

京都エラスムス計画2010年度
中国社会研究短期集中プログラム成果報告

－南京市・江蘇省南部の都市と農村－

**The Reports of the Intensive Social Research Program
on Chinese Society of Kyoto Erasmus Project, 2010**

Urban and Rural Areas in Nanjing City and Southern Jiangsu Province

京都伊拉斯谟计划2010年度中国社会研究短期集中项目报告书

南京市暨苏南地区的城乡

平井芽阿里・中山大将 編

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Intensive Social Research Program on Chinese Society, 2010.



Preface

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To enhance the understanding of ourselves by way of understanding the “others” is always the central tenet of anthropology ever since this field came into existence in the 19th century. This tenet will be especially relevant when the “others” being investigated is not at all far from us but a neighbor who has been in our next door for several millenniums – just like Japan to China and vice versa. In fact, Japan should not be perceived as the “other” against China but a constituting part of the latter’s self as Japan has strongly shaped what we mean by “China” today. And, I believe it is also true if we put it the other way round. Therefore, I am convinced that it is a duty for Chinese and Japanese anthropologists to study each others’ culture and then continually engage in an open-minded, sincere, and self-reflective mutual dialogue. Regrettably, the current reality is far from my ideal.

Up until today, I have not yet seen any anthropological works about Japan produced by Chinese author. Therefore, it is a great pleasure of me to meet Ryoko Sakurada, Meari Hirai, and Minori Matsutani in Nanjing. Actually, I want to thank them for giving me a chance to somehow fulfill my self-inflicted duty – enhancing Sino-Japanese anthropological dialogue – by providing our fellow anthropologists from Kyoto with some trivial helps. Moreover, they helped me to educate my student Li Sheng and Jin Zixuan by exposing them to the first-hand ethnographic encounter so they can realize more deeply about the potentials of anthropology and cultural exchange between Japan and China. With sincere appreciation, I wish all the young anthropologists who have made contribution to this volume will produce more high-quality works and become the mainstay of a vibrant Sino-Japanese anthropological dialogue in the future.

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**I. Social Anthropological Research
on the Belief, Life, and the Family in Present-Day Nanjing**

Preface

This paper is a report of intensive social research program in Nanjing, China, which was conducted as the part of Kyoto Erasmus Project of Kyoto University during July 25 to September 25 of 2010. In this program, participants were divided into two research groups as urban community research group and rural community research group. This paper is a fruit of urban research group.

Urban research group had conducted social anthropological studies and fieldwork of urban communities with the help and cooperation of Master's course students and scholars of the School of Social and Behavioral Sciences in Nanjing University. This joint research is mainly constituted of following five members: Zixuan JIN (Master's Program in Nanjing University), Sheng LI (Master's Program in Nanjing University), Ryoko SAKURADA (Research fellow of Global COE program in Kyoto University), Meari HIRAI (Research Fellow of Global COE program in Kyoto University) and Minori MATSUTANI (Doctor's Program in the School of Letters in Kyoto University).

Geographical composition of urban Nanjing is often described as *Dongfuxigui, Nanpinbeizei* (东富西贵, 南贫北贱) which means riches are in the East, nobles are in the West while poor's are in the South and aliens are in the North. Indeed, newly rich tend to reside in the eastern part of Nanjing. This area is considered to be geographically the best place to live, since Bell Mountain (钟山) brings fresh air to this high-end housing districts. While most of governmental administration districts, Research institutes and colleges such as Nanjing University and Nanjing Normal University are concentrated in the west. On the other hand, old Nanjing neighbors often called *Laochengnan* (老城南) are located in Southern part of the city where old customs and lives are still observed. However, traditional housing districts are now dismantling and under mass allocated due to municipal urban redeveloping scheme. Lastly, northern part of the city such as *Xiaguan* near Nanjing Yangtze River Bridge is one of the high populated areas of the city and having large numbers of new population outside the city. In such culturally diversified circumstances, urban research group had conducted a joint study of "Social Anthropological Research on the Belief, Life and the Family in Present-day Nanjing".

As a part of the project, we had conducted intensive hearing and observation surveys of temples in Nanjing. In a day of a typical very hot summer day of Nanjing, we visited a temple located in *Niushoushan* (牛首山) and experienced a never forgettable moment in mausoleum. Beside the survey of folk religion and belief, modern Chinese marriage practice is also studied. We are given a great opportunity to participate in observing local marriage practice. Early in the morning, we took a taxi to visit bride's natal home to observe marriage rituals. In the wedding banquet of the couples, we sang a Japanese old song wishing their ever lasting happiness. Other than that, issues of Japanese emigrants in Nanjing are studied as a part of this project. We visited a Japanese restaurant bar, *Izakaya* to conduct interviews. This is another good moment of ours to share personal experiences of Nanjing with other Japanese.

As noted earlier, this is a brief report paper of such joint social survey conducted in Nanjing. All data collected during this period is not reflected in this paper, therefore this paper should be a regarded a first hand data and material to be examined later. Another opportunity of International joint Study is expected near future. Lastly, we are grateful to Dr. Yulin ZHANG, Dr. Der-Ruey YANG and Dr. Yang YUDONG of School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Nanjing University and all informants and people who are kind enough to spare their precious time with us. Without their kind help and understandings, our research has never been completed.

November 15, 2010
Ryoko SAKURADA and Meari HIRAI

序文

本稿は、2010年度京都エラスムス計画の一環として2010年7月25日から9月25日にかけて行った、中国社会学短期集中プログラムの成果報告書である。本プログラムでは、「都市班」および「農村班」に分かれ、南京を拠点に中国社会学に関する調査を行った。本稿は、都市班の成果報告である。都市班のメンバーは南京大学の金子暄（南京大学社会学学院修士課程）、李胜（南京大学社会学学院修士課程）、そして京都大学の櫻田涼子（京都大学大学院グローバルCOE 研究員）、平井芽阿里（京都大学大学院グローバルCOE 研究員）、松谷実のり（京都大学大学院文学研究科博士後期課程）の計5名である。

南京市の中心部は俗に「東豊西貴、南貧北賤」と言われ、4つの区域に分かれるという。東側の钟山風景区は、美しい山からの風が吹き込み、空気も綺麗だということで高級住宅地街として開発が進んでいる。また西側は、南京大学や南京師範大学など日本人留学生の受け入れが盛んな大学を始めとし、政府の各種機関が集まる地域であるため「貴」という地域として認識されている。一方、南側は「老城南」と称され、古くからの人々の生活が残っている地域である。現在では、近代化の余波を受け、強制退去を宣告される住居も多いものの、今なお多くの人々が昔ながらの生活を営んでいる。そして、長江大橋付近の下関と呼ばれる港湾地域は人口密度が高く、他地域からの新規流入人口も多いという。このような様々な文化的背景を持つ人々が集住する地域である南京社会学について、「都市班」では「現代南京の信仰・生活・婚姻に関する社会学人類学的研究」と題する共同調査を行った。

本調査では、まず現代南京の信仰を把握するため、南京市の寺という寺を訪れた。寺や廟では人々が熱心に祈りを捧げる姿が印象的であった。ある時は、今にも壊れそうなバスに乗り込み、ガタガタの道を砂埃を舞い上げひた走った。40度の灼熱の中、全く先の見えない広い広い道を1時間も歩いたこともあった。そして牛首山の墓では、生涯忘れがたい調査を行うことになった。また、婚姻に関する調査では、南京人の結婚式を観察させてもらう機会を得た。まだ覚めやらぬ朝方、爆竹を轟かせ、新郎が新婦を奪いに新婦の実家までやって来る。新婦の友人が家の門を塞ぎ、新郎に様々な形で「愛の証明」をさせる。深紅のドレスを着た中国の美しい花嫁に、「ふるさと」を熱唱し捧げた事は、今はよき思い出である。また、本調査では南京で生活する日本人労働者にも目を向けた。中国の空の下、日本人が経営する居酒屋で焼き鳥を食べながら深夜まで話し込んだ日の事は忘れられない。

本稿は、このような調査を元に完成した成果報告書である。しかし、2ヶ月の調査で得た全てをこの1篇にまとめられるはずはなく、本稿は今後の研究の基礎的資料として一端提示し、熟考が必要な部分についてはさらなる共同研究を継続していく予定である。なお、本調査にご協力いただいた全ての方々に、この場を借りて記して厚く御礼申し上げる次第である。

2010年11月15日
平井芽阿里・櫻田涼子

Marriage Customs in Nanjing

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is just showing the details of marriage custom in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, China. When Han Chinese people are going to marry, they usually perform a ritual which consists of three-steps which: the engagement, the wedding ceremony and the first return of the bride to the home of her parents after the wedding ceremony[Fei 1934]. In the following, I will describe the process of the marriage customs with the historical background more in detail.

Nanjing is the capital of Jiangsu province, and it is the political, economic and cultural center of Jiangsu province. Nanjing is across the *Changjiang*(长江) river. Its area is about select 6600 square kilometers , and the population is 624 million, and urban population is nearly 5 million. Nanjing is the deputy provincial city, Jiangsu provincial's capital, national famous historical and cultural city, national comprehensive transportation hub, national important innovation base, regional modern service center, advanced manufacturing base of the *Changjiang* river delta, ecological and livable city on the bank of the *Changjiang* river, and it is the important center city of the Yangtze river delta with Connecting the east and west of the country.

Nanjing have built 2,500 years, with a long history, and it is a famous Chinese historic city. There was 10 dynasties built capital in Nanjing in the history, such as Eastern Wu, Eastern Jin, Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, Southern Tang, Ming, the Taiping heavenly kingdom (太平天国), the Republic of China, so it is called "the capital of ten dynasties". Nanjing has 11 areas (*Baixia* 白下区, *Xuanwu* 玄武区, *Gulou* 鼓楼区, *Qinhuai* 秦淮区, *Jianye* 建邺区, *Xiaguan* 下关区, *Yuhua* 雨花区, *Qixia* 栖霞区, *Pukou* 浦口区, *Jiangning* 江宁区, *Liuhe* 六合区) and 2 counties (*LiShui* 溧水县, *GaoChun* 高淳县).

1. Engagement

According to the traditional values of the Han culture, the authority of the parents within the family is emphasized. Even in modern times, when marriages are decided by the two partners themselves, their parents still will play decisive role. Moreover, it is nowadays not uncommon that the marriage of young Chinese is still arranged by the help of matchmakers both in rural and urban China. Besides, to

marry is considered to be a filial duty for young Chinese. As a matter of fact, to remain unmarried while becoming older is regarded to be very uncommon, so traditional values still have an important influence within the society.

If the marriage is arranged, the two spouses will build up their relations according to the wish or the orders of their parents or by the help of the matchmaker who functions as an intermediate for both sides. Two families are involved into the marriage.

In feudal times, neither the man nor the woman had the right to decide his or her marriage on his own. During the Republic of China Period, between 1911-1948, marriages decided only by the two partners directly involved gradually began to appear. So naturally the age and the appearances of the two partners for the first time were taken into consideration, the mutual inclination of the spouses became more and more important. On the other side, the status of the family, rank and value were seen to be less and less decisive.

After the PRC was established in 1949, the arranged marriage was abolished by law, and the freedom for everyone to decide his own marriage independently was widely implemented in the society. Nevertheless, the marriages, introduced by matchmakers still played a major role for the great majority. After the 1980s, partner agencies, which in accordance with the new situation, provided people convenient service to find the appropriate partner.

In former times there was a traditional custom in Nanjing, that the mother of the bride once should visit the mother of her future son in law. During this occasion, the mother of the future son in law certainly offered a cup of tea. If the mother of the bride was not convinced that the qualities of her future son in law would ensure a happy marriage, she would decline to drink from the tea, by which she expressed her refusal; if she would accept the tea, she made clear, that she did not object the marriage. It was out of question, that she accepted the tea but refused the marriage.

The betrothal in contemporary times is not as complicated as before. The young women and men will just inform their parents, relatives and friends after they have made a decision. Usually parents of the bride will pay a formal visit to the parents of their future son in law, in order to get to know each other and to learn about the economic conditions of his parents[Zhou, Xing 2008]. The parents of the two sides will give their consent especially when the reason for marriage is love. In comparison to former times the procedures are more simple after the marriage is decided. Many young man have a serious attitude and act in a romantic way, for example they regularly might offer presents to the bride such as rings, a necklace or a bunch of roses as witness of his love. Once the engagement is decided, the most

urgent thing to do is decorate the new house, buy furniture, appliances and other necessities.

