River Crab, Harmony and Euphemism

Chinese Online Culture 2009-2019

by Brusda 22 August 02019 Chaos Communication Camp, Earth, Milky Way



Just a reminder that this talk includes graphic, vulgar and explicit content, if you have children around or are easily offended, I highly advise viewer discretion.

Also I will mention a lot new words in Chinese, I will try to repeat the meaning every now and then but if it gets very confusing to you at some point, just shout out loud and ask!



We will start the talk with some music appreciation. Please pay attention to the two main characters mentioned in the song, and we will talk about them after. So who were in the song?

Grass Mud Horse vs. River Crabs so what is grass mud horse and what is river crab then?

Well in the following 40 minutes, I'm going to explain to you a handful of selected terminology, incidents and phenomenon you might encounter online in China, from cultural, historical and linguistic perspectives. I will try my best to untangle the complex layers of humour, resentment, resistance, and creativity of Chinese netizens that I have followed closely in the past decade, while, as you all know, the censorship by the government started to clamp down, tighter and tighter.

Sit tight and here we go.



Grass mud horse, in Chinese, reads cao ni ma, read after me, cao ni ma. great!

Cao ni ma is a near homophone of, which means it pronounces the same as, "操你妈!" which literally means, "fuck your mother". the tone is slightly different. It's

Chinese people's favourite cursing phrase, often referred to as 国骂 national curse.

People had been using the phrase for a very long time, until 2009, when the "River crabs" infested.

River Crab in Chinese, is pronounced as "Hexie" which is again, a homophone of the word Hexie, which means, "harmony". It comes from "The **Harmonious Society**" hexieshehui which was a socioeconomic vision that the ex Chinese leader Hu Jintao brought up in the mid-2000s. The methods taken to reach the goal, is to delete all unfavourable voices in all media, basically rendered the term "hexie" or harmony as a euphemism for "stability at all costs". The standard is completely arbitrary and you have no right to decide for yourself.

This is basically how online censorship in China started. And of course soon people started to treat "to harmonise" as a placeholder for "to censor". So instead of saying harmony, he xie, people just use "he xie" river crab when their online post gets deleted for mentioning any sensitive issues, vulgar language, or simply criticising the party, that's "river crabbed". Hence the title of the talk.

Also the word "crab", apart from the same pronunciation with harmony in Chinese, it also subtly implies "to bully", because crabs walk sideways and sideways is heng in chinese which has a double meaning as bully.

In the picture, the three wristwatches refer to the Three Represents, because in Mandarin Chinese the expressions used for "represent" and "Wearing watch(es)" sound the same "dai bio". the concept of "three representatives" was introduced by then chinese leader Jiang Zemin in 2002, who set out that the Communist Party of China should be representative to advanced social productive forces, advanced culture, and the interests of the overwhelming majority.

Except for that it doesn't, so instead of saying three representatives people jokingly use "wearing three watches" instead.

so now you understand, cao ni ma the grass mud horse, the cute innocent looking animal actually means the f-word, and the river crabs, the bullies are what takes the unharmonious online contents away, to censor.

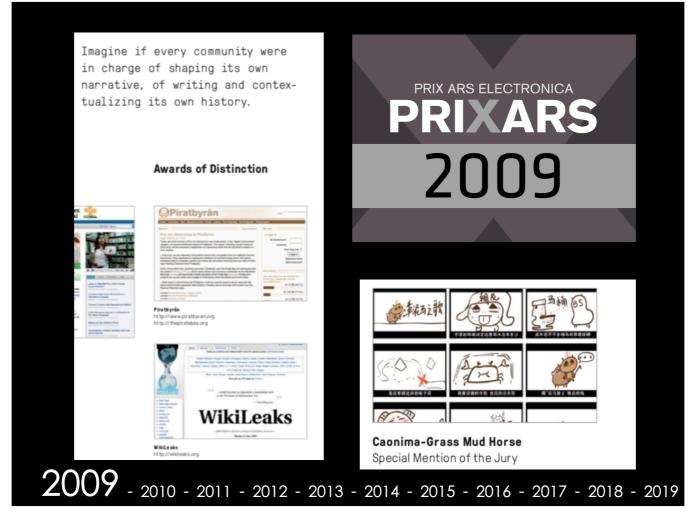
A phrase is apparently not enough, people also made up this character of "grass mud horse" following the general rules of Chinese Character making: top/bottom; left/ right; one part for sound and one part for meaning. this subversive act is rather an ingenious one i find, it's like people are erecting a monument that says "fuck you censorship"



