The 10th Asian Conference on Cultural Studies
The 10th Asian Conference on Asian Studies
May 27-30, 2020 | TOKYO, JAPAN

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Confucian Values and Public Service Motivation: The Mediating Role of Paradoxical Leadership

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The Asian Conference on Asian Studies 2020
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
Although research of leadership and public service motivation (PSM) has been conducted in diverse cultural contexts, it remains understudied in Confucian Asia. The current study aims to examine how Confucian values influence PSM in the context of Vietnam and also attempts to investigate the mediating role of paradoxical leadership in this relationship. Integrating the culturally-endorsed implicit leadership theory (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004) with the knowledge on the social process of PSM (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2007), this study proposes to examine whether Confucian values are positively related to paradoxical leadership and such leadership is also positively related to PSM. This prediction was tested using a sample of 206 public managers-public employee dyads, drawn from different government departments in Vietnam. The analytical data procedures were outlined by PROCESS macro for SPSS developed by Hayes (2013). Results provide support for the mediation model that Confucian values were found to be positively related to paradoxical leadership, which, in turns, exerted a positive impact on PSM. The findings of this study contribute to the understanding of the relationships between Confucian values, paradoxical leadership, and PSM in the public sector of Vietnam. The findings are potentially extended to the public management systems in other countries that share some similar Confucian values like Vietnamese do in Asia. In terms of the practical implications, the public managers should communicate the positive characteristics of Confucian values and practice the use of paradoxical leadership behaviors in order to increase PSM among public employees.

Keywords: Confucian Values, Paradoxical Leadership, Public Service Motivation

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Introduction

East Asian leadership is entirely paradoxical because of the complexity of the regional culture and politics. So, general proposals on leadership models for this region have still missed the point since there is no investigation on the hidden cultural force. Regarding this point, several scholars indicate that the Chinese implicit leadership theories embrace the influence of Confucianism on shaping transformational and paradoxical approaches to leadership in the region (Lee, 2001; Wah, 2010). In Confucian societies, some studies are also undertaken to explore the transformation of PSM into this context, which is considered to be a different version of PSM theory developed in the United States (see Gao, 2015; Kim et al., 2012; Yung, 2014). Although significant research lines on of Confucian value- based leadership and PSM in East Asia have emerged, the mechanism of how Confucian values, paradoxical leadership and PSM interact in public institutions is still a mystery. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the effects of Confucian values, that still prevail in the social value system in the region, on certain forms of paradoxical leadership, subsequently influencing on the level of PSM, in the context of Vietnam. This research is necessary because it enriches the significant work that emphasizes the distinctive leadership needed to be embedded in a certain cultural attitude, that represents the influential leadership to organizations (Geert Hofstede, 1980; House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002). Concurrently, PSM is an important outcome in public sector, definitely defenseless to leadership pressures, especially in the complex public environment (Paarlberg & Lavigna, 2010; Wright, Moynihan, & Pandey, 2012), and is dependent on collective ideals originating from the society's cultural values (Andersen, Jørgensen, Kjeldsen, Pedersen, & Vrangbæk, 2013). In this report, we endeavor to prove that the Confucian-based principles are a core value of institutional values in East Asia, that lead to the paradoxical conduct of public managers. As such, the public managers, who adopt paradoxical leadership will eventually attempt to bridge and bring into alignment the prosocial ideals of employees in public service within the culture of their organizations.

By conducting this research, we try to establish a theoretical model for the relationship between leadership and PSM, which provides insight into value-based leadership and motivation, suggestively adaptive to the cultural and political context. In particular, this study provides an empirical evidence for developing the culturally-endorsed implicit leadership theory in the context of Vietnam in order to understand Confucian values as an underlying reason for paradoxical leadership in East Asia which may be different from the Western leadership approach. Moreover, the research findings extend the background theories by proving that Confucian values stem from the social culture can be promoted as public service values that trigger the employees to serve the public good. As a result, we will provide a novel contribution to the existence of Confucian politics on modern leadership practices of the governments in East Asia, which would potentially fill a critical gap to the literature of East Asian management.

Theoretical background and hypotheses

This study integrates the culturally-endorsed implicit leadership theory (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004) with the knowledge on the social process of PSM (Perry, 2000; Vandenabeele, 2007). House et al. (2004) assume that each

organizational or societal culture is connected with a particular mindset or belief about leadership. Eventually, the culture of society and organization influences the type of leadership, which is expected to be acceptable and effective for individuals within that culture. Additionally, Perry (2000) and Vandenabeele (2007) propose the basic values, which public employees operate within their environment, have been learned from a socio-historical context by a socialization process. These social values will be promoted by public managers as "carriers of institutions" to provide meaning to their employees' actions. As such, the employees hold the service values that stem from institutional standards; and under the impact of their leaders, they are motivated to act. Thus, based on such theoretical backgrounds, the well-grounded connections between Confucian values, managers' leadership and followers' PSM are constructed. Following this, we develop hypotheses for the mediating roles of paradoxical leadership in the relationship between Confucian values and PSM.

The hypothesized model of this study (see figure 1 below) includes Confucian values (as a predictor) that guide government managers in using paradoxical leadership (as a mediator), which, in turn, affects PSM (as an outcome).
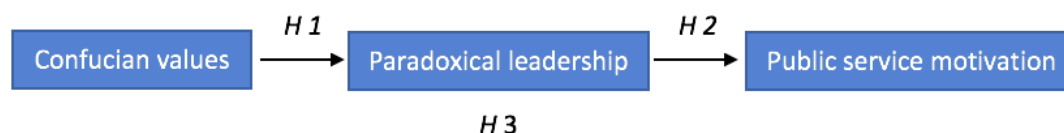
Figure 1: The hypothesized model for the mediating role of paradoxical leadership in the relationship between Confucian values and PSM.

Confucian values and paradoxical leadership

Confucian values refer to an ethical system, developed by a Chinese philosopher-Confucius, whose philosophy has exerted a strong impact in the history of Chinese and East Asian civilization (Chen & Hsieh, 2017) . Harmony is the fundamental concept of Confucian values, focusing on building human relationship to maintain the stability of the society (Wei & Li, 2013). The Confucian values are explored in several studies, and implies a leadership model of East Asia. To practice these values, leaders have to concentrate on several characteristics, such as harmony, humanness, propriety, reciprocity, and self-cultivation (Lang, Irby, & Brown, 2012). Recently, several scholars have discussed that due to the coexistence of seemingly contradictory philosophical views, the application of diverse leadership styles in Confucian contexts is highly complex and paradoxical (McElhatton & Jackson, 2012; Schenck & Waddey, 2017) .

Paradoxical leadership refers to a "both-and" approach of leaders in influencing their followers by balancing the two aspects of empowering and controlling simultaneously (Pearce, Wassenaar, Berson, & Tuval-Mashiach, 2019; Zhang & Han, 2019). The dimensions of paradoxical leadership comprise: *(1) control and empowerment; (2) self-centeredness and other-centeredness; (3) power distance and closeness; (4) treating subordinates uniformly and allowing individualization and (5) requirements and flexibility* (Zhang, Waldman, Han, & Li, 2015). Chen (2002) also asserts that the Confucian philosophy strives to avoid polarizing inconsistencies, and this force holds the seed of the opposition, but forms an integral whole together. We argue that the

impact of Confucian values on paradoxical leadership can be explained by the "both-and" approach of leaders in influencing their followers by empowering and controlling simultaneously. Our arguments will be provided as follows:

Significantly, harmony *(he in Chinese)* is at the core of Confucian doctrine, and this concept helps explain the paradoxical model of leadership (McElhatton & Jackson, 2012). Harmony presumes a coexistence of different things and implies a specific positive relationship between them (Han, 2013a; Li, 2008). People, reflecting the Confucian harmonious mindset, have holistic thinking (Wong, 2012), so they are prone to creating a stable environment and minimizing conflict in all public interactions (Kirkbride, Tang, & Westwood, 1991). Such a process positively enhances leader-follower balancing exchanges (Lin, Ho, & Lin, 2013). Eventually, leaders, while cultivating their virtues to impact others, they establish an impetus for followers' identity and dignity (Low, 2010; Low & Ang, 2012; Oc, Bashshur, Daniels, Greguras, & Diefendorff, 2015).

In addition, propriety *(li in Chinese)* dictates that individuals must follow a proper way or a proper ritual in social interactions (Yum, 1988; Yun, 2012). Following this, leaders concurrently maintain their dominance, while sharing recognition with followers. When leaders behave nicely to followers with care and compassion, these followers will reciprocate to them in the manner of real appreciation and in the sense of loyalty (Chan & Mak, 2012). Thus, Confucian-influenced leaders, who practice propriety and benevolence, interpret various paradoxical practices by utilizing both governing and accepting individual distinctiveness.

Furthermore, following reciprocity *(shu in Chinese)* as a "Golden rule", "one should treat others as one would like others to treat oneself." (Horsfield, 2017). This rule causes leaders to treat followers paradoxically to create mutual trust and loyalty. According to Gutmann and Thompson (1998) and Mullis (2008), reciprocity implies the perception of democracy, allowing some space for bargaining as well as for comprehensive moral views, as long as these are constrained by the rule itself. In Confucian societies, personal autonomy involves moral freedom that only partly promote acceptance and independence to retain social stability (Chan, 2002). Under this mindset, leaders have developed an empowerment for their followers, but only within the scope of their authority. Thanks to Confucian dynamics, leaders can enhance both leadership and followership concurrently (Dhakhwa & Enriquez, 2008).

Last but not least, Confucian leaders habitually deal with interpersonal relationships within the Doctrine of the *Mean*. *"Mean"* is defined as "equilibrium," (W.-t. Chan, 2008). Concerning this principle, leaders frequently settle for the neutral viewpoint or solutions in pursuit of the group equilibrium. By these claims, if leaders are qualified with setting the vision for the organization and inspiring followers to action, followers are also established with the work required to make the vision a reality (Carsten, Uhl-Bien, & Huang, 2018).

Based on the above discussion, we hypothesize as follows:
Hypothesis 1: "Confucian values are positively related to paradoxical leadership."

Paradoxical leadership and PSM

Perry and Wise (1990) defined PSM as ''an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations''. The PSM dimensions include: *attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice* (Perry & Wise, 1990, p368). It is also asserted that leaders enhance their employees' PSM effectively due to emphasizing the dual nature of leadership in which they influence and inspire simultaneously (Perry and Hondeghem 2008). In a similar vein, we propose that paradoxical leadership exerts a positive control on enhancing the PSM of employees in public institutions. Our arguments are provided below, indicating the significant relationship between the dimensions of paradoxical leadership, developed by Zhang et al (2015) and the dimensions PSM, explored by Perry&Wise (1990), with four approaches as follows.

Firstly, paradoxical leaders combine self-centeredness and other-centeredness, which involves preserving a strong sense of self, while displaying modesty to others (Waldman & Bowen, 2016; Zhang & Han, 2019; Zhang et al., 2015). Following this, leaders help to establish their role as an actor of influence whereas they can acknowledge employees' strengths to stimulate the employees' work motivation. Consequently, such leaders inspire followers to rise above their own self-interests for the sake of the common goals (Wimbush & Shepard, 1994), but they also create the pride for employees being involved in policy making and encourage them to be committed to the public good (Parker, Williams, & Turner, 2006).

Secondly, paradoxical leaders embrace two poles of control and autonomy dually, thereby creating a bounded environment to maintain the structural bureaucracy, while encouraging the proactivity and autonomy of their employees during uncertain times (Zhang et al., 2015). In this regard, "control" facet can motivate employees with a high level of responsibility to follow organizational standardization and the guidance of leaders ; and "autonomy" facet is necessary to give the right of decision making to the lower unit, which eventually can enhance and proactivity and job performance (Fuller Jr, Hester, & Cox, 2010). As such, when a leader become both a controller and a motivator to followers, they are responsibility for serving the public good, actively participate in making public policies and public services (Kim, 2006a).

Thirdly, paradoxical leaders are concerned in finding a balance between distance and closeness to make sure both their headship role and interpersonal connections are respected (Zhang et al., 2015). In leadership in a distance, followers do not directly approach leaders' thoughts and manners, but they are motivated by the image of leaders who are buoyant, captivating, and charismatic (Yagil, 1998). By this way, leaders are influential with charm or charisma that can inspire organizational commitment in followers (Shastri, Mishra, & Sinha, 2010). Simultaneously, the closeness aspect in leadership can build relationships or communication channels to enhance the followers' organizational commitment (Keskes, 2014), subsequently resulting to produce trust, create acceptance (Miao, Newman, Schwarz, & Cooper, 2018). This close social interaction can inspire followers sense of social justice and civic duty and self-sacrifice to the public service missions (Horton & Hondeghem, 2006).

Fourthly, paradoxical leaders treat followers uniformly, while allowing individualization. Because of this, they cultivate an environment where, all team members can participate freely but still give room for distinctive performance and competition (Zhang et al., 2015). While PSM is regarded as self-efficacy and self-determination (Andrews, 2016), leaders tend to be employing the rule of "individualization" to trigger followers to perform the best of their competence and flexibility. As a result, paradoxical actions of leaders will foster employees' motivation to serve the public because they are more engaged in public work for accomplishing their bigger life purpose of practicing public service values.

Based on the above discussions, we propose the following hypothesis:
Hypothesis 2: "Paradoxical leadership is positively related to public service motivation"

The mediation of paradoxical leadership

Frederickson (2002) discusses that Confucian values have shaped the conduct code of public officials, irrespective of positions (leaders or followers), especially these ethics have affected the desire of public employees to dedicate themselves to national development and professional engagement (Yung, 2014). Following this, we justify that paradoxical leadership explains the process by which Confucian values (e.g., *reciprocity, harmony, humanness, and propriety*) shape employees' PSM in the public sector, toward the public service values they both share in public institutions.

Primarily, paradoxical leaders practice the principle of Confucian reciprocity, interpreting the meaning of the democratic aspect of public service values. Thus, this reciprocal implementation boosts the attraction to policymaking of public employees as an important dimension of PSM. For example, reciprocity can increase the probability of an individual's political participation, such as taking part in the decisions on a policy issue that affects economic, political and social domains (El-Attar, 2007). Additionally, Confucian leaders are role models, they adopt harmony into searching to perfect themselves, and still helping their subordinates' growth with a modest and respectful approach (Wah, 2010). As discussed by Perry and Wise (1990), the commitment to the public interest is a dichotomy of PSM, which is both a unique quality of serving in public authorities (state-centered) and PSM characteristics (people-centered). By this harmonious method, paradoxical leaders inspire their public employees to have more commitment to the public interest, because their reaction not only involves individual benefit and power, but their social responsibility is also the most important part for involving community instruction and human cultivation (Neville, 1986). Moreover, public leaders' paradoxical behavior communicates Confucian values with the practice of humanness. This practice rationalizes the idea of benevolence *(ren)* of public service values in treating their public employees by using "kind-hearted power" (Kernaghan, 2003). Because of this, the stability between power and thoughtful care of public leaders transfers the values of compassion to public employees, when they show the idea of "patriotism of benevolence"; and this idea becomes the central motive for civil servants (public employees), as noted by Frederickson (2002) and Frederickson & Hart (1985). Last but not least, paradoxical leaders foster their employees to achieve higher levels of PSM (self-sacrifice facet), because, in this way, they enhance the humanity aspect of public service values (Van der Wal and Yang, 2015). One of Confucius's thoughts on

bureaucracy is that: *"A gentleman is always considerate towards others, entirely unselfish. She seeks nothing from others; therefore, she has no complaints to make. She does what is right without taking into account personal benefit"* (cited in Fernandez, 2004, p. 23). When leaders behave properly, by creating seminal work in their candid position, employees will receive a sense of uprightness. Eventually, self-sacrifice in PSM will occur as employees are willing to substitute service to others for tangible personal rewards (Perry, 1996).

From the above arguments, we hypothesize as follows:
Hypothesis 3: Paradoxical leadership mediates the relationship between Confucian values and PSM.

Measure

Samples

The data collection was from 206 leader-follower dyads, of total 412 participants to do surveys completely. These participants are public managers (leaders) and public employees (followers) from the governmental departments in Vietnam, who agreed to participate in the project. We collected data between September and December 2018, when they were attending an annual training program in the Ho Chi Minh Cadre Academy of Public Administration. The HR director and trainers in the academy helped to collect data, asking the participants to join a research project, titled *"Leadership and Public Service Motivation"*. The questionnaires were delivered and then returned to the HR office in envelopes.

Prior to our data collection, we translated the questionnaires from English to Vietnamese using a back-translation procedure(Brislin, 1970). Data were collected in two periods of time. At time 1, questionnaires were distributed to the public managers (leaders) and civil servants (subordinates). Both of them were required to provide their own demographics responded to the first wave of the survey were required to rate their Confucian values. Finally, at time 2, two weeks later, the public employees were asked to rate the paradoxical leadership of their immediate public managers and to self-rate their public service motivation.

Of 800 participants invited, 571 participants accepted to do the study survey (representing an overall response rate of 72%). However, 58 questionnaires were removed because they incorrectly answered at least one of the three validity questions (e.g., "Please check 'strongly agree' for this item."). Additionally, another number of 11 questionnaires were removed because they failed to respond to all the items in at least one of the scales. Finally, we remained 502 useful completed questionnaires, but we obtained 412 samples that were matched 206 pairs of public managers and employees *(N=206)* based on the two sources of data from both public managers and public employees. Of the 206 participants, 46% were female. They all had worked for their organization in the positions of manager from 5 years to 12 years on average *(M= 6.80, SD =1.80)*. Of 206 public employees, female accounts for *42 %*. They all had worked under their present public managers for an average of over 5 years *(M =6.60, SD =1.80)*.

Scales

All scales in this studies were designed in Likert-scales, reliable with Cronbach ' s alpha ranged over *.07* (Croasmun & Ostrom, 2011; Drost, 2011). In the analysis, z-score, or standard score, was used for standardizing scores on the same scales by dividing a score's deviation by the standard deviation in the data set. The result is a standard score. It measures the number of standard deviations that a given data point is from the mean (Crawford & Howell, 1998). Three variables were measured as follows:

Confucian Values

Both public managers and employees rated their Confucian values using the 24-item scale developed by Monkhouse, Barnes, and Hanh Pham (2013). An example item is: *"I am concerned with not bringing shame to myself"*. The Cronbach' s alpha for this scale was ranged from *0.76 to 0.91.*

Paradoxical leadership

The public employees rated public managers' paradoxical leadership by completing the survey with the 22-item version scale developed by Zhang et al. (2015). An example item is: *" My supervisor uses a fair approach to treat all subordinates uniformly but also treats them as individuals"*. The Cronbach ' s alpha for the scale was range from .80 to .88.

Public Service Motivation

The public employees rated their PSM by using by 12-item short scale (Coursey, Perry, Brudney, & Littlepage, 2008). The original measurement was 40 items developed by (Perry, 1996). An example item is: *"I seldom think about the welfare of people I don't know personally"*. The Cronbach ' s alpha for the scale was ranged from .71 to .84.

Testing

PROCESS macro, developed by Hayes (2013) was used to examine the hypotheses. This is a computational tool designed for path analysis-based mediation and moderation analysis and their combination, for example "conditional process model" (Hayes, 2012). In this study, we employed the simple mediation analysis in PROCESS macro via SPSS, which generates the index of mediation and the bias-corrected bootstrap confidence intervals (CI). According to Hayes, if the index of moderated mediation is significant, it indicates that the conditional indirect effects at different levels, e.g., at one Standard Deviation (SD) above, below, and at the mean of the moderator variable are significantly different from one another. This provides evidence that the moderated mediation effects are significant. Furthermore, for simple indirect effects, PROCESS also analyzes the data with a total of 1,000 bootstrap samples selected (Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei, & Russell, 2006), and a 95% CI for these estimations. If the 95% CI for the average estimates of these 1,000 indirect effects does not include zero, it indicates that the indirect effect is statistically significant at the .05 level (Shrout & Bolger, 2002).

Results

Variable correlations

The relationship between the study variables were examined by utilizing a Pearson product correlational analysis. Pearson's correlation coefficient is the test statistics that measures the statistical relationship, between two continuous variables. It gives information about the magnitude of the correlation, as well as the direction of the relationship (Weaver & Koopman, 2014). Results in Table 1 showed that, the correlations of Confucian values, paradoxical leadership and PSM was statically significant. The results indicated that all factors were linked to each other substantially, and significantly related to each other, *N=206, p<.001*. In particular, scores regarding the correlation of Confucian values and paradoxical leadership was significant and correlated strongly at the *0.01 level (2-tailed), with r=.478*. In addition, Confucian values-PSM correlation resulted in the significance at the *level 0.05(2-tailed), with r=.177*. Finally, the paradoxical leadership-PSM correlation scores at *0.01 level(2-tailed)*, were significant and strongly associated with high rate *(r=.375)*

Correlations

		Confucian Value	Paradoxical leadership	Public service motivation	
Confucian Value	Pearson Correlation	1	.478**	.177*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.011	
	N	206	206	206	
Paradoxical leadership	Pearson Correlation	.478**	1	.375**	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	
	N	206	206	206	
Public service motivation	Pearson Correlation	.177*	.375**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011	.000		
	N	206	206	206	

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 1: Result from Pearson test of Correlations between the variables in the study

Examining the mediation model

The result of mediation test is presented in Table 2.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that Confucian values is positively related to paradoxical leadership. Consistent with our hypothesis, the results in Table 2 show that Confucian values had significantly positive relationships with paradoxical leadership, *b=.4861, t=7.7693, p < .0001, 95% CI[.3627.6094]* that did not include zero, so the effect was considered significant. Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that paradoxical leadership is positively related to public service motivation. Seen from table 2, paradoxical leadership had a significantly positive relationship with PSM, *b=.3600, t=5.0758, p < .0001, 95% CI[.2202.4999]*. There was not a zero overlapping in between the confidence interval, so the effect was significant. Thus, hypothesis 2 was supported.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that managers' paradoxical leadership mediates the relationship between Confucian values and PSM. As can be seen in Table 2, the direct effect of Confucian values on PSM was not significant, *b= -.0022, t=-.0310, p > .05, CI[-.1445,.1400],* because the CI included zero. However, there was a significant indirect effect of Confucian values on PSM through paradoxical leadership. As shown in table 2, the indirect effect was demonstrated by the bootstrapped 95% CI of the indirect effect, *b=.1750, SE = .0422, 95% CI [.1013,.2652],* which did not overlap a zero. The total regression model was significant *(F(1,204)= 60.3618, p<.0001, R2=.2283),* pointing to a statistically significant to this conditional process models. Thus, hypothesis 3 was supported.

	R-sq	MSE	F (1,204)	Sig	B	SE	t	p	95% [LLCI,]
y	.2283	.9462	60.3618	.0000					
e: PL					.4861	.0626	7.7693	.0000	[.3627,...]
r: CV									
e: PSM	.3749	.9711	16.5967	.0000					
r: PL					.3600	.0709	5.0758	.0000	[.2202,4...]
or: CV					.0721	-.0310	.9753	.0000	[-.1445,...]
DIRECT EFFECT MODEL									
e: PSM	.0315	1.0890	6.6253	.0108					
...fect of CV on PSM					.1728	.0671	2.5740	.0108	[.0404,3...]
...ffect of CV on PSM					-.0022	.0721	-.1445	.9753	[-.1445,...]
...effect of CV on PSM					.1750	.0422			[.1013,2...]

CV=Confucian values; PL=Paradoxical leadership; PSM=Public service motivation; LLCI, lower level class interval; ULC... level class interval.

Table 2: Process result for the mediation of Paradox between the relationship of Confucian Values and Public...

Discussion

The detailed analysis reveals three important findings in this study, including the impact of Confucian values on the managers' paradoxical leadership (supported in hypothesis 1), the impact of managers' paradoxical leadership on the employees'PSM (supported in hypothesis 2); and the mediating role of paradoxical leadership in the relationship between Confucian values and PSM (supported in hypothesis 3). These findings have several important implications for theory and practice in leadership and PSM in Confucian-influenced societies.