2. Wedding Ceremony

Local residents of Nanjing are very peculiar about the date on which the ceremony should be held. The time is usually negotiated by the fiancé, the fiancée and their parents. In general, the date is chosen on even days according to the Chinese traditional lunar calendar or also to the western solar calendar, usually the days during holidays and festivals are chosen. [He 1997]. Recently, many people also prefer a date, which consists of the number “eight”, because of the similarity of the in Chinese pronunciation this word could also have the meaning “fortune”, for example the 8th, 18th and 28th day of every lunar month. As for important holidays and festivals, it is likely that “New Year’s Day”, “Spring Festival”, “May Day” and “National Day” are preferred, because during these days it is more likely, that relatives and friends will have free time to attend the wedding. Since the appearance of photo studios, it became fashionable for the couple to use their service and to let them do a series of wedding photos in memory of this unforgettable day. Since the 1980s there emerged a new trend according to which men preferred to dress in western suits and females in bridal dresses during this occasion. The 1990s saw another fashion which is, that the couple decide to have a series of pictures done in photographic studios or that the lovers are arranged by the photographer in places of interest, for example in public parks like the Garden of Lovebirds or the Sun-Yat-sen-Mausoleum in Nanjing. Recently, not only photos are done, but also wedding videos have become popular, which can be condensed into a compact DVD disc to be easily kept.

To greet the bride is the most important part during the wedding ceremony, with which the husband shows respect for her. It was a custom in former times that brides sat in bridal sedan chairs and her future husbands rode on horses. During the 1960s and the 1970s, there were only few people who could afford to use sedans chairs.

In former times, the marriage is considered to be the most important event in the life of the bride, the bride was under no circumstances allowed to enter the house of her husband on foot. Most people used bicycles instead. Nowadays, sedan chairs or cars, usually shiny and with even numbers, are fashionable, especially imported cars of high quality. The cars are decorated with posies, the car of the bride is thoroughly ornamented with beautiful flowers, with the Chinese character xǐ “囍” which means “happiness”, as well as balloons and toy dolls in the frontage of the cars (Plate 1, 2). Before this custom was prohibited in urban areas, fire-crackers were also set off in accordance with the happy atmosphere. At the

time when the bride leaves the house of her mother and enters the home of her husband and proceeds to the wedding hall, balloons, rather than fire-crackers, are more frequently used in modern society.



Plate 1: Car



Plate 2: Xi

After the liberation in 1949, local residents tend to hold the ceremonies in a new way. Since the 1950s, men and women have to go to the registry office in the civil administration department of the city to apply for a marriage license. They usually also will invite their colleagues to have a tea party at their place of work and to offer them candies and cigarettes. Between the 1960s and the 1970s, group weddings, organized by the communist youth league of their places of work as well as by the trade-unions became popular, in accordance with the revolutionary spirit of the time. Around the late 1970s, going on a honeymoon became fashionable. Since the middle and late 1990s, splendid and extravagant wedding celebrations became more and more popular. Invitations were sent to relatives and friends before the wedding. Any one who received an invitation would probably also give his or her share of monetary gift.

With promotion of the living standard, the share given by the guests raised, ranging from 200 *yuan* at least to 400 or 600 *yuan*. Shares of more than 1000 *yuan* were also not uncommon. Professional masters of ceremonies were hired to lead the wedding ceremony, during which *Wedding March* or some other cheery songs are used as background music. The bride and the groom bow three times to their parents and guests to express their gratitude. They also present a toast to the guests, give presents and offer cigarettes one by one at the beginning of the wedding celebration. The master of the wedding ceremony is expected to create a warm and joyful atmosphere during the celebration. He also will ask the couple to describe the process of their engagement, to exchange wedding rings and to kiss each other and

so on. After the ceremony the bride and groom are accompanied into the bridal chamber, which is now generally booked in hotels, restaurants or they just go to their new homes .

3. Wedding Banquet

Before the liberation ordinary families had the wedding banquet at home due to economic restrictions. Wedding specifications used to be “four bowls and four saucers”(Commonly known as “four big and four small”) or “six meat dishes and six vegetable dishes”, the highest standards were “five bowls and eight saucers”. If four saucers of desserts were added, it could be called a banquet. Complete chicken, ducks and fish usually were served with braised fish as the last course. At the end of the feast rice could be served. Most young couples host the wedding feast as a matter of thrift after the PRC was established. Even keeping one or two the standards were not high. In the late 1980s, with the high rate of economic development, the standards of the wedding banquet improved. Such banquets were no longer arranged at home, but hotels, restaurants were chosen. Because they were considered to be auspicious numbers, tables with serial numbers like “four”, “six” and “eight” were selected. During this period of time, weddings frequently were celebrated in hotels and restaurants of medium level or higher level. Those who are particular about extravagance would choose the Jin Ling Hotel, the Xuan Wu Hotel, Ding Shan Hotel and other high-level hotels. Candies and cigarettes as gifts were also necessary, which could be distributed to guests after the wedding feast. At the end, the bride together with the husband would stand at the door seeing the guests off and making farewells.

4. The first visit of the bride to the parents home after the wedding

Three days after the wedding, the newly-married wife, in company with the husband, will pay a visit to her mother. The couple is required to bring gifts in even numbers to express their gratitude of bringing her up.

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Social Relations of Marriage and House

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Introduction

Nowadays in China with overheated demand for real estates and an upheaval of housing market, there is a common saying that a man who wants to get married should prepare a wedding house called *hunfang* (婚房) before getting married; otherwise he may have no girl who would get married to him.

This might be a bit over-exaggerated saying. However, a house is indeed an important material object for young couples in China. Money and material gifts, *liwu* (礼物) such as liquors, cigars, candies, tea leaves and so on are still considered to be an important part of the bridewealth in China. However, nowadays besides those material gifts, housing estate is also getting to be the part of the primal bridewalth among Chinese.

Nancy Jervis (2005) also described this relatively new tendency of acquiring marriage houses, *hunfang* accompanying the economic boom in China during the 1980s, with referring the Chinese newspaper cartoon, which criticized the practices of constructing a new house for male infant in order to improve his ability to attract a suitable bride for his future¹. Traditionally in China, in order to prepare for the future, “houses are usually built with ‘extra’ rooms for one-day-to-be-married sons and their wives and in anticipation of the later development of a stem or even joint family structure. These rooms, once inhabited only by the couple, increasingly become private space belonging to the conjugal unit” [Jervis 2005: 225]. Nowadays, young couples prefer more private spaces and autonomy from their parents. Consequently, needs for *hunfang* is rapidly increased in China.

Since “anthropologists, including those who specialize in China, have long noticed the close link between house form and the structure of the family” [Yan 2005: 373], traditionally house and family of China had been closely linked and discussed. However, focuses are much on the structure of the family, not on the social relations of those.

In this brief paper, by focusing on the practice of preparing new houses called *hunfang* upon their wedding among urban Chinese couples, I would like to consider the social relations of marriage and house and meaning of *funfang* with ethnographic descriptions and data which had been collected through participating observations conducted in *Nanjing*, China during August to September 2010².

¹ The Chinese cartoon of *Renmin ribao* (*haiwai ban*) is drawn with lines “*erzigangzhousui, jiugaihaojiehunxinfang* 儿子刚周岁，就盖好结婚新房” (Our son is just a year old, so we’ve just built him a new marriage house) [Jervis 2005: 225]. See Jervis for detail.

² However, the total period of social research program which I had participated in was two months long: from July 25 to September 25 of 2010, most of research was done in August.

Although I had been participating in several wedding events in *Nanjing* such as Wedding Expo (婚博会) supported by a large local internet company, *Xici* (西祠), and match making sessions called *Xingqiaohui* (省桥会) in public parks, in this paper I would like to focus on describing two cases of couples: the one in their mid-twenties and the other in their mid-thirties. Former couple had conducted their wedding rituals and banquet in August 2010 and the latter couple is already engaged and planning to conduct a wedding ceremony in spring of 2011. It is quite lament that there is not enough space to examine modern Chinese wedding situations with describing the process of wedding rituals, and other wedding practices such as Wedding Expo and match making session in public parks. I do hope to closely discuss these topics in another paper near future.

The plan of this paper is as follows. In the following section, I would like to indicate the meaning of this study briefly. The purpose of this paper, the reason of focusing on the house will be briefly noted. Next section presents profiles of two couples. There, couples' background and the process of preparing *hunfang* are described. Finally, indicating the implication of this study and I conclude this paper.

House as a actor, crafting new social network

Although there are still many issues and topics under debate from many aspects among scholars of the Chinese family and marriage, it is widely agreed that drastic change has occurred in Chinese domestic sphere. Indeed many scholars have discussed about the changes of marriage form, post-marital residence and family division after marriage [Cohen 1976, 1992; Freedman 1966; Wolf 1972; Yan 2006]. However, their research focuses are mainly on social relational changes of persons such as emerging new relations of bride and mother-in-law, couples and matriarchal uncles, and women's status changes under transitional period as a daughter to a young daughter-in-law [Wolf 1972; Yan 2006]. As being obvious, most studies of Chinese marriage focuses on the interpersonal relations, not merely on the relations of persons and things. Commodities of bridewealth such as modern houses and material gifts, and persons such as bride, bridegroom and their family are all in action to craft a network of new social relationships. Both things and persons are socially significant actors which should be observed anthropologically. However, these relations are overlooked for long time.

Although I stressed on a tendency of slight disregard of “things” in Chinese literature of anthropology of marriage, the Chinese term of wedding gifts indicates that gift is more than material present. Yunxiang Yan noted that “The term for gift in Chinese is *liwu* (礼物), a word composed of two characters. The first character *li* (礼) means rituals, properties, and ceremonial expressions of ethical ideals such as filial loyalty and obedience [see Weber 1968: 156-57]. The second character *wu* (物) means material things. It is interesting that, etymologically, the Chinese term indicates that a gift is more than a material present—it carries cultural rules (proprieties) and also involves rituals. So, a *wu* without *li* is just a thing, not a gift” [Yan 1996: 44]. Yan pointed out that a gift exchanged without practicing rituals is not considered to be a proper gift, but just a thing. This view is quite reasonable. However, I consider

wu (thing) itself is also more than material object.

In his review paper, Daniel Miller reconsiders the meaning of consumption and commodities which shed some light on a major anthropological transformation of perspectives [Miller 1995]. There, he pointed out that gifts and commodities transcended its original formulation as good versus evil. We have to reach beyond good and evil evaluations of things since this might be our obsession of western knowledge. Especially in contemporary western thought, things represent the natural universe of commodities. At the opposite pole there are people who represent the natural universe of individuation and singularization [Kopytoff 1986: 64].

From a cultural perspective, the production of commodities is also a cultural and cognitive process: commodities must be not only produced materially as things, but also culturally marked as being a certain kind of thing [Kopytoff 1986: 64]. Igor Kopytoff stressed on things must be produced as commodities, however once they are obtained by persons and getting in new phase of the relationships with them, things are not treated as commodities but something different as culturally shaping of biographies. In this sense, the modern house that is prepared as a wedding gift is not an evil commodity but a unique agency to transform the human relations by everyday practice even without practicing rituals. In practical level, a house is already getting to be the part of significant bridewelfth. In this sense, this paper will examine a house as an active actor which is crafting social networks. The house is merely a static material thing.

Marriage and House: Two Case Studies

As briefly mentioned above, in this paper I would like to consider *hunfang* as more than just a static material thing. Things and persons are interwoven to craft new social relations. In order to discuss these closely interwoven relationships, firstly we need to clarify the newlywed couples backgrounds closely.

In this section, two couples' social background and the process of preparation of wedding ceremony are described. Firstly, couple A in their mid-twenties' case will be described and then couple B in their mid-thirties' case will be discussed.

Case 1: The couple A in the mid-twenties

● Profile of the couple

After graduating Science and Technology University in *Anhui* Province, the bridegroom who originally came from *Anhui* Province had worked for Technical Enterprise in *Nanjing* where he met his bride to be. Now he is working for IT Company in *Nanjing* and his average monthly wage is around 8,300 RMB³ (approximately 107,900 JPY). It is quite high salary compared to average.

The bride, a native *Nanjing* girl, had graduated Polytechnic College in *Nanjing* and worked for

³ At the time of this research had conducted (August 2010), the Chinese currency, one *Renminbi* (RMB) was worth about 13 JPY.

