Intelligence

In the survey, most respondents claimed the values of hard work, teamwork, and getting along (Figure 2). This fit in with the assumption that Chinese schools promote Confucian values, as all these values indicate collectivism. However, interestingly individuality was the fourth most widely chosen value, and filial piety was the third least chosen. This shows that some collectivist values have been relegated to the backburner while some individualist values have been embraced.

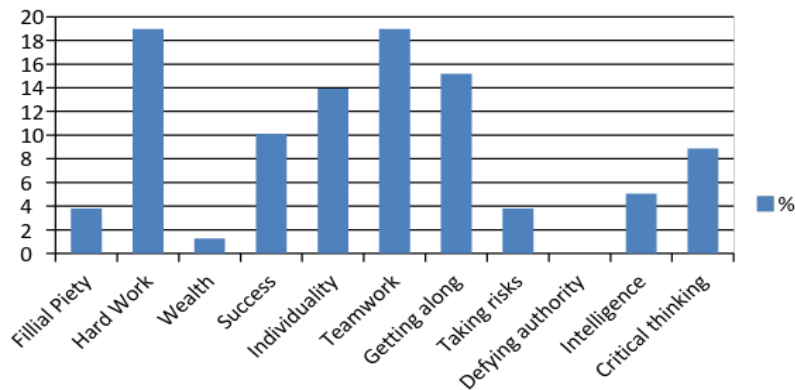


Figure 2: Respondents' personal values transmitted through Chinese-medium education.

However, when we interviewed them in a follow-up to the survey, respondents elaborated their need for collectivism, describing beliefs such as "needing to associate with a group to avoid bullies", "groupwork", "conform to values", "follow the instruction", "good kids get rewards, bad kids got punished", "respect the elder people", "good morality", "respect the teachers and among student itself", and "sense of community". It is noteworthy that besides being instilled with a sense of community, which is reinforced by values of respecting elders, following instructions, displaying high morality, and a sense of justice in reward and punishment, there is also the implication that if one fails to conform to any social group, they will be bullied. This goes to show that a strong sense of community is viewed as crucial for one's well-being. At the same time, another respondent mentioned that they are inculcated with the "importance of preservation of Chinese language", thus depicting a high level of identification with "Chineseness" based on language. Both collectivist and individualistic values appear to be present in our respondents' book preferences, with collectivism being more apparent, interestingly especially in *Harry Potter*.

We have seen that book choices can indicate cultural capital, in the case of Shaoguang Wang's study. Similarly, cultural capital has been shown to be a useful framework for indicating value orientation. With that said, we are aware of the difficulties in measuring subjective concepts such as value-orientation. While

there is no perfect way to do so, we have chosen to use the concept of objectified cultural capital as a starting point.

GLOBAL HABITUS: A MERGER OF COLLECTIVIST AND INDIVIDUALIST VALUES AS DESIRABLE CULTURAL CAPITAL

The Chinese form the second largest ethnic group among Malaysians (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014) and are part of a huge global diaspora, making their issues of identity complex and noteworthy of study. Given the increased global influence of mainland China as well as Malaysia's close ties to it, the impact of these events on the identity of the Chinese Malaysians cannot be ignored. The British colonial authorities occupying Malaya were responsible for creating social constructs including racial categories such as the Malay, Indian, or Chinese (Hirschman 1986, in Gabriel, 2014). The notion of "Chineseness" was also such a colonial-orientalist social construction based on place of origin and dialect groups (Shamsul, 1999).

One of these social facts was language, which also functioned as a social institution. The Chinese language, in this case, Mandarin was used as a marker to identify the Chinese people. The setting up of schools by the British also followed each language as unique education mediums respectively. Eventually, in the case of the Chinese, they came to identify themselves as Chinese instead of by dialect group (Shamsul, 1999). Identifying as a tight-knit community, they set up their own schools and business guilds to safeguard their cultural heritage and commercial importance (Shamsul, 1999).