Theoretical implication

The findings extend the theoretical background by proving that Confucian values, as a societal values, are learned by organizational leaders. Those leaders conveyed the value meaning into their organizational leadership and service motives. It is revealed that in the cultures like Vietnam, Confucian values exist in the mindset of all public workers (both managers and employees), based on the socio-historical context through the socialization process (Perry, 2000). Thus, these values are promoted by public leaders to provide meaning to their follower's motivation values that characterize their PSM (Vandenabeele, 2014). Especially, under the paradoxical impact of public leaders, the public servants are motivated to act within the dimensions of PSM, such as attraction to policy making, commitment to public interest, compassion, and self-sacrifice.

This study offers an innovative contribution to the literature by confirming that Confucian values are considered to be an antecedent of the managers' paradoxical leadership, which employs the tools of both controlling and empowering to escalate public employees' PSM. In previous studies, the impact of Confucianism on leadership has only been explored in theoretical publications (see Faure & Fang, 2008; Ornatowski, 1996; Patrick & Liong, 2012; Sheh Seow, 2010). This study is the first to provide empirical support for the mechanism in which paradoxical leadership mediates between Confucian value and PSM. Drawing on the cultural theory about leadership (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010; R. J. House et al., 2004), the study results can extend existing research that suggests the need to examining more motivational context variables (e.g., cultural values, social institution) in relation with organizational leadership. Empirically, we provided support to the theory, which realizes leadership behavior as the most dominant predictor of the PSM dimensions (e.g.,Camilleri, 2007; Pandey & Stazyk, 2008)

Furthermore, this study contributes to the research of PSM in East Asia regarding two issues that previous scholars have called for responses. The first issue is that leaders can enhance their employees' PSM to qualify public management, which is in line with the research of (Perry & Hondeghem, 2008). The second issue addresses an Asian context (like Vietnam) to examine how the Western structure-PSM has functioned in a non-western context. This examination is also consistent with earlier research in East Asia (e.g., Kim, 2006b, 2009a; Van der Wal, 2015). For example, the structure of PSM in Korea was explored by (Kim, 2009b), to be influenced by Confucian values, including collectivist culture, and the high prestige of public service. The author verified the structure of PSM, observed in the United States by Perry, can be generalized to the Korean context and other societies with the same

Confucian culture (Kim, 2009). So, we continue to validate this western PSM structure to be implemented in the Vietnamese context.

Practical implication

The current study initially supports the idea that public organizations should promote paradoxical practice in the workplace (Tripathi & Dixon, 2008). The key lesson for policymakers includes the connections between Confucian values, paradoxical leadership and the increasing levels of PSM. Through promoting paradoxical leadership, organizations will support leaders to leisurely influence their followers, leading to higher rates of PSM. Accordingly, applying paradoxical leadership is also associated with numerous organizational outcomes such as proficiency, adaptivity, and proactivity (Zhang et al., 2015) creativity under workload pressure (Shao, Nijstad, & Täuber, 2019) and escalation of commitment (Sleesman, 2019).

For policy making, we verify PSM as a new outcome of paradoxical leadership in public institutions. As such, policy makers may integrate a paradoxical leadership measurement into their choice of executive positions. They can use the framework for evaluate the positive effects on the PSM of their employees. Importantly, the impact of paradoxical leadership on PSM also depends on Confucian values, so, another essential indicator for organizations may convey these Confucian values into their organizations' core motive values. The reason is because the presence of Confucianism exists in various areas of social life in Confucian Asia or Confucian human resources worldwide (Han, 2013b).

Our suggestion can be inspiring for schools, the workforce and the related governments to learn about Confucian paradoxical leadership. Since the traditional and modern leadership is explicitly conveyed from Confucian principles, this applied knowledge has become highly relevant to today's leaders. In particular, the practice of paradoxical leadership provides people and organizations, including families, communities, nations and the world with much serenity, wisdom, and transformation(Low & Ang, 2013).Hence, some of these teachings will inspire leaders to change from within and transform their leadership from a single-pole to a two-pole balance, "both-and" instead of "either/or" approach. As a result, leaders become more innovative and successful by resolving both sides' disputes, leading to organizational stability.

Conclusions

The current study has limitations. Firstly, the measures used in this study are self-reported measures, which are perceptional, and this may cause a common method variance (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Future studies can avoid this potential problem by applying data collection from other resources to decrease the level of social desirability, which might have an important effect on paradoxical leadership and PSM. Secondly, the study could only investigate within cross-sectional data (Pedhazur & Schmelkin, 2013; Sedgwick, 2014), the result did not help in concluding the results on cause and effect (Gangl, 2010). The typical reason is because the surveys were provided at a particular time when the organizations only present a snapshot of their perceptions of the conceptual relationships (Mathers, Fox, & Hunn, 1998). Therefore, future research can develop a long-term project to gain the

observation of changes more accurately and profoundly on the relationship of the identical variables (Confucian values, paradoxical leadership and PSM). Thirdly, this study was limited in analyzing data at the individual level; however, these psychological variables can be perceived in groups or at different levels of departments in public organizations. So, further research can adopt cluster analyses with multi-level data to see the whole picture in which "individuals nested within groups" and a broader range of the context(Diez, 2002).

In summary, the present study offers an insight into how Confucian values impact on public managers' paradoxical leadership, which, in turns, affects employee's PSM. The results of this study showed the indirect effect of Confucian values on employees' PSM through the function of paradoxical leadership. Significantly, we have provided empirical evidence that public managers with stronger Confucian values can have stronger implementation of paradoxical leadership practice, and eventually the outcome of employees' PSM increases. This process potentially modifies Western managerial theories on how to fit and analyze in East Asian cultures; thereby assisting to understand, and practice effective leadership on how to foster PSM in Confucian-influenced societies.

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Chinese Music, Difference and Inter-Community Relations in a 19th-Century New Zealand Gold-Mining Setting

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Abstract

The socio-cultural milieu of colonial New Zealand changed significantly in the 1860s as a result of the discovery of gold and the subsequent immigration of Chinese miners at the invitation of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce. At first, Chinese miners arrived from the Australian goldfields, where they had earlier migrated, and later from southern China and especially from Guangdong. The impact of this inward migration was immense and contributed much to New Zealand's cultural diversity at the time, which comprised primarily settler British, who came from various parts of the British Isles, and indigenous Māori. Consequently, a particularly negative outcome of Chinese migration was the introduction of a discriminatory poll tax and immigration policy in 1881, with media reports often including discourse prejudiced against New Zealand's Chinese population. However, in this setting of cultural difference, Chinese music performance was a distinct part of the sonic environment and was acknowledged in a number of newspaper articles, particularly in connection with inter-community relations for celebratory occasions or educational events. This paper offers a glimpse into New Zealand's Chinese past with a focus on Chinese music performance in the nineteenth century as a distinct point of difference that helped bring disparate cultures together. The methodological orientation of the paper is historical in approach, and it assembles several primary sources comprising English-language newspapers articles written by non-Chinese as a way of critically interpreting how and why Chinese and European communities interacted in a musical environment of difference.

Keywords: Chinese, Music, Gold-Mining, Migration, New Zealand, Performance

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Introduction

New Zealand's Chinese music history is an important cultural contribution in the making of the nation. Historical migration was especially prevalent from the mid 1860s as a result of an invitation to Chinese gold miners to prospect in New Zealand, and significant migration emerged again from the 1990s due to a relaxing of the immigration laws. In the colonial setting, Chinese miners usually formed their own settlements beside other miners, and even formed distinct groups with their own shared linguistic and cultural heritage. While activities between Chinese and other miners were characterized by difference in social and cultural space, there are various historical newspaper reports of social action and confluence between diverse communities.

This paper is a historical study of transborder flows and movements of Chinese music performance in nineteenth-century colonial New Zealand with a focus on piecing together and interpreting select newspaper reports that can help in re-telling a story that is so often a neglected or hidden component of New Zealand's music history. Building on literature in the fields of New Zealand Asian studies (e.g., Johnson & Moloughney, 2006), music history (e.g., Johnson, 2010; Thomson, 1991) and ethnomusicology (e.g., Finnegan, 1989; Slobin, 1983), my aim is to comprehend the outcomes of such cultural interactions and the ways Chinese negotiated social and cultural strategies in a colonial setting of migration and difference. Within this framework, an objective is to interpret the musical setting and identify the musical instruments used at this time. Using historical interpretation of media reporting of Chinese performances in a mining setting, the focus of the study is on how Chinese expressed through music and performance their cultural identity in a context of confluence where an objective was to interact with the non-Chinese community. Applying qualitative textual analysis to print media and framed within the fields of historical ethnomusicology and migration studies, the paper provides a critical reading of key sources with the aim of discovering how and why social action and confluence between communities were key aspects of musicking in colonial New Zealand.

Background

The first major Chinese settlement in New Zealand was in 1865 with an invitation to Chinese miners to work the mines in the Central Otago region that European miners were abandoning for other sites elsewhere on the South Island. Originally from Guangdong, Cantonese miners travelled to Dunedin at first from Australian goldmining areas. In summary, the Chinee miners were primarily from Siyi ("Four Districts" – an area to the south-west of Canton), with some from Sanyi ("Three Districts" – an area close to Canton). A decade later, miners from China came especially from Panyu (an area north of Canton) (Beattie, 2015, p. 112). It is important to note the cultural diversity of early Chinese in New Zealand, which was reflected in their linguistic variation, which influenced where the Chinese miners worked and settled. "Siyi Chinese travelled inland on a route north of Dunedin, while Sanyi Cantonese travelled on a route south of Dunedin" (Beattie, 2015, p. 112). Such different becomes apparent when attempting to identify their musical instruments, as discussed later in the paper.

The sources I have been working with are newspaper reports, which provide mostly surface-level descriptions of music making. I must presume that the reports are representative of just some activities, that is, the ones that managed to make the news for one reason or another. There are likely to have been numerous other performances that simply didn't make the news of the day. The research is like a jigsaw puzzle, one that has pieces that don't fit together, pieces that are missing, and sometimes with no logic at all in trying to fathom out how to interpret a picture with signifiers that seem to lack cultural meaning. But that said, this is what I have to work with, and if the Chinese music history of Aotearoa New Zealand is to be written, research must attempt to piece together this fragmented mosaic of cultural knowledge.

Cultural encounters

The meeting points between Chinese and European settlers and their descendants show distinct cross-border flows. These seem to have had much significance at the time as reflected in their appearance in newspaper reports where they represent intriguing encounters between distant cultures. Integral to such contact zones is music performance, amongst other forms of celebration and entertainment. One example that had music at its core involved a brass band with English roots and a small Chinese ensemble. The Athenaeum Hall in Cromwell in Central Otago was a site of much musicking and cultural contact between European and Chinese communities. Within the fragmented reporting of Chinese performance, those held at the Athenaeum Hall have included more detail than elsewhere. As one report noted in 1886:

An entertainment of a somewhat unique character was given in the Athenaeum Hall on Saturday evening, in the form of a Chinese concert. This being the holiday season in connection with the Chinese New Year, the idea occurred to Mr Won Kee that an evening's pastime might be provided for his countrymen and a local institution likewise benefitted by getting up an entertainment at which Chinese performers should chiefly figure. The notion was conveyed to some European residents who heartily co-operated in carrying it out, and the result was a full house, bringing a substantial addition to the funds of the local Athenaeum. Of the audience fully 150 were Chinese, who appeared to have turned up from all parts of the district. Before the concert opened, a Chinese band gave some music in front of the hall. To European ears the performance was nothing more than a harsh discordant noise, in which a pair of huge clashing cymbals and a big gong took prominence. A drum without resonance and a squeaky instrument of the bagpipe order completed the band. The performers played with commendable vigor, and to the evident gratification of the big crowd of Mongolians who surrounded them. The Cromwell Brass Band rendered some nice pieces which were a pleasant relief to all but Celestial ears. The concert itself was principally conducted by the Chinese themselves, the only European element being some selections by the Brass Band, and some well-rendered songs by Messrs T. M'Nulty and J. Mullins. Of the Chinamen's efforts it can only be said they were beyond the range of criticism, but judging from the self-satisfied aspect of both performers and audience the whole business was to them highly pleasing. One or two peculiar features are, however, worth noting. There was not the slightest demonstration on the part of the Chinese, either of approval or disapproval, although they seemed pleased at the applause from the other section of the audience. The vocalists did not seem to evoke any sympathy in the breasts of their countrymen,

although at times there appeared to be vigorous appeals for the enlistment of that quality. The instrumentalists, too, went about their work in automatic fashion. There were five of these, led by Mr Won Kee on the banjo, which really was the only sort of harmonious thing in the whole Chinese programme. It was amusing to notice the earnestness with which each devoted himself to his particular instrument, the eye never being lifted from beginning to end of the piece - and some of the items were, if not exactly "linked sweetness," at least long "drawn out." While the whole was a decided novelty to Europeans, to the sons of the Flowery Land no doubt it was highly enjoyable, and has afforded food for infinite "palaver" even since. The vote of thanks accorded the Chinese, and especially Mr Won Kee, was certainly well deserved, as the concert proved very substantially in a monetary sense that the Chinese population can be liberal enough when opportunity arises for combined and congenial action. (*The Cromwell Argus*, 1886, p. 3)

This particular report is one of the longest that appeared in newspapers of the time, with other reports usually mentioning music with just a few words. In a review of the event, another newspaper described a confluence between the brass band and the Chinese ensemble. The Chinese ensemble, it seems, was playing a piece of music known by the brass band, possibly a European tune. After the Chinese group had been playing, it was noted: "The Cromwell Brass Band came to their assistance, but after playing together for some short time the Chinese withdrew in disgust, leaving the Europeans in undisputed possession" (*Waikato Times*, 1886, p. 2).

Reading beyond the representation of the event and focusing on interpreting the performance from an historical ethnomusicological perspective, there are a few key points that emerge. First and foremost, there was the individual intervention of Mr Won Kee, who was pivotal to the event occurring in the first place. His musicking in a framework of cultural activism and intervention was aimed at presenting Chinese music performance as a way of not only introducing it to New Zealand's non-Chinese community, but also using it as a tool to bring the disparate cultures together. In terms of musical biography, while little is known about his background, he was a popular and well-known merchant living in Cromwell. He supported the local community by donating funds to help support the local hospital, and collected for the Presbyterian Church. A further activity that he pursued each year was the holding of an annual fireworks display to coincide with the Chinese New Year, of which there are many reported due to non-Chinese being invited each year to the celebrations (Johnson, 2005). His connection as an interlocutor between cultures shows the importance of key individuals in such settings, which helped create musical culture within and between communities.

Even though the first article outlined above commented on the "harsh discordant noise" performed by the Chinese ensemble, within it there are some descriptions of the instruments used. We are told there were cymbals, gong, drum, bagpipe, vocalists and a banjo. These somewhat vague and broad terms to describe the instruments offer little detail with regard to the importance of comprehending the meaning of music material culture, which could help in the re-writing of music history in terms of cultural flows and organological analysis, but the description does show at least the broad types of instruments used. There are few clues as to what type of instruments were used, but based on the English-language description that might have been as follows:

Cymbals: *bó* 鈸 (generic term)

Gong: *luó* 鑼 (generic term)

Drum: *dàgǔ* 大鼓 (generic term)

Bagpipe: *suǒnà* 嗩吶 (double-reed wind instrument)

Banjo: *pípá* 琵琶 (4- or 5-string fretted lute); *sānxián* 三弦 (3-string fretless lute); *yuèqín* 月琴 (4-string fretted lute – moon guitar).

Education/General Interest

Another sphere of historical knowledge of Chinese music history in New Zealand is in the area of public talks given by people keen to broaden general knowledge about China. In the Otago region, one particular talk was given in Dunedin at the Temperance Hall by the Rev. Dr Roseby (1844-1918), which had the aim of raising money to help with the Chinese Famine Relief Fund (*Otago Daily Times*, 1878, p. 3). Roseby was from Australia and lived in New Zealand for 12 years.

In the local newspaper report on the talk, there are references to several Chinese musical instruments, which were used in performance by local Chinese players to add context to Roseby's presentation. The report notes:

During the evening several specimens of Chinese music were given, in which [residents] Messrs Han Man, Heong Choo, You Chee, and Lee On took part. The instruments used were the 'Yee been' (resembling a very primitive fiddle), 'Sam been' (or Chinese banjo), and the 'Yeot kum.' The music was of a quaint character, and afforded great enjoyment. (*Otago Daily Times,* 1878, p. 3)

As with other vague historical sources, it is not easy to decipher some of the terms used to describe the musical instruments. However, the term "yeot kum", is extremely close to the Cantonese word *jyut kam* for the 4-string lute, otherwise known as a moon guitar (*yuè qín* 月琴). The word "sam been" is slightly more difficult to discern, but it most probably refers to the 3-string lute, *saam jin* (*sān xián* 三弦). The other instrument mentioned is more problematic to interpret. While the second part of the word is the same as that used for the previous instrument ("been"), which presumably means "string", one might suppose that the first part of the word refers to the number of strings on the instrument. In this case, it is probably two, with the Cantonese "*ji*" meaning two and written as "yee" in the newspaper article. The instrument is likely to be a 2-string fiddle, *yi jin* 二弦, also known as *erxian*.

Roseby's talk wasn't one-off. He gave similar talks elsewhere, including one at the New Tees Street Hall in Oamaru in 1879, which also included Chinese music performed by Chinese residents (*North Otago Times*, 1879, p. 2). Such activity helps show an awareness of the need to present to the public knowledge about Chinese and Chinese music. His inclusion of local Chinese performers helped bring their presence in the community into a broader public sphere, and the occasion was such that it was deemed suitable for media coverage.

Conclusion

Acknowledging that the transfer of knowledge between performers speaking in their own dialects, non-Chinese presenters, and the local newspaper would be opportunity for inaccuracies in transliteration to occur, such reports do help in the deciphering of musical activities, as well as help in comprehending their purpose in the making of representative New Zealand music history. In a book on historical ethnomusicology, McCollum & Hebert (2014) remind us in many ways of the importance of the historical dimension of music research. While such an approach is not inherent in music ethnography, when attempting to interpret the past without a qualitative framework, recordings or musical instruments, the past presents an array of challenges for music research.

Chinese music history in New Zealand, just like many other music histories, has been a neglected aspect of the nation's musical soundscape. While this research is attempting to piece together fragmented sources of knowledge and interpret them through a contemporary and critical lens, a hidden signifier of cultural meaning points to the colonial setting as one where Chinese were active making music within and between cultures. However, their contribution has, like so many other spheres of cultural creativity in the nation, been obfuscated by hegemonic discourse that so often neglects significant areas of creative practice that have contributed through cross-border flows to the making of New Zealand.

Acknowledgements

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From Policy Change to Livelihoods Strategies:
Implications of the New Rural Development Model in Viet Nam

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Abstract

Since the Doi Moi (Reform) era in 1986, rural development policies in Vietnam have followed a market-based development approach that focused on improving cumulative economic growth. However, the top-down bureaucratic structure in policy planning and implementation failed to engage the community and understand the realities of local contexts. As a result, farmers with low income and capital find it more difficult to support their livelihoods on agriculture. Rural areas continue to experience rising socio-economic inequalities, low human capital development, and lack of social infrastructures. At the same time, studies have shown that rural people have adopted response strategies to protect and maintain their livelihoods. Combining field work and a wide range of primary and secondary sources, I contend that while rural development policies are implemented in a top-down process, they could also be influenced by livelihood strategies from the bottom up. I illustrate this through the implementation of the new National Target Program on New Rural Development (NTP-NRD) in a rural commune located in southeastern Vietnam. Although rural development policies fail to deliver their promises, people in the commune manage to maintain their agricultural-based livelihoods by specializing in crops that are land and labor efficient. Their initiatives are picked up by the local government as a pillar of success for the NTP-NRD, which paved the way for new development outcomes such as technology transfer and infrastructure improvement.

Keywords: Rural Development, Agricultural Development, Policy Implementation Viet Nam

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Introduction

After the Đổi Mới (Reform) era in 1986, Viet Nam transitioned from a centrally planned economy to a market-based economy through a series of structural reforms emphasizing export-led industrialization, foreign direct investment and privatization. The country achieved a high average GDP growth of 7.5 percent from 1991 to 2000, while poverty incidence also halved from 58.1 percent in 1992 to 28.9 in 2002 (Vo & Pham, 2004, p. 83; World Bank, n.d.). The agriculture sector in particular grew at an average GDP growth of 6.5 percent from 1989 to 1992, and Vietnam also became one of the world's top exporter for rice (Fforde & Sénèque, 1994). Viet Nam's wide strides in economic development during the 1990s became part of the "success stories" that international institutions such as the World Bank had championed and set as models for other developing nations (Rigg, 2016, p. 1).

However, the drive to achieve economic growth resulted in loss of young rural labor to urban non-farm sectors, slow progress in human development and well-being, as well as environmental deterioration. This came back to hurt economic expansion as the agricultural growth rate declined from 4.5 percent during 1996-2000 to 2.8 percent during 2011-2015 (Nguyen & Dao, 2018). The poverty rates stood disproportionately at 6 percent for urban areas and 35 percent for rural areas, which (the latter) were home to over 90 percent of the country's poor (Vo & Pham, 2004, p. 83). Inequality was also much higher within rural areas with those at the top 20th percentile earning six times as much as those in the bottom 20 percent (Vo & Pham, 2004, p. 84).

As a response to the negative side-effects and consequences of Đổi Mới, the government embarked on a different series of rural development reforms called the National Target Program on New Rural Development (NTP-NRD), or *Chương trình mục tiêu quốc gia về xây dựng nông thôn mới*. Signed into effect in 2009, the NTP-NRD is a wide-ranging program that aims to implement new rural models with modern infrastructure, sustainable production, improved living standards, and better management (Phạm, 2015; Decision No.491/QĐ-TTg: National Targets on New Rural Development, 2009). The program has been received with both appraisal and criticism after 10 years of implementation. Nevertheless, in the recent national meeting chaired by the Prime Minister in 2019, the NTP-NRD was reflected as successful, officially building grounds for nation-wide enforcement of the model in the upcoming 2021-2025 period (Thành Chung, 2019).

This paper aims to illuminate the consequences and limitations of the NTP-NRD in Viet Nam through a case study of a rural commune in a rapidly industrializing province in Viet Nam. Thạnh Hội, also known as the Turtle Island (Cù lao Rùa), is considered a "successful" model of the NRD initiative as the government and the media praised its high returns on agricultural income and new infrastructure development. Through this case study, the paper examines how government central economic planning in rural development translated into implementation at the local level in three parts. The first part provides a context of rural development policies and transformation in Viet Nam compared with regional and global trends. The second part introduces the background and contexts of agricultural and rural development in Bình Dương province and Thạnh Hội Island. The third part applies the livelihood approach and the concept of "everyday forms of peasant resistance" to understand the tension and nuances between policy enforcement and people's resistance as well

adaptation. I conclude that in order to build better development trajectories, policymakers should take into account local social and economic realities and engage the people as well as their livelihood insights.

Policy Context

1. Legacy of Đổi Mới

Starting in the late 1980s, the socio-economic and institutional reforms of Đổi Mới paved the way for an increasingly large volume of foreign direct investment, improved the efficiency of state-owned enterprises, and expanded the private sectors especially in urban areas (Vo & Pham, 2004). Through Directive 100 in 1981 and Resolution 10 in 1988, households became the primary unit of agricultural production and were granted land use rights that could be transferrable on the market (Dao, 2018; Fforde & Sénèque, 1994). The policies encouraged individual households to freely produce for the market, incentivized private business activities, and expanded non-farm income opportunities (Walder, 2011, p. 254). The government's emphasis on ensuring food security through designated paddy land use and irrigation infrastructures served as a stabilizing force for the agricultural sector (Fforde & Sénèque, 1994). The dramatic policy shift and integration with the world market have helped Vietnam become a major net food exporter, particularly in rice, while also raised rural incomes and household expenditures (Taylor, 2007, p. 8).