Technical Enterprise where she met her future husband. Now she works as an accountant for a Chemical Trading Company in *Nanjing*. Her monthly wage is 2,000 RMB (approximately 26,000 JPY). They both were born in 1986 and their age of marriage was 24 years old.

They were engaged in December 2009 and had conducted a gift exchange ritual in August 2010. Bridewealth called *caili* (彩礼), from bridegroom's side to bride's family was 10,001 RMB (approximately 130,013 JPY) which means "choose you as one in million". Material gifts, *liwu* were boxes of cigars, liquors, candies and tea leaves. In return, bride's side had prepared gifts called *jiazhuang* (嫁妆). Those gifts were electronics appliance as TV and refrigerator, and furniture such as dining table, chairs, bed (see plate 1 and 2), wardrobe and so on. In this case, *hunfang*, a new house for newly married couple, was not prepared solely by bridegroom's side as popular saying. They had jointly purchased a modern apartment with applying a bank loan by themselves.



**Plate 1: Preparing a bedroom
(August 8, 2010)**



**Plate 2: Conducting a wedding ritual at
hunfang on their wedding day
(August 28, 2010)**

● The detail of their *hunfang*

Their housing estate is located in *Xianlin* (仙林), newly developing area of the eastern part of *Nanjing*. *Xianlin* is recognized as one of the three *Nanjing* satellite cities. Rapid development of this area is largely due to the opening of the new station of *Nanjing Metro* line 2 in May 28, 2010. This area has been developed under concept of "new college town" and regarded as a comparatively high-end residential area. Since renowned universities and International schools such as Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing University of Finance and Economics, Nanjing University of Traditional Chinese Medicine, Nanjing International School and so on are concentrated in this area, *Xianlin* is regarded as the best bed town with excellent academic environment and an ideal place for raising children. New riches who wish to have their children educated in good environment are eager to live in this area.

Considered to be good neighborhoods, stylish residential buildings are mushroomed in *Xianlin* area. One of such a modern residential apartment is the couple A had selected as their *hunfang* (see Plate

4). Compared to the bride's parents apartment (see Plate 3), newlywed couple's apartment is remarkably stylish and modern.

The apartment was designed and planned by a famous award winning architect, a professor of Nanjing University. Furthermore, it is equipped with 24 hours security system and several gate guardians, a pond, flower gardens and a park. This housing estate had started to sell its units in lots from May 2010 and established a young community. It consists of 205 units and most of them are occupied by young married couples⁴.



Plate 3: Appearance of the apartment of bride's parents house (natal home)



Plate 4: Appearance of the apartment of couple A's hunfang

The housing unit they had obtained is 57 square meters with 2 rooms and 1 living room, *liangshiyiting* (两室一厅) as seen in Fig. 1. The unit costed 580,000 RMB (approximately 7,540,000 JPY) and co-owned by both bride and bridegroom. However, housing loan is divided as 60% for bridegroom and 40% for bride at the moment of purchasing. The loan is scheduled to be paid off in following 10 years.

⁴ In China, the house of newlywed couple shows many signs. For example, on the day of their wedding, they put red colored stickers designed of Chinese character *shuangxi* (囍) which means “double happiness” on the windows (see the window of Plate 2).

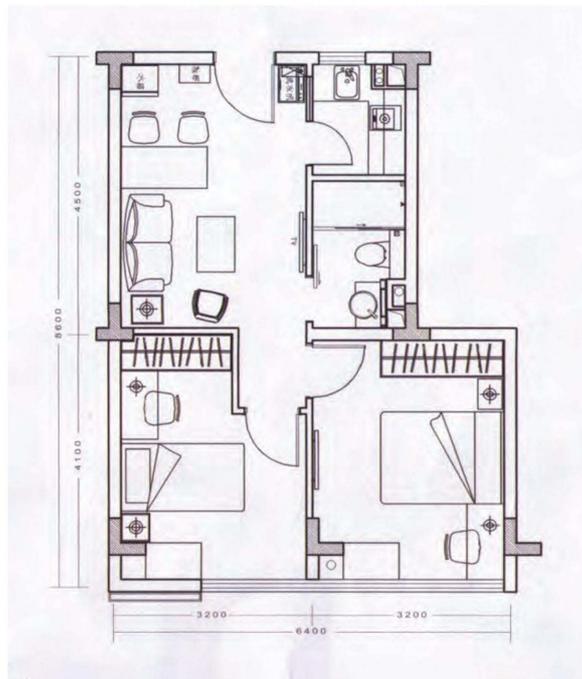


Fig. 1: Floor Plan of the Case 1 Couple

In China, most housing units are sold with minimum condition so that owners could arrange and reform interior of the house according to their preference. Since this unit is quite new and high-end housing estate, all basic equipments such as floor, wall and doors were already installed and interior decorations were all done. Any additional housing decorations and extra repair were not added by them.

● **Preparation of Marriage in the *hunfang***

My first visit to the *hunfang* of couple A was in August 8, 2010. It was 20 days prior to their wedding day, which was scheduled on August 28, 2010. At that time, only the bridegroom had lived in this apartment alone. The bride said she will not move in the apartment unless their wedding rituals would be all done. Since her natal home is located in the northern part of *Nanjing* which is 30 minutes distance away from her *hunfang* in *Xianlin*, she visited their *hunfang* occasionally to decorate with their wedding pictures and preparing for their wedding rituals and banquet.

The day I visited was the occasion of gift-wrapping for wedding banquet (see Plate 5). Both bride and bridegroom stuffed with candies in small red boxes and decorated boxes with golden nylon ribbons carefully. Those small gifts were given away at their wedding banquet. Small hexagonal red box contains six milk candies with golden ribbon which called *xitang* (喜糖) would be given away to each guest at the final moment of the wedding banquet. They had installed most of their needed furniture and electronic appliances already. Their *hunfang* seemed to be the perfect nest for a newlywed couple. Before conducting wedding rituals, the bride's existence in *hunfang* is temporal, even though her frequent visit to the *hunfang* is significant. Her attachment to the *hunfang* on her wedding day is the most important part

of the Chinese traditional wedding.



Plate 5: Preparing of *xitang*

The symbolic separation and unification of the bride between two set of places: the bride's natal home and *hunfang*, are the most important part of the Chinese wedding rituals. On their wedding day, bride would finally move in *hunfang* as for her new place to belong. Bride's physical transition from natal home to *hunfang* makes her social status change dramatically. She left her natal home as a daughter and was welcomed as a new member of the bridegrooms' side as a bride. Her new affiliation is crystallized and fixed by her physical transition of two places. Without *hunfang*, women's status transition upon wedding is not ritually conceptualized.

Case 2: The Couple B in the mid-thirties

● Profile of the bridegroom

The second case is the couple in their mid-thirties. They were both born in mid 1970s. They are planning to have wedding ceremony around spring of 2011.

The bride to be was born and raised in *laochengnan* (老城南), an old district of *Nanjing*. The bridegroom was born in *Sichuan* Province and had spent his college years in *Nanjing*. After leaving *Nanjing* and spending some years in *Beijing*, He was offered a good job opportunity in *Nanjing* in 2005. That is the reason he moved back to *Nanjing* in his late twenties again. With his friends help, he decided to rent a small room near his work venue. It was located in 20 minutes distance by bicycle and costed him 1000 RMB per month⁵.

The price of real estate had been getting higher day by day at that time. Even though he did not have any special girl friend to get married to him at that time, four months just after his arrival to *Nanjing*,

⁵ He had paid only 200 RMB per month as his rent since he was financially aided by his employer.

he decided to purchase an apartment for future. He decided to buy a house of 98 square meters with 2 rooms and 2 living rooms *liangshi liangting* (两室一厅). It costed 362,600 RMB (approximately 4,713,800 JPY). His employer offered him 100,000 RMB (approximately 1,300,000 JPY) to buy a house so that he could use this money as 30% down payment of the total price. His parents offered him 50,000 RMB to do some interior decoration and repair of the house.

The house is located in the rapid developing residential area of the southern *Nanjing*. The location is not as convenient compared to his prior room which was located in the central area of *Nanjing*. New house took him about one hour and half to commute.

● The life with parents

In 2006, he moved to new house to start a new life. Although he had some good friends from College days who were willing to help him in *Nanjing*, he did not have any relatives or close acquaintances other than college friends at that time. Therefore his retired parents living in *Sichuan* province had moved to *Nanjing* in 2007 to live with him and to do daily chores for him. At that time, his parents had not decided yet whether they would sell their old house in *Sichuan* and permanently live with his son in *Nanjing*. They thought they would miss old life in *Sichuan* after spending some years in new place; therefore they wanted to keep their old apartment back in *Sichuan* for the possibility of change their mind in the future.

After several months, it turned out to be his mother was quite good at accustomed to new environment by living friendly together with neighbors. She had strived to cultivate an abandoned land near their apartment and harvesting vegetables was her great joy and new hobby in *Nanjing*. On the other hand, his father wanted to go back to *Sichuan* even long after coming to *Nanjing*.

However, in the matter of course, after sometime his parents had gradually accustomed to the life in *Nanjing*. Then they had changed their mind. They decided to sell the old apartment left in *Sichuan* and planned to start their new life with their son in *Nanjing*. They made up their mind to live in *Nanjing* permanently. However, situation had suddenly changed.

● Match making

Since his job had been getting busy day by day and there were no time to find an eligible woman to get married to him, his mother gradually started to attend public meeting sessions called *Xingqiaohui* (省桥会) in *Baima* Park (白马公园) for searching her son's bride to be⁶. His mother did a very good job. In 2007, he was introduced by his mother to a native *Nanjing* girl who is a high school teacher. They found out that they have much in common. Since then, they have started dating.

Key person of his marriage was surely his mother. However, once couple decided to get married, they prefer to start their new life by themselves. Then bridegroom asked his parents to go back

⁶ I visited *Baima* Park for hoping to observe present situation of the match making session in late September of 2010. However, I just found out that there was nothing to be observed. Manager of the park informed me that there is no more *Xingqiaohui* in the *Baima* Park.

to *Sichuan* or move out to smaller apartment in *Nanjing* by themselves. The bridegroom and his parents were quarreling everyday for over 2 months about parents' residence. His parents wanted to live together with their son and their son's wife in *Nanjing*; however young couple does not prefer to do so. Especially his girl friend severely rejected of co-residency with her in-laws. Although things had been really complicated, the bridegroom and his parents finally decided to sell the house which he had bought in 2006 and decided to purchase a new house as *hunfang*. He bought a second hand apartment of 66 square meters which is located in the place where comparatively close to his fiancée's natal home in old district of *Nanjing*. Right after interior decoration and repair work would be finished, he will move to their new apartment and his parents will leave *Nanjing* for going back to their hometown, *Sichuan*.

Bridegroom parents actually wanted to stay in *Nanjing* since their new social relations have been built in *Nanjing*. However, it was financially impossible for them to buy one more house for old parents in *Nanjing* beside *hunfang* for young couple. He said that he does hope to buy another apartment for his parents in *Nanjing* within 5 to 10 years, but not for sure at this point.

Discussion

The basic information of two couples is summarized as Table 1 below. Significance and social meanings of modern Chinese marriage could be discussed in many ways; however, I would like to focus on a single perspective in this paper.

Table 1: Basic Information of Two Couples

	Couple A	Couple B
Age	in mid-twenties	in mid-thirties
Bride's Place of Origin	Nanjing	Nanjing
Bridegroom's Place of Origin	Anhui Province	Sichuan Province
Date of Wedding Ceremony	Autust 2010	Spring 2011
Price of the House	RMB 580,000	RMB 362,600
Living Space	57 square meters	98 square meters
Floor Plan of the House	2 rooms, 1 living room	2 rooms, 2 living rooms

In this final section, I would like to suggest an implication of this research that house is not just a material thing or expensive gift upon marriage, but connecting both bride and bridegroom tight, anchoring man who was stranger in the city and giving him a stable position, and transmitting woman from a daughter of her natal home to new member of the bridegroom's family as a bride. In this sense, *hunfang* is a significant agent that makes change.

