

When Speech Totally Fails, Resistance Takes Place: With Special Reference to Youth Resistance in China

CHEN Kaiju^{[a],*}; CHEN Weiqiu^[b]

^[a]Professor, Center of Foreign Literature and Cultural Studies, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou, China.

^[b]Post-Doctoral Research Station, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou, China.

* Corresponding author.

Received 12 May 2014; accepted 20 July 2014

Published online 31 August 2014

Abstract

Social harmony depends on the citizens' prosocial attitudes and behaviors that presuppose people's high eudaimonic living, where individuals tend to pursue intrinsic goals and values, behave autonomously, volitionally or consensually, and show mindfulness. Nevertheless, such harmony is the optimal state of public administration (yet never easily attainable), for the smooth and harmonious running of social life is interrupted at intervals throughout history in almost any society, in the form of various sorts of resistance: conjunct complaints, strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, riots and uprisings/revolutions. Just as more and more societies claim to have entered the post-modern era, which is characterized by eudaimonic living in terms of surplus material supply rather than poverty, pan-entertainment rather than somberness, information explosion rather than data shortage, they have to address the old-fashioned embarrassing ailment again: a series of unsettling youth resistance movements that currently are looming worldwide. Applying cultural theories on speech right, with focus on youth resistance, especially that in contemporary China since 1989, we find: a) default of effective speech/articulation, the not-yet-in-power youth tend to launch resistance motivated by two causes: the deterioration of living (especially due to oppressive corruptions), and/or the perception of the deterioration of the social system which indicates loss of hope; b) the solution lies in the acceptance of the rationality underlying such non-discursive collective "representation": affordable amelioration of their living for the first type;

for the far more complicated second type, incorporation of their appeals to avoid continuing subversive mobilizations and movements. While effective discursive channel of articulation contributes to release of indignation and elimination of the powder-keg effect, hence an ideal solution to all sorts of resistance, in information era such articulation channel should be open to the youth who is ascendant in IT competence.

Key words: Eudaimonic living; Justice; Powder-keg effect; Articulation; Incorporation

Chen, K. J., & Chen, W. Q. (2014). When Speech Totally Fails, Resistance Takes Place: With Special Reference to Youth Resistance in China. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 10(5), 32-38. Available from: <http://www.cscanada.net/index.php/ccc/article/view/5458>
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3968/5458>

INTRODUCTION

Social harmony depends on the citizens' prosocial attitudes and behaviors that presuppose people's high eudaimonic living and sense of well-being (Ryan et al., 2006, p.139), where individuals tend to pursue intrinsic goals and values, behave autonomously, volitionally or consensually, and show mindfulness (Deci et al., 2008, p.9). Nevertheless, such harmony is the optimal state of public administration (yet never easily attainable), for the smooth and harmonious running of social life is interrupted at intervals throughout history in almost any society, in the form of various sorts of resistance (among which youth resistance is the most common): conjunct complaints, strikes, sit-ins, demonstrations, riots and uprisings/revolutions. Just as more and more societies claim to have entered the post-modern era—characterized by surplus material production rather than poverty, pan-entertainment rather than somberness, information explosion rather than data shortage, they have to address the old-fashioned embarrassing ailment again: a series of

unsettling youth resistance movements that currently are looming worldwide. The past years saw youth resistance (hereunder abbreviated as YR) waves rise and fall across the major populated continents: in African countries, such as South Africa, Nigeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya; in European countries, such as England, Portugal, Spain and Greece; in American countries, such as Chile and the USA; in East Asian countries, such as Japan and Korea.

In contrast to the clamorous YR- suffused outside world, China, where YR used to push forward the society from its modern history—since the Students' Petition in 1895 opposing the ceding of Taiwan, marked with the latest peak resistance in 1989, has managed to remain tranquil in YR for more than two decades. Despite various adult activists' "incidents of social unrest"¹ such as stubborn or unruly property owners' refusal to give up their land or property to real estate developing companies or projected roads, unpaid workers' protesting plead for their wages, taxi drivers' demonstrative gather-together in protest of increasing fees and taxes, student-dominated YR, however, has been far from phenomenal since 1989.