In the song, it also mentions that the habitat and battlefield for the two animals is called "male gebi" which is again, a near homophone of "your mother's vagina", at the same time, gebi refers to the "gobi dessert", an actual region in northern China and southern Mongolia, known for its dunes, mountains and rare animals such as snow leopards and Bactrian camels. So it's very likely they have some cao ni ma grass mud horse and he xie river crab as well.

As you can see by now, that all this involves with the complicated nature of the Chinese language, both written and spoken. In Mandarin Chinese, the official language in China, certain characters can pronounce exactly the same, but depending on the tone, it can have totally different meaning. when a certain written form of a word is censored, the spoken one can take many forms and people can always use them interchangeably because it could be understood depending on the context.

After I have explained to you the linguistic aspect, there's in fact another cultural and historic layer of irony about this song. The melody actually comes from the theme song of The Smurfs when it was introduced to China in the late 80s. At the time people who introduced them into China were like um we want to create our own theme song for the Smurfs, so two patriotic song writers who normally worked for the Chinese communist party took over the task, and the narrative of party songs are often very simplistic, black and white, good vs. evil - the cute smart little smurfs defeat the big bad Gargamel and then lived happily ever after. As you heard in the song, people simply substituted the smurfs with grass mud horse and gargamel with river crabs. Pretty much every kid who grew up in the 80s and 90s watching TV in mainland China, like I did, is familiar with this song. So when it was adapted to narrate the battle between grass mud horses and river crabs, it immediately caught people's ears and spread virally.



Within that year, Caonima got so popular, it does not only spawned an industry of videos, cartoons and stuff toys in China, but also got mentioned by the jury at the biggest media art prize, Prix Ars Electronica in Linz, that was the same year when Wikileaks got the award of distinction.

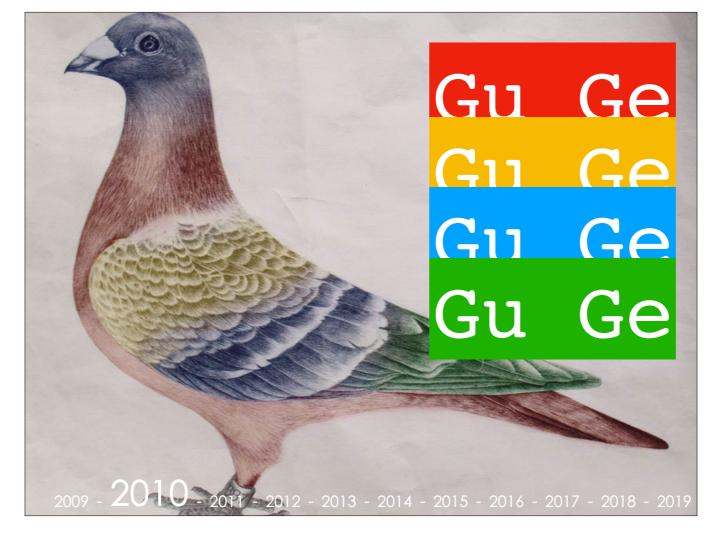


Starting with this pair, Chinese netizens compiled a whole collection of Internet mythology which originally contains 10 mythical beasts of the internet, and is expanding ever since. It first appeared in 2009 on Baidu Baike, an online Chinese encyclopaedia, run by Baidu, THE search engine people use in China. I'll briefly introduce two more examples of the mythical beasts just to give you an taste of how they were created,

Fa Ke You (法克鱿, *Fǎ Kè Yóu*), literally "French-Croatian Squid" was supposedly a species of squid discovered simultaneously by France and Croatia, hence the name. Their Baidu Baike entry article claims that "Fa Ke You" is a species of aggressive squid found in Europe. When agitated, it is said that they release a form of "whitecoloured liquid" and cause great harm to humans.

