How Existing Writing Norms are Selected and Implemented for Publishing Chinese Community Newspapers in Australia: Meeting Points of Leadership and Language Management Studies^{*}

FAN Sau Kuen

This paper aims to investigate language problems confronted by editors for the publication of Chinese community newspapers in Australia. It is hypothesized that language problems particularly related to the selection and implementation of writing norms are salient due to the existence of (1) Australia's diverse Chinese communities, and (2) various Chinese writing standards in the global context. On the basis of data collected through interviews with the chief editor of two different Chinese community newspapers. I will discuss the significance of two driving forces behind their selection and implementation of different writing norms: one derived from the process of their language management as a language user, and another one from the process in their development as a leader. According to the language management theory (cf. Neustupný 1985; Jernudd and Neustupný 1987), I will first analyze their meta-linguistic behavior in response to noted deviations from norms that they possess. After that, I will look at how they attempt to "make real a vision in collaboration with others" (Knight and Candlin, 2015:36) from the perspective of leadership development. It is suggested that the approaches of language management and leadership studies are complementary for the understanding of the complexity of language problems in multicultural societies

Keywords: leadership development, language management, writing norms, community newspaper, multicultural societies

グローバル・コミュニケーション研究 第9号 (2020年)

1. Introduction

Migration of Chinese into Australia can be traced back to gold rush in the late 19th century. Existing literature and sources indicate that Australia's Chinese communities have been active in publishing newspapers in the Chinese language (Poon 1995; Bagnall 2000, 2015; Kuo 2013; The Chinese-Australian Historical Images in Australia database 2013). The English and Chinese Advertiser (英 唐招帖) published by Robert Bell in the gold-mining town Ballarat, Victoria, in 1857 is usually considered to be the earliest Chinese language newspaper published in Australia. As its name suggests, the aim of this English-Chinese bilingual newspaper was to carry advertisements and government notices to the local Chinese community. There was a circulation of 400 copies weekly but it only lasted for 3 years. Chinese language newspapers with a national circulation started to emerge in the late 19th century in big cities such as Sydney and Melbourne, e.g. the Chinese Australian Herald (廣益華報), the Tung Wah News (東華新報), the Chinese Times (愛國 報). According to Kuo's investigation (Kuo 2013), the Chinese press was the largest foreign-language press in Sydney during that period.

Today, other than nationally circulated dailies such as the *Sing Tao* (星島日報), the *Australian Chinese Daily* (澳洲新報), the *Daily Chinese Herald* (澳洲日報), there are also a number of weekly and bi-weekly tabloid-sized magazines circulated state-wide. Some of these print media were subsidiaries of newspapers in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia, and some were owned and operated by migrants from these locations (Sun 2016:16). Again, while some are conventional paid newspapers, some are free of charge, mainly distributed at the entrance of Chinese restaurants and grocery shops.

In her study of the history of Chinese Australians between 1892 and 1912, Kuo (2013) discussed how newspapers shaped the

Chinese diasporic community both locally and globally from the following two specific perspectives:

- How newspapers help to establish new models of urban leadership and to effect connections with wider international networks.
- (2) To rethink questions of Chinese diasporic identity through attention to the distinctive narratives and institutional status of newspapers.

This is to say that, according to Kuo, newspapers were to play an important role for shaping the identity of the early Chinese diasporic community as an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983) through the power of narrative, distinctive and usually arbitrary, which potentially contribute to leadership transformation.

During the 20th century the Chinese diasporic community in Australia has undergone further changes and challenges. This paper aims to analyze how different Chinese writing norms developed outside Australia are selected and implemented for the publication of Chinese language newspapers in Australia. Departing from the views of Kuo (2013) as mentioned above, I will examine two driving forces which necessarily affect the chief editor's selection and implementation of writing norms: one derived from the process of his/her language management and another one from the process in his/her development as a leader.

In the following two sections, I will first explain briefly the situation of the diverse Chinese community in Australia and various Chinese writing norms which have been developed outside Australia.