Diversified forms as it presents, the aforesaid YR can be roughly grouped into two types according to the motivations and/or goals/appeals: In developed countries such as those in UK and Greece the goal is for amelioration of their own living conditions, whereas in developing countries such as those in Africa and South America, they often pursue change of social power system. Reviewing both chronologically (in terms of history) and diachronically (in term of global view), we find YR shares the key characteristic of mass resistance in general— for and in the name of restoration of justice— on one hand, yet it has specific features on the other hand: Different from the adults' mass resistance mainly aiming at the redistribution of social power, YR is motivated either for micro justice or macro justice. Suffering unjust treatment or deteriorated living conditions, YR may take place appealing for restoration of justice or amelioration of living conditions. In other words, such YR aims at micro justice. In societies where the youth have learnt better social power system to carry forward the progress of their own, YR as pioneering (and often radical) social transformation may take place in the direction of macro justice.

1. YOUTH RESISTANCE: PAST AND PRESENT

Following the beginning of Section 1, imposed discomfort would incur resisting behaviors, hence baby's inconsolable cry, strong-built youth's fight and the weak's curse. Collective dissatisfaction toward inequality and injustice

¹ According to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the estimated incidents of social unrest have risen from about 40,000 in 2001 to "over 90,000" in 2009. For details, see G. J. Gilboy, & E. Heginbotham(2010, p.2).

would result in mass resistance: sit-ins, demonstrations, and uprisings/turmoils. In autocratic societies, unbearable injustice used to arouse adults' uprisings/revolts, such as the Chen Sheng—Wu Guang Uprising against the first Chinese emperor and his Qin Dynasty, and other peasant revolts through to the Jintian Uprising in the late Chinese Qing Dynasty. Mass YR (especially with students as dominating subjects), however, did not occur till modern history in capitalist society with modern schools aggregating large numbers of students (Wang, 1993). Although YR could be traced back to the Han Dynasty (known as "Disasters of Partisan Prohibitions"²) in China, the most significant and influential are the "Petition Opposing the Ceding of Taiwan" of 1895, the "May 4th Movement" of 1919, the "December 9th Movement" of 1935, the "December 1st Movement" of 1945, and the "1989 Student Protest". In this section we shall briefly review the causes, processes, and social influences of these YR movements in China.

Learning of the signing of *Treaty of Shimonoseki* as a result of defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, more than a thousand Imperial Examination candidates from all 18 Chinese provinces including Taiwan signed and tried to submit to the government an 18,000-word petition in Beijing, opposing the ceding of Taiwan to Japan (with three other major suggestions of relocating the Capital city, strengthening military power, and carrying out social reforms). The Petition failed bluntly because the authorities simply refused to accept the proposal³, yet its influence was phenomenal: It clearly showed that if the 1840 and 1860 Opium Wars exposed the corruption and fragility of the self-defining divine imperial political system, the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War proved another failure of the emperor-initiated Chinese-style Westernization Movement (1861-1894). Enlightened by the Petition, more and more social elites including Emperor Kuanghsu realized the urgent need for in-depth political-social-cultural reforms, hence the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898, the Capitalist Revolution of 1911 with the irrevocable overthrow of the imperialist system and establishment of the Republic of China.

If the Petition in 1895 was an immediate failure in itself but a delayed blessing in enlightening the nation, then the May 4th movement in 1919 was quite a success both in itself—the prevention of the Chinese official representative's presence at the signing ceremony of the Paris Peace Conference, which was humiliating China and forfeiting the Chinese sovereignty—and in its consequent social influences: it is deemed as the watershed⁴

² For details, see Li Yang (2012). The spirit of academicians: A comparative review on students' resistance in han's disasters of partisan prohibitions and May 4th movements.

³ For details, refer to any modern Chinese history textbook, Baidupedia or Wikipedia.

⁴ For details, see Yue Qianhou (2009). On Chinese students' mobilization around May 4th movement.

between the Old-Democratic Revolution (characterized by bourgeoisie's inherent vacillation) and the New-Democratic Revolution of modern China (characterized by the thoroughness of the proletariat). The success of this mass mobilization undermined the authority of the political system, creating space for new political forces (e.g. the Communist Party of China), military warlords and sociological academics. The restrictive feudalistic society was replaced by a kaleidoscope of competition in various aspects of social life.