It is actually the Chinese transliteration of fuck you.

Another one, Ya Mie Die (雅蠛蝶, *Yǎ Miè Dié*), literally "Small Elegant Butterfly", is derived from Japanese *yamete* (止めて), meaning "stop". It's the stereotype of Chinese towards Japanese pornography, which was an important source of sex education for many young people in China because neither do parents nor schools have any sex education for the kids.



Here I'll talk about one more mythical creature, which is "gu ge", or "the ancient dove", known to be the ancestor of all birds, currently on the verge of extinction in China, though rumour has it that they are going to revive as dragonflies. According to a native American legend, this bird has a very important habit, which is "don't be evil", which can be roughly translated into Chinese as "fear the River Crabs."

During the period from the end of the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st century, it once spread all over the world, but after March 23, 2010, the bird has since disappeared in mainland China. The abnormal behavior of the bird is suspected to be linked to the recent global extreme climate change, especially the large-scale ecological, environmental and geological disasters that have occurred frequently in China. Encountering problems, it did not survive as robustly as the grass mud horses did, therefore they chose to migrate to Hong Kong.

Coincidently, in 2010, all Google search services was moved from mainland China to Hong Kong.

This was a watershed in the development of Chinese online culture. Since after google left, Baidu pretty much dominated the search engine market. When google says "don't do evil", it didn't know how much evil a search engine can do. I know that you all criticise Google for here and there. That's because you've never used Baidu whose unspoken motto was probably "Do evil" because it does exactly that.



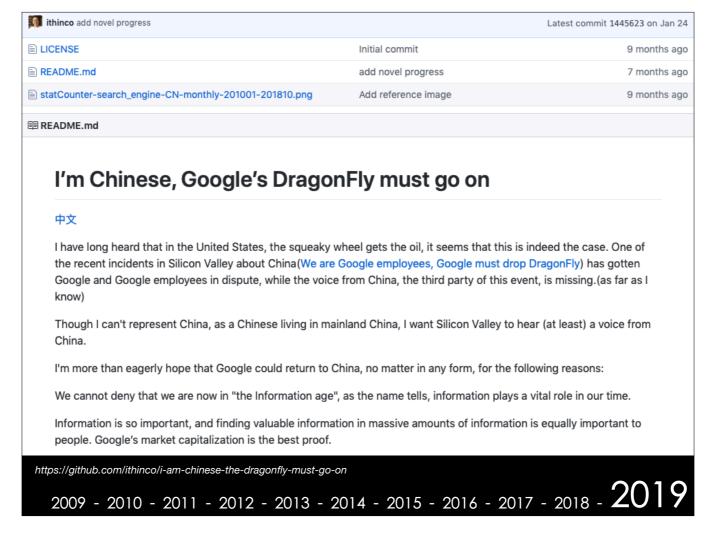
Fast forward to February 2016, on Chinese Quora-like question and answer website, Zhihu, someone asked, what do you think is the greatest evil of humanity?

This answer was from a 21-year old Chinese college student Wei Zexi who posted about himself receiving treatment for the rare type of cancer that he suffered from. He learned of the hospital from a promoted result when he was searching on Baidu and it turned out the department was not even qualified and the treatment was not as effective as it promised and delayed him from receiving proper treatment after spending all the savings of his family. He condemned Baidu in his answer, as the greatest evil of humanity. Not long after his post, he passed away. Arguably that it was not only Baidu's fault but also the regulation of the government and so on, however the scandal did point out how people have suffered from the misleading information provided by the search results on Baidu where the advertisers who paid are often prioritised. It led to a public outcry. People were really anger about Baidu, especially its monopoly of the market. Some netizens wondered when Google would return to China.



Until last August, a leaked document from Google revealed that it was secretly developing a censored search engine, targeting at the Chinese market, with the code name "dragonfly".