2. Diversity of Australia's Chinese communities

Reports provided by Museums Victoria (2017) indicate that the then British colony Hong Kong served as a departing point to Australia for thousands of Chinese near the region during the gold rush period in the 1850s. For this reason, so-called "old-comers" in Australia are mainly originated in Southern China, particularly the Guangdong (Canton) province. In the first census conducted soon after Australia's Federation in 1901, 29,907 persons or 3.5% of the population were reported to be China-born. The number continued to drop until the Immigration Restriction Act, commonly known as the White Australia Policy, was finally abolished and replaced by new national policies which promote multiculturalism in the 1970s. Since then, more and more Chinese from different parts of the world arrived in Australia and this resulted in for the first time a significant increase of non-Cantonese speakers in the community.

It is important to note here that ethnic Chinese in Australia are not limited to new arrivals or descendants of people from China, or the People's Republic of China after 1949. For instance, a large proportion of the Vietnam-born and Cambodia-born refugees who settled in Australia since the late 1970s was of Chinese ancestry. Economic and skilled migrants in the 1980s and 1990s were mainly from Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Southeast Asian countries adjacent to Australia such as Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia. Influx of Chinese migrants from the mainland started after 1990, first due to special political considerations of migration given by the Australian government after the Tiananmen Square crackdown in 1989, and later because of the significant economic development in China.

At the 2016 census, more than 1.2 million Australians identified themselves as having Chinese ancestry and this made up 3.9% of the population in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2016). As far as their language background is concerned, 596,711 persons claimed that they spoke Mandarin at home, followed by Cantonese at 280,943. It is relevant to mention that at least the following two facts are not reflected by the census. First, although there were other Chinese dialect speakers, the same census did not provide them the option to report. Second, most of the ethnic Chinese originated in Southeast Asia are bilinguals or multilinguals, using one or more Chinese dialects, in addition to the official language in their country and/or English.

3. Diversity of existing Chinese writing norms in the global context

In spite of the fact that Chinese dialect speakers are almost mutually unintelligible, literates can communicate with each other through written Chinese, a writing system denoted by a set of Chinese characters. Each character typically carries a shape (形), a sound (音) and a meaning (義). Evidence shows that the use of characters as scripts for the writing of Chinese language started as early as the beginning of the calendar era and it has gone through enormous changes since then. So-called literary Chinese, or later classical Chinese, has its roots on literature and has been used for formal writing throughout the Chinese history. Since the early 20th century, however, classical Chinese has gradually been replaced by modern Chinese, or writing vernacular Chinese, as variations of colloquial regional dialects remain significant and there was an urgent need for a lingua franca. Modern Chinese is based on the pronunciation and vocabulary of the Beijing dialect (also referred to as Mandarin or Putonghua) and represents the standard variety of Chinese in mainland China. Chinese speakers of dialects other than Mandarin and many overseas Chinese also learn and use modern Chinese in order to get access to the literate world. Therefore, similar to other print media. Chinese community newspapers in Australia, particularly those of high quality, are characterized by an elite readership rather than readership of a specific cultural or regional background.

The situation of the Chinese writing system became more complicated as reforms of the Chinese language took place in China and various countries where Chinese is used as a common or an official language (cf. Zhou 2004; Kloter 2005). As summarized by Mair (2004), for instance, the main goals of language planning in the People's Republic of China since 1949 included simplification and standardization of the sinographic script, promotion of *Putonghua* (Mandarin) as the national language, the design and refinement of *Pinyin* (the romanized spelling of *Putonghua*), among others.

Nowadays, simplified Chinese characters are used in the mainland of China, Singapore and Malaysia whereas traditional Chinese characters are used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau and many overseas Chinese communities including those in Australia. Some foreign loanwords are transcribed based on Mandarin pronunciation whereas some on Cantonese, Hokkien or others. It is also important to indicate that Chinese dialect speakers and descendants of those who migrated overseas before the 20th century continue to use vocabulary in old Chinese and regional varieties of Chinese. Since many of these expressions were excluded in the process of various language reforms (i.e. purification), they are no longer supported by a corresponding character for writing. Let me give an example here.