However, rapid development in the agriculture/rural sector failed to be sustained in the decades that followed. The agricultural growth rate overall dropped from 4.2 percent per annum during 1990-1999 to 3.7 percent during 2001-2007, and only 2.6 percent during 2008-2013 (World Bank, 2016). The marketization and liberalization of the rural economy under Đổi Mới have also made poor farmers' income more insecure. According to Philip Taylor (2007), poor farmers lost income from increasing production cost (e.g., fertilizers and pesticides) as well as fluctuating crop prices; in addition, they also did not have equal access to other types of capital-intensive sectors like aquaculture or livestock. Rice continued to dominate production and exports; but rice farmers did not benefit from the low-profit margins of rice and small farm sizes. Furthermore, their ability to switch to a more diverse range of crops with a higher benefit-to-cost ratio was limited by the government's designated paddy land use policies (World Bank, 2016). Farming households became reliant on market mechanisms; but they did not have fair access to accurate information about market demands because of the mediating distributive channels that distorted market prices from source distribution to consumers (Lâm, 2019).

There were also growing income equality and social differentiation demonstrated by a higher landlessness rate and the diversification of income into non-agricultural sectors in rural areas. Viet Nam's policy focus on modernization and mechanization created social class differentiation in favor of those who could invest, lend or sell input capital in farming (Taylor, 2007, p. 11). The rural poor became landless as they were not able to participate in the land markets and had even less access to formal credits or antipoverty programs (Ravallion & van de Walle, 2008, p. 179). As agriculture became an insecure source of income, people had taken up non-farm economic activities such as wage labor in urban areas. From 2002 to 2014, farm-related income dropped by over 10 percent while income from wages increased from 30.5 percent to

42.1 percent (Benjamin et al., 2017, p. 35). The shift in rural household incomes expanded the gaps in rural-urban inequality, with 90 percent of the country's poor concentrating in rural areas (S. Scott & Truong, 2004). In addition, rural areas still lagged behind in terms of infrastructure and access to market, clean water, electricity, education and health care (Q. N. Vu, 2004). The rural environment also suffered from the excessive use of fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals (sometimes illegal), which led to several food safety scandals in Viet Nam (Ehlert & Faltmann, 2019; Wertheim-Heck et al., 2014).

2. Moving on from Đổi Mới: Agricultural Restructuring Policies and the New Rural Development

Recognizing the limitations and drawbacks of Đổi Mới reforms, the Vietnamese government has implemented new agricultural restructuring and rural development policies. Decision 899/QD-TTg on agricultural restructuring aims to develop market-oriented agricultural production, large-scale production with cooperatives and chain linkages, as well as science and technology (Nguyen & Dao, 2018). Tied with the agricultural restructuring project is the National Targeted Program in New Rural Development (NTP-NRD), which is a more wide-ranging program that aims to improve rural living standards, infrastructure and environment. The NTP-NRD consists of 19 targets under five main groups: planning; infrastructure; economy and production; culture-society-environment; and political system (Decision No.491/QĐ-TTg: National Targets on New Rural Development, 2009). At the time of writing, the NTP-NRD has been adopted nation-wide with 5177 communes reaching the national targets and granted the "New Rural Development" (NRD) status.

The NTP-NRD has been praised for improving farmers' livelihoods while integrating rural development with urban development and environmental sustainability (OECD, 2016). After implementing the program, Viet Nam has reached near-universal coverage for basic infrastructure such as water, electricity and sanitation for both urban and rural areas. The development of secondary and tertiary cities under the form of agglomerations has also generated more off-farm employment in the industrial and service sectors for the rural population while alleviating the pressures on Hồ Chí Minh City and Hà Nội. Furthermore, Viet Nam has also adopted technological innovations, with widespread mobile coverage, low-cost logistics, as well as new dam and irrigation systems (OECD, 2016, p. 142). Rural infrastructure and transportation projects play an important role in rising rural incomes, increasing primary school completion and developing the service sector (Do & Park, 2018; Mu & Walle, 2011).

At the same time, the NTP-NRD is also criticized for its top-down approach and target-based models. The OECD stresses that the criteria are centrally developed without consultation with relevant stakeholders, accountable use of monitoring and evaluation systems or adjustment to local contexts in implementation (OECD, 2016, p. 199). Critics also point out that the program mostly focuses on developing infrastructure (due to its partnership with construction companies) instead of socio-economic measures to improve living standards such as creating employment and improving agricultural production methods (Báo Đất Việt, n.d.). The low level of community engagement is a major shortcoming as the people do not have any sense of ownership of the program mechanisms despite the program's slogan emphasis on

people's ownership. At the local level, the lack of transparency and promotion has prevented the program from achieving optimal outcomes. There are also several instances where the local government takes away social welfare payments from citizens, especially from social support funds for poor people or the disabled, without their consent to contribute to rural infrastructure projects (Dân Trí News, 2017; Đời Sống Pháp Luật, 2014).

In late 2019, the government convened a national meeting for the NTP-NRD to be implemented on the national scale while rolling out a new flagship initiative called "One Commune One Product" (OCOP) under the NRD framework. The program encourages each commune to develop a specialty niche product but mostly supports small-to-medium enterprises as well as cooperatives. There is still no mention of smallholders, who still make up the majority of the rural economy and who already diversify household incomes through migration or land lease. This reiterates the patterns of top-down policy enforcement that do not really address the needs and situations of local people.

Case Study

1. Thạnh Hội, Bình Dương

While conflicting criticisms continue to stand as the NTP-NRD expands, there have been few academic studies that delve on how the program is executed on the ground. To understand how government policies are implemented in specific local contexts, the paper looks at a case study of a rural commune named Thạnh Hội in the southeastern province of Bình Dương. Formerly an agricultural-based region, the economy of Bình Dương expanded rapidly after Đổi Mới as the government relaxed investment policies to attract foreign direct investment (FDI). With a massive flow of FDI worth more than 20.2 billion USD, Bình Dương has developed 29 main industrial zones spanning 12,798 ha and 12 industrial clusters spanning 815 ha by 2017 (Bình Dương Statistical Office, 2018). The concentration of industrial clusters in Bình Dương has attracted a high number of migrants from other regions to find employment and other economic opportunities (Le et al., 2012).

As the economy of Bình Dương transformed, the agricultural sector has also changed to support the development of the industrial and service sectors. Agricultural modernization and mechanization make agriculture less labor-intensive, therefore reducing farm labor from 40 percent in 1997 to just 12 percent in 2010 (D. D. Vu, 2011). Young and healthy people have switched to work in the industrial and service sectors, which usually offer higher income than the agricultural sector (D. D. Vu, 2011). As a result, the majority of people involved in agriculture are aged 40 and above (D. D. Vu, 2011). Nevertheless, the agricultural net worth for the whole province continues to increase every year, from 12,877 million VND in 2001 to 15,355 million VND in 2010 (Bình Dương Statistical Office, 2017). The local government strives to improve agricultural performance by establishing three high-technology agricultural zones during 2007-2010 (D. D. Vu, 2011). Overall, the strategy is in line with the central government's official initiative in agricultural structuring and the NRD model.

Thạnh Hội island-commune is one of the few areas in Bình Dương province that thrives on agriculture. It started to be recognized by the government and local media in the late 1990s as a fertile area suitable to grow vegetable crops. Back then, farmers mostly grew green onions, which became the main source of income for most households on the island (Báo Sông Bé, 1993; Mỹ Dung, 1996). The specialization of the cash crop was considered a "new economic thinking" (nếp suy nghĩ mới) in line with Đổi Mới reforms (Báo Sông Bé, 1996). Around 2010, however, farmers suffered from major harvest loss from green onions and started to switch from producing green onions to taro ear (dọc mùng or bạc hà in Vietnamese), a type of vegetable with edible leaf stalk (Báo Bình Dương, 2011). Taro ear is not labor or capital intensive, not vulnerable to diseases, and most importantly highly suitable to the soil and climate of the island (Báo Bình Dương, 2013). Nowadays it is estimated that Thanh Hội produces about 5-7 tons of taro ears, allowing each farming household to earn almost 50-60 million dong per year (Báo Bình Dương, 2013). The taro ear has become the new hero in place of green onions and has supposedly improved livelihoods of people on the island.

2.   Implementation of NTP-NRD on Thạnh Hội

Thanks to its agricultural success, Thạnh Hội was selected to be a pilot site for the NTP-NRD for 2011-2015 (Báo Bình Dương, 2014). The local media often praises the local government's pursuit of NRD for helping to transform the face of Thạnh Hội. Since 2014, the commune has reached 19/19 NRD goals and 39/39 NRD targets (Báo Bình Dương, 2018b). In its effort to improve farmers' income, the government aims to utilize the island's strength in agriculture and focus on technology transfer to enhance productivity (Báo Bình Dương, 2014). Another strategy is to develop tourism, as the island is recognized as a National Archaeological Site thanks to its pre-historic burial remnants site, along with other folk religious temple (Báo Bình Dương, 2010).

In order to understand the reality of life on the island, I conducted field visits to Thạnh Hội during the period from December 2018 to January 2019. Similar to elsewhere in the country, improving roads and infrastructure is the most important initiative. The Thạnh Hội bridge, which was put into use in 2010, is a major infrastructure flagship that local media and the government claim to help facilitate mobility and trade. Upon crossing the bridge, there was a big greeting gate stating: "Thạnh Hội commune – Qualified New Rural Model" (Xã Thạnh Hội – Đạt chuẩn nông thôn mới). The island indeed had a very good system of concrete roads covering most of the island and several new residential constructions especially near the entrance of the commune, which almost resembled an urban township. During 2016-2018, the commune developed 16 rural transportation projects with a total cost of 15.4 billion VND. (Báo Bình Dương, 2018b).

Figure 1: The greeting gate of Thạnh Hội (Source: Báo Bình Dương, 2018c)

Figure 2: The lush rice fields

Figure 3: And buffaloes

Figure 4: Modern infrastructure: Street lights, concrete roads, and busy new constructions

Reaching the other side of the island, I saw that people still had to take the old ferry to Bình Hòa, Đồng Nai, without a bridge to cross like the other side of the island (bordering Bình Dương). The ferry wharf was a precarious place without any sign, post or fence to mark the land border with water. I stopped to chat with a few locals who were waiting for the ferry with a lot of goods on their motorbikes. One of them was a middle-aged lady who was local to Thạnh Hội but lived on the other side of the river (across from the ferry) after she got married. The lady said that she appreciated the new bridge as it allowed locals like her to make their way back even at the middle of the night. The locals also admitted that the bridge had also brought a lot of newcomers to the island, as reflected by several house construction sites, modern brick houses and land sales ads along the road. The other was a middle-aged man who were transporting massive bags of pineapples and okras on his bike, probably to trade at a bigger wholesale market across the river.

Figure 5: The ferry wharf with the sudden descent at the boarding area. The small blue sign to the right says: "This is a deep-water area. Beware of danger."

Figure 6: One of the many new houses on Thạnh Hội

As known by its reputation, people here indeed grow a lot of taro ear, but they also grow rice and other types of fruits and vegetables, such as pomelo. According to the President of the Thạnh Hội Commune Farmers' Association, the region plans to develop sustainable agricultural practices by growing clean and safe produce that incorporate modern technology while provides more support to farmers (Nông nghiệp Việt Nam, 2016). An example of such initiatives is one that help growers specialize in producing crops and vegetables according to Vietnamese Good Agricultural Practices (VietGAP) standards on safe food production. In recent years, Thạnh Hội has established new agriculture cooperatives that grow VietGAP pumpkin, wintermelon and taro ear in modern greenhouses equipped with drip irrigation systems (Tân Uyên

Township Local Government, 2018; Báo Bình Dương, 2018a). As I observed, the number of greenhouses and safe-vegetable production areas were still small compared to the production areas of smallholder and individual farms. In one of the visits, I chatted with a middle-aged man who was drying out his rice grains on the side of the road. His farm mostly grew rice, with a few other fruits such as pomelos in between the rice growing seasons. Growing rice was not a lucrative business, and the man said that his rice was mostly for his own consumption as it was not profitable enough to sell on the market. He also said that his grown-up children had either moved out to work as factory workers or get married.

Figure 7: One of the few greenhouses on the island

Figure 8: The infamous taro ear

Figure 9: And a diverse range of other crops

Public services, health and education as well as other basic necessities on Thạnh Hội were relatively well-established for a rural commune. Both the Commune People's Committee as well as the Commune Health Station were relatively large and decent at the outside. In Thạnh Hòa hamlet, there was a street with a couple pharmacies, grocery stores and cafes. The Thạnh Hội primary school located nearby was also the only education institution on the island. Later as I left Thạnh Hội, a few older secondary school students were riding their bikes across the bridge, probably coming back home from secondary school across the rivers in the nearest town. Indeed, as the locals said earlier, only the middle-aged, elderly and young children spent most of the day on the island.

Figure 10: The Commune's People Committee

Figure 11: The Thạnh Hội Primary school

Figure 12: The only pharmacy on the island

Figure 13: A local shop offering basic household supplies and some grocery items

I made a point of visiting a few archaeological and cultural sites that are reported on several news articles, one of them being the Khánh Sơn Ancient Pagoda (Khánh Sơn Cổ Tự), a two-hundred-year-old pagoda. Despite being an "ancient pagoda", the Buddha statues and altars were all newly built and renovated in colorful paint. The surrounding area of the worshipping temple was not very well-kept with uncut grass verges, scattered with a few litter and construction waste piles. The archaeological site that uncovered remnants of an early civilization 3000 years ago did not seem to be accessible or open to the public for visits. The abundance of historic buildings and temples on the island had great potential to develop cultural tourism; however, there has not been much development despite the local government's stated ambition.

Crossing the Thạnh Hội bridge again on my way out, I looked again at the large crane trucks mining sand for construction by the riverbank. In 1993, sand mining activities of a local construction company already created serious landslide and raised serious concerns (Báo Sông Bé, 1993). Most recently in September 2018, local people living near the area are afraid that their houses and lands will be at risk of collapsing into the river (VnExpress, 2018). Illegal sand mining activities are widespread in the whole Đồng Nai River Basin as the sand quality is considered desirable in the construction industry. Although the government has issued several bans on illegal sand mining, their efforts have not been effective, while the riverbanks continued to be damaged.

Figure 14: Sand mining activities just below the bridge

From Policy Change to Livelihoods Strategies

In Thạnh Hội, people's life choices are affected by the state's rural development policies as well. Under Đổi Mới, local farmers choose to specialize in a particular type of cash crop (green onions before the 1990s and taro ear since the early 2000s) as a strategy to maximize production and profit instead of paddy farming. They are subject to volatile market prices of their food crops and are also reliant on the informal collectors to distribute their goods to the market. As green onions failed harvests and dropped in market value in the 1990s-2000s, farmers were forced change to a different crop. The young working-age population have mostly switched to non-farm, non-local jobs that pay higher wages or offer more exciting opportunities (Báo Bình Dương, 2013). New public infrastructure projects such as the Thạnh Hội bridge and the road systems help to transform the faces of the villages, facilitate movements

and create an impression of positive transformations. But the island only has one bridge that crosses the river to Bình Dương and none to cross to Biên Hòa city in Đồng Nai, which would grant islanders access to a major urban area with universities, large supermarkets, wholesale markets, hospitals, banks, etc. Furthermore, local people are still powerless against destructive activities of the local sand mining industry, which have threatened their living environment, without any adequate response or support from the authorities.

Nevertheless, people in Thạnh Hội show their resilience against external stress. Farmers made the initiative to test, grow, scale up certain kinds of crops (namely green onions and taro ear) which they believed were profitable and resilient to the environment. They did not switch to the new cash crops altogether but still kept some paddy fields for self- subsistence, while growing a wide range of other high-value fruit crops such as pomelo to supplement their income. Their success was taken advantage of by the media and the local government to earn NRD recognition for their province (Báo Bình Dương, 2011b, 2013). But in this way, the local initiatives have also influenced policymakers to create new projects that harness development, such as implementing technology in farming or forming new farmers' collectives. However, these official initiatives so far have not proven to be effective without full engagement of the community, while local residents continue to employ their farming strategies based on local experience and knowledge.

The tensions between policy enforcement, environmental stress and farmers' resilience could be explained through the livelihoods approach, which many scholars on rural development have used as a lens to understand how marginalized people experience and respond to structural problems. The livelihoods approach points out that rural people adopt several strategies of coping, adaptation, negotiation, and resistance against political and economic transformations. However, these strategies are only meant to get by on a daily basis or for short-term gains instead of conscious and collective acts that try to subvert the system. In other words, they are what anthropologist James Scott termed as "everyday forms of peasant resistance" - subtle forms of strategies that rural people use, not to revolutionize and change the whole system, but for short-term material goals that help them maintain their livelihoods (Scott, 1985, 1986).

"Everyday forms of resistance" are exhibited through migration, utilization of old and new rural infrastructure, and resistance against natural resource exploiters. Migration is a coping and adaptation strategy that rural people use to diversify household income sources, absorb economic shocks, and explore new opportunities. When young pupils regularly travel across the newly-built bridge to attend secondary schools, they utilize the material structure to pursue their rights to education while fulfilling the policy planners' purpose in building the bridge. Using the old and dangerous ferry to transport goods to the bigger market in Đồng Nai is also a coping strategy when public infrastructures have not satisfied their demands. People also resist when their living environment and livelihoods are threatened. For at least three decades, illegal sand mining activities along the Đồng Nai River have created major landslide and even destroyed people's houses but local authorities have consistently failed to respond and resolve the issue. Local people thus take matters into their own hands and perform the community-run night patrols, despite the danger of a violent respite by the "sand thieves" (Baomoi.com, 2018). Although their actions are not

enough to stop these lucrative activities, they have raised the issues with the media and prompted more coordinated government action. "Everyday forms of resistance" are evident in the way the locals do not challenge the system but rather try to accommodate their needs within the restrictions of public infrastructure, facilities and services as well as the incompetence of the local authorities in maintaining law and order.

Conclusion

The paper has demonstrated how rural development policies are incongruent with the realities of local contexts and people's livelihoods in Viet Nam. The NTP-NRD and its related agricultural structuring package are designed to address these social inequalities and limitations of Đổi Mới with more people-centered initiatives and emphasis on developing infrastructures as well as other public goods. However, the top-down, centralized policy-making process, the same market-oriented approach to development, and the overall lack of engagement and consultation with the community make it difficult to deliver the NTP-NRD's desirable outcomes.

However, rural people do not idly accept these policy and economic transformations but instead adopt different strategies to protect their livelihoods. This is illustrated through the case study of Thạnh Hội, a rural commune in the rapidly industrializing and urbanizing province. In order to cope with and adapt to the changing socio-economic system that emphasizes growth and productivity via market-based mechanisms, people on Thạnh Hội have adopted different coping and adaptation strategies in order to maintain their livelihoods. Locals seek out opportunities in non-farm employment outside of the island or specialize in a high-profit vegetable crop while maintaining self-sufficiency. These strategies could be understood under the livelihoods framework and James Scott's theory on "everyday forms of peasant resistance", which are subtle forms of resistance that people use to achieve short-term material goals that help them maintain their livelihoods on a day-to-day basis (Scott, 1985, 1986). The strategies are not meant to subvert development policies that make them worse off; in fact, people do not express their intention of resistance in order to ensure their own safety and ability to continue surviving within the system. However, if these subtle forms of resistance occur in greater scale and frequency, they still have the power to gradually influence the authorities to accommodate and change policy directions.

This provides a scope for rural development programs in Viet Nam to improve its outcomes and step forward on its ambitious "sustainable development goals". First, the government could learn from farmers' initiatives and work with them to create more opportunities for growth. In fact, Viet Nam already has a small but growing alternative agriculture sector where farmers and civil society actors form agricultural cooperatives and social enterprises to help farmers get a better deal in production while consumers enjoy better-quality food. Second, rural development must take into account the local and regional dynamics that already happened after economic liberalization, such as socio-economic inequality, internal migration, the shift and diversification of rural income away from agriculture, as well as environmental issues that impact living conditions and productivity. Programs like OCOP for example could help provinces redefine their growth strategy, but it must include smallholders and consider how different groups in the community may already employ off-farm

livelihoods strategies. Third, while roads and infrastructure projects might help to facilitate trade and mobility, they fall short of delivering benefits to the rural community if there is still minimal access to education, health care, and employment opportunities. On Thạnh Hội, for instance, the local government should consider building vocational training capacity and post-education opportunities in order to incentivize young locals to stay and work on the island instead of moving away.

As the NTP-NRD becomes institutionalized in Vietnam's rural development policy in 2020, it is time for the government to change their policy-making and implementation approach to a bottom-up process where the community contribute their insights for planning, participate in execution, and hold project implementers accountable for their interventions.

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The Influence of Jingxing Ancient Route to the Villages along it

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Abstract

Jingxing, the fifth passage of the eight Taihang passages, has been an important road link Hebei and Shanxi Province since the ancient times. Apart from being a traffic trunk, this road has three main functions in history. It was mainly used as an important military road before Tang Dynasty. Then it was a policy immigration route for people leaving from Shanxi to Hebei in the early Ming Dynasty. With the rising of Shanxi merchants, it became a commercial road in Ming and Qing Dynasties. Through historical research, field research and interviews, this paper will study on the settlement generations, spatial changes typical villages along the Route, and then analyze how this post route effects the villages along it.

Keywords: The Jingxing Ancient Route, Villages Along It, The Settlement Generation, Spatial Change

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Introduction

"XING" means the passage between two mountains in Chinese. Taihang Mountains is an important geographic boundary in eastern China and Stretches for 400 kilometers. There are 8 natural passages linking both sides, and Jingxing is the fifth passage of the eight passages (Fig1). The east side of Jingxing is the Jizhong Plain, and the west side is the Loess Plateau. It is a natural passage conforming to the topography of Jingxing Basin and has been an important road linking Hebei and Shanxi Province since the ancient times. In 2006, The State Administration of Cultural Heritage listed Jingxing Ancient Route as the sixth batch of important heritage sites under state protection. (The State Administration of Cultural Heritage, 2006)

Figure 1: Eight passages of Taihang Moutains

Most of the current research on this route focuses on its protection plan as a cultural protection unit and the material existence. There is only a little research on how it functions as a cultural route to interact with the villages along it.

Under this background, through field research and interview with related staffs and local villagers, and literature research, including the Jingxing County Annals (1730, 1931 and 1986 edition), Traffic Journal of Jingxing County (2008), Shijiazhuang Postal Service (1995) and many Village History Archives, we comb the historical functions of Jingxing Ancient Route with multiple identities, analysis the settlement generations and spatial changes along the route, and then try to explore the influence of such a complex ancient route to the villages along it.

1. Research scope definition

There are two types of specific scope of Jingxing Ancient Route, broad and narrow. Broadly speaking, it generally refers to all the main and secondary roads connecting the Luquan District of Shijiazhuang City, Hebei Province to Yangquan City, Shanxi Province[1](Fig2 the brown-yellow part is the main road after Guguan); Narrowly

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[1] The scope of Jingxing Ancient Route in the broad sense is slightly vague. At present, there are mainly two specific research routes. One is the research of Zhu Zongzhou, Zhou Dian, Xue Linping, Ma

speaking, it generally refers to the main route from Tumenguan in the east to Guguan in the west.

The Jingxing Ancient Route discussed in this paper slightly expanded in the narrow sense, mainly based on the specific routes provided in the 2016 version of Jingxing Ancient Route Protection Planning[2].