In November, some Google employees co-signed a letter and published it on Medium, asking Google to cancel the project because it is against Google's "Don't do evil" principle. The open letter was highly praised by many, for upholding justice. However, very few talk to Chinese netizens and ask them what they think.



Here is a response published by presumably a Chinese programmer with the handle ithinco, in both Chinese and English, on GitHub, one of the very few international websites that are still accessible in China without VPN. He also condemns Baidu and thinks that Google would be much better for Chinese netizens even with a censored version. You may also find the open letter listed on Hackernews and I really like the comments section because it demonstrates perfectly the complexity of the ethical issues of tech companies operating in China. I'll read out a few short comments from different standpoints.

*	georgraphics 8 months ago [-] This argument is wrong on so many levels. Why deal with massive shit just because there is even more massive shit in place at the moment. Fix the root cause.
4	dna113 <u>8 months ago</u> [-] It's easy for us to scream "human rights" when we aren't the ones that don't have access to a platform that has changed our daily lives
1	To be honest, I'm neutral. I don't think Google should ransom their sole to be in China, but them being there, even if much more censored, wouldn't be a net negative. Its kind of the same way I feel about Chinese Bing, the censorship is annoying, but in a pinch it is 100 times better than Baidu.
als	o on https://news.ycombinator.com/item?id=18574181
2	2009 - 2010 - 2011 - 2012 - 2013 - 2014 - 2015 - 2016 - 2017 - 2018 - 2019

I don't know how many people in Silicon Valley actually heard this voice from China in the end.

Many of you in the audience are probably working for important tech companies, what would you do if you were faced with such a situation? I hope this question comes up in your head very often when you are trying to make the world a better place.

Here I'm inserting an unsponsored ad, if you are still here on Sunday, at 1pm at Curie tent, there will be a talk about *ethics or unethicality of today's technologies* with the title "Why Nobody cares, and only You can save the World**" by Wilheim Klein.



After search engine, let's talk about some social media platforms in China.

Douban. launched in 2005, played an important role in the development of Chinese online culture. I personally spent a lot of time on there in my teenage years. As a social networking service website, users can create entries of films, books and music and review them, similar to fandom, goodreads, one can as well create events in different cities in China, like meetup, one can also found groups with a specific topic, like reddit, blog, post pictures like on instagram and so on.

at first many intellectuals considered douban a platform for social discussions and that made douban a target for censorship, so the admins of the website would selfcensor before posts go public.

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In 2009, when, as we mentioned earlier, hexie the crazy river crabs infested, things got worse. an admin at Douban removed images of renaissance paintings uploaded by a user because they consider the images inappropriate with the nudity in there [pornographic]. the user was really upset for the removal and the reason given and decided to start a campaign called "给名画穿衣 put on clothes for the famous paintings", in which the organiser of the campaign asked the fellow douban users to upload photoshopped images of famous paintings and painted clothes to cover the nudes. this hilarious move was a wonderful in protest against and to ridicule the self-censorship of the platform. The result is obviously, it all got removed.



The confusion of whether nudity in artworks is inappropriate continued. Three years after this, CCTV, China Central Television, the predominant state television broadcaster in Mainland China, reported about an renaissance art exhibition at national museum of china. In the broadcast, a picture of the famous david apollo sculpture by michelangelo was pixelated at where his penis is, as you can see in the screen capture. So the staff of state TV broadcaster is basically saying that the sculpture is a pornographic image. You can imagine how embarrassed art students might get. Three hours later, at the rebroadcast of the news, the pixelation got removed, but CCTV didn't comment on that.



This is not over. Last year, the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television, or in short, minitrue, says that the entertainment programmes are too bad for kids nowadays, with the boys wearing earrings and having tattoos and girls dying their hair like crazy, so we need to cover that. this is what you see in TV nowadays.



Another social media platform that has been very influential is, weibo, which literally means microblogging. Weibo sounds like weibo, a scarf, so when people post on weibo, it's sometimes referred to as knitting a scarf (织围脖)。

Knitting a scarf has never been an easy feat since 2009 when Weibo started. In the early years, weibo was encouraging many celebrities to join the platform in order to attract more users, that includes Mike Tyson. After the former world heavyweight champion opened his account on weibo in 2013, he of course asked, who is the best fighter in China?