Among the mounting waves of YR roiling China in the early 20th century, the "December 9th Movement" in 1935 calling out the whole nation against the Japanese invasion was another fateful YR incident that contributed to a change of social course. Although the initial petition was ignored and subsequent demonstrations in support of it were cruelly overwhelmed, its enlightening influence was extensively spread. It is not too much of an exaggeration to conclude that this YR eventually led to the Xi'an Incident in 1936, which brought forward the whole nation's full-scale Anti-Japanese War, a decisive turn in the 8-year war leading to the ultimate defeat of Japan.

The "December 1st Movement" in 1945 was one of the last Chinese YR movements prior to the Communist Party's takeover of mainland China. Tired of the hard times through the enduring Anti-Japanese War, the YR movement responded to the cries of most ordinary Chinese for "no hunger, no civil war, and no persecution". Unfortunately, the Kuomintang authorities suppressed it with vicious measures, including the "December 1st Massacre". The oppression of the YR effort for the justice of the majority proved an ill omen for Kuomintang. From then on, the desperate Chinese (including more and more Kuomintang troops) turned to support the Communist Party at an unprecedented rate, so that the latter crushed the incommensurately powerful Kuomintang forces within three years, leaving a series of classic victories for military, political, cultural and social studies. While the real causes of the miraculous changes of social course thereafter may still await fuller analyses, the YR in the "December 1st Movement" is the best example of the formation of a "second battle line" (Mao Zedong's words)⁵ which undoubtedly functioned as one of the key factors in the changes.

The first three decades of the People's Republic of China was full of various movements, but they were mostly motivated, mobilized and led by the authorities. Authentic student-dominated YR could be best represented by the "1989 student Protest", calling for "end of bureaucratic profiteering, the end of corruption, more democracy and freedom". The 3-week protest was suppressed crudely, but with the pressure of the outside

world, most student participants were not persecuted severely. From then on, the authorities tactfully appropriated and incorporated the student petitions into the dominant discourse so that the YR leaders who managed to reside abroad could hardly find effective appeal points again from then on. Moreover, meticulous introspection over this YR eventually led to deep-set determination to push forward the Reform and Opening up policy. It may not be too much of an exaggeration to regard China's Premier Wen Jiabao's call for political reform this year as part of such aftermath. With the authorities' active incorporation of the appeals (although so far political reforms are confined to lip service), together with other ameliorating social aspects, no doubt YR has not been a problem since 1989, and at a time when many parts of the world are clamorous with YR, it still remains tranquil in China.

As reviewed above, most YR movements ended in tragedy with heavy loss of lives and the leaders being persecuted. Mundane wisdom often treats YR as naïve impulse of the young, hence doomed to failure. Such secular criticisms, we believe, are both witless and callous. As future hosts of the society, the youth do not mean to snatch social power through their resistance, therefore their resistance should not be evaluated according to the result of immediate social power shift but according to the effect of enlightenment, the success of which would surely result in recognition and mobilization of the adults (the power holders of the society), whose consequent actions often end in irrevocable social transformation, as has been proved repeatedly in the major YR movements.

Transcending the YR movements are the key theme of justice, or the good of the mass. Among the aforesaid 4 historical YR movements, the first three were initiated to protect sovereignty against crises imposed by foreign imperialist powers, the December 1st Movement for civil peace, and the 1989 Student Protest against corruption and for democracy and freedom—We term such justice as macro/permanent justice. Only December 1st Movement also showed resistance against deterioration of their own living conditions—we term such justice as micro justice in this paper (as in their call of "no hunger"). Such themes are also shown in YR movements in other parts of the world as mentioned in Section 1. In most African countries the movements aimed at democracy (i.e., in Egypt and Libya), anti-imperialist oppression (i.e. in Nigeria), and micro justice for better facilities and treatment (i.e. in South Africa). In European countries, the themes are more micro justice-oriented (i.e. in England and Greece), and in North American countries, for both themes (for both amelioration of living and more reasonable distribution of social wealth). These motivations shall be analyzed in depth in the next section, with the tranquil situation in post-1989 China in particular so as to propose some possible solutions to YR in Section 4.