The advertisement below appears on the *English and Chinese Advertiser* was posted out to the Chinese community in Ballarat in 1847. This advertisement was mainly written in traditional characters (e.g. 離, 潔, 爾 instead of their simplified version 离, 洁, 尔) but there were also some non-standard characters (e.g. 艮 for 銀 "money", 虽 要 for 需要 "need to"), and Cantonese-based expressions (e.g. 署仔 for 馬鈴薯 "potatoes", 側辺 for 傍邊 "next to").



Photo source: Author took in Sovereign Hill, Ballarat, Victoria.

4. Data collection

In view of the diverse Chinese community in Australia and the diverse Chinese writing norms existing outside Australia, I am interested in finding out language problems confronted by Chinese community newspapers because they are mostly micro businesses. For this reason, I conducted a survey in February, 2017, by interviewing the chief editor (also publisher) of two different Chinese language newspapers (hereafter Chief editor E1 and E2; Newspaper NP1 and NP2). The main goal of the interviews was to find out what kind of language problems E1 and E2 were concerned about and how they attempted to solve those problems for publishing a Chinese language newspaper in order to accommodate a diverse

readership. All the interviews were conducted by the author inside the editors' office with permission to browse the back numbers, reference books and printing machines. The tape-recorded interview data were first transcribed in Chinese and then translated into English for discussion.

Both newspapers selected in the survey are free tabloids and their main income is from advertisements. NP1 was established in early 2000 with a circulation of more than 15,000 weekly nationwide whereas NP2 was established in early 1990s with a circulation of more than 10,000 bi-weekly statewide.

E1 (M, 50s) and E2 (M, 40s) were found to share many personal characteristics. They are both first generation Chinese migrated to Australia in the 1980s. They are native in Cantonese with a good command in Mandarin and English. They have been working as the chief editor since the establishment of their corresponding newspaper company.

5. Selection and implementation of writing norms from the perspective of language management

The Language management theory (LMT) was proposed by Neustupný and Jernudd in the 1980s as a methodological and theoretical framework for the study of language problems particularly in situations where more than one language is involved (i.e. contact linguistics). Early in 1973, Neustupný started to outline a theory of language problems and suggested that it is important to distinguish two types of processes which characterize language use: (1) linguistic behavior for the use or generation of discourse; (2) meta-linguistic behavior for the correction or management of discourse (Neustupný 1973:244). Findings in LMT studies indicate that investigation into language management processes can help discovering more language problems encountered by language users since not all language problems will surface in discourse (e.g.

Nekvapil & Sherman 2009; Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda 2018).

According to LMT (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987), a typical language management process consists of five stages: (1) language is monitored by speaker/writer and hearer/reader compared with norms that they possess; (2) some deviations from norms are noted; (3) some noted deviations from norms are evaluated; (4) adjustment designs are selected in response to negatively evaluated deviations; (5) some adjustment plans are implemented.

On the basis of the narrative data collected in the survey, let us here look into some language problems which became prominent in the processes of language management related to selection and implementation of writing norms for publishing Chinese newspapers in Australia.

5.1. Use of traditional and simplified Chinese characters

Both E1 and E2 are native in reading and writing Chinese printed in traditional characters through formal education they received before they migrated to Australia. In the interviews, both of them explained that they "naturally" chose to publish in traditional characters from the beginning. E2 added that this was because practically no Chinese type-setting machine was available in Australia in the late 1980s, not to mention the choice of traditional or simplified ones. He recalled that he had to take the trouble to send the texts to Hong Kong in order to get a "bromide" (i.e. a print made using paper coated with gelatino-bromide of silver emulsion) for printing in Australia. This directly limited their selection of written scripts other than those used in Hong Kong.