The queryable path of the ancient post in the important heritage sites under state protection system is "The east is 5000 meters west of Luquan. After entering the county, it is divided into South Road and North Road. The South Road passes Touquan, Xiaan, Shangan, Dongtianmen, Weishui, Changgang, Hengkou, Beizhangcun, Haoxihe, Dongyaoling, Hedong, Nanguan, Zhujiatong, Banqiao, Changshengkou, Xiaolongwo, Hetaoyuan to Pingding County of Shanxi Province, about 50 kilometers after Guguan; The North Road passes Pingwang, Weizhou, Qingshiling, Zhaocunpu, Tianhu, Hengjian, Fenghuangling, Shiqiaotou to Nanguan and merge to the South Road" (Yang Haoxiang, 2015) (Fig2 the red part).
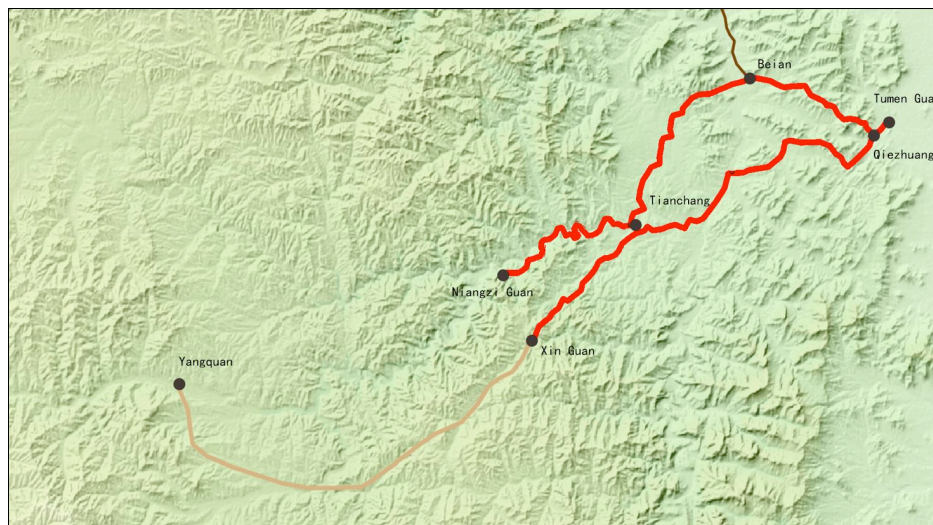
Figure 2: The scope of Jingxing Ancient Route

The above mentioned is the main road of Jingxing Ancient Route, the road is wider and can allow vehicles[3] to pass. The North Road is the main road in the early stage, and the South Road is the main road in the later stage, it will be explained later. The road from Niangziguan to Tianchang Town due to the obvious mountainous terrain and large terrain fluctuations, most of the time it is impossible to drive. However, as

Dunxuan and Pan Xi in 2018, can be found in the article "Survey and Research on Jingxing Ancient Road and Traditional Villages along the Line from the perspective of cultural routes"; One is the research of Lin Zurui and Zhang Jieping in 2019, can be found in the article "Study on the Spatial Form Evolution of Traditional Commercial Villages along Jingxing Ancient Road: Taking Xijiao Village in Pingding County, Shanxi Province as an Example".

[2] The Jingxing County Government has entrusted Beijing Guowenyan Cultural Relics Protection and Development Co., Ltd. to carry out the formulation of the "Hebei Province Jingxing Ancient Route Protection Plan", which is still in further work, the specific text is not disclosed to the public. The relevant content mentioned in the article mainly refers to the research results of Yang Haoxiang, who participated in the preparation of the protection plan in 2015, and what he learned after conducting relevant interviews with the staff of the County Cultural Relics Bureau.

[3] Refers to vehicles that appeared in the Qing Dynasty and before, such as chariots, carriages, donkey carts, etc. The vehicles appear later in this paper are the same.

an important branch road, the change of villages along the route is also deeply affected, so it is also included in the research scope. There is also a historically important branch line (Fig2 the dark-red part) north of old Weizhou (Beian). However, because there are very few physical remains and ancient buildings retained, there is no further research. The research scope of this paper is shown as the red line in Fig.2

Besides 32 villages which are passed through by the route, some villages do not have a post road through the village but are close to the route, and their settlement formation, street layout, architectural form and cultural activities may also be affected by the ancient route. With this consideration, in the field investigation, this part of the villages were also investigated, so the investigation scope expanded to 72 villages (Fig3).
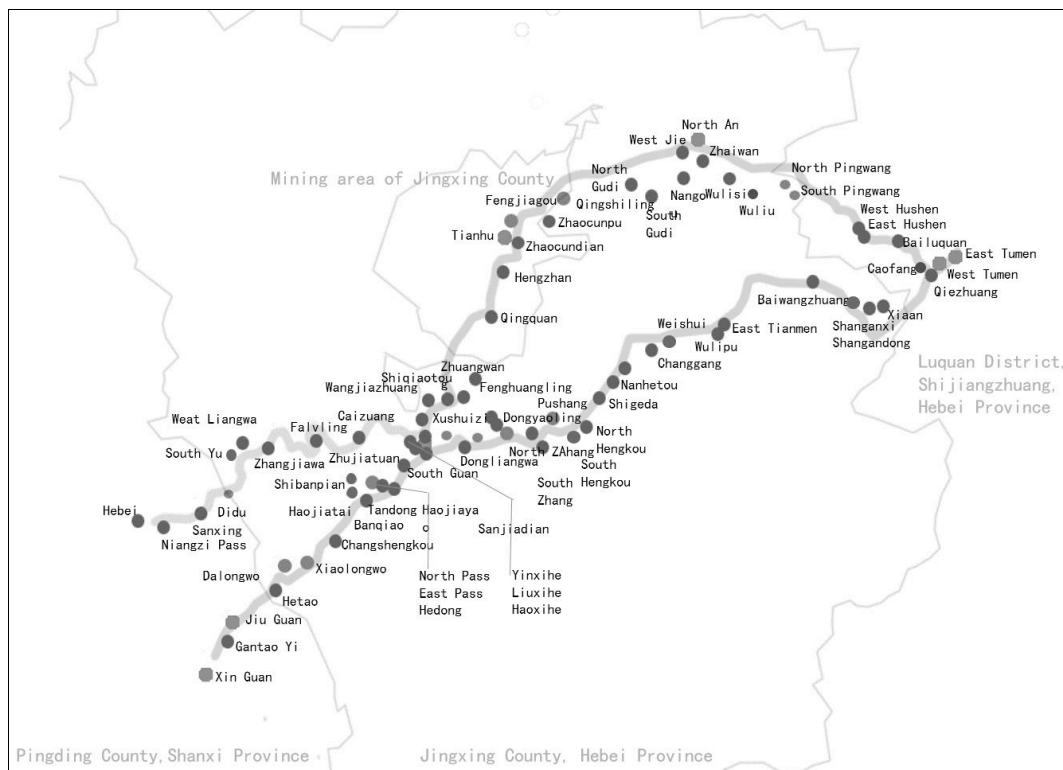
Figure 3: The scope of research

The studied Jingxing Ancient Route spans about 60 kilometers from east to west, and most of the villages along the line are in Jingxing County, Hebei Province (Fig3).

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, with the construction of the Zhengtai Railway, the ancient route gradually lost its status as an important inter-provincial passage and withdrew from the stage of history. Its path is followed by National Highway 307 and Zhengtai Railway (Fig4), and it is affecting the villages along the route in another way. However, due to the significant difference between the impact methods compared to the previous, this issue will not be further discussed in this paper, so in terms of the time scope of the study, the research in this paper focuses on the influence of the ancient route on the surrounding villages before the late Qing Dynasty.

2. Historical path of the ancient route

The historical path of Jingxing Ancient Route before the Yuan Dynasty mainly inferred through cities and passes. They contain three major cities in the early Jingxing County: Manjia City (also wrongly written as "Ning Jia City", later Weizhou, now Beian), Wuxing City (later changed to Tianhu City, now Tianhu), Tianwei Military Mansion (now Center of Tianchang), and the passes along the way.

Figure 4: The ancient route and the modern transportation

"SHIJI - Zhao Shijia" records that King Zhao Wuling had visited Ningjia during the time when he attacked Zhongshan Kingdom. It can be seen that Manjia City was one of the important towns in Zhongshan at that time. "Hanshu - Geography" records that Jingxing County is located in Wuxing City, it can be speculated that Wuxing City was already an important town before that, combining the Tumenguan at the east end and the old pass of the Great Wall Pass (now the Jiuguan) at Qin Dynasty, it can be speculated that the path of the ancient path before Han is shown in Figure 5-1.

In the Sui Dynasty, the King of Han rebelled and burned the city of Wuxing, but he failed because it rained heavily, then the city was renamed Tianhu. During the period of Song Dynasty (1075), Jingxing County Office moved from Tianhu to Tianchang. It can be seen that the development here is relatively fast during this period. As the county office, the main roads in the county should also pass here. "Shanxi Tongzhi" records that Dong Zhuo built Dongzhuolei near the present Niangziguan when Dong Zhuo was appointed as governor of Bingzhou. (Shanxi History Research Institute, 1998) The main passage will definitely pass through important pass, so it is speculated that the main road in this period is from Niangziguan to Shanxi. During the emperor of Sui D 's north tour, he ordered male workers of morn than 10 counties to chisel Taihang Mountain, making the road pass to Bingzhou. The emperor of Song Dunasty's patrol route arrived in Taiyuan from Zhengding, Jinglu, Jingxing and Niangziguan. (Shanxi History Research Institute, 1998) The above two points also confirm the previous inference. Therefore, it can be considered that the main path of Jingxing Ancient Route from Eastern Han Dynasty to Yuan Dynasty is shown in Figure 5-2.

Figure 5: Historical path

During the Yuan Dynasty, authority set up Xingshan Post Station in Jingxing, leading west to Baijing Post Station (now Baijing Town, Pingding County, Shanxi Province).

During the Jiajing period in the Ming Dynasty, due to the need for defense, it moved westwards to Guguan (now Xinguan Village). From the perspective of the overall post road in Yuan Dynasty, the path of Jingxing Ancient Route from Tianchang to Shanxi once again returned to the south road. The main road path of the route from Yuan to Wanli period, Ming Dynasty (1618) is shown in Figure 5-3.

Since Tianchang became the county government (1075), it gradually replaced Tianhu and Weizhou as an absolute political and economic center. Taking the efficiency into account, the south route from Tianchang to Tumenguan became a better one. Because of this, the south road of the east section of the post road gradually developed. In 1618, Jingxing county magistrate directly ordered the official post station relocated to the south road. The Qing Dynasty's genuine "Jingxing County Annal" records: "from the county to the east, 5 kilometers is Xihe, 10 kilometers is Hengkou, 15 kilometers is Huishui, 20 kilometers is Baishiling, 25 kilometers is Shangan, 30 kilometers is Xiaan, another 2 kilometers out is the boundary of Huolu" (Zhong Wenying, Wu Guanbai, 1730). The south road of the east section has officially become part of the main road. Therefore, the main road after the 1618 is shown in Figure 5-4.

3.   The historical function of post road and settlement formation

Since its natural formation, Jingxing Ancient Route has been an important pathway connecting the east and west sides of Taihang Mountain, carrying important functions of transportation. In different historical stages, the main subject identity and passing purpose of this transportation hub are different. What I want to discuss here is that it can be distinguished that the main functions of the post road are different in different historical periods. At the same time, different functions of post roads have different effects on the formation of villages along the route.

3.1. Military

According to archaeological findings, when the Shang Dynasty conquered its neighboring countries and tribes, the army was taking this naturally formed path. Frequent battles made this natural path gradually show signs of manual intervention. (Meng Fanfeng, 1992)

During the Western Zhou Dynasty, in the war with the Rong people, the passage of chariots further widened the ancient road.

During the Chunqiu Period and the Warring States Period, King Zhao Wuling attacked Zhongshan State, and in order to defend against Zhao's looting, Zhongshan State carried out further construction of Manjia City. After the destruction of Zhongshan, in order to control Zhongshan, Zhao State set up a military stronghold in Wuxing City, which lead to the rise of Wuxing City. The ancient Jingxing Road, the main passage for the march, was further cleared due to the widespread use of chariots, and later became the passage when Qin attacked Zhao. Among them, Qin built the Great Wall Pass in Guguan (old pass, now the Jiuguan).

As an important Hebei-Shanxi connection, this place has always been a battleground for military strategists. Thereafter in Eastern Jin Dynasty and Northern Wei Dynasty, there have been many major battles, especially in Tang Dynasty, there are eight

recorded battles which changed occupiers. During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period and Yuan Dynasty, Jingxing also had multiple records for troop dispatch. The first year of Hongwu in Ming Dynasty (1368) Jingxing Gatekeeper surrendered to Xu Da. During the Jiajing period in Ming Dynasty, due to the need of defense, the Gate was moved westwards from Guguan (old pass, now Jiuguan) to Guguan (now Xinguan). Nearly 600 years after the establishment of the Ming Dynasty was a relatively peaceful period of development of the post road. Except for a war at the time of the handover between Ming and Qing Dynasties, no recorded battles occurred.

In late Qing Dynasty (1900), the Eight-Power Allied Forces entered Beijing. From then Jingxing has been caught in years of war.

The post road mainly carried the function of military arteries before Yuan Dynasty, and there were few settlements generated mainly by its influence. The three most important ancient cities along the post road: Manjia City (also mistakenly written as "Ningjia City", later Weizhou, now Beian Village), Wuxing City (later renamed Tianhu City, now Tianhu Village), Tianwei Military Mansion (now Center of Tianchang), it is not so much that the post road has an influence on the formation of its settlement, but rather that the existence of the city itself determines the direction of the post road. The early settlements had the need for important military defense and station troops, which led to the gathering and settlement of people. These settlements are Niangziguan, Xinguan, Jiuguan, Center of Tianchang, Dongtumen and Xitumen, etc. There are also Tianhu and Beian, which formed a flow of people due to the terrain and geographical location, which later became the center of early ecnomy and politics.

3.2. Economy

Jingxing was more prosperous in the Han Dynasty. Many commodities flowed into Bingzhou (near Taiyuan) through the post road to the west, and then circulated northwards to outside Liaodong and beyond.

In Song Dynasty, Jing Xing set up a "Quan Chang", which was an official trade market. Many goods from Liao, Jin and Song dynasties gathered and circulated around the Great Wall through Jingxing.

Although this ancient road had become an important business road, it failed to develop. Because of the war, this road once again became a military route. Until Ming and Qing Dynasties, a relatively long-term peaceful environment gave birth to frequent business activities. The rise of Shanxi merchants further developed Jingxing Ancient Route into an economic route, and some economically concentrated villages formed due to the concentration of shops which formed along the post road.

After 1618, as mentioned earlier, the main route of post road was changed to the south road. However, because the post road became a military channel again in the late Qing Dynasty, "the thieves passed through like a comb, and the soldiers passed through even worth", the village with developed trade on the south road has endured many disasters and many historical materials have been lost. During this period, , the settlements, whose village history record can still be found, established by the

establishment of shops along the post road and are all northern villages: Zhaocundian, whose formation time was unverifiable, Zhaocunpu formed in the early Ming Dynasty, and Wulipu formed in the early Qing Dynasty.

Table 1: Immigrant villages

num	Village	Time Period		From Where	Record Basis
1	Dalongwo	Hongwu, Ming (1368-1398)		Hongtong Couty, Shanxi	Family Book of Fan
2	Xiaolongwo			Hongtong Couty, Shanxi	Family Book of Fan
3	Nanpingwang			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Feng
4	Haoxihe	Xuande, Ming (1426-1435)		Pingding Coutny, Shanxi	Family Book of Hao
5	Didu	Chenghua, Ming (1465-1487)		Pingding Coutny, Shanxi	Family Book of Duan
6	Shibanpian			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Liang
7	Qiuxihe			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Qiu
8	Zhujiatuan	Hongzhi, Ming (1488-1505)		Pingding Coutny, Shanxi	Family Book of Zhu
9	Dongliangwa			Jingxing Couty	
10	Xushuizi	Zhengde, Ming (1506-1521)		Jingxing Couty	
11	Yinxihe			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Yin
12	Liuxihe	Jiajing, Ming (1522-1566)		Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Liu
13	Beigudi	Longqing, Ming (1567-1572)		Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Hao
14	Zhangjiawa	Wanli, Ming (1573-1620)		Hongtong Couty, Shanxi	Family Book of Zhang
15	Wangjiazhuang			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Wang
16	Beipingwang			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Yang
17	Qingshiling	Chongzhen, Ming (1628-1644)		Unknown	Family Book of Luan
18	Haojiatai			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Hao
19	Pushang	Kangxi, Qing (1662-1722)		Pingding Coutny, Shanxi	Family Book of Liu
20	Tandong			Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Liu
21	Wulisi	Yongzheng, Qing (1723-1735)		Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Gao
22	Liujiagou	Quanlong, Qing (1736-1795)		Jingxing Couty	Family Book of Liu
23	Wuliu	Jiaqing, Qing			Family Book of

		(1796-1820)		Feng

3.3. Policy migration

During the Spring and Autumn Period, Bai Di moved eastward along this road in order to avoid Qin and Jin's harsh decree. (Chen Xu, 2019) The larger and more detailed recorded are the two large-scale migrations during the Ming Dynasty. The first time was during the Hongwu years. Due to the years of war in the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties, the Central Plains had a sparse population and barren farmland. Shanxi, because of its geographical location, was less affected by the war and had a larger population density. Therefore, the first emperor of Ming Dynasty Zhu Yuanzhang ordered "the people of Ze and Lu Counties, Shanxi without any land to migrate to empty land of such as Zhending to cultivate their own fields." (Li Guoxiang, Yang Chang, 1995) As today, they were mainly the people of Jincheng and Changzhi City, Shanxi Province migrate to Zhengding County, Hebei Province. The second time was during the Yongle period, due to the Jingkang Battle, the population of the eight houses in Beiping was greatly reduced, and the Yongle Emperor moved the capital to Beijing, and the population of the capital needed to be expanded, so once again ordered the people of Shanxi to migrate to North Zhili. As a result, a large number of Shanxi immigrants moved east through the Jingxing Ancient Route.

These two large-scale immigrants had two major impacts on the development of the Jingxing Ancient Route. First, as the road serves as an immigration route, more people come and go, which greatly increases the supporting services required by the post road in a short period of time, such as stores that provide board and lodging, due to the concentration of service people, a large number of villages along the road were born in this period; Second, during the migration process, some immigrants found that some places along the post road were relatively flat and there were a lot of easily cultivated land around, so some small clans stationed here and formed new villages (Chen Xu, 2019).

There are many villages generated due to migration, mainly shown in Table 1.

4. Typical village spatial growth

The villages along the Jingxing Ancient Route generally have a moderate degree of physical protection. Many early buildings such as city walls and residential buildings were severely damaged or improperly intervened. The historical buildings that remain are mainly in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. There are many local villagers who keep historical records and study the history of their hometowns, making it possible to interpret the change of villages in history. we selected there typical villages with rich data as the research objects each among the three villages with clear reasons for the settlement formation mentioned above to interpret the spatial growth of the villages.

4.1. Military Defense: Center of Tianchang

The ancient city wall of Tianchang is now located around Chengnei Village of Tianchang Town, Jingxing County. The ruins of barbican in the original ancient city of Tianchang are relatively well preserved, as the former county relevant information is also more detailed. While most of the other military defense-related cities and

towns have no remains such as city walls and other monuments. The part of Tianchang Ancient Town (town center) is mainly located in Chengnei , Dongguan and Beiguan Villages. Because of the proximity to the town center, the scale of the villages is smaller than the average scale of the villages in the county, so the there villages are merged as the Tianchang ancient city to study the spatial growth.

Although there were people living nearby in the early Han Dynasty, they were generally individual lived alone. The Tianchang Military City was established here during the Anshi Rebellion, since then it became a large village. The wall of the barbican where the ruins are now preserved is known as the ancient city of Tang and Song Dynasties, and is said to be the remains of the ancient city wall during the Tang and Song Dynasties. [4] And there are a Ming Dynasty Academy and two late Ming Dynasty houses around the city wall. Tianchang has been the political and economic center of Jingxing County since Song Dynasty (1075) when it was established as a county office until the county moved to Weishui in 1958. Through the interpretation of the core area of its protection plan and on-site visits to ask the history of the surrounding buildings from local residents, we can get a diagram of the evolution of the village space as shown in Figure 6-1. The residential buildings of Tianchang in Song Dynasty were mainly centered on the city wall of the barbican, scattered along the ancient post road, and the scale and shape of the buildings were also varied. Subsequently, most residential houses spread inward (north) in the direction close to the city wall. As the city scale becomes larger, the scale of later-built residential houses is relatively more homogeneous and the building density is further expanded. A few dwellings imitated the original dwelling form and scale built next to the post road, and some also chose to be far away from the crowd near the east side of the post road, still showing a relatively loose organizational structure; In the early days after the founding of the People's Republic,

1 Center of Tianchang

2 Zhaocunpu

3 Xiaolongwo

original buildings ■ later buildings ■ contemporary buildings

Figure 6: Settlement generation

residential buildings were generally built on the north side of the old buildings near the city walls, with a smaller scale. In the 1980s, there were a large number of new
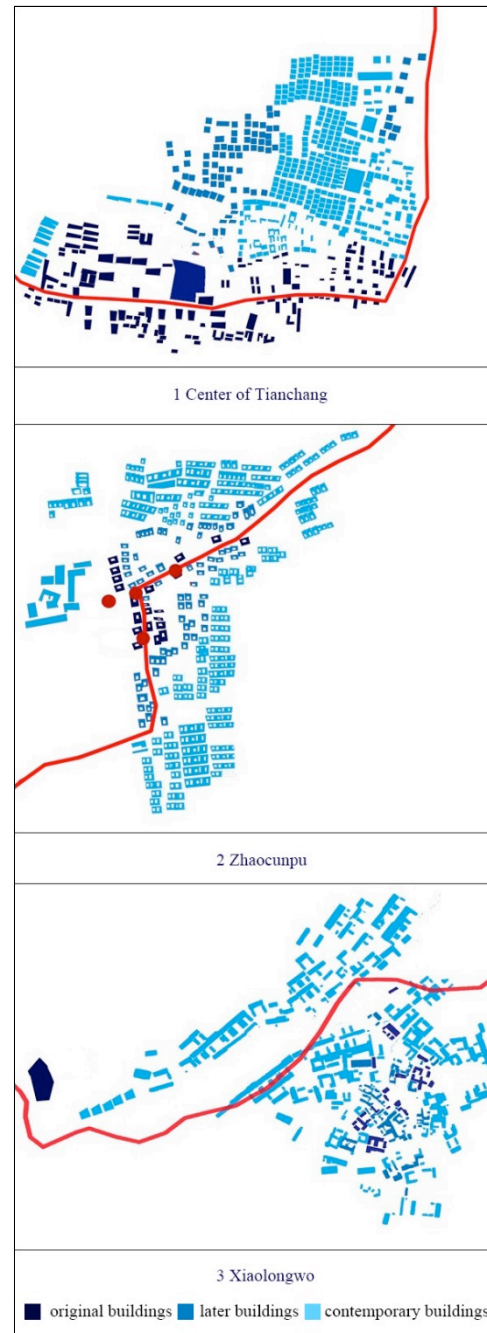
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[4] According to the author's fieldwork, it is believed that the city wall should be overhauled during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and only a small part of the bricks may the left from the Tang and Song Dynasties.

residential buildings and commercial buildings. Most of the residential buildings were built unified. The scale was completely the same and the density was high, forming a dense residential area. The village as a whole showed a distribution trend spreading along the post road centered on the city wall of Wengcheng, as well as a settlement pattern with gradually increasing density.

4.2. Economic Development: Zhaocunpu Village

Zhaocunpu Village is located in Beizheng Township, Jingxing County. There are about 500 households and more than 1300 people in the village. Zhaocunpu was formed by the settlement of merchants gathered by Zhang's opening of shops along the ancient road in the county in the Ming Dynasty (Geographical Names Office of Jingxing County, 1984), with a history of about 600 years. The ancient road passed through the village to form an L-shaped [5]street. The buildings in the Ming and Qing Dynasties were well preserved. Through field visits and interviews with villagers, as you can see in Figure 6-2, the three pavilions on the ancient road in the village marked the original location of the building in the village. The South Pavilion was built as the Baotai Pavilion during the Chongzhen period of the Ming Dynasty, and the West Pavilion was built as the Wenchang Pavilion during the Qianlong Period of the Qing Dynasty, the East Pavilion was rebuilt in modern times after the original Pavilion was damaged. The original shops were also scattered around the three pavilions around the post road, the scale of the building was more diverse, but generally presented the form of shop in the front and house in the back. Subsequently, more shops were formed along the post road, and the form was no longer single. There were buildings with integrated shops and houses, and also pure dwellings built behind the shops. From the post-liberation period to the 1980s, a large number of new houses were distributed along the depth of both sides of the post road, the density was increased, and the scale of the single building was decreased. At the same time, a small number of small workshops and factories appeared on the outer edge of the village.

The village as a whole presents a linear distribution trend that continues to expand south and north with gate as the center along the post road, forming a denser settlement pattern, and a village structure with religious buildings (gate on the post road) as the core.

4.3. Policy migration: Xiaolongwo Village

Xiaolongwo Village is located in the west of Jingxing County and is under the jurisdiction of Tianchang Town. There are about 200 households and more than 700 people. It is a National Cultural Village and a Traditional Chinese Village. The traditional building protection work of the entire village is the best among the villages along the route.