⁵ For details, see Zhang Xingmin (1993). On the historic status of students' movements in Chiang's areas, *Yunnan Academic Research*.

2. MOTIVATIONS FOR YOUTH RESISTANCE: THE FORMATION OF POWDER-KEG EFFECT

Restoration of justice as the direct motive and slogan in every resistance, YR included, has been touched upon but not theoretically elaborated in the previous section, and there are some other perspective motivations leading to YR. This section will focus on all the major motivations, with comparative analysis of YR in China and abroad.

Analyzing the motivations behind “Occupy Wall Street”, Hu Wentao (2011, pp.43-44) pointed out four causes of the resistance: deterioration of the standard of living, loss of confidence in financial institutions, failure of the American Dream, and loss of hope. The first two are correlated to micro/immediate justice and the other two to macro/permanent justice proposed in this paper. Problems in macro justice such as the corrupt political system and the hopeless economic environment, are the seedbed for YR in that the youth are more concerned with the future. By contrast, China post-1989 has remained tranquil in YR (not including adults’ self-protective unrests) because these two aspects have not deteriorated severely. First, China has managed to sustain an annual economic growth of over 9% for more than three decades, with its GDP successively overtaking a series of developing economic powers such as Italy, France, UK, Germany, and Japan. The Chinese generally feel proud of themselves in the national resurgence. The Chinese youth, not fully engaged in complex daily economy, can only feel more proud of their country. According to Pew Research, the Chinese are more satisfied with their country’s direction and see greater hope than most people in other countries do⁶. Second, democracy and freedom, the usual aspect of social-political issue the West has been criticizing China for, is now often urged on by the top authorities themselves (e.g. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao openly called for reform on politics early this year). The culture industry in China is also booming, with significant annual increase in publications, films, discs, etc.. In a prosperous society with a promising future and the authorities promising to improve social-political-cultural aspects, there cannot be YR in the name of macro justice.

Micro justice, in relation to the individual’s standard of living, has become another problem that has caused some YR movements as reviewed above. In China, this has been also a serious problem that may likely incur YR. Fierce educational competition, rare chances in desirable employment, and rocketing prices, especially unaffordable housing prices, has jointly become unbearable life burdens to the youth. It is intriguing that such micro justice

problems have not led to YR in China so far. The secret lies in the special Chinese culture of family-centeredness: all these subtle problems have not become real burdens on the Chinese youth; instead, the other family members have shared the burden of the “little emperor/queen”—following the one-child policy, now in most families, 4 grandparents and 2 parents go all out to support the youth from up-bringing, education, employment, dating, through to the purchase of his/her flat. The excessive dependence of the youth on their extended family will become a serious problem sooner or later, because there can be only two undesirable consequences: a) the youth’s degenerating competence and low self-efficacy (Proctor et al., 2009, p.591), and/or b) unsustainable support from the parents. Thus in China for the happiness of the one child of the family, six parents (and grandparents) suffer falling happiness: hence the “China Puzzle: falling happiness (e.g. for 6 parents) in a rising economy” (Brockmann et al., 2008, p.387). In other words, micro justice problems to the youth transferred to the majority of the adults may lead to unbearable macro justice problems in the near future, which is even more dangerous and subversive in that adults’ resistance often directly aims at immediate change of social power⁷.

Loss of justice—either micro or macro justice—harms people’s sense of eudaimonic living, or sense of well being, generating a sense of indignation, and without proper release channels, such indignation would aggregate to produce a powder-keg effect. Thus, loss of justice is the root cause of YR, and lack of release channels is the developmental cause of YR. The best release channel, we believe, is through discursive articulation. However, chances of effective articulation (also termed as “speech right”⁸) as the ideal way to secure people’s rights are always under fierce competition, so that the not-yet-in-power youth barely has such chance to formally express or represent themselves. It is in this sense that we claim—as the title of this essay shows—that when speech totally fails, resistance takes place. The rest of this section will analyze in detail aspects of the problem of effective articulation for the youth.