As seen in the previous section, brides of both couple A and couple B were local Nankineses. They were both born and raised in *Nanjing*. On the other hand, both bridegrooms came from other

province: *Anhui* and *Sichuan*. Geographical background of bride and bridegroom might be a strong factor of determining the acquisition of *hunfang*. This point should be examined and discussed more carefully with cross-checking of other ethnographical data. However, the bridegroom of couple B told that in the match making session, most expected condition for men upon marriage is availability of the house. Whether he owns a house as *hunfang* or not may decide his marriage possibility. He added that if one wishes to get married to *Nanjing* girl, he should have owned a house in Nanjing. This indicates that house is not only a part of bridewealth, but the object that uplifting man's social status and making his urban residency stable.

On the other hand for women, house is also a significant thing upon marriage. Doing an extensive field research in Northeast China, anthropologist Yunxiang Yan (2006) points out that in a traditional Chinese family, young women were marginal outsiders with only a temporal position, as daughters married out and new daughters-in-law entered the domestic group under the rules of patrilineal exogamy and patrilocal post-material residence. Thus, daughters were commonly regarded as drain on family wealth and new daughter-in-law was seen as potential threat to the existing family order [Yan 2006: 106].

However as Yan points out, young women have challenged patriarchal power in term of the family division, place of residence and marriage negotiation. Those new tendency of marriage is also found out the case of my informants as I showed here especially in the case of the bride of couple B. Bridegroom and bride who are considered to be unstable outsiders: bridegroom as a newcomer in the city and bride as new member of bridegroom's family are now firmly anchored in their new place, *hunfang*.

Conclusion

In this brief paper, I explore modern Chinese tendency of acquiring *hunfang* upon wedding by indicating two small case studies of two couples. My purpose of this paper is to set up the preparation study for describing big picture of the social relations of marriage and house with focusing on the house as an active actor which is crafting new social relations together with persons.

In this paper, I pointed out that *funfang* is the vital thing to connect all actors. In this sense, *hunfang* is a materialization of interpersonal relations, or "tie-signs" [Goffman 1971: 194; Yan 1996: 106-107]. As a bridegroom who is outsider of the city, *hunfang* is the key object to tie him down in urban life and his new social relations. As a bride, *hunfang* is the main object to change her social status. The ritual of transitional movement between bride's natal home and *hunfang* on her wedding day is the most important part of Chinese marriage. Bride's physical transition from natal home to *hunfang* makes her social status change dramatically. She left her natal home as a daughter and received as a newly member of the bridegrooms side. In this way, her new affiliation is fixed by her physical transition between two places.

Although this is the very first step to consider the social relations of marriage and house in China, I have to admit the scarcity of ethnographical cases and data. More data should be accumulated

for further discussion.

Acknowledgements

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Religion in Nanjing

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Introduction

The purpose of this paper is just showing the details of religion in Nanjing, Jiangsu Province, China. Ideological unity of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism began in the Tang Dynasty and flourished in the Ming Dynasty. Ming has established the capital at Nanjing, which lasted 53 years. But after the *Yongle*(永乐) Emperor ascended the throne, he moved the capital from Nanjing to Beijing. Then, the Ming Dynasty make Nanjing as its spare capital. During the lengthy river of time, the ancient city of Nanjing was influenced by the three religions of the religious system. The idea is destroyed many times in past century, but it still left clear traces in many places.

1. The impact of Confucianism on the Nanjing

Confucianism has influenced China for thousands of years. In old times, they would enshrine Confucius when they established school. Therefore, the characteristics of the Confucius Temple was the temple attached to the school. From the Song Dynasty they have established examinations site. To the Ming dynasty Provincial Examination held in Nanjing too. Nanjing Confucius Temple is the temple of sacrificing and consecrating Confucius. There were numerous people with good reputation here, as *Tang Bohu*(唐伯虎), *Zheng Banqiao*(郑板桥), *Wen Tianxiang*(文天祥), *Wu Jingzi*(吴敬梓), *Lin Zexu*(林则徐), *Shi Naian*(施耐庵), *Zeng Guofan*(曾国藩), *Zuo Zongtang*(左宗棠), *Li Hongzhang*(李鸿章), *Chen Duxiu*(陈独秀), and other historical figures, They were all Candidates of The imperial examinations or examiners in Nanjing.

Affected by Western thought, The imperial examinations was abolished in 1905, and implemented academic. Since the rise of the New Culture Movement in 1915, Confucianism has been attacked Seriously. During the Cultural Revolution, Four Olds campaign caused serious damage to it. Confucianism also gradually stepped down from the altar.

But the core of Confucius, as benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, faith, forgiveness, filial piety, fraternal culture, it has been the Chinese people's behavior patterns and beliefs in the transmission of thousands of years. Nanjing, as a historical and cultural city, committed to restoring the Confucius Temple, and reconstructed the Confucius Temple in 1983. Confucius thoughts and articles has become a required course for students not only to teach literature to students of knowledge, more attention on traditional cultural heritage.

2. The impact of Buddhism on Nanjing.

Buddhism was officially introduced into China in the Han Dynasty. Because its doctrine Interlinked with Eastern culture and philosophy, followers gradually increased.

The rise of Buddhism in Nanjing can be traced back to the Southern Dynasty, "The southern dynasties had four hundred eighty building temples; hide their towers amongst smoky blossoms" ,The verse has vividly described the scene of temples everywhere in Nanjing.

The founding emperor of the Ming Dynasty had done a monk, so he not only Publicized Buddhism, and constructed temples. He established a complete management system of religion using the Buddhist and Taoist which controlled in the hands, then served politics. Therefore, under the influence of politics, monks were more and more, and a large number of people believed in Buddhism. As the Buddhism Flourishing, literature and arts developed.

Nanjing has ancient temples everywhere ever, but many were destroyed in the war, annihilated in the river of history. But there were temples which were protected well, such as *Jiming*(鸡鸣寺) Temple which is Nanjing's most famous temple, built in the Western Jin Dynasty, and it was repaired in the Qing dynasty(Plate 1). Xianfeng years was destroyed by war, but rebuilt in the same year, It showed attention of Government and people of dynasties to Buddhism.

During the Cultural Revolution, Buddhism is considered to be superstition, so *Jiming* Temple was seriously damaged. The Government rebuilt the *Jiming* Temple in order to protect places of interest in 1979.



Photograph 1: *Jiming* Temple

However, the range of spreading Buddhism narrowed, and now there rarely is scene of burning incense worshipping Buddha at home as in ancient times. Buddhists are mainly businessmen, elderly and infirm person, or persons living in extreme disappointment now. Most people who go to the temple only occasionally wish, or only take the temple as a tourist place.

3. The impact of Taoism on the Nanjing

Taoism has a long history in Nanjing, and it occupies an important position in Chinese history, and with glorious page. Taoist Temple began in the Han Dynasty(汉) in Nanjing, and

there were well-known Taoist temples past dynasties. *Sanmaogong*(三茅宫) and Crane temple(仙鹤观) in the Eastern Han dynasty (东汉); *Dongxuanguan*(洞玄观) in the Three Kingdoms period (三国); *Chongxuguan*(崇虚观) in the Song dynasty (宋); there was Simon water temple in Southern and Northern dynasties (南北朝) to the Qing dynasty (清); there were *Doulaogong*(斗姥宫) and *Erlangmiao*(二郎庙) in Republican.

The most famous temple is *Tianfei Temple*(天妃宫) in Nanjing now. *Tianfei*(天妃) is *Mazu*(妈祖), and she is the patron saint of the ocean. Because the fifth year of the Ming *Yongle* (AD 1407), Zheng He's first voyage was smooth, *Yongle* Emperor Zhu Di built *Tianfei Temple*, and wrote the inscription personally, set stele in the temple to thank the Goddess bless the peace at sea. Zheng He has made a special trip to the *Tianfei Temple* worship *Mazu* before sailing the next six times(Plate 2).



Photograph 2: Mazu (in Tianhou Temple)

People enshrine God of wealth and the kitchen God of Taoism during the Lunar New Year in the folk to bless the people making plenty of money and living comfortable. The feudal superstitious activities were cracked down during the Cultural Revolution. Then geomancy, physiognomy fortune-telling and worship activities of Taoist was strictly prohibited. Taoist temples were reduced to be warehouse putting their things into.

In recent years, although some Taoist temples were repaired, and Taoist activities were carried out again, but very few Taoist pilgrims worship because they are rarely known to. Only businessmen will enshrine the God of Wealth in business establishments today in Nanjing. Most of fortune-telling activities and physiognomy are considered forms of entertainment, and few people believe in. There are Muslim mosques to conduct religious activities in Nanjing, but because of the small range of believers, it is not known to people.

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Folk Religion in Nanjing

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Introduction

This paper presents some tentative results of cooperative investigation into "Social anthropological research on the belief, life, and the family in present day Nanjing" in China, which was held from July 25th to September 25th 2010. I took part in studying "The Folk Religion in the City of Nanjing"⁷. My own intention in participating in this research project aims to make comparative considerations between folk religions on *Okinawa* and main land China. It is an obvious fact that folk religions such as deities and communal rituals are performed by local people, and worship practiced in the households of Southwestern Islands (i.e. *Amami*, *Okinawa*, *Miyako*, and *Yaeyama* etc.) are strongly influenced from China, with many aspects of them still commonly characterized even today.

Cultural connections between the Southwestern Islands and China are considered to have begun just after the establishment of international relations between independent *Ryukyu* Kingdom and the Ming Dynasty in 1372. *Ryukyu* Kingdom dispatched technical intern students and mutual exchange visitors were often recorded in the historical documents [Wakigami 1974:17-18, Watanabe 2008:331-334]. Under the closely related pre Japanese annexation in the 19th Century, cultural or religious life on the Southwestern Islands was considerably influenced by the Chinese main land. For example, it is understood that the belief towards *Mazu* (妈祖), known as "voyage goddess (*Tenpi*)" in China, was spread into daily life on the Islands. The same will be considered in the case of *Ishiganto* (石巖當)-Talismanic Stone-, or the enshrined cooking range [Kubo 1997].

Folk religions in the Nanjing area have never been systematically studied until today. I therefore try to shed light on this, to open people's eyes to studying present day city folk religions in Nanjing, in comparison to the Southwestern Inlands, since I have a decade's experience of field research there.

1. Outline of investigation

There were only about 40 days for the substantial investigation period, throughout the month's local stay in Nanjing City from July 25th to September 25th 2010. Moreover, the language was also restricted. Therefore, in order to grasp the situation of the belief in present day Nanjing and the folk customs religion, the following search procedures were taken in the investigation. A way of understanding a local belief and a religious situation in the region around a

⁷ The words "Folk Religion" used in this paper follow the definition of Watanabe [Watanabe1991:6-7].

religious related facility in the temple and other buildings, often easily becomes the object of focus for folk beliefs.

There are various religious facilities such as temples, mausoleums, and churches in Nanjing now, and Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity are believed in. It is said that many of temples in Nanjing have collapsed or disappeared during the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966. Most of the existing temples in Nanjing were gradually rebuilt after 1977, widely assumed to be the cessation of the Cultural Revolution. Therefore, still many temples have been approved by support from the government, and some of them were developed as sightseeing places. Reasons of restoration of these historically worthy buildings and their cultural significance enabled the cause of rebuilding religious type facilities such as temples and mausoleums.

On the other hand, regardless of the government, there are some temples that are rebuilt by public donations and protected even now by the hands of devoted adherents. In the investigation, we have examined *Shuiximentianhou* Temple (水西門天后宮) and *Hongjue* Temple (宏覺寺) especially. Temples such as these are religious institutions which have been rebuilt by public donations, and admission fees are never charged. Also I investigated *Jiming* Temple (鷄鳴寺), *Linggu* Temple (靈谷寺), *Pilu* Temple (毗盧寺) known as comparative sightseeing places. Next, I did a listening survey concerning the deity of the cooking range enshrined at each house. Furthermore, I have completed a participant observation of "*Zhongyuanjie* (中元節)" hungry ghost festival at temple and with an ordinary family, in order to focus on paper money. I completed an interview survey of a Taoist who is doing fortunetelling.

2. Paper Money

There is a festival tool called paper money in China. Watanabe describes that paper money is composed of gold and silver paper; gold paper is offered for the deities of the positive field including the *Yuhuangshangdi* (玉皇上帝) in principle, and silver paper represents the ghost of the shadow field including the ancestors in principle. In addition paper money is not always composed of two kinds of gold and silver paper, he reports the case, in which various kinds of paper money are used in different ways [Watanabe 1991: 112–114].