Combined with the preliminary research work on traditional houses in the "Xiaolongwo historical and cultural village face reconstruction and improvement

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[5] Based on the location of the ancient monuments in the village, it is speculated that the ancient road may also be a T-shaped road, but because there is no physical remains, and no clear historical evidence can be found, it is temporarily considered to be an L-shaped ancient road.

project design plan", the literature in the village historical museum, field research and interviews with the village secretary, you can get the special change shown in Figure 6-3. The original settlements of the villages originated from the migration of the Fans in Hongdong County, Shanxi Province. The site was located near the ancient post road but not in close proximity to the road. The settlement was formed in a relatively flat area half enclosed by the ancient post road, and the buildings are relatively loosely distributed; Subsequently, some newly built residential houses were inserted into the original loose core, increasing the density of the original core area and forming a new core area; After liberation, some of the new residences were mainly distributed around the new core, surrounded as a ring, but all concentrated on the south side of the ancient post road. Until the 1980s, the vast majority of villagers were assigned to new homesteads on the north side, and construction of new houses began along the north side of the main road currently in use. Perhaps because the village has a small population and ample homesteads, the buildings in the entire village present a homogeneous evenly distribution.

Overall, the village presents a spatial growth pattern centered on early settlements with radial development. The half-enclosure of the ancient post road provides the core of the overall village space, but the impact of the ancient post road on the village pattern is not clear in the later development and changes.

5. Conclusion

When Jingxing Ancient Route was used as an important military road, its path was more affected by the existing military towns and pass distribution, could not affect the generation of village, and at the same time adversely affecting the economic development of surrounding villages. As a commercial road, it had a significant impact on the spatial growth of the villages along the route, and would guide the villages to expand in the direction of the post road. As a policy immigration route, it had a decisive significance for the settlement generation of immigrant villages along the route. The existence of post roads had accelerated the speed of cultural spread and integration between the two places in Hebei and Shanxi. The architectural shapes and street spaces of the villages along the entire post road are seriously affected by this which led to the overall convergence. (Fig 7)
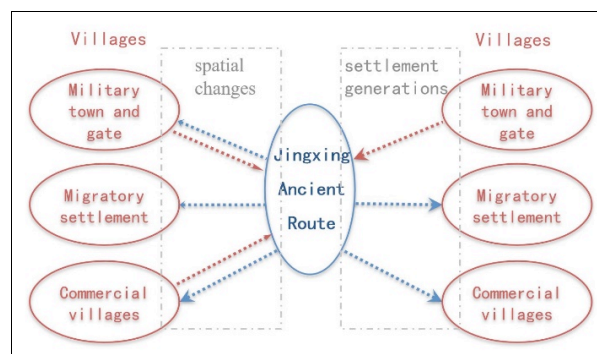
Figure 7: Interaction mechanism between post road and village

Before the ancient post road withdrew from the historical stage at the end of the Qing Dynasty, the rise and fall of the villages were closely related to the function and path of the post road. The events happened on the ancient post road always affected the morphological evolution of the villages[60]along the route. It presents a complex

mechanism of the interaction between the post road and the villages along the route.

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Invention of "Self-Mummified Buddhas" in Japan and Its Historical Significance

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The Asian Conference on Asian Studies 2020
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Self-mummification is an aesthetic practice in which a monk goes into a hole underground and remains there without food, a fast designed to end in death and allow the monk to become a Buddha. While many historians have studied the Egyptian funerary practices of mummification, few researchers have studied self-mummification in Japan. This paper focuses on a monk named Tetsumonkai. Tetsumonkai died in 1829, and his mummified body was dug out and declared a Buddha in the flesh. In no way am I suggesting that the practice of self-mummification is a fiction or hoax; rather, this paper argues that even this artificial (inauthentic) processing of the body is significantly informed by a cultural ideology or philosophy, which I would like to discuss through archival work.

Keywords: "Instant" Buddha In The Flesh, Tetsumonkai, Yudonosan Kikyoshi, The Religion At Mt. Yudono, Religious Innovations

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Introduction

Self-mummification is an aesthetic practice in which a monk goes into a hole underground and remains there without food, a fast designed to end in death and allow the monk to become sokushinbutsu, literally an "instant" Buddha in the flesh. As of today, six self-mummified monks are known to exist in Dewa Sanzan or The Three Mountains of Dewa in northern Japan that includes Mt. Yudono, an area often associated with the Shingon sect of Buddhism (Japan's mummy research group, 1969; Togawa, 1986; Iwahana, 2003). While many historians have studied the Egyptian funerary practices of mummification, few researchers have studied self-mummification in Japan. This paper focuses on a monk named Tetsumonkai, arguably the most famous self-mummified Buddha in Japan, although his life is relatively unknown. Tetsumonkai died in 1829, and his mummified body was dug out and declared a Buddha in the flesh (Yamasawa, 2012).

In discussing Tetsumonkai, I am not so much interested in the actual practice of self-mummification as in the invention of the process. Though virtually unknown today, Tetsumonkai in fact never went into a hole in the ground. He died a natural death in the temple, and subsequently his body was buried. In one account, his body was hung from the ceiling of the temple and dehydrated by the use of charcoal fire and candles. In another account, saltwater was poured into his body to prevent it from rotting. In no way am I suggesting that the practice of self-mummification is a fiction or hoax; rather, this paper argues that even this artificial (inauthentic) processing of the body is significantly informed by religious philosophy, which I would like to discuss through archival work.

The Life and Religious Philosophy of Tetsumonkai

Tetsumonkai was reportedly born in 1759 and, in so far as can be ascertained from available records, he was poor, working as a ferryman transporting wood in the winter. At the age of 21, he became an ascetic practitioner and took the name issei gyonin. Over time he gained many followers and sometime around 1817, he began to call himself mokujiki gyoja, which is a kind of monk literally meaning "tree eating ascetic" in Japanese. He practiced asceticism for 2,000 days at Mt. Yudono in order to become an "instant" Buddha in the flesh, abstaining from food cooked with fire and refusing to eat meat obtained by killing animals, while subsisting on only nuts and grass. As far as I can tell, Tetsumonkai is the first issei gyonin who claimed to be a mokujiki gyoja. This means that he virtually declared himself the innovator of the religion at Mt. Yudono.

Tetsumonkai died in 1829 at the age of 71 and his remains were buried underground. In 1832, 1,000 days after his passing, his remains were dug up and designated sokushinbutsu, a self-mummified Buddha.

Legends about Tetsumonkai were created by his disciples. One of the most famous was about his phallus and held that, when he was young, he had a girlfriend and she followed him to the temple he belonged to. The story goes that Tetsumonkai cut off his own penis and gave it to her, thereby cutting off her libido, which gave her happiness and prosperity.

Interestingly, the mummified Tetsumonkai does lack male genitalia. And yet, Japan's mummy research group, sponsored by the Mainichi Newspapers in the 1960s, provided medical verification that the mummy lacks a scrotum, although this deficiency took place after Tetsumonkai's death (Japan's Mummy Research Group, 1969). Hence the legend about Tetsumonkai's self-castration seems to have been invented posthumously.

However, the invention that I am most interested in is deeper than any of the various legends about Tetsumonkai. It is the "myth" surrounding Tetsumonkai as a self-mummified Buddha, despite the fact that Tetsumonkai never in fact buried himself alive in a hole in order to engage in ascetic practices and fasting and thereby mummify himself. Instead, he was designated a self-mummified Buddha 1,000 days after his death and his body was preserved posthumously. Now, I am not suggesting that conceiving of Tetsumonkai as a self-mummified Buddha is either a hoax or fiction. Rather, I would like to suggest that by understanding the invention of the idea of Tetsumonkai as a self-mumified Buddha we can gain a new perspective on the religious issues surrounding self-mummification in Japan.

The record we have of Tetsumonkai's death comes from a disciple named Seikai, and, according to it, Tetsumonkai fell ill on the night of October 18, 1829, and uttered his last wishes. Though not documented, we can safely speculate that he uttered a not-yet-fulfilled last wish to become an "instant" Buddha in the flesh. On December 8, he put on his religious clothes at dawn and held a rosary in his hand, and after chanting "Namu Amida Butsu" three times, died a natural death. Five days later, his remains were put in a casket.

In one account, his remains were subsequently hung from the temple ceiling and dried with charcoal and candle flames. In another account, his remains were transported to a sacred beach. His body was shielded by a curtain, and for three days and three nights saltwater was poured into his body so that it would not decay. This sight was so shocking to the aforementioned disciple Seikai, that he gave up his own desire of becoming a self-mummified Buddha himself.

The processing of mummifying Testumonkai seems to have set a precedent that was used for another monk, Tetsuryukai, one of the successors to Tetsumonkai. He died a natural death in 1881, and his body was subsequently laparotomized: after the cerebral matter and internal organs were removed from the body, the space was filled with limestone powder. Tetsuryukai was buried after this mummification process, and his mummified body was later dug out of the ground and declared an "instant" Buddha in the flesh. Neither Tetsumonkai nor Tetsuryukai went underground while alive to mummify themselves through ascetic practices and fasting. Instead their bodies—having undergone an artificial mummification process—were buried, as if they had gone underground as living monks, where they remained until being unearthed.

This invention of the quasi-self-mummified Buddha may seem to be inauthentic from a historical perspective. However, I would argue that such processing had its own religious justifications. To understand this we can turn to archival document, such as the *Yudonosan Kikyoshi* (1812), which describes the religious philosophy of Tetsumonkai. With regard to the human body, the document explains that human

beings have blood, flesh, brains, and organs, including the lung, heart, and bowels, wrapped in skin, and that dirty liquids such as oil, feces, and urine are continually excreted from the body. One can only stop themselves from secreting this filthy matter by fasting, which can clean the inside of the human body. This religious philosophy was behind the ascetic self-mummification practice based on fasting. In order to become an "instant" Buddha in the flesh, no filthy matter or bodily fluids can be inside one's body at the time of death.

Now, consider the transformation of the two monks, Tetsumonkai and Tetsuryukai, into quasi-self-mummified Buddhas. These processes were not informed by a practical, biological, or scientific wisdom or methods for preventing the decay of the corpse. Rather, they were informed precisely by the religious teachings described in the document: that is, to become a Buddha in the flesh, one's body would have to be cleansed of all filthy matter and bodily fluids. In the case of Tetsumonkai, this was accomplished by dehydrating the body through the use of a charcoal fire and candles or through pouring salt water into the body; in the case of Tetsuryukai, this was achieved through the laparotomy and removal of the cerebral matter and internal organs combined with the use of limestone powder to fill up the space. These religious and ritual procedures were justified and sanctioned by the teachings of the religion at Mt. Yudono and were hence accepted by disciples.

Thus Tetsumonkai—and his successor, Tetsuryukai—became "instant" Buddhas in the flesh. True, they are not self-mummified Buddhas. However, they were legitimately designated Buddhas and as such, they were widely worshipped.

Conclusions

Traditional historical studies of Tetsumonkai suggest that it is incorrect to define sokushinbutsu, an "instant" Buddha in the flesh, as a self-mummified Buddha. However, from a viewpoint of religious philosophy that I have discussed in this paper, the clear-cut boundary between the two ought to be questioned. The *Yudonosan Kikyoshi* is a document that records Tetsumonkai's religious philosophy, which he created and taught while he was alive, and these same techniques were practiced by his disciples on his remains when he died. Thus, he mummified himself through his own religious ideas and was self-mummified in a way. No matter how one classifies him, Tetsumonkai was a crucial figure who made significant religious innovations to the practice of asceticism at Dewa Sanzan, The Three Mountains of Dewa, in Japan.

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Japan and Ukraine:
Strengthening Friendship and Partnership Ties in the Era of Reiwa

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The Asian Conference on Asian Studies 2020
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

Notwithstanding the fact that Japan and Ukraine are separated by a great geographic distance, the two countries have many things in common. First, they both experienced accidents at nuclear power plants. Second, Japan and Ukraine are united by the issue of occupation of their territories by Russia. Third, both countries share universal values such as democracy, the rule of law and the market economy. The year 2019 saw important developments on both sides. In Japan a new era commenced with the enthronement of Emperor Naruhito, and in Ukraine a new president was elected. The first high level meeting of Reiwa was held in October 2019 between President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelenskyy and Prime Minister Abe Shinzo during Zelenskyy's visit to Japan to attend the Enthronement Ceremony. Areas for bilateral collaboration such as investment cooperation, dealing with the aftermath of nuclear accidents, further liberalization of visa regime for Ukrainian citizens, and cooperation in the IT and security areas, were mapped out as priorities. The friendship and partnership ties between Japan and Ukraine, which are based on the deep trust and mutual respect, are expected to see further development. Strengthening of security cooperation, Japan's assistance during the spread of COVID-19, and intercultural collaboration in the framework of the Tokyo Olympics provide a good opportunity for further broadening the horizons of bilateral relations between Japan and Ukraine.

Keywords: Japan-Ukraine relations, Japan's foreign policy, Ukraine, international relations.

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Introduction

The objective of this paper is to explain the contents, characteristics and specifics of the development of Japanese-Ukrainian relations in 2019-2020.

The topicality of the proposed research lies in the fact that the general situation in the world of the early 21st century shows changes in the structure of international relations and highlights the search for new world centers in the "post-postmodern" epoch. The latter determines the transformation of the system of Japan-Ukraine relations, whereas each player is seeking new foundations of domestic consolidation required to develop practical instruments for achieving foreign policy priorities in the international arena.

Changes in Japan's foreign policy which took place at the beginning of the 21st century led to a situation in which Japanese government, traditionally focused on the development of relations with the US and partners in Asia, expanded the horizons of its foreign policy. The transformation of Japan into an active player in international relations that took place by virtue of the introduction of such foreign policy concepts as the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" and "active pacifism" has had a positive impact on Japanese-Ukrainian relations and contributed to the establishment of relations with Ukraine as an independent aspect of Japan's foreign policy.

The intensification of Japanese-Ukrainian relations, including the latest visit by the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy to Japan in 2019, opened up new opportunities for the further development of relations between the two countries. Cooperation between Japan and Ukraine as reliable partners on a long-term and mutually beneficial basis has a positive impact on international peace and security, expands cooperation between Asia and Europe, and promotes a better understanding between the nations. That is why research on Japanese-Ukrainian relations is relevant not only for Japan and Ukraine, but also for the whole international community. However, not enough attention has been paid to the topic of Japanese-Ukrainian relations in modern historiography.

This research direction is mainly represented by Ukrainian publications that highlight certain aspects or periods of Japanese-Ukrainian ties (M. Byelyeskov, O. Bubenok, L. Vovchuk, O. Volovych, O. Getmanchuk, L. Gordienko, S. Karpanov, Y. Kostenko, S. Korsunsky, M. Kulinich, T. Lahmanyuk, A. Mykal, S. Pron', V. Rezanenko, M. Shagina, A. Shapovalov, etc.). Japanese-Ukrainian relations have also been studied in the context of the foreign policy of Ukraine (S. Vidniansky, B. Galyk, P. Sardachuk) and its relations with Asia-Pacific states (O. Voytovych, A. Goncharuk, I. Pogorelova, S. Shergin). As for the Japanese experts, works by T. Hirano, D. Kitade, D. Minamino should be mentioned. At the same time, no detailed analysis of the latest developments in the Reiwa era has been offered.

This paper will explore the points of commonality between Japan and Ukraine; propose an overview of bilateral relations consisting of basic information, the legal framework currently in force, the main mechanisms of bilateral cooperation, high level visits by both the Japanese and Ukrainian sides, Japan's assistance to Ukraine; it will analyze cooperation in the Reiwa era, including the results of Ukrainian President

V. Zelenskyy's visit to Japan in 2019, the joint economic meeting, the "Days of Ukrainian Culture" held by the Embassy of Ukraine in Japan, the second round of cyber security consultations, COVID-19 related cooperation and, finally, present conclusions.

The research methodology includes a set of general scientific methods such as induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis. Historical-genetic, historical-comparative and problem-chronological research methods were used to reveal the causal links in the formation and development of the system of cooperation between Japan and Ukraine, and its main directions, areas and periods. A number of applied methods, in particular the statistical, forecasting method, content-analysis, case study, etc. made it possible to quantify and qualitatively determine the specifics of Japanese-Ukrainian relations in the era of Reiwa. The source base of the researched topic was analyzed through the method of political linguistics.

Overview of Japanese-Ukrainian Bilateral Relations

Japan and Ukraine share a range of common points. First, they both experienced accidents at nuclear power plants. In 1986 the Chornobyl nuclear plant accident happened in Ukraine, and in 2011 Japan saw an accident at the Fukushima-Daiichi nuclear power station. Both countries are united by the issue of the illegal occupation of their territories by Russia: Crimea and Donbas in Ukraine and the "Northern Territories" in Japan. In addition, Ukraine and Japan share universal values such as democracy, the rule of law and the market economy.

In presenting an overview of bilateral relations, it should be noted that Japan recognized Ukraine's independence on December 28, 1991 and on January 26, 1992 the two countries established diplomatic relations. The Embassy of Japan in Ukraine was opened on April 13, 1993 and the Embassy of Ukraine in Japan on March 23, 1995.

The legal framework of Japanese-Ukrainian relations consists of 55 signed documents, 54 of which are currently valid. The main bilateral documents include:

•   Agreement on cooperation in the field of elimination of nuclear weapons to be reduced in Ukraine (signed in 1994, expired in 2018);
•   Agreement on the succession of the treaties and agreements concluded between Japan and the USSR (1995);
•   Agreement on technical cooperation and grant assistance (2004);
•   Loan Agreement for the Boryspil State International Airport Development Project (2005);
•   Agreement on the implementation of the technical cooperation project "Ukraine-Japan Center" (2005);
•   Agreement on the purchase of Assigned Amount Units based on the green investment scheme (2009);
•   Joint statement on Ukraine-Japan global partnership (2011);
•   Agreement on cooperation to advance aftermath response to accidents at Nuclear Power Stations (2012);
•   Agreement on promotion and mutual protection of investments (2015);

• 	Loan agreement on the implementation of the "Project for the Reconstruction of the Bortnychi Aeration Station" (2016);
• 	Memorandum on cooperation and exchanges in the field of defense (2018).

The main mechanisms of bilateral cooperation between Japan and Ukraine are:

• 	Committee on cooperation at the Foreign Ministers' Level;
• 	Commission for Scientific and Technical Cooperation;
• 	Joint Committee for the Cooperation to Advance Aftermath Response to Accidents at Nuclear Power Stations;
• 	Joint Meeting of the Coordinating Council for Economic Cooperation with Japan of the Ministry of Economic Development, Trade and Agriculture of Ukraine, and Japan Business Federation (Keidanren);
• 	Inter-parliamentary dialogue carried out through visits by Heads of Parliaments as well as contacts between the Japanese Parliamentary Association of Friendship "Japan-Ukraine" and parliamentary group of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine on inter-parliamentary relations with Japan;
• 	Japan-Ukraine cyber security consultations;
• 	Japan-Ukraine security consultations in the format of "2+2" with participation of the representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs and defense.

The parties established a stable political dialogue on the highest level. Five out of six presidents of Ukraine visited Japan: Leonid Kuchma in March 1995 (Kuchma-Murayama Joint Statement signed); Viktor Yushchenko in July 2005 (Joint Statement on New Partnership in the 21st Century signed); Viktor Yanukovych in January 2011 (Joint Statement on Japan-Ukraine Global Partnership signed); Petro Poroshenko in April 2016; Volodymyr Zelenskyy in October 2019. As for the Japanese side, Prime Minister Abe Shinzo[1] visited Ukraine in June 2015, which was the first visit of the head of Japan's government to Ukraine.

International cooperation is maintained through the UN; Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (Japan was invited to participate in 1992); Council of Europe (Japan has been an observer since 1996); Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue first held in 2005; "GUAM[2] + Japan" established in 2007 after the introduction of the fourth pillar of Japan's foreign policy by Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan T. Aso "The Arch of Freedom and Prosperity" in 2006; Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (Japan became a Sectoral Dialogue Partner to the BSCE in 2010). Japan and Ukraine's cooperation with the European Union and NATO provides a basis for even closer ties between the two countries.

An important role in the bilateral relations between Japan and Ukraine is played by Japan's assistance. According to the Embassy of Japan in Ukraine (2018), as of February 2018, Japan had provided to Ukraine a total of USD 3.1 billion in aid, including USD 1.69 billion of loan aid, USD 98 million of grant aid, USD 580 million of financial assistance, USD 219 million of assistance related to Chornobyl and

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[1] Japanese name order: last name first, given name second.
[2] The GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development is a regional organization of four post-Soviet states: Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova.

nuclear non-proliferation, USD 79 million of technical cooperation, and assistance through the Green Investment Scheme.

The following periodization of Japan-Ukraine relations can be proposed: the 1st period (1991-1994) – Policy towards Ukraine as an element of Japan's post-Soviet strategy; the 2nd period (1995-2005) – Development and institutionalization of bilateral relations; the 3rd period (2006-2013) – The "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" and establishment of "GUAM + Japan"; the 4th period (2014 - present) – The temporary occupation of Crimea by Russia and intensification of Japanese-Ukrainian relations (Udovik, 2016, p. 391).

Results of President Zelenskyy's Visit to Japan

The Reiwa era officially began in Japan on May 1, 2019 when Crown Prince Naruhito ascended the Chrysanthemum Throne as the new emperor. Though there was no political change in Japan, this event marked a new epoch for the Japanese nation. On the other hand, Volodymyr Zelenskyy was elected President of Ukraine on April 21, 2019; the inauguration ceremony took place on May 20, 2019. Therefore, in both countries historically important events took place in May 2019.

On October 21-24 of 2019 President Zelenskyy visited Japan in order to participate in the enthronement ceremony of Emperor of Japan Naruhito. During this visit the President of Ukraine had meetings with Prime Minister of Japan Abe Shinzo, the Japan-Ukraine Parliamentary Friendship Association headed by Mori Eisuke, President of Japan International Cooperation Agency Kitaoka Shin'ichi, the Japanese Association of New Economy and representatives of Japanese business (President of Ukraine, 2019).

One of the main topics to be discussed was cooperation in the area of international security. President Zelenskyy expressed gratitude for Japan's consistent support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine against the backdrop of Russia's occupation of Crimea.

In this context it should be noted that Japan condemned the illegal occupation of the Crimea by Russia in 2014, introduced sanctions against Russia and supported the related United Nations General Assembly resolutions. It increased assistance to Ukraine after 2014 and promoted cooperation in security and defense areas: Japanese-Ukrainian security consultations were launched in 2018 and this year Japan announced its plans to participate in the "Sea Breeze" naval exercise in the Black Sea in 2020 organized by Ukraine and the US (these plans were cancelled due to the spread of coronavirus).

Japan's support for Ukraine can be explained by the following reasons. First, Japan is a global power that promotes "Proactive Contribution to Peace" also known as "active pacifism" – a concept introduced by S. Abe in 2013. Second, Japan does not support change of status-quo by the use of force and makes efforts to ensure international maritime security all over the world including the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov which is explained by unstable situation in the East China Sea (Hirano, 2018). Third, Japan and Ukraine managed to build relations based on mutual trust and respect as

partners that share universal values such as democracy, freedom of speech and the rule of law.

Another important point for discussion during Ukraine President's visit to Japan was investment cooperation. V. Zelenskyy and S. Abe talked about Japan's investments in infrastructure projects in Ukraine, noting that Japan's financial assistance to Ukraine had reached USD 1.8 billion since 2014.

At the moment, the biggest infrastructure projects of Japan's Official Development assistance in Ukraine are a USD 190.9 million loan for building a new terminal at the Boryspil airport (2004-2012) and a USD 1.1 billion loan for reconstruction of the Bortnychi Aeration Station in Kyiv (2015). As for direct investments, as of January 1, 2020, they reached USD 139 million (Embassy of Ukraine in Japan, 2020). The Japan-Ukraine Investment Agreement, signed in 2015, and the Ukraine-EU Association Agreement implemented in 2017, had a positive impact on the development of economic relations between the two countries and allowed more activities of Japanese companies in Ukraine: Fujikura established a factory in Ukraine in 2016, SDGs opened a grain storage in 2018, Sumitomo purchased 51% of Ukrainian company Spectr-Agro in 2018. As of December 2017, 38 Japanese companies were registered in Ukraine (JETRO, 2019).