Where mass media in Malaysia is concerned, 86.5% of households have access to television, 20.9% have access to fixed telephone lines (a rapid decrease from before due to smartphones), 71% own mobile phones (an increase where fixed line ownership has decreased), and 18.2% own personal computers (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014). In 2012, the literacy rate for Malaysians was 96% for males and 92.1% for females (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014). This shows that almost all Malaysians can read and write, and that means they have no problem in accessing and participating in the use of mass media.

Malaysia broadcasts a significant amount of television programmes and movies made in China. Since 2000, China has become more influential in the production of movies, television shows, and the Internet, spreading the idea of its cultural dominance. According to China Daily in January 2015, China's influence in the global film market is now expanding. The newspaper cites that China is not only more capable of withstanding the impact of Hollywood, but is expanding its influence overseas. In the past decade, China and Hollywood have been working closely together in film production, with the involvement of large mainland Chinese firms such as Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent and Dalian Wanda (Frater, 2015).

Zeitchik and Landreth of the LA Times writes that Hollywood is now in fact, trying to appease China by making positive references to them, to woo over audiences and funding. Among examples of blockbuster Hollywood films making positive references to China were popular films such as *Iron Man 3* (2013), *Men in Black 3* (2012), and *Battleship* (2012).

This indicates that even mainland Chinese media has absorbed Western cultural values. In order to modernise, Chinese television has become globalised by absorbing Western television cultural forms even as China retains Communist state party control (Hong Zhang, 2009). This shows that in China itself, highly identified with by the Chinese-educated Chinese Malaysians in the past, values from Western media have been absorbed and rechannelled through China's dominant global media. Despite being a Communist party, China too has selectively embraced certain Western neoliberal values. It is a go-between process of retransmitting values from neoliberal Western media to the Chinese Malaysians.

Back to the issue of education as a social institution in Malaysia, in 2012 more than 2 million students were enrolled in primary school; more than 2 million were enrolled in secondary school; and more than 500,000 were enrolled in public tertiary education institutions (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014). In private tertiary education institutions, more than 400,000 were enrolled (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2014). Almost half of those who pursue primary and secondary education end up pursuing tertiary studies. The high number of educational enrolment may be the reason for the high literacy rate mentioned above, allowing for consumption and production of mass media content.

Gabriel (2014) observes that while the first and second generations of Chinese Malaysians did indeed emphasise their Chinese cultural identity over their Malaysian national identity, their descendants identify first and foremost as Malaysian. Similarly, Sim (2012) also shows in her study of mass media consumption among the Chinese Malaysians that they are divided into three groups, with the first and older group preferring Chinese-language media and the second, younger group preferring English-language media, followed by the third group, Generation Y, preferring to learn both languages in order to consume more. The identification of Chineseness particularly based on Chinese language is waning. In the case of Chinese medium schools, our study shows that this is indeed true, as the effects of mass media clearly outweigh the socialisation from schools alone.

This combination of global and local forces acts as a social institutions socialising the Chinese Malaysian youth of today. Mathews calls this availability of global as well as local norms the "cultural supermarket". Being open to embracing a myriad of cultural practices is described as displaying cosmopolitanism.

There has been a trend in the past few years within sociology to consider cosmopolitanism as desirable cultural capital (Igarashi and Saito, 2014). In fact, sociological research has begun to draw on Bourdieu's concept to examine how cosmopolitanism is implicated in stratification on a global scale (Igarashi and Saito, 2014). Cosmopolitanism refers to the worldview that embraces diversity, defined as an "orientation of openness to foreign others and cultures" (Igarashi and Saito, 2014). The desirability of cosmopolitanism is most succinctly expressed in the institutionalised form of cultural capital, namely through educational qualifications, issued by educational systems which demand such an outlook as demonstration of competence (Igarashi and Saito, 2014). In line with this, the term "global habitus" was used to describe globalisation through the lens of McDonaldisation – focusing on the process of rationalisation which demands certain skills and strategies as capital in the global marketplace (Illouz and John, 2003). It is clear from the above, that the global habitus has manifested in the values and tastes of Chinese Malaysian respondents.