2.1. Golden Ingot Paper Money in *Hongjue* Temple

Firstly, I describe about the paper money composed of an ingot of gold in *Hongjue* temple. *Hongjue* temple is a Buddhism temple built in 503, located at *Niushoushan* (牛首山), *Jiangning* (江宁区) in Nanjing. The golden ingot paper money is the particular paper money used only in this *Hongjue* temple. It takes about two hours to travel from Nanjing University to *Niushoushan* where *Hongjue* temple is located. First, we took a subway train, then a bus that looked almost broken on the road with a cloud of dust, and walked for nearly an hour from the bus stop in the heat wave. A woman who had travelled on the same bus spoke to us, saying, "did you come here to meet a Buddhist temple priest?". According to her, "this priest guesses everyone's fate at first glance". He is very busy coming and going to the United States and India. She said that

there are some people those who cannot meet him even if he or she has been going to *Hongjue* temple for ten years. She also has never seen him yet herself.

After arriving, I listened the story about the features of *Hongjue* temple from the woman who lived here. According to her there is a custom of not making any charge for admission into *Hongjue* temple although many other Nanjing temples charge for admission. Moreover, the temple has not received any help from the Government, and manages most of the construction of the building in the temple, preservation, maintenance, and management, etc. covered by the believers' contributions. Priests in the temple voluntarily cultivate the field and vegetables, and follow a self sufficient life. She says that the priests here are “the priests in the true sense.” who follow a self sufficient life, in this age of the car and the cellular phone, whilst priests in many other temples receive their salary. Women perform various jobs in the temple, for instance, many sales of incense sticks, cooking, cleaning and so on. Many women work whilst living here or coming and going to *Hongjue* temple. In order to live in the temple, people have to contribute about eight *yuan* (元) a day. Moreover, the people who work at the temple are called, "people related by fate", and they believe that they can atone for their karma by working in the temple. Therefore, people come and go from everywhere to this temple, and those from Mongolia, Hong Kong, and South Korea also work here.

By the way, the Buddhist temple priest previously described is Mr. HongCheng (宏成) who is currently a high priest. He was born on August 23, 1908, and saw his 102nd birthday come around in 2010. He was trained in the mountain of *Anwei* ministry (安徽省) and then took up the current post. As the woman who travelled together with us on the bus said, people believe that the priest does not only have the ability to talk with the deities, but also the ability to guess the marriage, birth, and all fates to longevity at the mere sight of people's faces. The golden ingot paper money unique to *Hongjue* temple, was invented by the miraculous efficacy of this *HongCheng*.

One day in 2003, *HongCheng* had a mysterious dream. He dreamt that he was pulling a long, long ingot of gold, “*Jintiao* (金条)”. He accepts that this dream is a suggestion of the deity, which means "Give people a lot of money". He interpreted that *Jintiao*, which did not break, even if it was pulled and pulled, was not money of this world, but of the other world. Money of the other world has to be dedicated naturally for the people of the other world. He has been worried about the fact that many people died during the war between China and Japan, when Nanjing experienced massacre, and also when the major earthquake hit *Sichuan* (四川) recently. Some of these people had been left alone as decades passed without any understanding of even their name or gathering their bones. When thinking how he should help intervene to heal these people's sadness and pain even a little, *HongCheng* had this dream. Then, he realized that he should dedicate *Jintiao* to such people. Since then, he prepared, and when holding a memorial service, used the paper money that imitates folded *Jintiao*, as seen in his dream (photograph 1).

Jintiao is made by first laying down a stick, wrapping paper around it, making the

stick's length, stripping it off, and rolling the stick cylindrically to remove its four corners. *Jintiao* is used at mass by burning it three times a year, such as the Hungry Ghost Festival, February 19 (觀音菩薩聖誕) and July 30 (地藏王菩薩聖誕). However, this is not solely dedicated to all the dying people but is offered only to the perishing people who suffer in time of wars, disasters and other human suffering. For instance everybody thinks that when a mother and her child both die within pregnancy, their suffering is commemorated by the bereaved family purchasing *Jintiao* and the combustion of this, because they died in serious suffering. Still all buying expenses are contributed to the temple.



Photograph 1: The Golden Ingot Paper Money in *Hongjue* Temple

2.2. Hungry Ghost Festival Rituals

Next, I will discuss the Hungry Ghost Festival as an example that the paper money is actually used. The Hungry Ghost Festival is a ceremony for holding a memorial service on July 15th of agricultural calendar, and it also called *Guijie* (鬼節) [Zhang 2004:151-152]. This festival believe that the gates of hell are opened, releasing hungry ghosts to wander this world [Uematsu 1980:60]. In this paper, I will describe about the case with The Hungry Ghost Festival held in the ordinary family and *Tianhou* temple.

2.2.1. Case of *Tianhou* Temple

We investigated concerning The Hungry Ghost Festival that had been held on August 24th, 2010 (agricultural calendar July 15th) in *Tianhou* temple. *Tianhou* temple is a base of Taoism located in *Baixia* (白下区), and two or more deities including *Mazu* as Celestial Holy Mother are enshrined. It was built by the merchant in Fujian near *Yangpixiang* (羊皮巷) which is located close to the present *Xinjiekou* (新街口) in 1758. It was transferred to a present *Shuiximen* (水西門) district as a place near the station of the ship in 1812 by losing the contract, though government handouts had been received at that time. It has been rebuilt, and it stands now

although it collapsed temporarily during the Cultural Revolution period. There are four Taoists aged between 20 to 40 years as of September 2010.

In Nanjing city, there is *Tianfei* (天妃) Temple to which the same *Mazu* is enshrined in Nanjing, and it is very famous as a sightseeing spot. In contrast, *Tianhou* temple is not known to most people, and so is not developing as a sightseeing area. *Tianhou* temple is located in "Laochengnan (老城南)" district in the south side where old streets still remain in Nanjing shown in the preface. The annual event is held 29 times a year in *Tianhou* temple (Table 1). Most of the annual events are held in order to celebrate the birth of the Taoist deities and also charms, prayers, and Taoist consultations are done. Most visitors live in the neighborhood.

天后宫上仙圣诞 会期一览表

正月初一日	元始天尊圣诞	六月十五日	王灵官圣诞
正月初五日	五路财神真君圣诞	六月十九日	慈航观音圣诞
正月初九日	玉皇大帝圣诞	七月十五日	中元地官圣诞
正月十五日	上元天官圣诞	七月十九日	值年太岁星君圣诞
正月十九日	邱祖长春真人圣诞	八月十五日	太阴朝元
二月初二日	福德正神圣诞 (龙头头)	九月初九日	斗母元君圣诞 九皇星君圣诞
二月初三日	文昌帝君圣诞		重阳祖师圣诞 玄天上帝飞升日
二月十五日	太上老君圣诞	九月十九日	慈航观音圣诞
二月十九日	慈航观音圣诞	十月初八日	天下放生日
三月初三日	王母娘娘圣诞 真武大帝圣诞	十月十五日	下元水官圣诞
三月十五日	财神赵公元帅圣诞	十月二十三日	黄大仙圣诞
三月二十三日	天上圣母妈祖圣诞	冬月十一日	太乙救苦天尊圣诞
四月十四日	吕祖洞宾圣诞	腊月初八日	腊八节 (普施腊八粥)
四月十八日	神医华陀先师诞	腊月二十五日	迎玉皇大帝下界
五月十三日	关帝君圣诞 财神日	腊月三十日	万仙下界日

Table 1: Annual Event of *Tianhou* Temple

The people in the neighborhood gather at around 9:00 am on the day of the Hungry Ghost Festival. People prepare a red paper bag called *hongbao* (紅包) and pack the paper money inside, and bring these either on the day or before. These paper money bags, the ones sold from 5 to about 20 *yuan* in *Tianhou* temple, or those folded by Taoists might be used. *Hongbao* offered from people are piled up ahead of the deities. The names of the dying people are written on the surface of the *hongbao*. From 10:00 am to about 12:30, Taoists offer the paper money folded also with gold paper to the alter where they offer songs and prayers in front of the deities (photograph 2). The prayer takes about 30 minutes, and the paper money offerings are burned in the courtyard when the prayer ends. Still visitors to *Tianhou* temple offer incense sticks, lighting these, and then afterwards praying to the deities in general, they burn paper money brought together in the

courtyard (photograph 3). They burn yellow paper as it is, and gold paper after folding it into the shape of *yuenbao* (元宝). Occasionally they burn paper houses, paper cars, paper clothes and so on at the same time. When the Taoist prayers end, they have a vegetarian meal cooked by Taoists altogether, contribute and go home.



Photograph 2: The Prayer



Photograph 3: Burning Paper Money

2.2.2. Case of Ordinary Homes

Next, I will describe the Hungry Ghost Festival in ordinary homes. About 5 days before, the paper money used for The Hungry Ghost Festival starts to be sold in shops and stalls where water and cigarettes are usually sold. Various kinds of paper money such as *yuanbao*, silver paper, gold paper, and yellow paper are mainly sold (photograph 4). In some shops, the storekeeper themselves folds the paper money and sell it at times. They are priced from roughly 5 to about 35 *yuan* though the prices differ depending on the shops.

In the home which we surveyed this time, they fold paper money and prepare to pack it in *hongbao* and more on the night of the 23rd. Still, with spectacles such as burning of paper money and the Hungry Ghost Festival, it is assumed that people should not witness generally. Therefore, when I took pictures of paper money, I received advice, saying, “you should not take pictures because they are unlucky things” from many people. Also, I had advice from the woman in the house where I investigated this time, who said “buy and offer some apples if something bad happens in the investigation.” Everybody bought eight pieces each, and offered four to the ghost, and I took home four for myself.

Paper money has been burnt in this house at 12 o'clock noon from generation to generation, though mostly paper money is assumed to burn from 10 pm to about 2 o'clock after midnight in front of the house. Moreover, offerings to ancestors have to be silver paper; they use gold paper and silver paper properly. The paper money is burnt outside and just inside the house

gate. It is burnt similarly at the outside entrance to the house and inside the house in the condominium. Besides, it is burnt everywhere such as the roadside, the alley and all around. Initially a first circle is drawn on the ground with a stick before paper money is burnt, and paper money burnt in the circle is common. This circle represents the other side, literally, the other world. A circle of about 40 centimeters is roughly drawn although it is not closed completely. It becomes the entrance for dead souls through the opening of between three and five centimeters. In essence, the other world is temporarily created in our world by drawing a circle, and the door of the other world is thus opened so that the dead souls can enter. It began to rain in the evening on the 24th when the Hungry Ghost Festival was held. However, the spectacle of burning paper money was witnessed by people holding umbrellas in the rain (photograph 5).



Photograph 4: Selling Paper Money



Photograph 5: Burning Paper Money

3. Deity of the Cooking Range

In China from long ago, the deity of the kitchen is a main divinity in Taoism along with other deities [Ikeda1981:807]. Takigawa calls the deity enshrined in such home sites generically “house of deities”, and reports the case of the village of *Hebei* (河北) in China. According to *Takigawa*, *Zaoshen* (灶神) meaning deity of the kitchen is the most widespread deity enshrined in the house in China [Takigawa2003: 64–70] .

In this investigation, the listening survey for people aged between 20-70 years, concerns such etiquettes and house of deities. I had an interview to discover whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* and whether there were other deities enshrined.

3.1. Ordinary family in Nanjing

In this investigation I interviewed 10 people who are aged between 20 - 70 years, living in Nanjing as to whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* (Table 2). It is clear to understand through

checking Table 2, that *Zaoshen* were not enshrined in most houses. I visited three places; namely a newly wed couple's new house who are born in Nanjing and living in Nanjing city, a house of a married couple in their fifties and a house of a married couple in their seventies. This sign was shown in Table 2 to represent these people.

First of all, the deities were not enshrined in the new house of a newly wed couple in their twenties who lived in the *Qixia* (栖霞) district. They said that although they knew the existence of *Zaoshen*, however they did not think to enshrine the deity when they built their new house, and "our generation don't have the concept of enshrining the gods at home". Next, there was no enshrining *Zaoshen* and the deities especially at home in the house of a married couple in their fifties either, who lived in the *Xuanwu* (玄武) district.

Moreover, I heard the story that "If they are elderly people, they are likely to enshrine even in Nanjing." In my interview investigation, therefore I had a look at the house of a married couple in their seventies who live in *Gulou* (鼓楼) district. However they don't enshrine *Zaoshen* either. As a tendency though they knew the existence of *Zaoshen* it seemed that they don't dare to enshrine it.