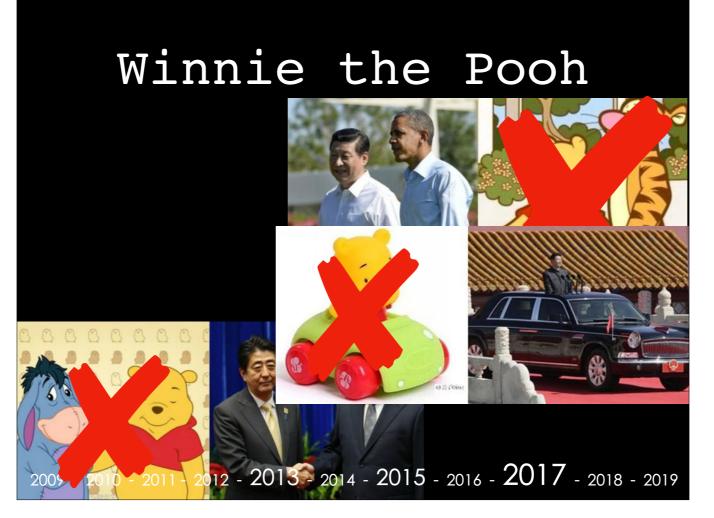
The most voted reply was cheng guan.

And tyson was like, Who is Chengguan? A tough man? I've never heard it.

It's an insider's joke among Chinese citizens.

Cheng guan means urban management, which is short for **Urban Administrative and Law Enforcement Bureau**. it was established in early 2000s to be in charge with enforcement of urban regulations in most major cities in China as the urbanisation rate increased rapidly. It has less power than police but to make up for it they are notoriously brutal. There were many cases when chengguan come for inspection and the unlicensed street vendors who didn't run fast enough were beaten up and in quite a few cases to death, with their properties unlawfully and forcefully confiscated.

As a result of its notoriety and the lack of regulation of this government agency, Chengguan has become a popular target of jokes and internet memes by the Chinese public. For example people would say "Don't be too Chengguan", which is do not bully.



Another famous incident on Weibo was Winnie the Pooh got censored - many of you might have heard of it.

[Click]

most of the Western Media didn't pick it up until 2017, but it first started in 2013 when Obama met with Xi Jinping, the current leader of China, who I'll refer to as Xi in the below and please don't confuse it with the female pronoun She. The comparison between their picture with Winnie and Tigger apparently is too agitating and it was ordered to be removed from Weibo and WeChat, the messaging app every Chinese person uses. However, fortunately or unfortunately for someone, that with our current limited technology, an image, once seen, can hardly be removed from people's mind.

[Click]

So in 2014, this appeared and got banned. Then in 2015, when Xi was inspecting the Chinese military during a parade, [Click] people were again circulating this cute image of a plastic Winnie the Pooh toy car. According Weiboscope, a project at the University of Hong Kong's Journalism and Media Centre that has monitored these types of censored content on weibo since 2011, that the image was shared 65,000 times in the 69 minutes before it was deleted, that's about fifteen times per second.



As Xi's power gets more and more centralised, finally at the beginning of 2018, Xi announced to remove the presidential term limit from the constitution, By removing the presidential term limit, it simply means that Xi could **rule indefinitely**.

At this point, the list of censorship on social media is more than ridiculous. It was reported that the phrase "不同意 not agree" was also censored, among many other words. Cause of the heavy censorship, people's creativity also peaked, in order to express their dissent. Winnie the Pooh was again chosen for political satire.

An old post from Disney's official account on Weibo was dug out, with a photo of Winnie the Pooh hugging a pot of honey. The post said: "Find the thing you love and stick with it. – Winnie the Pooh." The user who dug it out commented saying, What a God-like prophecy! And other ones include, "my mom said i must get married within Xi's term in office, I finally breathed out a sigh of relief."

And by drawing the comparison between Xi and an emperor, some cosplayer dressed up in royal dragon robe and wore a winnie head. In Hong Kong, a small protest broke out in protest against this change, someone carried the winnie the pooh, dressed in an outfit commonly seen during china's cultural revolution, to the front of China-hongkong liaison office, in order to perform an enthronement ceremony.