Since the early 2000, several signs made both E1 and E2 become aware of the growing number of simplified character users in their readership. For instance, they found some drafts of advertisement sent by their clients and some enquiries and quiz answers sent by their readers written in simplified characters. The existence of グローバル・コミュニケーション研究 第9号 (2020年)

simplified character users in their readership was noted as a deviation. However, as revealed in the data, this deviation was not always evaluated negatively. Both E1 and E2 explained that they did not worry too much for at least two reasons. Firstly, they strongly believe that many of their readers are biliterate in both types of characters. Secondly, many simplified character users in Australia are willing to read newspapers printed in traditional characters as an alternative to other sources of information. When the interviews were conducted in 2017, both E1 and E2's work place was equipped with computers and software which can easily convert texts from traditional to simplified characters and vice versa. As they explained, they accept the co-existence of traditional and simplified characters in the same issue in order to accommodate a wider readership for the time being. Obviously their management regarding the use of traditional or simplified characters will continue as the composition of the Chinese community in Australia is ever-changing.

5.2. Use of non-standard Chinese characters

As mentioned in Section 3 above, during the process of various language reforms, many words used in old Chinese, both written and spoken, are no longer supported by characters used in today's Chinese, should that be the standard in Hong Kong or mainland China or elsewhere. Nevertheless, these words very often are still in use in dialects. For instance, a third personal pronoun 渠 used in classical Chinese is now replaced by 他 in modern Chinese. It remains in full usage in Cantonese, pronounced as [kɔ:y] but can only be denoted by a non-standard character 佢 for convenience (cf. Fan 2016).

As far as E1 and E2 are concerned, the use of non-standard characters for newspaper writings was noted as deviation from norms which they acquired through formal education in Hong Kong. They agree that they are more tolerant toward the use of non-standard characters in Hong Kong as it is mainly a Cantonese speaking area. However, they evaluated the use of non-standard characters for formal writing in Australia negatively because, as E2 expressed, "we have to look after our readers who do not speak Cantonese". In other words, their plan of adjustment for this deviation is to avoid using Cantonese-specific expressions.

E2 reported an exception. He recalled that a farmer of a longestablished local chicken ranch one time called up for advertising their best-selling type of chicken, which is traditionally known as [grihong] (lit. chicken virgin, meaning: hens which have not laid eggs before) among Cantonese speaking old-comers. While [gei] (lit. chicken) has a corresponding character 鷄 according to the writing norms in Hong Kong, the character for the modifier [ho:n] does not exist anymore in any Chinese writing standards. E2 was aware of the absence of a standard character for [ho:n] (noted deviation) and the choice of using a homonym 項 (also pronounced as [ho:n] but bear a different intonation) which is common in Hong Kong (adjustment design). However, he was not satisfied with this choice. E2 decided to consult a Cantonese language expert in the University of Hong Kong. The professor, who turned out to be a native British, told him that the character for [ho:ŋ] used to be [‡]/_k, which is composed of three parts: 未 (lit. not yet), 成 (lit. become), 母 (lit. mother), meaning "a chicken which has never become a mother". E2 was impressed and decided to adopt this character for the advertisement and to add an explanation to it, hoping that this can satisfy his clients and contribute to the community. In this case, his adjustment plan was implemented.

5.3. Translation of Australian-specific terms

Other than the use of characters, co-existence of different translations for Australian-specific terms was also noted as グローバル・コミュニケーション研究 第9号 (2020年)

| "KOALA" | Hong Kong | Mainland China | Taiwan |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Translation in Chinese | 樹熊 | 考拉 | 無尾熊 |
| Meaning | Bear on the tree | _ | Bear with no tail |
| Way of translation | Free translation | Transliteration | Free translation |

Table 1: Translation of "koala"

deviations by the two editors. E2 raised the example of "koala", an Australian native animal. As shown in Table 1 below, three different translations are available in Chinese: (1) 樹熊 (lit. tree bear) used in Hong Kong, (2) 考拉 (Chinese exonyms, kǎolā in *pinyin*) used in Mainland China, (3) 無尾熊 (lit. no tail bear) used in Taiwan.

It is interesting to report that none of these existing translations was positively evaluated by E2. He particularly pointed out that the word 熊 used in Hong Kong and Taiwan is totally incorrect because koalas are not bears in the first place. Nevertheless, he made no adjustment and admitted that "but we basically follow the Hong Kong way".