Of course, all realities of *the Zaoshen* in Nanjing cannot be clarified by such a limited investigation. Therefore, I plan to continue the investigation over a very wide area from now on as well.

Area	Generation	Sex	Birth place	Marriage	<i>Zaoshen</i>
● <i>Gulou</i>	70s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	50s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	40s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	40s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	30s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Gulou</i>	20s	F	<i>Jilin</i> (吉林省) <i>Tonghua</i> (通化) city	Single	Enshrining by Mother in the parents' family
● <i>Xuanwu</i>	50s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Jiangyu</i>	40s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
<i>Jiangyu</i>	30s	M	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining
● <i>Qixia</i>	20s	F	Nanjing	Married	Not enshrining

Table 2. the Deity of the Cooking Range

3.2. Temple of Nanjing city

On the other hand, I investigated whether they enshrine *Zaoshen* in *Tianhou* temple and *Hongjue* temple. The reason why I paid attention to *Tianhou* temple and *Hongjue* temple is that according to these, there is a custom for them to serve meals to visitors in these temples, and a special kitchen is set up for this in the temple.

Firstly in *Tianhou* temple, a meal is prepared in a special kitchen and they treat visitors to it in the room next to the kitchen, in case that neighborhood people visit at lunchtime (11 o'clock to 12 o'clock), including days when the holy birthdays (indicated in the annual event table

previously shown) are celebrated. Though *Tianhou* temple usually shuts the gate around 5 o'clock, sometimes supper is served when visitors rarely visit just before shutting the gate. The content of the meal is mainly vegetarian, composing 4 - 5 pieces of fried food, soup, rice and so on. For instance, they have fried potatoes, red pepper, green beans, dry bean *tofu* and soup with egg and seaweed. In addition, an increase of two or three meals are added when there is the Hungry Ghost Festival and other big events. Visitors to a shrine contribute to the meal. Taoist in their forties are mainly taking charge of all meals which are served to visitors and Taoists who live in the temple. In the courtyard they breed chickens that lay the eggs used for cooking, and dry vegetable in the sun.

In *Tianhou* Temple, the deities are enshrined in the room where they eat and this kitchen respectively. First in the kitchen, a red paper is pasted on two kitchen ranges, and the censers are put on. On the red paper, is drawn a picture of *Zaowangye* (灶王爷) and “上天呈好事” -it means please say only good things to supreme deity of the heaven- and “下界保平安”- which means please keep peace in our world” . This is placed on the water next to the incense burner. Next to the incense burner is a cup of water. This deity is *Zaoshen* (photograph 6). A Taoist who cooks every meal every day in the temple, adds some water and incense every morning. According to him “women are not allowed in the kitchen and *Zaoshen* is always enshrined by men”. Also the room where people and Taoists eat is an enshrined deity of the kitchen “*Xiangchuchaogongtianzun* (香厨炒供天尊)” (photograph 7). Usually it is called *Chushen* (厨神).

Next, in *Hongjue* temple a meal is prepared in a special kitchen and visitors are treated to it in the room next to the kitchen, too. The meal is mainly a vegetarian meal, with food including two types of fried beans or seaweed, and rice in the rice bowl. As I said earlier a lot of women work and live in *Hongjue* temple. Therefore, they are cooking there too. As I confirmed, there are two kitchens and enshrined *Zaoshen* respectively. They are enshrined by women and there are an incense burner, two candles, apples, pears, oranges, peaches, peanuts, confectionery and a watermelon.



Photograph 6: *Zaoshen*



Photograph 7: *Zaoshen*

3. 3. Case of *Kaixiangong* village, *Wujiang* city

As I mentioned before, nine people who live in Nanjing and who have not enshrined *Zaoshen*, answered with the reason that “Nanjing is an urban area”, “since the Cultural Revolution happened, such beliefs have disappeared.” Indeed, one woman who responded about enshrining *Zaoshen* was from her birth area of *Tonghua* city, *Jilin*.

For that reason, in order to research the actual practice of *Zaoshen* in other areas, in this investigation I have done so in *Kaixiangong* (开弦弓) village, too. Next, to put it briefly. *Kaixiangong* village is a famous area on account of the research of FEI Xiaotong (费孝通) who is follower of Malinowski and a considerable number of studies have been conducted [Fei 1986] .

The population of *Kaixiangong* village consists of 816 men and 829 women, a total of 1645 people (as of 2008). They are mostly farmers and engaged in spinning. In *Kaixiangong* village where there are 5 temples, people living in this village go there every first and fifth day every month.

From the result of this investigation, it was found that most people living in this village enshrined *Zaoshen* in the kitchen of their own houses with an incense burner. Also, *Zaoshen* is enshrined by the wives of the house owners and they offer incense sticks every morning to pray for healing of their family. On the other hand, Christians do not enshrine *Zaoshen*. However, from September 2010, there were 35 Christian people. Therefore, there are 1,610 people enshrining *Zaoshen* (photograph 8).



Photograph 8: *Zaoshen*

4. Fortunetelling

4.1. Altar

Next I will describe the case of a man named Mr. *Y*, who is in his sixties living in Nanjing, *Liuhe* (六合) district. He is a Taoist whose profession is fortune telling. Since acquiring the fortune telling skill from a Taoist who became his master when he was young, he belongs to a fortune telling society and is working.

Fortune telling is principally known as *Suanming* (算命) and *Shengchenbazi* (生辰八字) in China. Mr. *Y* foretells the technique for deriving the fate based on *Yin-Yang* (陰陽) and the five elements, four pillars of astrology and so forth, for the birth year, month, date and time when the client was born. He corresponds to all the consultations concerning the work of the client, their marriage, any pregnancy, and health. It is usual to pay about 300 *yuan* from 200 *yuan*, although the fortune telling charge is different depending on the content of each request. The clients are both women and men, and also the age is broad enough from twenties to eighties. They often ask Mr. *Y* mostly by introduction and hearing rumours. When people request fortune telling, they contact by phone in advance and visit his house. When the clients visit his home, they are allowed into his workroom.

In this room there is an enshrined altar. The altar is assembled on a big desk in such a shape that the dividing shelf splits into two steps like the stairs. It is a shape of putting two or more deities such as *Wenchang Dijun* (文昌帝君) -deity of education, *Caishen* (財神) -deity of wealth-, *Guanyu* (關羽) and more widely seen in Taoism, where the wooden board on which is written *Tai SangLaoJun* (太上老君) is put on the centre in the uppermost part of steps and enclosing wooden board surroundings. One incense burner is put on the steps under the board, and apples and pears are offered to both sides. Bags of pink color (*Fenhongbao*) are piled in front of the incense burner, and pink talismans are put around the modesty panel of the desk. Mr. *Y* makes all these *Fenhongbao* and the talismans.

By the way, such a so-called fortuneteller's existence is known comparatively widely in Nanjing City. For instance, it is often seen that the fortunetellers wait for the people visiting the temple around *Jimini* temple and *Pilu* temple and call, "can I read your character through your face?" and "what about taking a look your palm?". Sometimes they grip the tourist's arm, and call, "you'd better take a look, because some bad luck has been seen on your face" etc. Such fortunetellers chiefly foretell, that is by reading facial features, the lines on palms, the name oromancy, four-pillar astrology and *Fengshui* (風水). Fortune tellers wait for people who visit and call them while the temple is open, then they return to their home at the same time as the temple is closing. That is, most fortunetellers in the temple do not have their own shops, and never foretell at home. Of course, some of them have their own shops to foretell, and some of them foretell at home like Mr. *Y* as well. However, when thinking whether all fortune tellers enshrine the altar at home, it might be able to be said that Mr. *Y* is a little peculiar case. Next, we should think about the reason why he enshrines his altar.

4. 2. Ability to do *Huajie*

Then, I need to mention about handmade bags and talismans of Mr. *Y* whom I previously described. In fact he is known as a special fortuneteller who not merely tells fortunes, but can actually do "*Huajie* (化解)". *Huajie* is a Chinese term used to mean dissolving, or releasing in Chinese. However, this *Huajie* is explained for him and the client as his special power. In order to describe *Huajie*, it is necessary to describe about his work further.

First of all, Mr. *Y* writes down his client's name, date of birth, arising time, and the content of the consultation in notes relating to the client's visit directly, and through the telephone. When he attains a result, he calls the client or he will foretell it by the time the client visits later. Visiting his house, the client is seated on the chair in Mr. *Y*'s workroom. He first tells the client a good part based on the result of the fortune telling written on paper in advance, and, next, tells a bad part. As for him, questions, worries, and the consultation are further to that. The time might take roughly between 30 minutes up to 1 hour and last 2 or 3 hours at times though there is individual variation. If the client's worry is solved by this first fortune telling result, it is unquestionable. However, sometimes that might not be resolved only by fortune telling, and further treatment may be needed. At this time, he does *Huajie*.

Mr. *Y* says that he has judged 500 people or more so far. The times when he does *Huajie*, for instance, are when clients want him to help a family member who is near death getting leukemia, when the clients worry because of infertility, and want to get pregnant from an age problem by all means for years by the end of this year, and moreover when they want to obtain contracts earlier than rival companies. He said that *Huajie* mainly enables even "moving time" as not only with regard to disease treatment but also bringing forward time of marriage, pregnancy, business contract and so on. He also said that *Huajie* prolongs life at times, and there is actually an example of prolonging a dying 87 year-old's fate life up to 97 years old as well. Besides, he says that he can change the fate by doing *Huajie* towards a bad star that was voluntarily born and had

being clarified by four-pillar astrology.

Enumerating one example of the bad star assuming that you should do *Huajie* is if they are *yangren* (羊刃), *guluan* (孤鸾), *shangjiecai* (伤劫财) or *caijieshang* (财劫伤), etc. For instance, according to Mr. *Y*'s explanation *yangren* is thought to be the star which not only brings his wife's fortune, if it is a man, and if it is a woman, his bad fortune, but also carries bad luck to make a body be sick. Moreover, Luan of *guluan* means the ptarmigan of the legend, and because there is a meaning of living alone and solitarily, it suggests that married life doesn't go well. And, it is said that *jieshangcai* is the star which makes things go wrongly for people, such as getting sick and preventing them from marrying. To do *Huajie*, the name of the client and the star are written in pink talismans as previously described and put on the desk in the altar. And also, the paper that is inscribed with the client's name and so on used when he judges is put in *Fenhongbao*, and written in this bag as well as the talismans. *Huajie* needs to pray another prayer four times. He basically prays alone. To do spending seven days at a time, it takes 28 days in total. He said that he keeps on praying singlemindedly burning incense sticks for 28 days, although the detailed content of the prayer was not clarified because he said that it was a secret ceremony. Moreover, *Fenhongbao*, the offerings from the clients, the gratitude goods, etc. were burned without opening the seal. In the rooftop in his house, the prayer place is set up and three big incense burners and three medium incense burners are set up. He prays a comparatively "heavy" prayer to a big incense burner, and when it seems that it is lighter than it, he prays with a small incense burner. Offering the incense sticks to the incense burner completes the prayer. However it all depends on his judgment whether the content of the prayer is heavy or is light, for instance, he says at times that he will use a big incense burner when he treats for sicknesses such as fatal disease and cancer, etc. which people do not recover easily from.

Thus, to do *Huajie*, a large amount of incense sticks are needed. The incense sticks are sold from 15 to about 20 *yuan* in the Buddhist altar fittings shop around the temple. Because an incense stick of about 400 *yuan* is used for one prayer, the clients who request *Huajie* pay the incense sticks fee of 1600 *yuan* at least and, in addition, pay the prayer fee separately. The price of the prayer fee is, like everything, decided by the client's feelings. I heard that some of them paid 5000 *yuan* as well. The clients whose worries were safely solved by *Huajie* visit him again, and show their gratitude to the deities of the altar. They offer the altar fruits such as apples and grapes, and offer the incense burner three incense sticks. They return after giving a reward until the incense sticks burn out. He said that there are some people who never come to give a reward either though they ask for *Huajie* or the worries have been resolved.

There was a single woman in her forties. She worried about the fact that she couldn't marry for years. One day she heard the rumor of Mr. *Y* from a man who lived in Nanjing, whom she visited and foretold her fortune. The fact that she does not have the husband's star was clarified which means that is, her destiny is that she cannot marry. However, she asked her acquaintance to introduce someone and held a wedding at once, because if she strongly wanted to

marry, it would be fatally better for her to get married within the year. She said that married life did not go well probably because they didn't understand each other's character well. He heard of this story by chance saying that he thinks, "the married life doesn't go well because they don't give a reward though the god did *Huajie*".