That week I was in Hong Kong myself, and I bumped into a former colleague of mine who lives in Beijing. We were talking about how ridiculous the censorship gets nowadays and she told me how people had to use "heihua" literally black words, which means underground secret language, to circumvent the censorship on social media to avoid being invited to have tea with the police.

What happens when you said something that you're not supposed to, you might get "thrown into little dark room" which means that your account gets suspended for a limited period; or your account might get bombed, which means deleted. Or one step before you get jailed is that the police come to invite you to have some tea, which is a euphemism for you get taken to the police station and get interrogated or being threatened.

In order to demonstrate how people use secret language, she invited me into a feminism-themed WeChat group with mostly female Chinese artists and art professionals. Ironically, the name of the group was very similar to one of the most beloved Japanesee porn star by guys of my generation, whose name in Chinese characters Fan dao ai literally means rice island love. so all the members in the group change their alias to rice something.



As smart as me, I soon discovered the reason behind the naming scheme. The topic in discussion was "me too" movement in the Chinese-speaking art world. People are very cautious about censorship and have adopted the #Metoo to its Chinese transliteration and chose the characters of mi tu, literally Rice Bunny. You might think that why would they afraid of censorship if they are only talking about feminism. Well you might be too simple and sometimes naive if you think that way. [Click]

Because feminism or "Western feminism" is considered as an ideology that the "Western hostile forces" were using to attack China's views on women and the country's "basic policies on gender equality". In January 2018, thousands of people signed #MeToo petitions at dozens of universities, demanding action against sexual harassment. But many of the petitions were deleted by censors soon after being posted on social media. Later on the night of International Women's Day 8 March, Weibo banned the most influential feminist social media account, Feminist Voices, because it "posted sensitive and illegal information". The following day, the messaging app WeChat banned their account as well. At the time Feminist Voices had over 180,000 followers on Weibo and over 70,000 followers on WeChat.



Here comes the most controversial and confusing part!

Not only the Chinese government dislike the feminist activists, some Chinese netizens also appear not to appreciate the feminist discourse and find it too Baizuo, literally, the "White left". I will explain first what it means then analyse why it emerged.

The term baizuo was coined in 2010, however it was only amidst the European refugee crisis that it became popular, that Angela Merkel was the first western politician to be labelled as a baizuo for her open-door refugee policy. She was also called shengmu (圣母) literally the 'holy mother', which was not a praise in the atheist China, rather according to its users, it implies someone who is 'overemotional', 'hypocritical' and 'have too much empathy'.

The anti-baizuo discourse on Chinese social media gained stronger momentum during the US presidential election campaign when some Chinese students in the US began to use it heavily to criticise Democratic Party for treating Asians unfairly. Then some Chinese netizens, who have little knowledge of the American or international politics, especially in regard to immigration, multiculturalism, minortiry rights, etc, just used it to refer to the perceived double standards of Western media, or in general, as a derogatory description to discredit their opponents in online debates. then they discovered Trump, who is as conservative, islamphobic, and anti humanitarian. Trump was considered as the antidote of baizuo, the white left and people who dislike baizuo naturally became his enthusiastic supporters. they would also identify Trump's opponent Obama and Clinton as the epitome of Baizuo the 'white left', despite the fact that neither of them was particularly humanitarian nor particularly kind to migrants. Anyone who defends universal values, including Chinese people, would be considered as Baizuo as well, especially those elites, which means who have received good education, in particular western education.