Considering Japan's financial and investment potential, economic cooperation with Ukraine is considered to be one of the most promising areas of collaboration. In 2019, Ukraine's government set "increase in exports and investment inflows" as one of its goals in the foreign policy domain (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019). In addition, current Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba announced the policy of economization of Ukraine's diplomacy and its overall focus on Asia-Pacific, which implies closer ties with such countries and organizations as Japan, China, India and ASEAN. The relaunch of Exporters and Investors' Council within the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine is another important step in this direction.

President Zelenskyy also dedicated attention to the visa liberalization issue. In particular, he called for a visa-free regime for Ukrainians on the eve of the Tokyo Olympics.

While Japanese nationals have been enjoying a visa-free regime with Ukraine since 2005, Ukrainian diplomats were exempted from Japanese visas in 2016. In 2018 Japan simplified the visa procedure for Ukrainian passport holders. President Zelenskyy's intentions in this area are based on his people-oriented approach and Ukraine government's goal which states that "Ukrainians travel freely around the world without visas" (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2019). It is believed that the visa exemption could boost human exchanges and increase the number of travellers from Ukraine before, during and after the Olympic Games in Tokyo.

Both parties noted a great potential for cooperation related to the joint development of Information Technology projects. During his visit to Japan, Volodymyr Zelenskyy mentioned that the IT sector was one of the most dynamic and highlighted Ukraine's willingness to create a competitive IT product. Prime Minister Abe, in turn, conveyed Japan's intent to dispatch an IT survey mission to Ukraine (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2019).

The year of 2019 was marked by several important developments in this area: it was widely reported that Rakuten was opening a R&D center in Kyiv and developing an existing office in Odesa; Ukraine IT Association and Japan Innovation System Partners Association signed a memorandum of cooperation in order to promote cooperation between Japanese and Ukrainian IT companies as well as the introduction of Japanese software services in Ukraine; President V. Zelenskyy and Rakuten CEO H. Mikitani held a meeting in Kyiv.

There is no doubt that Japan is interested in Ukrainian IT specialists' skills, which are rated as the world's 8th best, according to "SkillValue" (Goncharov, 2018). Ukrainian side, for its part, has been implementing the governmental project "A State in a Smartphone", which is aimed at providing all public services online, and is therefore seeking international partners in order to promote this and other initiatives in the technological and innovation areas.

Dealing with aftermath of nuclear accidents is another area in the focus of Ukrainian-Japanese talks. V. Zelenskyy stated that the development and introduction of new technologies for the disposal of radioactive waste was a promising area of cooperation.

Since the Chornobyl accident in 1986 and Ukraine's decision to give up its nuclear weapons in 1994, nuclear safety has become a traditional area of cooperation between the two countries. Japan provided Ukraine with comprehensive assistance, including contributions to the Chornobyl Shelter Fund designated for construction of a new safe confinement (USD 117.3 million); the Nuclear Safety Account established to ensure construction of a storage facility for spent nuclear fuel (USD 53.1 million); assistance for denuclearization (USD 21 million); humanitarian aid for the people effected by the Chornobyl accident (USD 27 million) (Embassy of Japan in Ukraine, 2018). Following the Fukushima Daiichi accident in 2011, Ukraine started sharing its experience in dealing with the aftermath of nuclear accidents with Japan, and thus cooperation in this area moved from "donor-recipient" collaboration to the bilateral level (according to the Agreement on cooperation to advance aftermath response to accidents at Nuclear Power Stations of 2012).

As for the disposal of radioactive waste, this issue is a key problem for both sides: 98% of the radioactive waste in Ukraine comes from Chornobyl, and there are 1.15 mln tons of radioactive water accumulated in Fukushima. It is also a concern for the whole international community which shares the same natural environment. With regard to scientific efforts in this area, one should mention that starting in 2017 Ukraine and Fukushima University have been promoting the joint project "Strengthening of the Environmental Radiation Control and Legislative Basis for the Environmental Remediation of Radioactively Contaminated Sites" in order to enable the safe and effective management of the Chornobyl Exclusion Zone.

Latest Developments in Japanese-Ukrainian relations

On December 16, 2019 the 8th Joint Meeting of the Coordinating Council for Economic Cooperation with Japan of the Ministry of Economic Development, Trade

and Agriculture of Ukraine and Japan Business Federation (Keidanren) was held in Tokyo.

Both parties acknowledged that Japan-Ukraine economic relations have untapped potential for the deepening and broadening of win-win business, while Keidanren welcomed the ongoing structural reform in Ukraine. At the same time, Keidanren noted that "in recent years, almost no direct investment by Japanese companies in the manufacturing sector has been seen" (Keidanren, 2020).

Regular meetings in this format commenced in 2008, and Keidanren has been an important connection between Ukraine and Japanese business representatives. Therefore, Ukraine's consideration of recommendations from this highly important organization, as well as further progress in the improvement of the investment environment, promotion of anti-corruption measures as well as opening of Ukraine's land market could lead to the realization of its potential in the area of economic cooperation between the two countries.

Japanese-Ukrainian cultural relations received an impetus for further development in the Reiwa era through the holding of "Days of Ukrainian Culture in Japan", organized by the Embassy of Ukraine in Japan in cooperation with the Japanese partners and Ukrainian community during September – December 2019 in Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto and Nagoya.

"Days of Ukrainian Culture in Japan" included exhibition of Ukrainian artists' works at the 104th NIKA art salon at the National Art Center, Tokyo; UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Petrykivka painting master classes by prominent Ukrainian artist H. Nazarenko; a Ukrainian fashion show at Bunka Fashion College, Tokyo; Ukrainian film festivals in Tokyo and Yokohama; Ukrainian classical music concerts in Kyoto and Tokyo, with the participation of musicians from the M. Lysenko Lviv National Music Academy H. Ivanyushenko and B. Korchynska, Japanese violinist and head of the "Japanese-Ukrainian Art Association" C.Sawada and Ukrainian opera singer O. Stepanyuk; Ukrainian cuisine master classes in Nagoya; "Ukrainian Christmas" festival in Tokyo, etc.

The abovementioned events contributed to the further development of cultural ties between Japan and Ukraine, which have been maintained through regular tours by the National Opera and Ballet and National Symphonic Orchestra of Ukraine (from 2000s); P. Virsky Ukrainian National Folk Dance Ensemble Japan tours (2000s); the Month of Ukraine in Japan (2006); the exhibition "Gold Treasures of Ukraine" introducing Scythian gold (2010s); the inauguration of Z. Skoropadenko's statue "The Hope" in Fukushima (2016); holding of the "Year of Japan in Ukraine" (2017) and "Ukraine week" in Tokyo (2018), as well as the continuous activities of such cultural Ambassadors as O. Stepanyuk, K. Guziy and N. Guziy in Japan. On the eve of the Tokyo Olympics, cultural projects are being developed with such host towns of Ukraine's national team as Hino (Tokyo Prefecture), Kashihara (Nara Prefecture) and Amagasaki (Hyogo Prefecture).

In January of 2020, Ukraine and Japan held their second round of cyber security consultations. According to the official statement, "Ukraine and Japan reaffirmed their commitment to promoting an open, interoperable, reliable, and secure

cyberspace and to enhancing bilateral cyber security cooperation to combat cyber threats of mutual concern" (Ukrinform, 2020).

It is noteworthy that this area of cooperation is quite new for both sides. In 2015 Japan adopted the Basic Act on Cyber Security and Cyber Security Strategy. Cyber security consultations between Ukraine and Japan were first held in 2016. As of 2018, Japan has had bilateral dialogues on cyber security with such countries as the US, Australia, the UK, France, Germany, Russia, India, Republic of Korea, Israel, Estonia and Ukraine.

In Japan, cyber attacks increased by 900% in the period from 2013 to 2016 (Volodzko, 2018). Ukraine, in its turn, has experienced numerous cyber attacks, including ransomware hits in 2017, and has been strengthening its capabilities to protect itself from such attacks in the future. Therefore, given that Japan is planning to hold Tokyo Olympic Games and implement "Society 5.0" also known as the "Super Smart Society", it is interested in strengthening ties with partners such as Ukraine, which possess deep knowledge in this area.

As the COVID-19 pandemic is spreading around the globe, Japan's Foreign Minister Motegi Toshimitsu announced on April 7 that Japan had offered to provide anti-flu drug Avigan for free to 20 countries, including Ukraine.

COVID-19 has had negative effect on the world economy and slowed down exchanges in many areas due to the ban on travel and other factors; at the same time, it has provided new opportunities for cooperation which should be utilized by both Japan and Ukraine.

Conclusions

•   Analysis of the latest developments in Japanese-Ukrainian bilateral relations shows continuity of policies by both sides after the commencement of the Reiwa era, in areas including political dialogue, economic cooperation, technology, the Fukushima-Chornobyl area, security and cultural exchanges.

•   President Zelenskyy's visit to attend the ceremony of enthronement of the Emperor of Japan demonstrated the deep respect of Ukraine and its people for Japan, and provided an excellent opportunity for establishing contacts on the highest level in order to boost bilateral cooperation and strengthen friendship and partnership ties.

•   Relations between Japan and Ukraine currently are at their best. The two countries are united by democratic values and common goals such as the protection of their territories, support for international peace, non-recognition of the use of force in dispute resolution, the ensuring of freedom of navigation, economic recovery and development, the enhancement of human security, and the promotion of international understanding.

•   Both countries can implement their strategic policies through the development of bilateral relations and providing mutual support, Japan can reassure its position as a global power and Ukraine can fully realize its potential; Japan-Ukraine tandem on

bilateral and multilateral levels as well as joint efforts will further promote international stability.

•   The international crisis provoked by the spread of COVID-19 presented many challenges, but, at the same time, it could be used by both sides as an opportunity to start new projects in economic, scientific, technological, medical and other areas.

•   Further successful development of relations between Japan and Ukraine is expected, including activation of both online and offline human and cultural exchanges on the eve of the Tokyo Olympics, close cooperation in the defense and cyber security areas, an increase in trade and investment activities, as well as joint IT projects.

•   In the post-COVID world, provided that the sanitary-epidemiological situation is stabilized, the two sides could consider organizing a visit by representatives of the Japanese Imperial Family to Ukraine.

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A Study on the Principle of Practicability in the Evolution of Chinese Traditional Rural buildings in the Background of Urbanization

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Abstract

With the rapid urbanization of China, the isolation of Chinese villages has been broken, and modern buildings and materials have quickly flowed into the villages, and imposed a greater impact on traditional Chinese rural buildings. As a result, contemporary rural buildings have begun to evolve. So, what types, laws and deeper modes of thinking are there in this seemingly complicated evolution? These are the issues that this article intends to explore. This article believes that the current evolution of Chinese rural buildings is a hybrid of traditional buildings and modern ones. This hybridization is based on traditional buildings, through the partial introduction of modern buildings, or materials and structures, and shows a gradual way of change. The location and sequence of such changes are directly related to the functional and practical intensity of the location, the more functional parts of buildings are more likely to change, and the less functional and more symbolic parts are more difficult to change. The deep mechanism that determines this sequence of change is the principle of practicability of Chinese rural buildings, which is mainly to maximize the utility of the available resources at hand. This principle not only plays a role in the modern evolution of rural buildings, but also in traditional rural buildings all the time. Going further, the deeper foundation behind this practical principle is the mode of thinking in traditional Chinese rural buildings, a kind of wild thinking that Strauss called "the tinker".

Keywords: Chinese, Rural Building, Principle of Practicability, Urbanization

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Characteristics of Chinese rural buildings

Confined to a closed regional environment for a long time, and a relatively low economic level[1], Chinese rural traditional building has gradually formed its own inherent characteristics, and the motive for its construction is largely to satisfy basic residential function. The construction of the building is mainly achieved by using all available resources around. The buildings in one village are constructed on the basis of the same type of building after being adjusted according to the actual terrain conditions, family size and economic conditions. This makes the rural buildings not only have a distinct unity, but also a rich diversity, which forms China's unique rural landscapes.

It is precisely because of the feature of functional priority that the traditional Chinese rural building is more like a practical appliance, an object built for residential use, rather than a modern architectural art. Its construction is mainly based on a practical, not aesthetic principle. In this process, the economics and functionality of construction have become the main considerations, and the aesthetics of the form is the second. This is where traditional Chinese rural building is completely different from modern urban architecture. At the same time, traditional Chinese rural building is the main place of execution and important carrier of family order and religious belief in traditional Chinese culture, so it is full of various symbolic meanings (Figure 1). Therefore, the utility of traditional Chinese rural building as an appliance and the symbolism as a venue for family system and religious belief have become two important dimensions, one is concrete and functional, and the other is abstract and spiritual. Together, they constitute the two endpoints of traditional Chinese rural building. All rural buildings and their components can find their place under this scale. The stronger the utility is, the weaker the symbolism, and on the contrary, the stronger the symbolism is, the weaker the function, both dimensions interact each other, which also largely determines the evolution of traditional Chinese rural building under the influence of modern architecture.
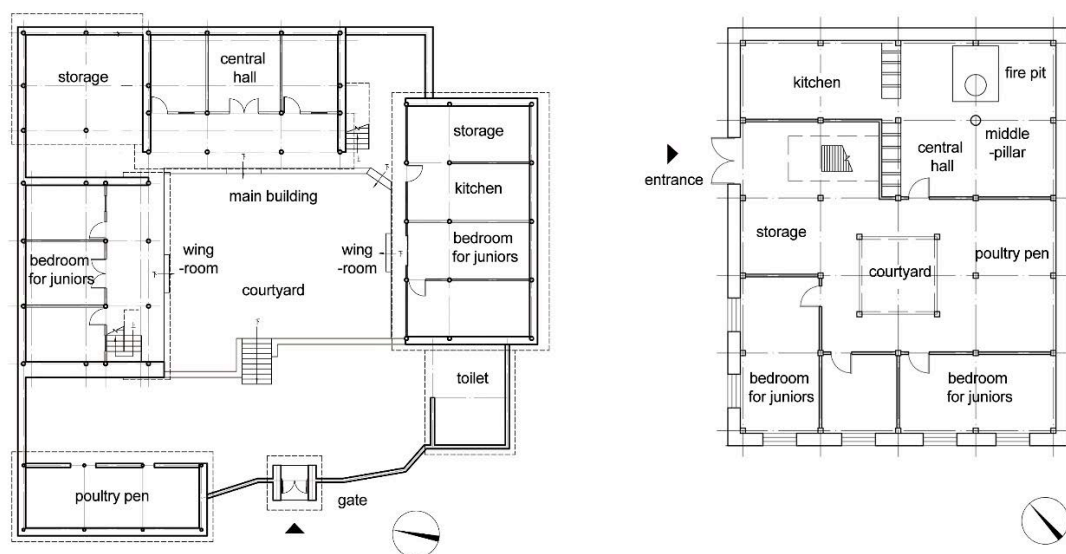

Figure 1. The Plans of Typical Traditional Rural Buildings (Left, a Dwelling of Bai in Yunnan; Right, a Tibetan Dwelling) Drawing by Author

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1 Fei Xiaotong, *native china*, Beijing: Beijing publishing house, 2005.

However, in the past decade, with the rapid development of urbanization, through the connection between the countryside and the city, accompanied by a large number of people traveling between the two, the engineering technology and materials of modern buildings have continuously flowed from the city to the countryside. As a representative of "advanced", and by virtue of its own economic advantages, Urban modern architecture entered the countryside and be accepted largely by villagers, which resulted in a huge change and make the originally homogeneous rural buildings become extremely complex and diverse. The purpose of this article is to try to find the internal laws behind this seemingly complex evolution.

Contemporary evolution of Chinese rural buildings

With the rapid progress of China's urbanization, modern urban construction technology and materials have entered the countryside in a large amount, and traditional buildings face a challenge. The originally homogeneous traditional rural building has evolved complex and diverse forms. These changes are not a complete replacement of traditional buildings by modern ones, but the coexistence and hybridization between the two.

The reason for the hybridization of both lies in the advantages and disadvantages of modern buildings and traditional rural ones. With the shortage and increasing price of wood largely used in traditional construction, modern buildings have gained a lot of development due to their rapid construction and relatively economical cost. Nevertheless, traditional houses still have their own advantages. In the field survey, many interviewed villagers believed that the modern brick-concrete houses were damp and cold in winter, poorly ventilated, and poor in comfort. The traditional old houses are warmer in winter and cooler in summer, and more comfortable to live in. And at a deeper level, traditional houses have a dual role. Firstly, for Chinese villagers with ancestor worship, traditional buildings have important symbolic meaning, especially the main house, which can connect themselves with their ancestors spiritually through traditional form, could make them get psychological confirmation of their own family identity. Secondly, traditional buildings could be a symbolic "boundary[2]" that can identify the villagers' ethnic and local characteristics.

Because of this, a dilemma was formed: the contradiction between comfort, safety, ethnic self-identity, and economic cost. The resolution of this contradiction is through the hybridization of both buildings to adopt their respective advantages. And this gave birth to two evolutionary ways of rural buildings: one is the mix between the primary and secondary buildings, the main houses use traditional buildings, the secondary houses use modern ones; the other is the mixture inside the same one building, where modern building or its components coexist with traditional ones, the former can be called juxtaposed type, the latter can be called mixed type.

Juxtaposed type refers to the coexistence of modern buildings and traditional houses in the same courtyard, it is a compromise based on their respective advantages (Figure 2). Usually, the main house symbolizing the core and identity of the family follows the traditional building form mainly characterized by sloping roof, while the wing-

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2 Fredrik Barth. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, IL: Waveland Press,1998

houses with auxiliary functions adopt modern building and material, which has become the most common model of new-built houses in the country. The popularity of this model is also due to the emergence and popularization of urban lifestyles. For example, the improvement of sanitary habits has led to the massive use of solar water heaters, the flat roof of the wing-house not only solves the problem of its placement and maintenance, but also provides outdoor spaces increasingly insufficient due to the increase in family members. The traditional building as the main house not only has the advantages mentioned above, but also satisfies the needs of maintaining the spiritual relationship with the ancestors and the ethnic "self-identification" through its wooden sloping roof. The auxiliary buildings with weaker symbolic meaning and stronger functionality adopt a modern building based on the cost. However, for buildings of some ethnic minority, their sloping roofs contain so few symbolic meanings that instead they have become the earliest building element replaced by modern materials. Taking the "shingle house" in Shangri-La, Yunnan for an example, because traditional shingles are easy to decay and need to be replaced regularly, now more durable colored steel plates have been used instead of shingles (Figure 3).

Figure 2: Juxtaposed Type. Photograph by Author

Figure 3: Sloping Roof Made of Colored Steel Tiles in Newly Built Tibetan Houses. Photograph by Author

Mixed type mainly refers to the mixing of modern building or its elements and traditional one in the same building, most of them use traditional structural systems, while some elements of building use modern materials or components (Figure 4). With the continuous advancement of urbanization, a large number of modern materials, such as steel, red brick, and plastic, have begun to enter the rural areas and are widely used due to the good performance and price advantages compared to traditional materials. Actually, lots of houses seemingly traditional in the rural areas around Lhasa are not completely traditional. In some newly built traditional Tibetan buildings, the original wooden beams have been replaced by steel I-beams in some rooms, where the strong practicality displayed by the modern material forms a sharply contrast with the strong symbolic colors on the wooden rafters (Figure 5). The material properties of the two are strengthened by their juxtaposition, and achieved a dramatic effect of defamiliarization with a dualistic contradiction.

Figure 4: Mixed Type. Photograph by Author

Figure 5: A Steel Beam in an Auxiliary Room. Photograph by Author

these two basic types of evolution, especially the mixed type, seem random and irregular, but essentially, behind them lies the principle of practicability rooted in traditional Chinese rural buildings. Together with the symbolism of building, which is

another endpoint of Chinese rural buildings, the practical principle influences the evolution of Chinese rural buildings.

Practical principle in the contemporary evolution

The principle of practicality of traditional Chinese rural buildings is, in simple terms, to maximize the use of resources available around and the effectiveness of buildings based on relatively low economic costs. Judging from the above two basic types of evolution, no matter which type, the introduction of modern structures and materials is related to this practical principle. Generally, the more functional the building or its element is, the easier it is to change, and the less functional and more symbolic it is, the harder to change, this can be reflected in the following spatial hierarchy of three different scales:

1) Changes in different types of buildings in the same village
In the same village, the more functional the building type is, the more easily it accepts modern building, and the more symbolic the type is, the more it inherits the tradition. Residential buildings are more inclined to the practicality of technical systems, compared to religious temples which are more inclined to the symbolism of ideological systems. Therefore, the difference between the houses in Lhasa and in Shigatse is much larger than the difference between the respective temples[3]. Once the building is connected to the more abstract religious beliefs belonging to the ideological system, then its change is far slower than the residential building more practical. Compared with public buildings, traditional houses have a relatively stronger symbolism, so the first modern buildings introduced into countryside are generally those types that tend to be practical and functional, such as schools, government offices, hospitals, banks, etc., it is relatively later to applicate modern buildings and materials to residential houses.

2) Changes in different buildings within the same courtyard
Within the same courtyard of a family, taking the most typical courtyard house[4] in the countryside as an example, the first to adopt the modern structural system and style are often functional rooms such as storage, kitchen, toilet, etc., the second is wing-room for the juniors. The most difficult to change and continue to use the traditional structure and style is the main house where the family symbol and spiritual sustenance are located, in which the most sacred space is arranged: the central hall or living room for the ancestor worship. Similarly, in Tibetan rural buildings, the core spaces with strong symbolic meanings such as Buddhist hall, central living room and some elements have always been built in accordance with the traditional constructional system, while auxiliary spaces more technical and practical such as storage and livestock pens, are the first to change and adopt modern structure and materials (Figure 1).

3) Changes of different components in the same building
From the perspective of the same building on a smaller scale, the changes in building components still follow the same order: the more functional and practical parts change earlier, and the more symbolic parts are more difficult to change. In the

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3 Chen Yaodong, *Chinese Tibetan Architecture,* Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press,2007.
4 Liu Dunzhen , *An Overview of Chinese traditional Dwellings*, Tianjin: Baihua Wenyi Press, 2004.

Chinese Han villages, the sloped roof has a strong traditional meaning and is one of the important signs of ethnic and local identification. Therefore, even if the building structure and wall are made of modern concrete structures, the roof still maintains the traditional wooden frame, on which traditional pottery tiles are paved. In the rural buildings around Lhasa, Tibet, the most sacred middle-pillar and the beam on it are traditionally made of wood and exquisitely hand-carved, while because of its weak symbolic significance and strong practicability, the auxiliary room next door adopt steel beams instead of traditional wooden ones. (Figure 5，Figure 6))

Figure 6: A Tibetans Shrine Traditionally Constructed. Photograph by Author

The practical principle of buildings is not only reflected in the process of absorption of modern buildings by rural ones, in fact, it has always been an important principle of traditional Chinese rural buildings, this principle can be strongly demonstrated by the way how rural buildings exploit the site and construction materials.

Due to the limitation of topographical conditions, the site of rural traditional building is often not as regular as that of modern urban building with a unified planning, and it is usually shaped by the natural terrain or the boundary of roads formed spontaneously. There are often many contradictions between complex site conditions and traditional building types, especially when the site is seriously insufficient. For these actual conditions of the site, modern architecture will use them as an opportunity for design. Under this modern aesthetic principle that focuses on the clarity, clearness and unity of form, usually, the contradictions between irregularity of site and the regularity of architecture will be finally resolved through a complex composition of several basic regular geometric elements, at this time, the irregularity of site are just an opportunity and reason to play architectural forms. But for the same site conditions, rural buildings have a completely different approach, it is the principle of maximizing the exploitation of site. For example, because the orientation of the main building of the courtyard are determined by Chinese Fengshui, they are often not parallel to the boundary and the enclosing wall of site. When the site is sufficient, the buildings can be disconnected with the enclosing wall, and completely maintain and follow the regular integrity of the traditional type; but when the site is relatively insufficient, there will be conflicts between the building and the site boundary. In order to adapt to the traditional house layout and strive to maximize the available

interior space, the building had to cling to the site boundary. The final result was that the regular traditional building form was cut off by the site boundary, and the oblique intersection make the lateral facade present a complex cross-cutting form, where the cut sloped roof, the intersection of the wall, the transition of details, etc. have formed a series of intriguing transformation(Figure 7).