He prays to the deities offering incense sticks to the incense burner of the rooftop at about 11 pm every day, except when he does *Huajie*. Sometimes he might be taught from the deities about answering worries from the client, and he occasionally calls the client even if it is midnight. For instance, one Japanese man in his thirties who worked at Nanjing was taught by his acquaintance, "there was one interesting person." and visited Mr. *Y*. First he was a mere curiosity, but was foretold various things that occurred in his life, after that he requested Mr. *Y* to do *Huajie*. He visited Mr. *Y* to consult concerning work in around December 2009. In the judgment of Mr. *Y*, he says that this man doesn't have a star called *guiren* (貴人) in his destiny. According to Mr. *Y* this *guiren* shows the thing of existence that helps in life crisis. Therefore, Mr. *Y* advised this man that he should search out the person who corresponded to *guiren* in his human relations, which means that he needs to find someone who helps him. However, Mr. *Y* offered incense sticks to the incense burner of the rooftop, and asked the deities, though *guiren* could not be derived easily by the sexagenary cycle and compatibility, etc. Around one o'clock after midnight, the man was called by Mr. *Y*, and told, "the woman whom you met three days ago is noble *guiren*". The man says that he employed her as a secretary in the company afterwards because there was a woman who just got acquainted three days ago. He said that this man visits Mr. *Y* about four times a year, and consults him concerning his work.

Moreover, Mr. *Y* installed a small altar in his living room and enshrined the deities therein. The deities such as *Budai* (布袋) -deity of contentment and happiness-, *SangLaoJun* and others, are put on the altar. Incense was put in front of the idols, and apples, bananas, and other fruit were offered. Incense sticks are offered every day.

As mentioned above, the deities of the Taoism are enshrined in two places of his workroom and living room in his house, in addition, the altar where the incense burner was offered is set up in the rooftop. The reason why Mr. *Y* enshrines the deities to the house; first there would be one point that he foretells by the way the client visits his house. Next, he is able to enumerate the point that he needs the power of the deities in order to perform the special method called *Huajie*. Also it can be said that he offers a place to pray even for the clients to pray to the deities, or to give a reward. Of course, it will be necessary to advance the investigation about the relationship between the fortuneteller and the altar in the future.

5. Conclusion

This paper attempted to examine the contemporary folk religion in Nanjing such as 'paper money', deity of the cooking range and fortunetelling. I investigated 'Zaoshen' listening to ten people who currently live in Nanjing city. I found that *Zaoshen* were not enshrined in most houses except for a woman who was born in *Jinlin*. On the other hand, *Tianhou* temples and

Hongjue temples have enshrined *Zaoshen* in the kitchen annexed to the temple. In *Tianhou* temples, *Zaoshen* are enshrined by Taoist male followers who are allowed to enter the kitchen. In contrast, in *Hongjue* temples, *Zaoshen* are enshrined by women who work and live there. Local people explained the reason that they did not have enshrined *Zaoshen* is due to the modernization or urbanization of Nanjing city. In fact in the case of *Wujiang* city three hours from Nanjing city by highway express bus, most people enshrined their kitchen in the same year except those who follow Christianity.

Takigawa reports on the case of a farm village in *Hebei*. She wrote, “in general, now it is not enshrined in the houses of young married people who establish a family branch, even though still enshrined in many of houses where the old people live” [Takigawa 2003:81] . In the case of the *Hebei*, a more modest tolerant policy towards religions has commenced since 1980, and the mausoleum where the deities in the village are enshrined was rebuilt, with traditional events revived, Takigawa indicates that the deities are based on these passage [Takigawa 2003:64].

As reported in this paper, many temples were once collapsed during the Cultural Revolution, but they have been newly rebuilt. However, most people did not dare to enshrine the deity of the cooking range in Nanjing, unlike the rural area in *Hebei*.

Future direction

As mentioned above, I have considered the realities of religious folk customs in present day Nanjing in this report. Just because it is not immediately easy to compare and discuss the case of Nanjing and Southwestern Islands, it can be said that this investigation is sure to indicate the basic data when in future the culture and historical background of the Islands are considered. Using this result of the survey as a key to inform my future work, I will then search for the direction of the comparison research.

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Japanese Emigrants' Process of Settling in Nanjing in 1900s-2000s

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Introduction

It is often said that Japanese people like living within the country rather than experiencing life in abroad. In this globalizing era, however, the number of Japanese who go out to other countries has been increased. For instance, Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas shows that the number of Japanese staying abroad has approximately doubled from 548,404 to 1,116,993 between 1988 and 2008. Their purpose has got more variety: for business, for study, for marriage, for fun, for better life, for new career, etc. As well as the purpose, their destinations have been getting more and more diverse. Nanjing is one of such destinations and has various types of Japanese residents.

This paper aims to reveal Japanese emigrants' process of settling in Nanjing, especially focusing on those who have settled for years and live locally. Nanjing locates near from Shanghai, which is one of the biggest business cities in China and has lots of Japanese people more than 40 thousands, however, it has a few number of Japanese residents such as 300-600. Some reasons can be pointed out: the size of the city, its market's tendency of close to foreign capital and a few Japanese companies, or relationship between China and Japan after WWII. Though the number of Japanese people is small, still there are some people living in Nanjing for years. What kind of people chose Nanjing as their living place? Why did they choose Nanjing as their destination?

Through describing the typology of those who live in Nanjing and investigate their motivation to stay in Nanjing, I try to disclose the features of emigrants in Nanjing, which is different from other large cities shown in the previous literatures. This is also a case study report of the new trend of Japanese staying a city of China after the Reform and Open.

1. Purpose

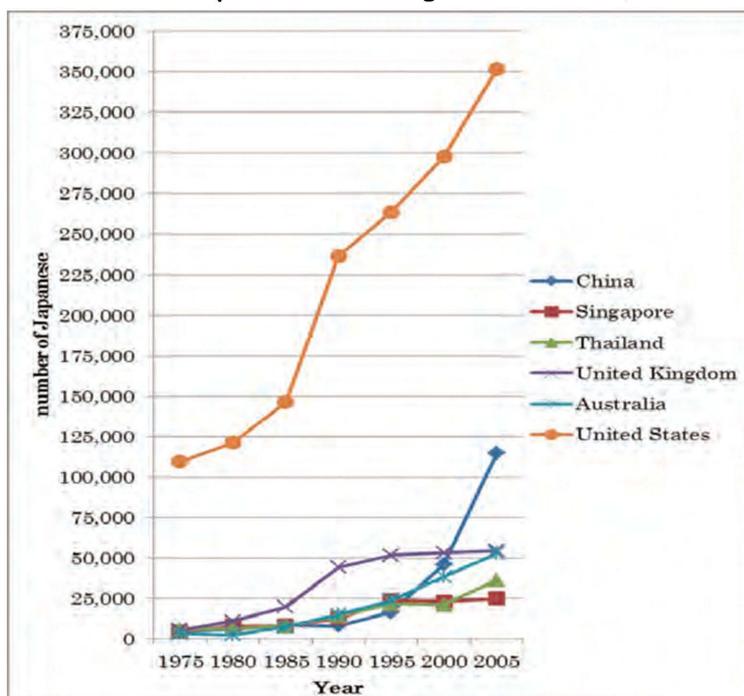
In this globalizing world, the characteristics or the process of migration has been changing in Japan as well as in other areas. Briefly overviewing the history of emigration in Japan, in 1970s, under the rapid economic growth, men business expatriates and their families moved abroad accordingly to the offshore transfer of Japanese companies. This is a drastic change of the quality of Japanese migrants from labor migrants sent by the government to Hawaii, North and South America etc. till the early 1970s. Following this tide, from 1980s-90s the variation of emigrants got increased, such as young women to Western countries and Asia via opportunities of overseas student programs, working holiday programs, or the locally employed working system; young men who remained in Asian countries while their back pack tour, so called “*sotokomori*(外こもり)”; elder people who enjoy their lifestyle in southern countries, being cared or transferring

their special techniques to the developing areas. Their destinations has become various and their way of emigrants also has got diverse, according to the socio-economic changes such as the long and serious depression in Japan while the economic development in the developing countries, particularly in Asian countries.

The previous literatures on the Japanese emigrants mostly focus on the large cities with lots of Japanese such as London[Sakai, J 2000], New York and London[Fujita 2008], Los Angeles[Minamikawa 2005], Dusseldorf[Grabe 2003], or Hong Kong[Sakai, C 2003]. Other literatures which investigated the whole countries, still mainly focus on the large cities. Now we need to see the variation of Japanese migrants and find the different ways of emigration to small cities. I chose Nanjing as the field because the city is in China, in which the number of Japanese has increasing(see Figure 1⁸), however it is a small city and has small number of Japanese. I try to broaden the literatures of Japanese emigrants in abroad using the example of Nanjing city.

In this paper I concentrate on the former part of their migration process and overview the typology of those emigrants so as to reveal an aspect of Japanese emigrants' process of settling in Nanjing. Why did they decide to emigrate? How did they choose Nanjing as their destination? What are the common features and the differences between migrants in Nanjing and those who in other large cities?

Figure 1. The Number of Japanese in Foreign Countries⁹ (1975-2005)



based on “Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas”
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (1976-2006)

⁸ Though the number of Japanese in the US is much larger than other countries, you would find the presence of China for Japan has getting larger since the late 1990s.

⁹ This concludes both permanent residents, and temporary residents who stay more than 3 months.

2. Research Methods

Period of research is from July 25th to September 19th. In order to expose the emigrants' view through the process of migration, I mainly used semi-structured interview (sample size is 18 in total). I used the snowball sampling technique to identify interviewees and the starting point of the snowball sampling was a Chinese woman who has worked in a Japanese company and central members of Japanese associations. Since I focus on people who settled for years and live locally in this paper, I chose people who have lived or at least intend to live for several years in Nanjing. To focus on this group, I do not tell much about expatriates sent by their headquarters in Japan as well as the wives of them, or students sent by their universities (although some of them study at their own expense for 1 year or more than 4 years), who are generally separated from the local community. However I'll briefly refer to the elderly students since their choices are new and reflects the recent social changes in Japan. Moreover, some of them stay as long as 6 or 8 years and can be core members of Japanese community in Nanjing. The general information of interviewees is hereunder. Considering the fact that the informants live not concentrated but separated, while the assigned business expatriates often said to live around *Xinjiekou*(新街口), which is the central area of Nanjing city, it can be said that the informants live more locally than business expatriates.

General information of Interviewees

total number	18
age	24-77
sex	M:F=7:2
income	3,000-15,000RMB (note1)
marital status	married 13 married to Chinese 6
period of stay	1-10years
living place	separated

note1)except for people who didn't earn when the interview held

In addition, I also used the following techniques to clarify the whole image of Japanese: students, expatriates, wife of them, entrepreneurs, Japanese teachers, and their life in Nanjing. I attended a tennis circle on Sunday, the special party for Chinese and Japanese students who have studied in Japan before and who are studying in Nanjing on September 19th. I observe and joined Japanese classes both in a public and in a private school, where Japanese residents teach or work as volunteers. I attended the Japanese School¹⁰ (日本語補習授業校) for Japanese children, using the same curriculum as in Japan, supported by Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日

¹⁰ the Japanese School(日本語補習授業校) was built in 2006, locates at the edge of the central city. It was formally recognized as an, educational facilities in abroad of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in 2007 fiscal year. It has classes of Japanese, mathematics, and social studies etc. for school children, drawing and manual arts, reading picture books or other activities for kindergartener, on Saturday morning. After the Lefman shock the number of the students decreased sharply and now the school has 1 in kindergarten, 2 in primary school and 1 in junior high school. Japanese students who study Mandarin in university are employed as teachers.

本商工クラブ). I visited a Japanese style bar and a bar where lots of Japanese people gather. Through these observation, I communicate with young students in Nanjing University(南京大学) and Nanjing Normal University(南京師範大学), expatriates and a wife of those expatriates. I collected magazines-for-free for Japanese residents in Nanjing named “MAP(城市指南) magazine¹¹”.