According to cultural theories on speech right, in modern society, people use language/discourse to represent themselves, secure their rights, and fulfill their social power (Chen, 2008, p.128). So long as articulation is effective, representations would be kept within discourse instead of action even in solving disputes. Successful articulation for oneself assumes language/discourse competence, knowledge and effective

⁶ For details concerning the Chinese’s attitude toward their society, see “upbeat Chinese May not be primed for a jasmine revolution”, pew research center (<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1945/chinese-may-not-be-ready-for-revolution>, June 6th, 2012).

⁷ Different from YR, adults’ resistance often aims at change of social power in more radical forms of revolts or uprisings. But since the present paper focuses on YR, detailed and in-depth study on adults’ resistance will not be envisaged here.

⁸ The author of this essay has published a series of essays on this subject, e.g. Chen Kaiju (2008, 2011).

channels of articulation. Language competence refers to the linguistic (phonetic, morphemic and syntactic knowledge) and pragmatic (skills of language use in specific context) competence, which requires long-term disciplinary training. The youth, especially those in higher education, generally has no substantial problem in such competence. Knowledge is the supporting source of meaning in one's discourse. Understanding of essentials of different disciplines helps enrich the meaning of one's speech, making it more comprehensive and convincing. The youth in higher education, with accumulated learning in grade schools, is generally knowledgeable through the learning in diversified disciplines. With the help of scholars in various disciplines, they often gain insightful understanding of various social problems, in particular those concerning justice always remains hot topics among the youth who are ambitious and earnest to contribute to social development. In this respect, the youth at higher education are capable to represent themselves. With language competence and knowledge, the youth can express themselves discursively. Yet effective articulation further depends on established discursive channels, which are allocated according to the social roles the individuals play. In terms of social power hierarchy, the power class dominates formal articulation channels; in terms of age, the adults at various working posts articulate dominantly and explicitly at meetings, in media and journals, through various polls, and votes. The youth, who is predominantly students in various schools being educated and brought up, remains marginal both in social power and in articulation. If, according to Spivak (1993, p.71), the peasants remain subalterns who cannot speak for themselves and can only represent themselves in form of revolt and uprisings, the youth, although more competent in both language competence and knowledge, are also subalterns who, if not provided with proper channels of speech, can only resort to resistance as the way to represent themselves.

Given no chance of effective articulation, the youth has to suppress their voice, which may develop into dissent. With problems concerning either micro or macro justice, the dissent under suppression may lead to sense of indignation, the accumulation of which would result in the powder-keg effect. With some ambitious youth and adults enthusiastically elaborating and circulating such justice-based dissent, the vast body of youth, especially the well-organized student population would develop into a "powder-keg", ready to explode in the form of resistance if this is ignited by any incident.

3. SOLUTIONS: CHANNELS OF ARTICULATION/REPRESENTATION

Recognizing the key characteristic of YR being justice-driven radical articulation, like it or not, both the authorities and society in general must accept the

rationality, pacify the youth, and incorporate their petitions. Brutal suppression may work to save face for the authorities for a short time, yet the consequence could be destructive as showed in the various cases reviewed in the second part of this paper. When the enlightening petitions for macro justice in YR win recognition of the adults', the resistance will turn subversive, ending in revolutionary social transformation or at least incidents destructive to the society.

Since loss of justice is the root cause, justice-oriented solutions must be taken. For micro justice appeals concerning the youth's standard of living, affordable measures should be taken to secure comparative eudaimonic living for the youth, including impartial access to education and employment, subsidized living expenses, necessary study and entertainment facilities, among others. In China, public schools and universities take the majority of the student population, who enjoy the national education budget and pay much lower tuition (and almost all parents pay the tuition) than the actual amount spent on them; they also enjoy subsidized food, so that most students have no financial worries throughout their education⁹. In case of very poor families, special aid from the government, schools and charities may help—so far such aids are limited but with intensive coverage of various media on specific supporting cases, the youth may feel well-looked after. Yet transferred pressure/risk to the adults may prove the seedbed for adults' resistance. Thus mere pacifier to the youth may prove a pseudo solution to the justive problems. In practice, more and more escalating massive adults' unrests has become a warning signal to the stability of the whole society.