With that said, Hong Zhang (2009) notes that currently the Chinese Communist Party has proposed an alternative path to development by promoting Confucian values such as a "harmonious society", to counter Western democracy. Recently China's Education Ministry had also banned Western values in school textbooks, calling for a renewal of Confucian values. To some extent the values of Confucianism and Western liberal democracy have integrated, and where this overlaps, one can see the influence of the neoliberal capitalist ideology.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the framework of cultural capital can be used to indicate not only differences in social class, as it is often used for, but also value preferences. While the practice of Confucian-collectivist and Western liberal democratic-individualist values have varied across historical epochs, much of the marketing literature have often claimed that the diasporic Chinese conform to collectivist values while ignoring individualistic ones. This paper has shown that by using book preferences as an indicator of value preferences, there is no clear-cut proof to that claim. Rather, likely due to the influence of cultural globalisation, such as where both Anglo-American and East Asian mass media are enjoying a surge in popularity, our respondents have developed a combination of both sets of values. As books provide a platform for cathartic release, these values can be reinforced through the act of imagination through reading.

NOTES

1. Gregory James Smith is a scholar of Confucianism and writes extensively on the topic. This citation is from an undated book chapter. Available from <http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/g/j/gjs4/>
2. "History of NEC". New Era College. Available from <http://www.newera.edu.my/aboutUs.php?id=113/> (accessed 21 January 2015).
3. "Reading habit on the rise in Malaysia, says literary expert". *Malaysian Insider*. 28 September 2014. Available from <http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/books/article/books-influence-peoples-like-world-says-professor/>
4. "Bu Bu Jing Xin Chapter 1". *Startling surprises at every step*. Available from <http://bubujingxinenglish.blogspot.my/2011/03/bu-bu-jing-xin-chapter-1.html> (accessed 31 March 2015).
5. 步步惊心 Bu Bu Jing Xin (Startling by each step). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7qHp3W5ZM8o/> (accessed 31 March 2015).
6. "Bu Bu Jing Xin Chapter 1". *Startling surprises at every step*. Available from <http://bubujingxinenglish.blogspot.my/2011/03/bu-bu-jing-xin-chapter-1.html>

REFERENCES

- Abdul Rahman Embong. 2011. The question of culture, identity and globalisation: An unending debate. *Kajian Malaysia* 29 (Supp. 1): 11–22.
- Adhikary, R. S. 2015. Impact of Japanese cartoons on primary school going children: With special reference to Doraemon. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 20(6): 1–9.
- Adlina Ab. Halim. 2005. Cultural globalisation and its impact upon Malaysian teenagers. *Jurnal Pengajian Umum* 8: 179–193.
- Ang, I. 2013. Beyond Chinese groupism: Chinese Australians between assimilation, multiculturalism and diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(7): 1–13. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2014.859287/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Ang, I. 2001. Desperately guarding borders: Media globalization, "cultural imperialism", and the rise of "Asia". In *House of glass: Culture, modernity, and the state of Southeast Asia*, ed. Yoa Souchou, 27–45. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Ang, M. C. 2009. The politics of social movement organization: Dongjiaozong and the Chinese education movement in Malaysia. http://graduateinstitute.ch/files/live/sites/iheid/files/shared/executive_education/Global%20South%20Workshop/paper_Chee.pdf/ (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7(2): 295–310.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Harvard, MA: Cambridge University Press.