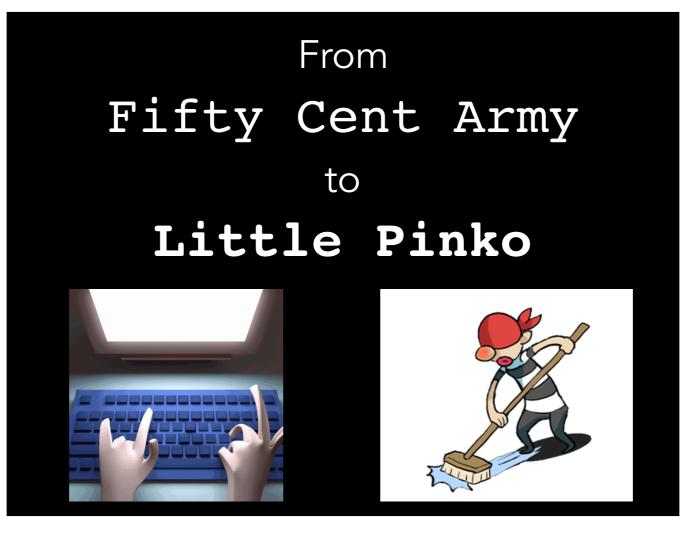
It get really absurd when Fox picked it up and reported on this.



In case you are still wondering why there are so many anti Baizuo supporters, we could also examine the phenomenon with a bit of supplementary contemporary Chinese social reality. In the end the Chinese dream is not so different from the American dream and both worship the social Darwinist logic of "survival of the fittest", therefore it opposes the idea of a welfare state. Though the wealth gap is widening and social inequality is hopelessly increasing, many people take on a pragmatism with an emphasis on self-responsibility, leading many mainland Chinese netizens to dismiss struggles against structural discriminations as naïve, pretentious or demanding undeserved privileges, no different than the right wing voices in the West.

The anti Baizuo criticism fits especially well with the 'rising China' versus 'declining Europe' narrative. In an academic-style essay that was retweeted more than 7000 times on Weibo, the popular microblogging platform, the poster quoted some European philosophers, concluding that the 'white left' as a 'moral epidemic' that will lead the West to self-destruction. However seemingly objective or academic the post is, it echoes with the official narrative of the Chinese government by opposing agains the 'universal values', in order to prove the legitimacy and superiority of current Chinese authoritarian regime.

Finally, though the whole anti-baizuo criticism looks like it's completely born out of grassroots, we cannot rule out the possibility that it's a well orchestrated campaign by the government, or simply that the only safe stand that an ordinary chinese netizen can take. The only voice that is allowed in the public sphere under the heavy censorship is to criticise democratic values because after all, any support to human right would be considered as undermining the party's authority.

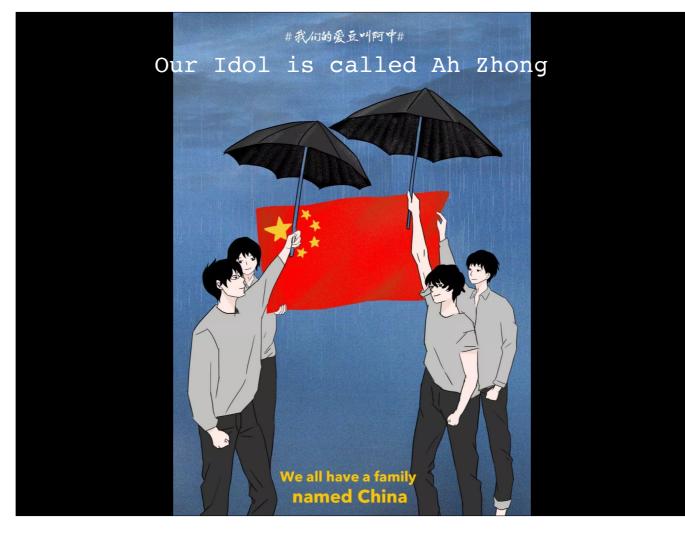


Another tactic of Chinese censorship, combing with the great firewall, is to obfuscate the people by hiring a large number of 'internet commentators', which is commonly known as the 50 cent army, to fabricate social media posts and manipulate public opinion to the benefit of the Party. [Click]

The name fifty cent army derives from the allegation that commentators are said to be paid fifty cents in Renminbi for each post they create. though some speculate that they are probably not paid anything for the posts, instead being required to do so as a part of their official Party duties as a member of the party which is quintessential for one's professional success.