On the use of construction materials, the practical principle of traditional Chinese rural buildings has created a rich diversity. In order to save costs, so various materials available at hand, including waste materials, always are reused during the construction of the house, that a variety of new and old materials with different purposes are creatively put together. This "forceless" operation leads to an unexpected "complexity and contradiction", and finally the original familiar materials are "defamiliarized". Under this principle, red clay bricks and grey ones of different specifications could be naturally mixed with roof tiles, and all of them together are used as masonry materials for walls, and the juxtaposition of various materials makes each present a distinctly different appearance and meaning from their original properties. The new added houses often use the existing rammed wall as the enclosure structure, which not only save land, but also materials and costs, this result in an anomalous operation that the more pressure-resistant clay bricks were reversely placed on rammed earth wall with relatively less pressure-resistant capacity, and then, both materials were defamiliarized. The red bricks were juxtaposed in accordance with the outline of the existing rammed earth wall, and the information of the original wall and subsequent addition were truly recorded (Figure 8).

Figure 7: The Boundary Cuts the Building in the Maximum Use of the Site. Photograph by Author

Figure 8: The Added Red Brick Wall Juxtaposes the Original Rammed Earth Wall.
Photograph by Author

The Thinking Basis of the Practical Principle

The deeper reason under this practical principle is the thinking mode rooted in the collective unconsciousness of traditional Chinese villages.

Chinese rural thinking, as Levi Strauss said, is a concrete science. This science determines the differences and similarities of things based on their surface phenomena and use value, and builds a classification system and knowledge accordingly[5]. Claude Levi-Strauss likened this primitive thinking to tinkers' repair. Significantly different from architects, tinkerers obtain the suitable materials and mechanical tools to complete his work without any pre-planned scheme, and what he did was improvise in a relatively closed and limited world of tools with what is available at hand. The materials of the tinker are not determined intentionally, but are collected according to their practical value, and used creatively in the field.

Chinese traditional rural buildings were developed under this tinker's thinking mode. Not only from the perspective of traditional buildings, but also from the variation of the new ones, they still follow the basic thought pattern. Just like Strauss's tinkers' repair, villagers build their houses with practicality as the starting point, and decide how to use materials available at hand according their use value, it is completely different from architects who determine the choice of materials by incorporating them into a predesigned form shaped by aesthetic visual effects. So, for being more durable, economical, and easily available, the clay brick wall replaces the adobe wall, and the iron prayer flag replaces the cloth one (Figure 9). In some temporary or additional buildings in rural areas, this practical way of material use becomes more typical. The kitchen wall of a house was constructed just by piling up the remaining materials. The space between construction columns of the grey brick are filled with pebbles of different sizes, and on which, the adobe bricks and the grey tiles are laid. On this wall, materials with different properties such as artificial and natural, regular and irregular, hard and fragile, were logically mixed and matched together according to their physical property, just like a "symphony" of materials (Figure 10).

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5 Levi Strauss, Claude, *The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

Figure 9: The Tibetans Prayer Flags on a Porch. Photograph by Author

The practical principle like tinkers, whether it is in the use of site or materials, will inadvertently bring great creativity, but this principle may conduct a result that only the purpose of materials could be seen and utilized only as constructional elements. This way to view and treat materials may result in the neglect of the expressive characteristics of the materials themselves. Therefore, the roughness of materials processing and construction are ubiquitous in traditional Chinese rural buildings, especially those places invisible or secondary. In Tibetan dwellings, the ground floor is used as livestock pen or storage with a frame made of barely processed logs. Even those relatively important places are not manifested in importance by precise processing and the presentation of the material itself, but more by strong colors and complicated patterns. Here, the material is only a carrier for expressing the symbols and thoughts. The expressive value of the material itself seems to be fully valued and excavated in the modern design.

Figure 10: A Collage of Diverse Materials. Photograph by Author

The inspiration of the principle of practicality

In the spontaneous and seemingly disorderly evolution of Chinese rural buildings, practicality as a potential principle incorporates modern building and its elements into

traditional rural buildings, thus completing the integration of tradition and modernity in a self-organized manner. However, this integration is full of uncertainties. And in practice, only through continuous adjustment between modern and tradition, when a new general type being suitable and approbatory for the local comes into being, it is can be said that the evolution of rural buildings be truly completed. Fortunately, this process has begun to appear, and now it can be seen that a certain type of new building in the same village has begun to take up an increasing proportion, and gradually formed a stable type adopted popularly by villagers.

At the same time, this principle of practicability has, as always, bring diversity to the uniformity of rural buildings stemming from the same type. Under the dominance of the principle of practicability, various materials, including modern ones, have been woven into the construction of Chinese rural buildings in various ways, avoiding monotony, and forming individuality and difference. To a certain extent, these result in the contradiction and complexity Venturi have said: "I like the mix of basic elements instead of 'pureness', compromises instead of 'clean', twists instead of 'straightness', ambiguity instead of 'clear'', "I advocate chaos and vitality over obvious unity"[6].

This principle of practicability still has important enlightenment for modern architects. The practical principle of design requires architects to take architecture as a practical objects, that is, to remove the formal aesthetic centralism in architectural design, to reexamine the building from the perspective of the "object" as a practical appliance, making full use of existing realistic conditions such as limited site, existing traditional and modern materials. Perhaps it is a way to get rid of the dominance of the modern architectural systemization and abstraction based on aesthetic formal principle. In this regard, the current emphasis on construction in modern architectural design is regarded as a return to practicability, and has already yielded results, and architectures by Chinese architect Wang Shu using waste materials and works by American Rural Studios using ready-made objects can be regarded as a successful exploration.

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An Analysis of Filipino Seafarers' Return Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return

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Abstract

A Filipino seafarer's return home is recognized by his family and society, as a culmination of a financially lucrative career and the achievement of lifelong objectives. This study aims to contextualize Cassarino's theory of preparedness and 1) identify the factors that seafarers consider when preparing for their retirement; 2) determine their level of preparedness for return to the Philippines; and 3) assess their individual perception of successful return and reintegration. Factors reflective of their Return Preparedness, through their successful resource mobilization of tangible, intangible and social capital, are operationalized (Cassarino,2004). Quantitatively, a pilot study and survey provide a demographic profile. Cramer Coefficient V was used to establish the association between Return Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return. Qualitatively, in-depth interviews of retired seafarers constitute the case studies corresponding to the different Levels of Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return. Research shows that: 1) Seafarers accumulate tangible resources in the form of savings, ownership of home, car, and a small business. Education of both children and the seafarer himself are necessary Intangible Resources. Social Capital Resource includes family relations with wife and children and their commitment to maintaining a simple life while the father is on board the ship. 2) Further contextualizing Cassarino's Theory on Return Preparedness, the study identified a Medium Level of Preparedness, wherein the value of family relations and support has altered the dynamics of perception of successful return. 3) The presence or lack of family support facilitates or hinders the seafarer's resource mobilization, influencing his perception of successful or unsuccessful return.

Keywords: Filipino Seafarer, Return Migration, Return Preparedness, Social Capital Reintegration

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Introduction

With the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, efforts have been made by the Department of Foreign Affairs in the Philippines to repatriate thousands of overseas Filipino workers who have lost their jobs due to the pandemic. As of the first week of May 2020, there have been 24,422 Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) repatriated to the Philippines. 70 percent of whom are sea-based labour migrants. (Tamayo, 2020) Most of these return migrants are unable to complete their migration cycle and are forced to return home due to unemployment brought about by the effects of the pandemic in their host country, or in the case of most seafarers, the cessation of operation of the global cruise ship industry. The impending issues now are the questions of how these return migrants are to successfully reintegrate into society and are they ready to finally come home for good.

It is estimated that the shipping industry accounts for almost 90 percent of movement in world trade. Globally, the industry employs more than 1.5 million seafarers, both officers and ratings or non-officers, including those in cargo, tankers, or cruise ships. In this number, one in every four global maritime professionals is Filipino, with the Philippines being the largest supplier of ratings for the maritime industry. (Borromeo,2020; ICS.2020) In 2017, the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA) reported 378,072 seafarers deployed. (POEA) "Demand for Filipino global maritime professional remains strong; a testament to the indomitable spirit of the Filipino, the dedication to service, and a commitment to excellence on the job." (Borromeo, 2014)

A Filipino seafarer's contribution to the Philippine economy is undeniably substantial, such that a seafarer's return home is recognized by his family and the greater society, as a culmination of a financially lucrative career and a realization of lifelong objectives and ambitions. For this reason, their planned preparation for their retirement is one that must be seen as a model of a "calculated strategy," carefully planned out and implemented and should not be an afterthought. (Cassarino, 2004)

Background of the Study

In studies of migrant workers in the Philippines, most of these focus on the OFW's remittances and its contribution to the economy of the country. Emerging literature and discussion have been on the need to protect Household Service Workers (HSW) due to their vulnerable working conditions. (Dungo, N. et al. 2013; Asis, 2008) "Majority of these studies document and analyze either pre-deployment, deployment or on-site conditions and interventions." (ILO, 1998) Lacking significantly are studies that have investigated the OFWs, especially of seafarers, that have returned, and have retired from working abroad. "Data on the return migration of Filipino workers are virtually non-existent." (Asis, 2008)

"Today the attention paid by international organizations to the link between migration and development has highlighted the need to revisit approaches to return migration." (Cassarino, 2004) The seafarer's internationally protected maritime industry, the years of service and their experiences abroad, allow for 'resource mobilization" and "preparedness" while on board and upon their return to the Philippines, their home country. It is believed that the migration cycle ends when the migrant returns home

for good and is then tasked to reintegrate back into the society, culturally and economically speaking. But it is essential to understand that return does not begin when the migrant comes home, initial preparation is conducted for the migrant to reintegrate back successfully and easily into their society.

Thus, the focus of this research are the Filipino seafarers who have returned and have retired from seafaring. This study specifically investigates their level of preparedness and their propensity to return home. Certain variables and conditions, which are reflective of their preparedness through their successful resource mobilization, is operationalized.

Theoretical Framework

Although many studies have been conducted to provide an overview of the literature on return migration, (Cassarino, 2004; De Haas, 2010; Massey,1993 in Meeteren, et al. 2014; Bueno & Prieto-Rosas, 2019; Kunuroglu, et al.,2016) some have made efforts to contextualize the existing theories on return migration through country-specific case studies. (Meeteren, et al. 2014, Naveed, et al. 2017, and Cassarino, 2008)

In these country – specific case studies, Meeteren, et al. (2014) conclude that one of the overarching factors necessary for a positive post-return migration is the favourable circumstances of the migrant while in the destination or host country. Being able to accumulate resources in time for his return home, migrants are able to satisfy social and financial expectations of people in his home country upon his return. (Van Houte and Davis, 2008 in Meeteren, et al. 2014, Cassarino,2008) Similarly, Naveed, et al. (2017) argue that migrants who are unable to integrate economically and socially in the host country results to return migration. Consequently, some migration theories consider return migration as a failure of the migration process. New Economics Labour Migration theory and the Structural approach highlight the important role of financial and economic resources brought back to the home country in determining failure or success of the return migration. (Batistella,2018; Cassarino 2004)

In the studies that have been conducted on return migrants in the Philippines, conclusions have been made on the value of reintegration programs in the successful return of migrants. (ILO,1998) However, as Batistella (2018) argues, return migrants have varying reasons behind their return and identifies return migrants as greatly influenced by the length of time spent in the host country and the favourable condition in the host and home country during their labour migration. (Batistella, 2018) Cerase in Cassarino, 2004)

Some literature such as Gmelch (1980), Chappell and Glennie (2010), Batistella (2018) and Cerase in Cassarino (2004), classified return migrants and identified their motivation to return to their home country. Contextualizing the Filipino return migrants, Asis (2008) notes that migrants "will continue to work abroad for as long as their health will allow them to, or if they have accumulated enough savings, or once their children have completed college education." (Asis, 2008) Filipino return migrants are essentially categorized as those who have either 1) achieved their initial goals and are ready to go home; 2) reached retirement age; 3) family circumstances 4)

returned due to a crisis brought about by unforeseen situations in the host or home country.

Conceptual Framework

This study aims to contextualize Cassarino's theory on Return Migration by applying his concepts of preparedness and resource mobilization to the case of the Filipino seafarers. Return migrant's initial goals are met and occurs once financial resources are accumulated to sustain his return home. (Cassarino,2008) It is not enough that there is a willingness to return, Return Preparedness must be supported by the readiness to return, which can only be achieved when resources are mobilized. Using the social network theory, Cassarino identified tangible, intangible, and social capital as resources necessary for preparation. Willingness to return should be viewed as a part of readiness to return. Cassarino (2004) differentiates migrants according to their willingness and resource mobilization pattern as having 1) High; 2) Low; or 3) No Level of Preparedness.
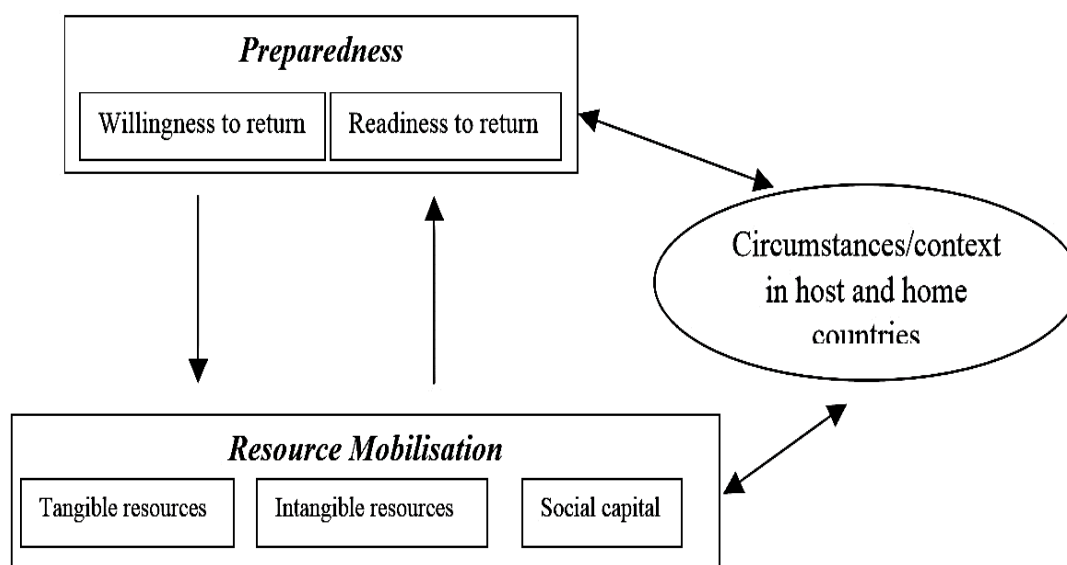
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework (Cassarino 2004:271)

Operational Framework

Given Cassarino's Return Preparedness Levels, this study examines the pattern and process of resource mobilization by Filipino seafarers and relates how or what are the resources mobilized for their preparation. Willingness to return, as part of the readiness to return, is indicated by the seafarers' decision to return after their contract ends or when they are able to achieve the financial goal, they have set for themselves. According to Cassarino (2004), migrants return after they have achieved the goal they have set for themselves before their departure.

These resources include 1) Tangible resources are financial resources that include social security, retirement package, medical benefits, remittances, investments and savings; 2)Intangible resources include friends, relationships, skills acquired during the migration experience; and 3) Social Capital includes the personal and family values, social background that the migrant brought with him prior to leaving and may

have developed during the migration process. "These are relations established prior to migration which the migrant was able to maintain through the migration experience, of whom the migrant believes can still help and facilitate his return home. These are beneficial relationships and "resources provided by the returnees' families or households." (Cassarino, 2004) Return Preparedness not only asks whether the migrant is willing to go home, but also asks whether the migrant is ready to go home.
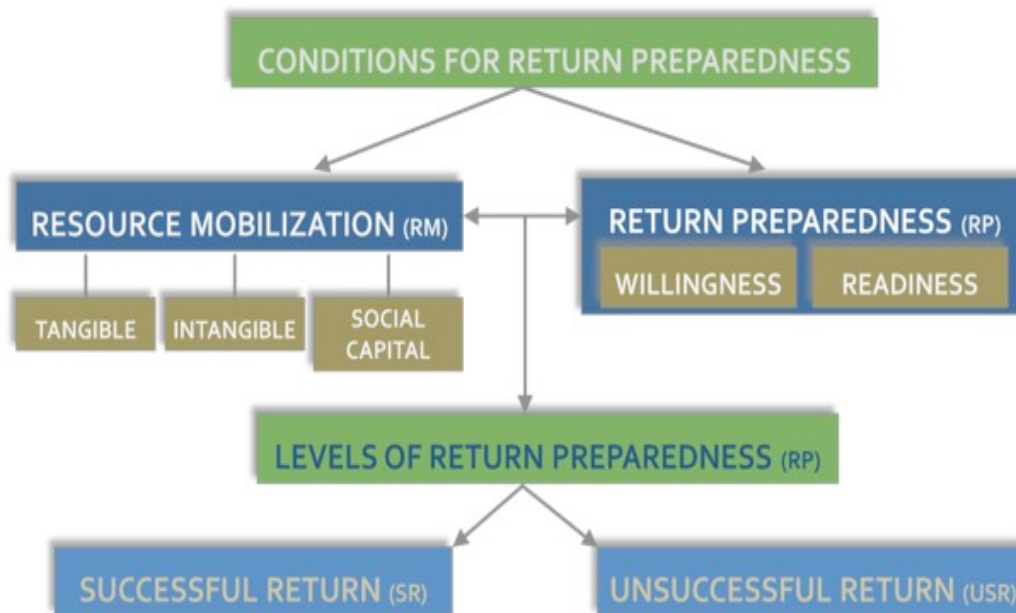

Figure 2: Operational Framework

Analytical Framework

Cassarino's three levels of return preparedness are characterized as follows:

Preparedness	Mobilization of Resources	Perception of Successful Return
High	all forms of resources	Successful Return
Low	✓　tangible resources X intangible X social capital	Unsuccessful Return
No	X any form of resource	Unsuccessful Return
✓- achieved　　　x　- not achieved		

Table 1: Analytical Framework: Level of Return Preparedness (Cassarino,2004)

High Level of Preparedness is a result of the ability to mobilize resources needed to realize their planned projects upon their return home. Low Level of Preparedness is a result of a migration experience that was too short to enable successful resource mobilization. This may be due to an unexpected event or the inability to realize their socio-economic goals in the host country. Some would have been able to mobilize tangible resources, and some returning home without any tangible nor social capital resources to rely on. No Level of Preparedness indicates the returnee not having the inclination to go home, was not able to prepare for any form of resource mobilization,

and thus, perceive their return home as unsuccessful and a failure of their migration process.

Research Question

The central research question of this study is as follows: How does the seafarer's process of preparation for return influence their perception of successful return? The study 1) identifies the factors that seafarers consider when preparing for their return home; 2) determines their level of preparedness for return to the Philippines; and 3) assesses their individual perception of successful return

Research Methodology

This study utilized a triangulated approach in the analysis of the central research question Quantitatively, Cramer Coefficient V, a non-parametric statistic, was used to establish the association between Return Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return. This study had the migrant's Return Preparedness, as its independent variable and the Perception of Successful Return as the dependent variable.

The degree of association between two sets of attributes as measured by the Cramer coefficient maybe found from a contingency table of frequencies of observations by:

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{N(L-1)}}$$

where $X^2 = \sum_{i=1}^{r} \sum_{j=1}^{k} \frac{(n_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}}$ and L is the minimum of the number of rows or columns in the contingency table.

The further use of quantitative approach provides a demographic profile of the respondents, and other data sets needed. Following a pilot study conducted by the author, a survey was conducted among forty retired seafarers. Survey data determined the respondent's process of resource mobilization, level of return preparedness, and perception of successful or unsuccessful return. In-depth interviews of retired seafarers were conducted to constitute the case studies corresponding to the three Levels of Preparedness. The respondents engaged in a self-evaluation of their level of preparedness and a self-assessment of their perception of successful or unsuccessful return.

Results and Discussion

High Correlation of Return Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return

The statistic Cramer Coefficient V was used to estimate the association of return preparedness and successful reintegration. A Cramer's V value of equal to 0 suggests that the variables or attributes are independent. On the other hand, a value of equal to 1 suggests very high association between the variables.

Respondents	Cramer's V value	Association
All Respondents	0.914	High
Officers	0.786	Moderately High
Non-Officers	0.6709	Moderate

Table 2: Degree of Association
Return Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return

The study reveals that there is a significantly high degree of association between Return Preparedness and Perception of Success Return for all respondents, a moderately high degree of association for seafarers holding an officer position, and a moderate degree of association for ratings or seafarers holding a non-officer position. It can be concluded that there is a high degree of association between the independent variable, Return Preparedness, and the dependent variable, Perception of Successful Return.

Resources Mobilized by Seafarers

The survey results illustrated the value seafarers put in mobilizing his resources prior to returning home. Both Officers and Ratings view return as inevitable, with retirement age as one factor that will determine the end of their seafaring career. This planned return when reaching retirement age of 60 years old is sometimes preempted by an unexpected event such as a medical issue. Being unprepared for a sudden return is contrary to their 'calculated strategy", a plan utilized even prior to deployment.

Survey findings show that mobilized resources of seafarers are manifested in the following:

TANGIBLE	INTANGIBLE	SOCIAL CAPITAL
• savings • ownership of home • ownership of car • purchase of real estate properties • small business • government pension	• children's education • self – education • social network of friends and family • knowledge of current conditions at home	• family relations • support from wife and children • commitment to a frugal lifestyle while the father is at sea

Table 3: Forms of Resources Mobilized by Filipino Seafarers

Resources mobilized, specifically tangible resources, are primarily determined by their rank on board, either an Officer or a Rating. Consequently, it will indicate their income range and their ability to accumulate wealth. Accumulated tangible resources include the ownership of homes, vehicles, and real estate properties. Business investments are assumed once all three are satisfied. For Officers though, there is a capacity for parallel accumulation, wherein gathering of earlier mentioned resources is done at the same time and rate as engaging in a business investment.

Intangible resources are mobilized by Filipino seafarers in the form of education, of both the seafarer and their children. The education of the children, specifically a college degree, provides a sense of assurance that their children will have better opportunities in the future. On the other hand, his education and skills development

are investments to achieve the goal of a higher rank, higher income range and higher probability of achieving the rest of his migration objectives. This objective may also be augmented by the possibility of engaging in land-based employment or income-generating activities upon his return home. Networks, in the form of professional contacts, developed while still on board, may serve as an intangible resource that can be accumulated over time.

Among migration objectives specified by the seafarers, both Officers and Ratings, view the education of their children as holding utmost priority. This is then followed by the relationship they have with their families left behind, more importantly with their wives. The wife is not only seen as a dependent who receives their monthly allocation but is also viewed as a partner in the efficient and effective management of the household and of their business ventures. This relationship can best serve as a social capital when the couple fosters a shared vision of economic stability in the future, articulated through constant communication, and are demonstrated by the family's frugal lifestyle and consumption.

Role of Technology Use and Internet Access to Resource Mobilization

A dominant theme in the case studies is the reference to the significant role that internet access plays in the successful mobilization of resources, especially in terms of intangible and social capital resources. Among the challenges encountered by seafarers onboard the ship, homesickness and separation from the family are the ones that they find the hardest to manage. Some seafarers remember the years when the only form of communication with their families was of snail mail sent to their agencies, to be mailed to their families. This contributed to their feeling of disconnect from friends and family back home, causing a feeling of hopelessness and inaction on their part. Although internet access is not available on all ships, seafarers are aware of the possibility internet connectivity can bring to their professional and personal growth, but importantly, in fostering positive relations with their wife and children back home.