- Cheong, K. C., K. H. Lee and P. P. Lee. 2012. Chinese overseas remittances to China: The perspective from Southeast Asia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* (January): 1–27.
- China Daily.com*. 2015. China's influence in global film market expanding: Report. 7 January. http://europe.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2015-01/07/content_19257717.htm/ (accessed 15 January 2015).
- Dalton, R. J. and N-N. T. Ong. 2005. Authority orientations and democratic attitudes: A test of the "Asian values" hypothesis. *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 6(2): 211–231.
- Department of Statistics Malaysia. 2014. Migration survey report Malaysia 2013. http://www.statistics.gov.my/portal/download_Labour/files/migrasi/Migration_Survey_Report_Malaysia_2012.pdf (accessed 16 March 2015).
- Frater, P. 2015. China rising: How four giants are revolutionising the film industry. *Variety.com*. 3 February 2015. <http://variety.com/2015/film/news/china-rising-quartet-of-middle-kingdom-conglomerates-revolutionizing-chinese-film-industry-1201421685/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Fukuyama, F. 1989. The end of history? *The National Interest* 16: 3–18.
- Gabriel, S. P. 2014. After the break: Re-conceptualizing ethnicity, national identity and "Malaysian-Chinese" identities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(7): 1211–1224. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2014.859286/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Giddens, A. and P. W. Sutton. 2013. *Sociology*. 7th ed. London: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. 1971. *Capitalism and modern social theory: An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Held, D. 1993. Review: Liberalism, marxism, and democracy. *Theory and Society* 22(2): 249–281. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/657772?origin=JSTOR-pdf/>
- Hirschman, C. 1986. The making of race in colonial Malaya: Political economy and racial ideology. *Sociological Forum* 1(2): 330–360.
- Hofstede, G. 1984. *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Hong Zhang. 2009. The globalization of Chinese television: The role of the party state. In MEDIA@LSE Electronic Working Papers, eds. R. Mansell and B. Cammaerts. London: London School of Economics and Political Science. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/mediaWorkingPapers/pdf/EWP16.pdf> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Horkheimer, M. and T. W. Adorno. 1972. *The concept of enlightenment*. n.p.
- Huang, G. H-C. and M. Gove. 2012. Confucianism and Chinese families: Values and practices in education. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2(3): 10–14.
- Hu, S. 1997. Confucianism and Western democracy. *Journal of Contemporary China* 6(15): 347–363.
- Igarashi, H. and H. Saito. 2014. Cosmopolitanism as cultural capital: Exploring the intersection of globalization, education and stratification. *Cultural Sociology* 8(3): 222–239. <http://cus.sagepub.com/content/8/3/222?etoc/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Illouz, E. and N. John. 2003. Global habitus, local stratification, and symbolic struggles over identity: The case of McDonald's Israel. *American Behavioral Scientist* 47(2): 201–229.

- Jacques, M. 2008. As China's power grows, the diaspora starts to flex its worldwide muscle. *The Guardian.com*, 11 June. <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/jun/11/china.comment/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Kline, S. 2003. Media consumption as a health and safety risk factor. Working paper. North Vancouver Media Risk Reduction Intervention. Simon Fraser University, Media Analysis Lab.
- Langman, L. 2012. Identity in the global age: Hegemony, resistance and social transformation. In *The shape of sociology for the 21st century*, eds. Kalekin-Fishman, D. and A. Denis, 137–153. London: SAGE Publications.
- Leung, K. and M. H. Bond. 1984. The impact of cultural collectivism on reward allocation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 47: 793–804.
- Lockett, M. 1988. Culture and the problem of Chinese management. *Organisation Studies* 9(3): 475–496.
- Md Salleh Yaapar. 2001. The impact of globalisation on the Muslim values and culture. Paper presented at the International Seminar on The Impact of Globalisation on Social and Cultural Life: An Islamic Response, Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia. 27 March.
- Mohd. Pileh Z. 2001. Globalisasi bakal menelan umat Islam. *Massa*, 31 March–6 April. 18–19.
- Mukand, S. and D. Rodrik. 2015. The political economy of liberal democracy. The National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 21540. Institute for Advanced Study.
- Nelson, J. M. 2008. Globalization since the 1970s: Broadening and deepening. *Globalization & national autonomy: The experience of Malaysia*, eds. J. M. Nelson, J. Meerman and Abdul Rahman Embong, 9–10. Selangor: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Payne, J. L. 2006. Did the United States create democracy in Germany? *The Independent Review* 11(2): 209–221.
- Purcell, V. 1948. *The Chinese in Malaya*. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shamsul Amri Baharuddin. 1999. Identity contestation in Malaysia: A comparative commentary on "Malayness" and "Chineseness." *Akademika* 55: 17–37.
- Shenkar, O. and S. Ronen. 1987. Culture, ideology or economy: A comparative exploration of work goal importance among managers in Chinese societies. *Academy of Management Journal* 30(3): 564–76.
- Shim, D. 2006. Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia. *Media, Culture and Society* 28(1): 25–44.
- Sim, R. 2012. *Unmistakably Chinese, genuinely Malaysian*. Kuala Lumpur: The Centre for Strategic Engagement.
- Sklair, K. 2000. The transnational capitalist class and the discourse of globalisation. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 14(1): 67–85.
- Smits, G. J. n.d. Early Confucianism (featuring Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi). <http://www.saylor.org/phil101/#3.1.4> (accessed 28 September 2015).
- Spice Digest*. 2007. Introduction to the cultural revolution (adapted from *The search for modern China*, 2001 by J. Spence). <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/docs/115/CRintro.pdf>
- Sulaiman, S. T. M. 1998. Dakwah dalam arus globalisasi. *Dewan Masyarakat*, May. 56–58.