Both E1 and E2 expressed their concern about the translation of Australia place names and personal names. According to them, there is no exaggeration that most Australian capital cities have at least two versions of translation. For instance, 雪梨 and 悉尼 for "Sydney"; 坎培拉 and 堪培拉 for "Canberra", some are based on Cantonese reading and some are based on Mandarin reading. E1 said he was aware of the fact that more translations used in the mainland appear on Hong Kong media in recent years. Although this deviation was noted, he admitted that he does not have a "strict standard" and will decide "case by case" as long as the messages in the main texts are not affected. At this moment he has no plans for adjustment.

The problem of translating personal names, particularly names of Australian politicians, is more serious. As E1 indicated, "these names are only important in Australia, people outside don't care." Therefore, unlike place names, very often there is a lack of existing translations for them to use. In the case of "Malcolm Turnbull", the previous Australian prime minister, he adopted the writing of 譚保 ([ta:mbou]) which, according to E1, seems to be commonly used in the local Cantonese speaking community. This implementation is apparently resulted from a lack of alternative adjustment plans.

Throughout the discussion so far, we can see clearly that the two editors in the present survey confronted at least the following types of language problems regarding to selection and implementation of writing norms for publishing Chinese newspapers in Australia.

A) Problems related to selection of writing norms

Although they both selected the Hong Kong norms as the base norm for their newspaper, they were aware of the norms existing in mainland China, Taiwan and other Chinese communities (e.g. use of traditional/simplified characters, use of standard/non-standard characters). They were also aware of the lack of a norm in certain aspects of writing Chinese (e.g. translation of proper names). These deviations were evaluated negatively and triggered plans for adjustment.

B) Problems related to implementation of selected writing norms Some of the plans for adjustments were implemented but some were not. For instance, unlike in Hong Kong, they tried to avoid using non-standard characters and Cantonese-specific expressions. However, E2 accepted the use of non-standard characters for words in old Chinese. Both editors accepted the use of traditional and simplified characters for advertisements and enquires.

In the following section, let us look at language problems confronted by the two editors regarding to selection and implementation of norms from the perspective of leadership studies.

6. Selection and implementation of writing norms from the perspective of leadership studies

A strong tradition of modern leadership studies developed in the United States has its origin in the 1940s. Since then, it has developed into a multi-disciplinary academic field of study, with a special interest on leadership in organizations. More recently, its theoretical and methodological approaches are applied to disciplines such as business management, healthcare and education. Leadership can be defined in many ways, depending on the field and purpose of study. Among them, we can find a famous quote from Warren Bennis, one of the pioneers in this area, saying "leadership is the capacity to translate vision into reality" (Bennis 1989).

Since leadership usually requires using power to influence the thoughts and actions of other people (cf. Zalenik 1992), discussions of "power" has been central to leadership studies. For instance, Weber (1958) identified power as being either authoritative or coercive, and introduced the famous "three types of legitimate rule", namely, charismatic authority, traditional authority and legal authority. Tannenbaum (1968) also suggested that the total productive forms of organizational power and effectiveness grow with superiors' sharing of power and control with subordinates.

While the focus of power in traditional sociology studies has been placed on authority and coercion, practitioners in the business management world have more interests in the product (i.e. effectiveness). It is interesting to find that in recent years, particularly in fields of applied linguistics and psychology, there is growing attention on leadership as a process, or more precisely, a communicative process. For instance, Hersey & Blanchard (1988:86) define leadership as "the process of influencing the activities of an individual or a group in efforts toward goal achievement in a given situation". Conger (1989) has also proposed a four-stage model of leadership process which characterizes the

qualities of leaders.

Through his experience as a language researcher and a language educator, Knight (2013) summarizes his view of leadership in this way:

"I like to view leadership as a communication process consisting of two parts: 1) communicating to create a vision and 2) communicating to achieve a vision. Leadership is considered by many to be an "influence relationship," and in my personal conceptualization of leadership, leadership would involve influencing others through communication associated with the goals of part 1 and part 2". (Knight 2013)

This view was further refined as "to make real a vision in collaboration with others" in a later paper written with Candlin, a prominent scholar in applied linguistics (Knight and Candlin, 2015:36).