TANGIBLE	INTANGIBLE	SOCIAL CAPITAL
Facilitates hands-on management of: • savings and investments via online banking • business via live CCTV access • public and private pension programs • "private investment"	Enables: • use of mobile apps for self-care (physical and mental health) • access to information on safety at sea, seafarers' rights, certification requirements • self-education thru distance learning • nurturing of personal and professional networks • seafarers to keep in touch with the realities of life on land	Builds stronger: • family relations using social media and video chat apps • spousal communication to convey the seafarer's essential values and future plans

Table 4: Role of Technology Use and Internet Access to Resource Mobilization

In terms of tangible resource mobilization, connectivity facilitates hands-on management of savings and stock market investments via online banking. In jest, they say that now, they feel more in control of their small business through access to live

CCTV footage of its daily operations. In addition, they can monitor their pension contributions and even engage in small time gambling which they refer to as "small private investments" while at sea.

Intangible resources, such as the knowledge to use mobile applications allows for access to necessary self-care and time-critical information on safety as sea. Visiting industry websites educate seafarers on their rights as seafarers, and they can update themselves on certification requirements even on board. Another opportunity for professional growth is the access to further studies through distance learning. Most importantly, social, and professional networks are now easier to develop and nurture using social media. Collectively, access to the internet has enabled seafarers to keep in touch with the realities of life on land.

Social capital, in the form of family relations, are further strengthened with the positive use of social media and some video chat applications on their gadgets. Seafarers have seen the improvement in their relationships with their spouse and children when it comes to conveying their personal thoughts, values and plans for the future.

Case Presentation

As the study progressed, data showed that some respondents do not necessarily fit the three levels of preparedness as Cassarino (2004) has earlier established. As he posits that, "returnees differ from one another not only in terms of motivation, but also in terms of levels of preparedness and patterns of resource mobilization." (Cassarino,2004)

Case #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Level of Return Preparedness	High		Low		No			
Job Rank	Officer	Rating	Officer	Rating	Officer	Rating	Officer	Rating
Tangible	✓	✓	✓	✓	No Case	x	x	✓
Intangible	✓	✓	x	x		x	✓	x
Social Capital	✓	✓	x	x		x	✓	✓
Perception of Successful / Unsuccessful Return	✓	✓	x	x		x	✓	✓
✓- achieved　　　　x　- not achieved								

Table 5: Presentation of Cases

Case 1: Officer with High Level of Preparedness
This case highlights the ability of a seafarer with an Officer position to successfully accumulate all forms of resources. Professional training facilitated his engagement in business partnerships with friends, which significantly contributed to his wealth accumulation. He attributes his success to his wife, for her close supervision and management of their business, and his children, who understood and realized the family's dedication to a frugal lifestyle. This case fulfills Cassarino's conditions for Return Preparedness which are tangible, intangible, and social capital, confirming the case of a Successful Returnee.

Case 3: Officer with Low Level of Preparedness
This Officer's case highlights the role of intangible resources, such as the education of the children, as a very good indication of a resource mobilized. Unfortunately, his savings was not enough to sustain his unexpected illness which forced him to return home. As Cassarino's theory notes, those migrants who were not able to satisfy all the migration objectives, for this Officers' case was savings, were considered to have a Low Level of Return Preparedness. To be a Master Mariner involved many years of training and further education, which this Officer diligently pursued. Considering an Officer's salary range, the education of both his and his children were given the most importance due to the family's shared vision of investing in the future. Thus, this seafarer regrets not being able to send his youngest son to college due to insufficient funds.

Case 5: Officer with No Level of Preparedness
This study had the initial goal of identifying cases for all levels of preparedness, however, after much examination among the Officers surveyed and interviewed, there was an absence of an Officer who exhibited an inability to gather and accrue any form of resource. This may be attributed to idea of improbability. As one Officer interviewee articulated, *"Not possible. With all the opportunities and money that passed through our hands, it is quite impossible for an Officer not to be able to save nor acquire any form of property."*

Case 2: Ratings with High Level of Preparedness
The case of High Preparedness of a Rating illustrates the role the wife in the implementation process of a seafarer's objectives. This seafarer attributes his returning home earlier than the usual retirement age due to the financial security his family and investments were able to provide him. Engaging in a small enterprise he set up while on vacation and internet connectivity on board enabled him to guide his wife through the everyday operations of their business and through major decisions in the home front. The return preparedness exhibited by this seafarer was evident in the resources he was able to mobilize, from a home, vehicles, education of the children and a harmonious and complementary relationship with his wife and business partner.

Case 4: Ratings Low Level of Preparedness
The case of Low Level of preparedness of Rating reveals that his willingness to return was influenced primarily by the resources he has or has not accumulated. He expressed regret for not being able to support his wife in the management of their taxi business, which he says could have been their means of sustainable income. The weak social capital, specifically his communication with his wife throughout the years of seafaring, may have contributed to the underdevelopment of his tangible resource.

Case 6: Ratings with No Level of Preparedness
This case of No Preparedness by a Rating is an example of a "one day millionaire" mentality. This mindset was not only exemplified by the seafarer but also his wife, children, and other dependents. Gambling, capricious consumption and a low regard for the future, has exacerbated the lack of shared family value of future economic stability. In addition, the presence of multiple tiers of dependency made it more challenging to sustain his household and reach his initial goals. Having his in laws - mother, father, brother, and sister in law- as his additional dependents has put a tremendous amount of pressure on the income-earning capabilities of the seafarer.

The hindrances for resource mobilization were overwhelming. This seafarer is finding it difficult to grasp the idea that his life did not turn out the way he planned it.

Emergence of a Medium Level of Preparedness

Considering the cases presented, it is necessary to discuss the cases which were exposed to having a Medium Level of Preparedness. This Medium Level of Preparedness is not present in Cassarino's theory of Resource Mobilization and Levels of Return Preparedness, but it emerged as an essential factor in the perception of Return Preparedness and consequently the perception of Successful Return.

It can be argued that, a seafarer's perception of his preparedness to come home is dependent on the amount and types of resources mobilized, tangible, intangible and social capital. However, equally important is the significance of looking at the hierarchy of their goals and the capacity for parallel accumulation during the seafarer's career, as observed in the cases presented above.

The study suggests that tangible resource, one of the easiest to accumulate among the three, is not necessarily the most crucial factor to mobilize which will consequently indicate preparedness to return. As the two cases below reveal, although unable to achieve all three forms of resources, seafarers still perceived a sense of achievement and contentment upon their return home, which will be articulated in the emerging Level of Medium Preparedness.

Preparedness	Mobilization of Resources	Perception of Successful Return
High	all forms of resources	Successful Return
Medium	x all three resources ✓ tangible & social capital intangible & social capital	Successful Return
Low	✓ tangible resources x intangible x social capital	Unsuccessful Return
No	x any form of resource	Unsuccessful Return
✓- achieved x - not achieved		

Table 6: Emergence of Medium Level of Preparedness

Research shows that the emergence of a Medium Level of Preparedness is manifested in the successful mobilization of social capital resource in the form of 1) close family relations characterized by positive communications between seafarer and family members; 2) spouses viewed as a partner in the efficient and effective management of both the household and the business investment as well; 3) sometimes allowing for a parallel accumulation of wealth by the seafarer and the spouse left behind; 4) an alignment of family and seafarer's values and a shared vision of economic future demonstrated by the family's frugal lifestyle and consumption.

Case 7 Officer with Medium Level of Preparedness
This case represents a returnee that made use of his intangible resource. In this case, the seafarer's former superior on board, gave him an opportunity to establish a

manning agency. Upon his return, this new business venture sustained his household beyond his seafaring career. His wife's employment as a college professor allowed for parallel accumulation of wealth. Although he perceives himself as being less prepared financially, he viewed his economic opportunities in his home country as his source of return preparedness. Despite the fear and the uncertainties of leaving a lucrative career as a seafarer, he managed to venture into other career opportunities in the same maritime industry. This illustrates the role of networks as an intangible resource and social capital which can likewise be one of the decisive factors to return.

Case 8: Ratings with Medium Level of Preparedness
This Rating was able to accumulate tangible, social capital and partially, intangible resources. He has fostered harmonious relationships in the home front which enabled him to maximize the benefits of seafaring. He was able to accumulate wealth that not many Rating seafarers can boast of. His son's education topped the bill of priority goals achieved. His wife's ability for parallel accumulation, augmented their household financial requirements. Although his own education, which he would have wanted to pursue, took a back seat during his seafaring career, he doesn't regret focusing all their resources in providing for their son. He attributes his and his wife's joint effort and parallel motivations, as the source of their success as a seafaring family.

Social Capital has Altered the Dynamics of Perception of Successful Return

It was earlier established that a High Level of Preparedness will most likely result to a perception of successful return. While a Low Level or No Level of Preparedness will result to a perception of unsuccessful return. As can be observed, a Medium Level of Preparedness is distinctly differentiated and positioned between High and Low Level of Return Preparedness within the framework of Cassarino.
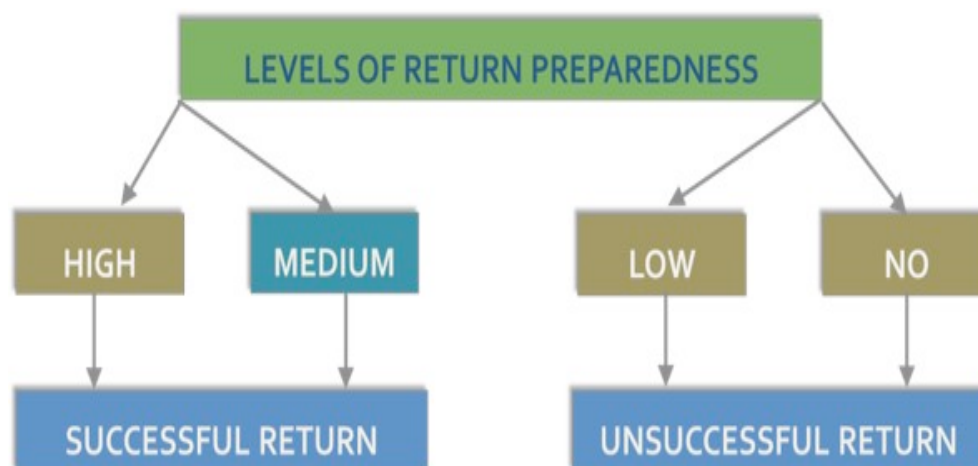

Figure 3: Medium Level of Preparedness and Perception of Successful Return

For all cases, including the emerged Medium Level of Return Preparedness, social capital can be observed to be the common denominator, primarily provided by the wives and other family members through a directed and focused initiative to achieve financial stability of the household in the post seafaring years. The emergence of a Medium Level of Preparedness is attributed to the perception of social capital as a crucial factor in the perception of successful return.

Contrary to Cassarino's Level of High Return Preparedness, the proposed Medium Level of Return Preparedness has only partially achieved migration objectives. This is a level of preparedness that can be differentiated from the sets of level of preparedness defined by Cassarino. Just as he reiterated, there will be a range of levels of preparedness that can come out of every return migrant's experience. The emergence of the Medium Level of Preparedness may be an enrichment of an existing theory, Cassarino's Theory on Return Preparedness, by further studies and with Filipino seafarers as an illustration. It is necessary to further recognize and understand the realities of Filipino seafarers that were not fully accounted for by the theory.

Conclusion

The data show how the seafarer from the beginning of his career pursued actively a focused struggle to prepare himself for his successful return while on board the ship. The directed pursuit included not only himself but the whole family in one collaborated agenda and vision for a better economic life after seafaring. This was even made possible through a commitment among family members even before leaving the ship, especially directed by the wife at home, for a lifestyle that is frugal, simple and focused on specific objectives in the economic pillars of a post seafaring family life. These struggles and initiatives are pursued diligently as revealed in the survey findings, and further unfolded in the illustrative cases chosen for the study.

Achievement of set objectives constitutes High Preparedness to Return. Thus, any abrupt stop in their seafaring which can be due to medical, personal or other paralyzing issues, may find the seafarer either extending their stay longer to make up for lost time, or be forced or mandated to return home constituting either Low or No Preparedness to return.

The Willingness to Return refers to whether the return is voluntary or forced. Mandatory Return, due to accidents or injuries on board the ship may catch the seafarer unprepared to return home. Forced return can obstruct a seafarer's preparation mainly due to his calculated time to acquire the necessary resources to constitute his preparations. Voluntary return may be perceived as an early perception of readiness to return; and mandated return can lead to a Low Preparedness or a No Level of Preparedness to return.

A Medium Level of Preparedness has emerged that encapsulates the experience of some returnee. Despite the inability to achieve all three resources, some respondents still deem themselves as successful returnees. In the case of Filipino seafarer returnees, social capital has altered the dynamics of their perception of successful return. It can either facilitate or hinder the realization of return preparedness and one's successful return.

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Constructing and Practicing Rights: A Perspective of Female Factory Workers in Bangladesh

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The Asian Conference on Asian Studies 2020
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract
This paper focuses on the meaning of constructing and practicing rights to female factory workers in Dhaka, Bangladesh. In response to the dynamic relations of power and authorities, claiming rights for female factory workers often means to step out of the familiar social-cultural framework. In the uneven process of rights formation, participating in urban geopolitics, confrontations with gender order is inevitable. I describe how state policies and the influence of transnational capitalism have effects on shaping gender order. Also, various worker organizations, including local and transnational workers' NGOs and trade unions, have deeply participated in the representation of rights. By assisting with mental and physical health care for workers to fulfill their motherhood responsibilities, these organizations consolidate connections between female workers. In this process, working experiences and personal lives are intertwined by the workers' NGOs. By examining how dominant forces interplay and compete with one another, I point out that female factory workers in Bangladesh exercise their rights through various approaches and develop more empirical and relational concepts of rights. The ways female workers organize and claim their rights reflect the transformation of the social-cultural context of Bangladesh.

Keywords: South Asia, Female workers, Governance, Rights, Export-processing zones, NGOs, Urban slums

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I. Introduction

To Bangladeshi females, becoming a factory worker may face deterioration of rights in multiple aspects, despite gaining a relatively stable income. The concept of 'right' is interwoven with 'identity,' such as women or factory workers in the local context.

The paper observes the condition of working, living, and social organizing of female factory workers. On the one hand, I argue that the interweaving and competing forces of the gender order, factory management, politics of urban space, and policies of national development, make up governance to female workers. On the other hand, I argue that female workers recognize their rights empirically and contextually instead and practice rights in practical response to local relations of power. Therefore, the paper considers the form of governance and the subject of rights as dynamic and intertwined.

II. Method and Approach

By taking a qualitative research approach, the paper was based on interviews and participant-observation fieldwork for a total of five months in 2016 and 2017, at mainly three sites in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh. The three sites are Dhaka EPZ, Korail slum area, and Awaj Foundation, which is an NGO working on improving worker's rights.

III. Multifaceted Governance

i. Gender Order and Factory Management in Dhaka EPZ

Located in Savar Upazila, the suburb area of Dhaka, Dhaka EPZ is about 35km from the city center and about 25km from the Hazrat Shahjalal International Airport. Established in 1993, the EPZ accounts for around 356 acres now, with 102 firms in operation and over 94,000 employees (BEPZA 2018). According to official data, readymade garment counted for 85% of the country's export earnings in the final financial quarter of 2019, employed 4.4 million people, of whom 80% are female (BEPZA 2018；Bangladesh Bank 2018). Water and noise pollution are explicit in the nearby areas. Walls and checkpoints have been set up around the zone to examine people and cargos.

Anika, a 28 years old female worker in Dhaka EPZ, is the first and currently the only female production line supervisor in the factory where she works. She speaks a little English and even memorizes some Chinese words commonly used by the Chinese engineers stationed in the factory. Her husband works in another factory in the EPZ. According to Anika, the couple came to Dhaka after married and has lived in Dhaka for more than two years.

> *Me: What is the difference between working in Dhaka EPZ and other places?*
> *Anika: Here is very clean ... very discipline. Others will not stare at me just because I talk to a male colleague. (Adds on after a few seconds) I like to work here. I learned fast without too much difficulty.*

Unlike most textile and garment factories in the zone, the factory where Anika works specializes in lens production. Several regulations are implemented to meet the requirement of cleanliness: operators must change shoes when entering the factory; a dustproof hat is required when working in special workshops; slogans like 'Keep clean' and 'Get things back in place' are posted on walls and tabletops. The environment itself becomes part of the discipline.

Anika's experience of discipline is also related to gender interaction. According to Siddiqi, Changes of gender interaction experienced by workers in the EPZ resulted from gathers of garment industries with a high proportion of female workers, strict regulations, and workplace management in EPZ, which contributed to the development of a field of gender interaction different from the one outside. The production environment restructures gender practices.

ii. Urban Space Politics, National Projects of Development

Housing difficulties faced by female workers are still severe. The high possibility of a single female turned down by landlords in the city has forced them to look for more dangerous places, with worse conditions but higher rents. However, at the time when the RMG industry grew substantially in the late 1980s, neither from the officials nor from factory owners, little attention had been paid to the living difficulties of female workers. It has taken over 20 years for the issue of "single women's housing rights" to gain public attention and caused actions.

Although voices are now openly urging the government to work with corporations, real estate development, and banks to develop public housing programs and housing subsidies, women in the city still hardly find a safe, healthy, and friendly place to live.

In the name of "ensuring security," women are still facing various forms of oppression even though the number of housing leased to females has increased in the housing market since 2000 (Parveen 2008). Female renters need to take the pressure of surveillance from security guards and neighbors. Combined with a house-rental market without sufficient and organized regulations, they constitute an oppressive structure for single women, leading to higher rents. Even though the government has taken more intervention to some extent, options are unreachable for female workers due to limited budgets and few connections (Hossain 2014).

Under all these circumstances, I notice a conflict between the expectation for living space from female workers and the one assumed by the government and public housing initiators.

Mashuda is the executive of Nari Uddug Kendra (NUK), which means 'Centre for Women's Initiatives.' NUK is the pioneer in calling for the attention of female workers' housing issues as early as the 1990s. They have cooperated with both government and private sectors since 1993 to build a female dormitory, providing 600 rental spaces in different areas of Dhaka city. However, when I visited her in 2017, she told me that their projects on the female worker's dorm had been put to an end because the workers had little interest in living in it.

Mashuda: We are now putting more effort on the improvement of rural

*community medical facilities and building up factory audit systems. The
female worker's dormitory project has been stopped.*

*Mashuda: ...I found that female workers actually do not like to live in
dormitories. They prefer to choose places where they can host their
husbands, children, relatives and friends from their hometowns, even with
poor living conditions and relatively high rents. They said the dorm is
somehow inconvenient.*

Mushda's blueprint for the female worker's dormitory failed to take the worker's
family needs into consideration. The dormitory preferred single, homogeneous
workers and tended to drag the renters away from their original social network.
Similar thoughts could be found in many other projects taking place in the same
period of time. Many of them said that women, who bring a massive contribution to
the country's development, deserve a better living place. The dorm's design usually
reflects two ideas - "isolation" and "easy to be managed." In short, the dorms only
consider the workers "a worker" rather than "a female" in the social-cultural context,
aiming to shape them to fit better in the industrialized urban space.

For a female worker, choose to live in the dorm or to rent a house reveals how she
identifies a female as a worker in Bangladesh. The difficulty of single women living
in the urban environment of Dhaka comes from the fierce competition of urban space
and the pressure, along with the intimate adjustment, from gender order. These are
also the impacts derived from the development process of state and capital, toward
stratification.

iii. Dwelling in City: the Order and Crisis of Slums

In Dhaka, people use the word *bosti* when referring to settlements dwelled by the
urban poor, most of which are illegally occupied. Indeed, a considerable portion of
factory workers lives in slums. In fact, according to an official statistic in 2015, in
Dhaka District with a population of 14 million, about one-third of the population lives
in *bosti* (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2015: 21, 31). Among them, Korail is the
most populous and the biggest one. It covers nearly two wards and has an estimation
of the population of about 100-200,000.

Rounded by the bustling commercial area of Bannani and diplomat agent area of
Gulshan, Korail residents make their living on these high-income districts, as
rickshaw pullers, drivers, daily wage workers, domestic workers, boatmen, security
guards, street vendors, and factory workers. It is documented that Korail was
originally a private-owned land. In 1961, about 180 acres of land was designated to
then the State Department of Telephone & Telegraph (T&T). After the independence
of the country, T&T transferred half of the area to the Public Works Department
(PWD) of the Bangladesh Government in 1990. However, ever since then, the
ownership of the land has been divided and become fragment and unclear (Mridha et
al. 2009:18-19; Sinthia 2013).

The issues regarding how workers dwell in the city can hardly avoid discussing slums.
Living in slums, women actively participate in income-earning, resulted in expanding
their mobility, gaining control over access to resources, and sharing the risks of the

households. Since plenty of local and International NGOs have launched their projects in slums, women there develop livelihood on it. They rely heavily on the materials provided by the NGOs; meanwhile, by participating in the NGO's activities, they also empower themselves.

Jahanara used to work in a garment factory for three years. Now she opened a clothing store through a micro-loan from an NGO and acted as an agent for collecting repayment from other women in Korail. She is not only the financial manager of women's self-organized *shomity*, but also one of the leaders in the development plan initiated by UNICEF Bangladesh. "They think they can trust me," Jahanara said.

Jahanara's husband, Hasan, was once a rickshaw driver, a private car driver, and a garment factory worker. He later became one of the leading figures in Korail through participating in the development project. Now he is a secretary in the office of Ward councilor of North Dhaka City Government. He founded a Korail-based development foundation in 2010 (currently has 32 members); noticeable, two of the foundation's sponsors are from the local office of Awami League, the ruling party. Hasan also manages the community clinic.

> *Me: Hasan bhai, there are still people moving into Korail, how do you help them?*
> *Hasan: I will first find a place for them to stay, and then help them get in touch with the landlord. I will do what I can…for example, the fire in March, I raised funds through my foundation and finally provided 500 tents to accommodate the victims.*

When we discuss the living condition in Korail, Jahanara complained about the lack of infrastructure and the constant fear of being evicted.   In an effort to solve these problems, residents in Korail established various local organizations in response to the absence of the country's formal system. While maintaining the basic functions of the slums, those organizations have mediated, or 'combined' with the legal and underground life through patron-client relationships, to form an internal order of the slum area. It seems that an urban slum is a unique form of space that blurs the established border or mode of governance in Bangladesh. In such a situation, the connotation of rights and civil society have become ambiguous as well.

iv. Rights in its Social Meanings

Nazma Akter, a female garment worker, founded Awaj Foundation in 2003. It provides a variety of services and activities for workers, such as medical services, legal advice, labor rights lessons, negotiation skills training, and trade union establishment.

Among the Awaj Foundation's courses, those related to nutrition, financial management, and children's education are particularly popular for female workers. The knowledge is in line with their expectations of "motherhood." Female workers also come to Awaj to obtain medical and food supplies, to seek consultation, to relieve pressure, and to learn to negotiate with factory managers. What is important for them is not only about the activity itself but about the exchange of information and social contacts. All of which help the individual worker build a support network, and

thus gain confidence.

The example of Awaj shows that worker organization's activities, in which workers establish new relationships and obtain knowledge, even go through negotiations with authorities, all of which allow them to strengthen the subject of rights. Consolidating connections between female workers increase their willingness to participate in labor negotiations. Therefore, multiple worker organizations, including local and transnational NGOs and trade unions expanding with the garment industry, are deeply involved when workers are claiming over rights.

IV. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed how rights are built in response to dynamic powers and authorities in the context of local governance. Women, working in factories in the suburbs of Dhaka, establish a life in the response of the mastery attempts by transnational capital and the state. Female workers become a subject capable of claiming rights, negotiate and participate in shaping urban landscapes. On the one hand, the formation of rights is related to the interlacing and negotiation process of dominant forces, including gender order, factory management, and urban space competition. On the other hand, female workers continue to expand their recognition and practice of rights from different social positions, with NGOs mediating the process of forging new relationships, intermediating knowledge, and negotiating law enforcement.

My conclusion is, for female workers, claiming rights often imply stepping out of a familiar social-cultural framework. In that way, they are enriching the imagination of the subjects of rights. The craggy process of rights construction could not avoid patent traces of patron-client relationships. Besides, when dwelling in the city and participating in urban geopolitics, female workers in particular regularly confront gender order and state policies. Their persuasion of becoming not only a factory worker but simultaneously a wellbeing in social-cultural context.

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