- Tan, C. B. 1997. Chinese identities in Malaysia. *Asian Journal of Social Science* 25(2): 103–116.
- Tan, Y. S. and Santhiram R. Raman 2010. *The education of ethnic minorities: The case of the Malaysian Chinese*. Petaling Jaya: Strategic Information Research Development.
- Tan, Y. S. and H. S. Teoh. 2014. The development of Chinese education in Malaysia, 1952–1975: Political collaboration between the Malaysian Chinese Association and the Chinese educationists. *History of Education* 44(1): 83–100. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0046760X.2014.959073/> (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Tang, Y. 2014. Between fantasy and reality: Time-travel romance and media fandom in Chinese cyberspace. Master of Arts Thesis, Simon Fraser University.
- Ting, H. M. H. 2013. Language, identity and mobility: Perspective of Malaysian Chinese youth. *Malaysian Journal of Chinese Studies* 2(1): 83–102.
- Uthman, I. O. 2003. The Muslim ummah and the challenges of globalization. Paper presented at The International Conference on Muslim Unity in the 21st Century: Opportunities and challenges. International Institute for Muslim Unity, International Islamic University of Malaysia, Malaysia. 1–2 October.
- Wang, S., D. Davis and Yanjie Bian. 2006. The uneven distribution of cultural capital book reading in urban China. *Modern China* 32(3): 315–348.
- Waters, M. 2001. *Globalisation*. London: Routledge.
- Wong, E. Y. T. 2001. The Chinese at work: Collectivism or individualism? Working paper. Hong Kong Institute of Business Studies. http://www.library.hk.edu.hk/eresources/etext/hkibs/hkws_0040.pdf/ (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Vollmer, E. and R. Gappa. 2007. Harry's world: An exploration of J.K. Rowling's social and political agenda in the Harry Potter series. *UW-L Journal of Undergraduate Research X* (2007).
- Zakaria, A. T. 2001. Peranan pendidik mendepani globalisasi. *Massa*, 22–28 September. 61–63.
- Zawawi Ibrahim. 2004. Globalisation and national identity: Managing ethnicity and cultural pluralism in Malaysia. http://www.apcss.org/Publications/Edited%20Volumes/GrowthGovernance_files/Pub_Growth%20Governance/Pub_GrowthGovernancech9.pdf/ (accessed 1 June 2015).
- Zeitchik, S. and J. Landreth. 2012. Hollywood gripped by pressure system from China. *LA Times.com*, 12 June. <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/jun/12/entertainment/la-et-china-censorship-20120612/> (accessed 1 June 2015).