I believe that the conceptualization of leadership as a communication process can help us to gain more insight into the two editors' meta-linguistic behavior as discussed in the previous section. If we go through the narrative data again, we can see clearly how such communication processes of leadership have become another driving force behind their selection and implementation of writing norms necessary for publishing Chinese newspapers in Australia.

6.1. The process of communicating to create a vision

During the interviews, both editors indicated explicitly their vision as an editor of a community newspaper published in Australia.

E1: "Our mission is to help new settlers to join the Australian main stream".

グローバル・コミュニケーション研究 第9号 (2020年)

E2: "We are not selling high-culture, we just want to provide a platform for new settlers who want to get access to local news and activities".

It is interesting to find that although the source of financial support of NP1 and NP2 is rather different, one solely relies on advertisements and another one only partly, E1 and E2 shared a similar vision. Their decision of selecting and implementing writing norms for their newspapers can be understood as one of the goals which they set up for moving towards this vision.

Here we want to ask what motivated and inspired them to select the Hong Kong norm as base norm and at the same time accept alternative norms such as adopting simplified, non-standard characters, and translations used outside Hong Kong in certain circumstances. Obviously, this was resulted from their continuous communication and collaboration with others, or more precisely, stakeholders from the business point of view. Let me give two examples here as revealed in the narrative data.

A) Old-comers and new-comers in the readership

According to E1's observation, similar to his own experience, many first generation Chinese migrants in Australia experience hardship for being isolated in an information desert. The mere channel for them to get access to information in their new living environment is through the networks established by the oldcomers. As a result, it is almost impossible to participate in the host community. This creates a dilemma since the longer they live in Australia, the stronger their identity as an Australian becomes. As E1 explained further, new settlers usually become more interested in Chinese newspapers published in Australia after the initial period of their stay in Australia, usually the first 3 to 4 years, although they are still concerned about the significant events in their hometown. In order to serve this ever-growing and diverse Chinese migrant community, E1 cannot but to become more rigid on one side (e.g. stick to the Hong Kong norm; no dialect expressions; no non-standard characters) and more flexible on the other side (e.g. accept the use of simplified characters by new-comers; look for the original character for old-comers; adopt the translation of politicians names used among local Chinese migrants). B) Advertisement clients

As pointed out by both E1 and E2, for certain unknown reasons, unlike in Sydney where Chinese migrants are willing to pay for newspapers, only free newspapers are circulated in their local Chinese community. Therefore, they have to heavily rely on the income from advertisements. Along with the development of IT technology and growing population of migrants from the mainland, they reported that many of their clients now provide them with original electronic files and very often those files are processed in simplified characters. At the same time, as we can see in the example of "virgin chicken" in the last section, they have to deal with dialect speaking old-comers who are illiterate in Chinese. According to the two editors, although they insist to use standardized modern Chinese for the main texts, they opt to be flexible in regard to publishing advertisements on their newspaper in order to create a friendly and approachable impression to their clients.

6.2. The process of communicating to achieve a vision

Once a vision becomes clear, efforts can be made for its realization. My data also shows that both E1 and E2 have made significant effort in order to achieve their vision through communication and collaboration with others.

A) Editorial staff

E1 and E2 expressed that in the early days of their business, which was early 2000s for NP1 and early 1990s for NP2, the entire editorial team including themselves as the chief editor were migrants from Hong Kong. However, as the composition of the local Chinese community has become more diverse and more transnational, they started to strategically employ staff of various backgrounds such as migrants from the mainland and locally born Chinese. They believe that young, energetic and well-trained staff can help them to get access to up-to-date expressions used in different Chinese communities, inside and outside Australia. When the two editors were asked whether the lack of a shared standard for writing modern Chinese would create a problem or not, they both answered "yes and no". This is because they are fully aware of the fact that their staff's workload will be enormous if they demand confirmation and correction for every word and every name according to one standard. This is reflected by E1's comments as below.