Petitions for macro justice, though apparently humiliating and subversive to the authorities, must be attentively heard, carefully studied, and at least partially incorporated. This has proved effective in China with the 1989 YR and consequent practice: almost all the major slogans in that YR (anti-bureaucratic profiteering, anti-corruption, more democracy and freedom) were tactfully absorbed though appropriated thereafter by the Communist Party of China and the government into the governance so that even the 1989 YR leaders cannot find significant targets to launch new resistance. Moreover, integrated student administration organizations in almost every school and university, including the Student Administration Division, the Communist League, Student Administration Tutors, Students Union and Student Carder Board in each fixed group, work together under

⁹ In the university I am working in, e.g., the annual educating expense on each student is around 25,000 yuan RMB, but the tuition each student pays is only around 5,000 yuan RMB; student canteen get subsidized in many ways to control food price, including 20% direct compensation on food. Indeed, some staff complain that too many local visitors buy big bags of cooked food from the campus each day (subsidized, therefore much cheaper than outside campus), often causing shortage of supply.

the close leadership of the respective Party Committee in each institution to “lead” the students in pursuit of common (“proper”) goals, “help” those who may have “problems”, and “inculcate” leading troublemakers. Thus it is common to see organized student activities such as collective attendance at lectures, academic contests, sport games, meetings and ceremonies on one hand, and some students called to see the Tutor who may even threaten to inform the parents if they are too “unruly”. In case of international relation crises such as the U.S. Bombing of the Chinese Embassy to Yugoslavia in May, 1999 and the Sino-Japan Diaoyu Dispute, the authorities have taken different actions, permitting, leading and bringing the patriotic YR under their control.

The optimal solution to release the sense of indignation in eliminating the ground for mass resistance, we believe, lies in discursive interaction (Chen Kaiju 2008, p.128). In this respect, the hard-to-censor/control Internet has been an active channel for the youth to express themselves. The current Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao’s promises of political reform and dialogues with dissidents are appeasing measures to address macro justice in contemporary China.¹⁰ Although problems of corruption may be even worse now in China, so long as the authorities incorporate the dissident opinions into the dominant discourse (in the long run, of course, effective practical actions must be taken accordingly to realize such petitions rather than mere discursive incorporation), the sense of indignation is well released in prevention of the formation of powder-keg effect.

If incorporation of petition and dialogue are effective in solving YR, more active measures should be considered to substantially prevent the development of the sense of indignation. This suggests designating articulation channel for the youth, which includes micro-justice oriented polls and questionnaires about their living conditions, and invitation for thematic opinions on macro-justice issues. If this means partial shift of power to the youth, it does. And the shift, as we believe, is in the right direction in terms of social development. Reviewing civilization from the mode of production, Toffler (1991) divides human society into agriculture-oriented civilization times, capital-oriented civilization times, and information-oriented civilization times. In terms of age structure, in agriculture-oriented times, social power is primarily represented in experience—more-than-50-year-old farmers dominate social production; in capital-oriented times, social power is represented in the alloy of capital-knowledge—middle aged adults in 35-50 dominate social production.

¹⁰ For details, see “Wen Jiabao talking about political reform: Necessary reforms on national leadership”. Retrieved from <http://news.163.com/12/0314/11/7SI9HVTf00014JB5.html> and “Wen Jiabao’s consideration of invitation to dialogues with dissidents in Zhongnanhai”. Retrieved from <http://news.163.com/12/0314/12/7SIDJPN0001124J.html>

In information-oriented times, however, much younger people may be the leading productive force, where access to and integration of knowledge become more important than accumulation of accurate knowledge and experience. If this is reasonable, then the inertial view that the youth should not be granted social power till in their later social roles must be adjusted accordingly: with human society striding into the information era, the youth need some share of social power (represented in a share of effective articulation), considering their ascendance in IT skills.

Such arrangements will surely increase costs on public administration, but in the era when machines and software have substantially superseded manpower, and human labor is promoted to focus on design and control of production processes, the saved manpower and other social resources should be invested in social services, including more communication among social members, collection of opinions from and negotiation with people (the youth included) to promote their sense of belonging, a crucial part of people’s spiritual well-being. Like other countries, we believe, China also needs active consideration and allocation in providing formal channels for the youth to speak for themselves.