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More recently, after many years of the online censorship, another generation has grown up behind the wall. The scary part is that this generation have not heard much different voices about the world but the nationalist indoctrination, since they benefit the most from the economic prosperity of the rising China, they are genuinely proud of the country. At the same time, they are told that patriotism is a human instinct and it's only natural to support your own country no matter what condition it is in. There is no distinction between the country and the ruling party here. Some people find hese super patriotic young people problematic and call them 小粉红, literally little pink red, or little pinkos as some translate it to english. red is the color of the party, so it represents China and indicates patriotism, and pink hints at their naivity. The little pinkos idolise China the same way as they idolise the K-Pop stars, which means they follow their idols blindly and are willing to do anything for them.



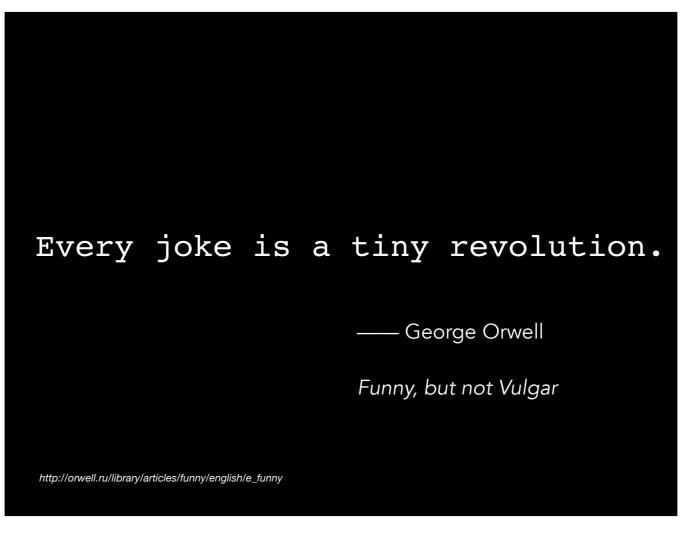
Here is an example of the posters circulation on Weibo with the hashtag: Our idol is called Ah Zhong. Zhong comes from the first Character of China Zhong guo. It not only personifies the country, also by adding "Ah" in front of someone's name is to show endearment and familiarity. This blind patriotism is accentuated during the recent Hong Kong protest against the extradition bill. Chinese state media is only reporting about the protest partially. it didn't explain the cause of the protest, which is that the hk government is trying to pass a bill against people's will. nor did they mention the occasion that 2 million Hong Kongers are walking on the street peacefully in order to protest while the hk police were actually the ones abusing their power and acting over violently. they only report that the protesters are secessionists who are trying to destabilise hk and separate hk from China, which cannot be further from the truth.



Many little pinkos have no other source of information but these "Fake news" from the state media, are infuriated about these Hong Kong protesters. so they came up with an idea, that they are going on wage a cyber war, first bypass the great firewall, then troll the pro hk posts.

btw to bypass the great firewall, in Chinese, is called 翻墙, to climb over the wall and VPN is called a ladder because you need a ladder to climb over the wall. So many of the little pinkos learn to use the ladder and register themselves on facebook, instagram and twitter. At first it was probably only a small group people doing this however it got picked up by the state media, including people's daily and CCTV news, and was spoken highly of in their reports, which further encouraged the behaviour. it just formed a positive feedback loop. then this Monday, Facebook and Twitter both announced that they have noticed this abnormal behaviour, and suspended many accounts originating from China on the ground that they are distributing unauthentic information about HK protest. The suspension triggered criticism on social media, well at least that's what one sees after the censorship, look this is the freedom of speech in the west they are talking about, it seems like we have more freedom after all. They completely forget the fact that bypassing the great firewall is totally illegal in China. Just not long ago people got fined for using VPN. They also suspected the suspension by Facebook and twitter was due to the ongoing US-China trade war.

Things get very absurd when the spokesperson of China's foreign ministry responded at the regular press conference on Tuesday when being asked to comment on the affair, he said that Chinese netizens have the right to say whatever they want. Well I sincerely hope that day will eventually come.



Here I am ending the talk with a quote from George Orwell that "Every joke is a tiny revolution." Thank you!