"It doesn't mean that we want to accept (double standards). We just can't control the situation. And we may not need to standardize in the first place as our readers are of different backgrounds... a newspaper with four or five thousand employees can talk about standards. As for us, having only a few employees, it is a dilemma. It's not a problem of good or bad. If you want to publish, and if you agree with multiculturalism, you have to accept various types of people, various types of standards, and the fact that they cannot be standardized".

B) Authorities

Both editors in the survey were prepared to get advice and support from authorities. As discussed in the example of "virgin chicken", E2 decided to consult a Cantonese language expert teaching at the University of Hong Kong. As a matter of fact, he visited the expert in person and was proud to show the author

(interviewer) the name card of that expert. E2 also showed the author different reference books, dictionaries and publications provided by the Hong Kong government about translation regulations particularly in the areas of legal studies, social affairs and education. Unlike E2, E1 appears to be more conscious of the authorities in Australia. As he indicated in the interview, he takes publishing a community newspaper as a long-term investment. Despite many unsolved language problems, E1 strongly believes that the effort he made so far has helped the newspaper in the way that it has gradually been recognized as one of the few high quality non-English publications by the Australian main stream society, for him, a liberal and democratic society.

7. Concluding remarks

In the present paper I have attempted to examine how existing writing norms are selected and implemented for publishing Chinese community newspapers in Australia. While analyzing the narrative data collected through interviews with two editors of such newspapers, I placed a special focus on two driving forces which appear to be significant behind their meta-linguistic behavior: one derived from the process of their language management as a language user, and another one from the process in their development as a leader.

From the perspective of language management, it was revealed in my data that many cases related to (1) use of traditional and simplified Chinese characters, (2) use of non-standard Chinese characters, and (3) translation of Australian-specific terms were noted as deviations from norms that the editors possess. Most of these deviations were negatively evaluated by the editors (e.g. the lack of a character to denote an old Chinese expression) and triggered adjustment plans (e.g. consult an expert). Some of these plans were successfully implemented (e.g. adopt the character recommended by the expert) but some were abandoned (e.g. adopt the Hong Kong norm for "koala" in spite of knowing that it is not a bear).

Following a recent trend to view leadership as a communication process, I analyzed how the two editors attempted "to make real a vision in collaboration with others" (Knight and Candlin, 2015:36). My data indicated that among the stakeholders, old-comers and new-comers in the readership and their advertisement clients particularly helped them to create a vision for publishing their newspaper (e.g. be strict with norms for main texts but flexible for advertisements). In order to achieve such a vision, it was found that the editors strategically gained help from their editorial staff as well as authorities in Hong Kong and in Australia.

It is relevant to mention in this context that although the approaches of language management and leadership studies have been so far applied in very different academic areas, they definitely share many characteristics. For example, LMT is interested in language and power (Neustupný 2002). It not only deals with discourse (simple) management but also system (organized) management (Jernudd and Neustupný 1987). As in the area of leadership studies, it is striking to find that in their discussion of an integrated model of care in France, de Stampa et al. (2010) suggested a bottom-up process with continuous leadership by referring the stages as evaluation, design and implementation.

The findings in the present study have provided evidence to indicate that the approaches of language management and leadership studies are complementary for the understanding of the complexity of language problems in multicultural societies. Further systematic investigation into this aspect is necessary.

Note

*An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 5th International

Language Management Symposium: Interests and Power in Language Management. 13th September 2017, Regensburg, Germany.

References

Anderson, B. (1983) Imagined Communities. London: Verso.