It should not be neglected that some scholars deem the colorful youth subcultures as forms of resistance (e.g. Hebdige, 2002). The kaleidoscopic forms of youth culture such as their novel costumes and hairstyles, pioneering songs and dances, and their teasing “misused” language, to us, should not be regarded as resistance. Rather, such carnivalesque subcultures are created essentially for self-entertainment, not intended to criticize or subvert their counterparts. Therefore, it is a mistake to take them as forms of resistance, and the adults should observe such creation appreciatively rather than defensively. Indeed, because carnival experience is effective in promoting sense of well-being, the youth should be encouraged to enjoy various forms of popular culture, e.g. while entertaining themselves in sports, successful popular idols such as Yao Ming and Li Na, may lead the youth to pursue intrinsic goals of their own life.

CONCLUSION

Since early modern history, youth resistance has become a long-standing embarrassment to human societies. Like other types of resistance, YR is fundamentally motivated by problems of injustice. The effort in YR may direct at restoration of micro justice and/or macro-justice: with the former concerning their own well-living, and the latter concerning the good of the majority or a better future of the whole society. Direct solutions to YR obviously should address the injustices specifically: affordable amelioration of their living in the micro justice YR; for the far more complicated macro justice YR, (gradual) incorporation of their appeals to avoid continuing subversive mobilizations and movements. Learning from the experience of 1989

YR, China has been quite successful in solving justice problems concerning the youth so that YR has not become a phenomenal social problem thereafter (yet transferred pressure from the youth to the adults may incur even more serious risks in the adults' world). Preventive solutions to YR point to the problem of effective articulation. Applying cultural theories on speech right, we further suggest the dominant social system provides the youth with chances of effective articulation so as to release their sense of indignation. This surely implies additional work for the social power system. Does this sound demanding of public resources? Yes. But that's part of what the social development should contribute to the society. Will this make great demands on the authorities? Yes. But that's part of the obligation behind the glory of power.

REFERENCES

- Brockmann, H., J., Welzel, D. C., & Yuan, H. (2009). The China puzzle: Falling happiness in a rising economy. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10, 387-405. doi: 10.1007/s10902-008-9095-4
- Chen, K. J., & Zhang, X. H. (2011). Trial by media: overcorrection of the inadequacy of the right to free speech in contemporary China. In *Critical Arts: South-North Cultural and Media Studies*.
- Chen, K. J. (2008). Where speaking fails, cursing occurs. *Jiangnan Tribune*, (7), 126-129.
- Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2008). Hedonia, eudaimonia, and well-being: An introduction. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 9, 1-11. doi: 10.1007/s10902-006-9018-1
- Gilboy, G. J., & Heginbotham, E. (2010). China's dilemma: Social change and political reform. In *Foreign Affairs*.
- Hebdige, D. (2002). *Subculture: The meaning of style*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Hu, W. T. (2011). Characteristics, motivations and influence of 'occupy wall street'. *Modern International Relations*, (11), 42-46.
- Li, Y. (2012). The spirit of academicians: A comparative review on students' resistance in Han's 'disasters of partisan prohibitions' and 'May 4th' Movements. *China Academic Journal*, (1).
- Proctor, C. L., Linley, P. A., & Maltby, J. (2009). Youth life satisfaction: A review of the literature. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 10, 583-630. doi: 10.1007/s10902-008-9110-9
- Ryan, R. M., Huta, V., & Deci, E. L. (2008). Living well: A self-determination theory perspective on eudaimonia. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 9, 139-170. doi: 10.1007/s10902-006-9023-4
- Spivak, G. (1993). Can the Subaltern speak? In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader* (pp.66-111). Prentice Hall: Pearson Education Limited.
- Toffler. (1991). *Powershift: Knowledge, wealth, and violence at the edge of the 21st century*. Bantam.
- Wang, M. (1993). A strategy for recognizing bridges in natural scenes. *China Youth Study*, (02).
- Yue, Q. H. (2009). On Chinese students' mobilisation around May 4th movement. *Review of Social Sciences*, (01).
- Zhang, X. M. (1993). On the historic status of students' movements in Chiang's areas. *Yunnan Academic Research*, (04).