- Bagnall, K. (2000) Digging deep: sources for Chinese-Australian history in NSW. *Locality*, 11 (2), pp. 4–12.
- Bennis, W. (1989) On Becoming a Leader. New York: Basic Books.
- Conger, J. A. (1989). The Charismatic Leader: Behind the Mystique of Exceptional Leadership. The Jossey-Bass management series. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- de Stampa, M. et al. (2010) Diagnostic study, design and implementation of an integrated model of care in France: A bottom-up process with continuous leadership. *International Journal of Integrated Care*. 10, pp. 1–10.
- Fairbrother, L., Nekvapil, J., Sloboda, M. (eds.) (2018) The Language Management Approach: A Focus on Research Methodology. Berlin, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, Oxford, Warszawa, Wien: Peter Lang.
- Fan, S. K. (2016) Language management among Cantonese speakers as a result of migrating to a multicultural Society: A case Study of Australian Hong Kong migrants of three generations. *Global Communication Studies*. Kanda University of International Studies, 4, pp. 5–32.
- Hersey, P. & K. Blanchard (1988) Management of Organizational Behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Jernudd, B. H. and J. V. Neustupný (1987) Language planning: For Whom? In Laforge, L. (ed.) Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Language Planning. May 25–29, 1986, (pp. 69–84), Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval.
- Kloter, H. (2005) Written Taiwanese. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Knight, K. & C. Candlin (2015) Leadership discourse as basis and means for developing L2 students into future leaders. In Shrestha, P. (ed.) *Current Developments in English for Academic and Specific Purposes: Local Innovations and Global Perspectives.* (pp. 27–50). Reading, UK: Garnet.
- Kuo, M. F. (2013) Making Chinese Australia: Urban elites, Newspapers and the Formation of Chinese-Australian Identity, 1892–1912. Melbourne:

Monash University Publishing.

- Mair, V. (2004) Foreword. In Zhou, M. (ed.) Language Policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and Practice Since 1949. (pp. xvii-xviii) Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Nekvapil, J. & T. Sherman (eds.) (2009) Language Management in Contact Situations: Perspectives from Three Continents. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Neustupný, J. V. (1973) Outline of a theory of language problems. Paper prepared for the section Language Planning at the 8th World Congress of Sociology, Toronto. Reprinted in Neustupný, J. V. (1978) Poststructural Approaches to Language: Language Theory in a Japanese Context. (pp. 243–257) Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Neustupný, J. V. (1985) Problems in Australian-Japanese contact situations. In Pride, J. B. (ed.) Cross-cultural Encounters: Communication and Miscommunication. (pp. 44–84) Melbourne: River Seine.
- Neustupný, J. V. (2002) Language and power into the 21st century. A paper for the International Conference on Language and Empowerment, Malaysian Association of Modern Languages, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, April 11–13, 2002.
- Poon, Y. L. (1995) The two-way mirror: Contemporary issues as seen through the eyes of the Chinese language press, 1901–1911. In Fitzgerald, S. & G. Wotherspoon (eds.) *Minorities: Cultural Diversity in Sydney*. (pp. 50–66) Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press.
- Sun, W. (2016) Chinese-language Media in Australia: Developments, Challenges and Opportunities. The Australia-China Relations Institute (ACRI).
- Tannenbaum, A. (1968) Control in organizations. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Weber, M. (1958) The three types of legitimate rule. (Translated by Gerth,H.) Berkeley's Publication in Society and Institutions. 4 (1), pp. 1–11.
- Zalenik, A. (1992) Managers and leaders: are they different? *Harvard Business Review*. March/April, p. 126.
- Zhou, M. (ed.) (2004) Language Policy in the People's Republic of China Theory and Practice Since 1949. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Internet access

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016) 2016 Census QuickStats. Retrieved from https://quickstats.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/ census/2016/quickstat/036 on August 31, 2019.
- Bagnall, K. (2015) Early Chinese newspapers. National Library of Australia. Retrieved from https://www.nla.gov.au/stories/blog/trove/2015/ 02/19/early-chinese-newspapers on August 31, 2019.
- Knight, K. (2013) Looking at communication through a leadership lens. TESOL Blog. Alexandria, Virginia: TESOL International Association. Retrieved from http://blog.tesol.org/looking-at-communication-througha-leadership-lens/ on June 27, 2019.
- Museums Victoria (2017) Immigration History from Hong Kong (SAR) to Victoria. Retrieved from https://origins.museumsvictoria.com.au/countries/ hong-kong-sar on August 31, 2019.
- The Chinese-Australian Historical Images in Australia database (2013) Chinese-language Australian newspapers. Retrieved from http://www. chia.chinesemuseum.com.au/ on August 20, 2019.