Plate 1: The Building Japanese School (日本語補習授業校) use¹²



Plate 2: Japanese version of MAP(城市指南) magazine



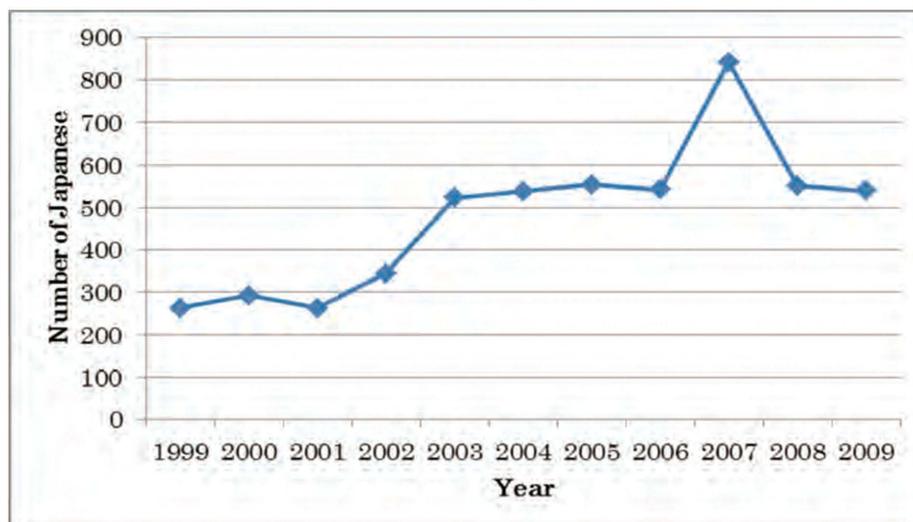
¹¹ “MAP” has Chinese version, English version, Japanese version and Korean version, published by *Maiqiuchuanmei*(麦秋传媒). The English version started 8 years ago, followed by the Japanese version 3 years ago. The Korean version is the new one and began to be published last year. Each of them has different articles, including local information such as of events, of restaurants or of clinics, etc. They are put in public spaces such as universities or restaurants.

¹² Japanese School (日本語補習授業校) use class rooms of Nanjing international school building.

3. General Information about Japanese in Nanjing

The transition of the number of Japanese people in Nanjing is given hereunder. It indicates that the number is approximately more than 200 and less than 600 and has gradually increased in the former part of 2000s and relatively got stable except for the sudden increase in 2007. It counts 500-600 in these 2 years.

Figure 2. The Number of Japanese in Nanjing¹³(1999-2009)



based on “Annual report of statistics on Japanese nationals overseas”
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan,
inquired of Consulate-General of Japan in Shanghai

I found three central communities for Japanese residents: Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日本商工クラブ), Japanese Association(日本人会), and Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会). Japanese Club of Commerce and Industry(南京日本商工クラブ) have approximately 80 corporations and approximately 25 personal members in 2010 and the officer told the increase and decrease of the number have been stable and have not experienced the sharp change. It started in the end of 1990s. On the one hand, Japanese Community(日本人会) began 3 years ago and has many personal members such as entrepreneurs or students. Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) has approximately 30 members (M:F=4:1) in Nanjing city in 2010. Male members consist of 7 in 20-30s, 3 in 40-50, 11 in 60-70s. Female members are composed of 4 in 20-30s and 1 in 60-70s. Japanese residents also have some small circles or communities such as a tennis circle. A number of the tennis circle told that because of the small number of the Japanese residents, they could not make each prefecture associations and so they collected members, using fliers in Japanese restaurants, Bars or “Clubs”, widely from business expatriates, entrepreneurs, to locally employed workers. In addition, some

¹³ The data is at the time of October 1th of each year, includes both permanent residents and temporary residents who have stayed or will stay more than 3 months. However the reported permanent resident in Nanjing city is 1 person in 2008 and in 2009.

universities have Japanese student associations.

Restaurants, Bars, and “Clubs” for Japanese increased and most informants said the living environments were getting better and better. According to the 2010 September issue of the “MAP”(number 38), Nanjing has 15 Japanese restaurants and most of them concentrates in *Xinjiekou*(新街口) area.

4. Typology of Japanese Residents in Nanjing

In this section I try to describe the typology of the Japanese residents in Nanjing, concentrating on their way to Nanjing and the reason they chose this city. Although their business status, marital status or other environments are various, main groups could be summarized according to their main field of activity as 1)independent business person, 2) Japanese teacher, 3)locally employed worker, and 4)elder student. in addition. From a viewpoint of protection of personal information, I cut the biographies of informants and just concentrate on general tendency of informants.

4-1. Independent Business Person

In Nanjing it's hard to be employed as local staff because of 1)a few Japanese companies and 2)few staffing agencies for Japanese residents. As mentioned before, there are not so much Japanese companies in Nanjing(see He(2003)¹⁴ etc. to understand the reasons of the small number of Japanese companies). In addition, they do not have staffing agencies only for Nanjing. A staffing agency located in Suzhou(苏州) covers the whole Jiangsu province(江苏省) especially like Nanjing, Wuxi(无锡), and Kunshan(昆山) since 2007. However it looks still not used by Japanese residents in Nanjing. In this situation, a way of getting money for non-expatriates is to do their own small business. Independent business people include both the elder and the younger.

A man came to Nanjing as a business partner of other Chinese. He simply suggests his reason of emigration was the lower rate than Japan, which means it was easy to start a new business with small amount of initial capitals. He thought his initial capitals were small for a new business in Japan, but enough in China. The reason of choosing Nanjing was 1)convenient place to have an office for the business and 2)moderate developed area; not so much developed and good for him to transfer his technology and make use of his ability acquired in Japan; not so less developed to live.

¹⁴ He insists the historical problem still has an effect on the difficulty in business of Japanese companies in Nanjing, however, it is not the only factor. He points out 5 reasons for the small number of Japanese companies in Nanjing such as industrial environment, geographical disadvantage. Here I add the effect of the historical problem between China and Japan to the life of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Most informants exaggerated the gap between the image of Nanjing made by mass media and their daily life in Nanjing. They told they needed to keep in mind that they lived in Nanjing as foreigner/Japanese, however, their friends worried too much about the situation of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Additionally, I met 2 Japanese who made efforts to improve the relationship of the two countries through grassroots culture exchange in the symbolic city of Nanjing.

The other man began his own business after working in China as a business expatriate. He mentioned 3 reasons to start his business in Nanjing. At first, he compares Nanjing with Shanghai and thought the labor cost in Shanghai is too expensive, additionally the center of the Chinese business would be moving to the inland area, where locates closer to Nanjing. He judged Nanjing is a potential business city. Second, he appreciates the living environment of Nanjing. He told that the city has a long history with many remains or monuments and has lots of trees. The last one is his experience to work in there. He knew well about the city and he has developed his business network in that city.

In these 2 cases, working experience, whether it was as expatriates or business owner, would be a crucial factor to start his own business in Nanjing and middle aged person would be better to start his/her business. However, the third person is younger and has no experience of living in Nanjing before.

A man in his late 30s at first considered Shanghai for the place to do his business, however he did not find a good location because of the high price. A Chinese friend asked him to go to Nanjing, introducing a plan of building a new shopping area like *Xintiandi*(新天地)¹⁵ in Shanghai. That place matched their image of the place for their shop.

From above, some important factors to choose Nanjing to do their business could be pointed out; the lower monetary value in China than Japan and the lower labor price or equipment cost than other cities such as Shanghai. Now Shanghai is much developed and needs much amount of money for new business. They use the condition of moderate developed to start a small business with small amount of capitals. In addition, the living environment, which means lots of trees and enough developed is also important to decide to settle in, which is important not only for entrepreneurs but for elder students or other type of emigrants. And not all but in some cases the experience of staying and network built in Nanjing before effects their choice of the place for business and living.

4-2. Japanese Teacher

According to Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会), there are at least 30 Japanese teachers in Nanjing. Japanese teacher is one of the usual ways of staying abroad since it is easy to get working visa as professional job of Japanese. This situation is similar to other cities. In previous researches I conducted in Hong Kong and Shanghai, I met some Japanese teachers. Some books for possible emigrants to abroad introduces this job as an useful option[Sudo 2007:42-43, Alc 2010 etc.]. These days there are some training schools for people who want to be Japanese teachers in Japan. In addition, Nanjing has many universities and schools and some of them have Japanese classes. Japanese institutions in Jiangsu province(江苏省) counts

¹⁵ *Xintiandi*(新天地) is a famous shopping, eating and entertainment district located in the central area of Shanghai. It reconstituted the traditional *shikumen*(石库门) houses, which is an traditional architectural style of residential buildings in Shanghai. It recreates the scenery of the old French Settlement and has some cafes, restaurants and shopping malls.

29 and most of them locates in Nanjing city¹⁶. This works as a pull factor.

Japanese is one of popular languages for Chinese students. Professor Peng, the sub-manager of the Japanese department of school of foreign studies of Nanjing University, points out the changes of the tendency of students who learn Japanese. In his generation students yearned to the electrical appliances or the industrial technology of Japan and wanted to get a good job. While now students are attracted by Japanese popular culture such as cartoons and comics, or the youth culture. They choose Japanese for their pleasure rather than for their future career¹⁷. The situation has changing, but still Japanese language has its position in foreign languages for Chinese students.

Let me introduce the other episode. A Japanese teacher of a public school which has Japanese classes, told the students in Nanjing want much more opportunities to use Japanese with native speakers but it's a little difficult since the number of Japanese people who can help them is very small. He held a party for communication of Japanese students and Chinese students, and found the number of Chinese students who want to participate in is much larger than the number of Japanese students so that he had to restrict Chinese participants. I visited the public school and a private school of Japanese. I met very eager students in the both schools.

This group could be classified into 2 sub-groups: young teachers trained in Japan and elder teachers after retirement. In most cases of the young teachers, they did not choose Nanjing as the destination at first. They tend to just consider their job as a way of living abroad with earning enough and went to a training school for Japanese teacher. They do not stick to a particular destination so much. Because of the offer from Nanjing, they came to work.

For instance, in a case of a woman, who is in the middle of 30s, she wanted to be a Japanese teacher since her childhood and entered a training school for Japanese teacher. After training she got a job in a public school in Nanjing, which is introduced by her acquaintance. The other man in his late 30s, looked for the method of getting money in abroad and got the idea of becoming a Japanese teacher from a flier in a newspaper. He entered a training school and found the present job through internet.

On the other hand, the latter group is also big. As mentioned in section 3, 60-70s members of Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) count 12, while members in 20-30s count 1. This indicates there are many Japanese teachers who retired in Japan and came to Nanjing.

In a case, a man invited to an university by his friend, a professor of the university. Networks built before emigration works here as well as some cases of independent business

¹⁶ According to the directory which consists of an updated version of the data gathered in the "2006 Overseas Japanese-Language Education Organization Survey" conducted by the Japan Foundation (<http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/japanese/survey/area.html>) (2010.11.9).

¹⁷ He also points that now students face the turning point of the significance of learning Japanese language. So far students whoever learned Japanese got their job if they master it, however, now the number of students who learned Japanese got larger than their possible posts.

people. The other teacher used travel agencies to move to Nanjing.

There are not only full-time teachers, but also part-time Japanese teachers. A man moved to Nanjing in order to study Mandarin after retirement. After that, he started to teach Japanese in universities. At the same time, he is a student and a teacher. In his case, teaching is something to live for as well as a subordinate way of earning. Some of the elder teachers have no experience of teaching Japanese and they are not trained to be. Japanese Teachers' Community(南京地区日本語教師の会) have study meetings to share how to teach Japanese for those people.

Considering the phenomenon of the trend of the choice of Japanese teachers in abroad among the youth and the other phenomenon of the increasing number of elder people staying in abroad after retirement, it looks these 2 groups show the 2 patterns of Japanese teachers. One is the people who are trained to be a Japanese teacher and accidentally move to the place, the other consists of those who chose the place under their own reasons and find a job as teacher. This tendency would be apply not only to Nanjing but also to other places.

4-3. Locally Employed Worker

The third group is consisted of locally employed workers. This type of worker has increased from late 1990s. A Japanese staffing agency recruited Japanese people to work in Hong Kong and ignited "Boom of Working in Asia." Most of those workers are young and they tend to go to relatively highly developed cities in Asia such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, Shanghai, and so on, although this type of migration can be seen in the other places. They are not labor migrants sent by the government, nor business expatriates sent by headquarters of companies in Japan. They are employed as local staff. In large cities with many staffing agencies for Japanese, they use those agencies to find a new job in abroad. They receive almost the same treatment as other local staff. With terminable contract, without or less housing benefit or insurance, their status is unstable, however, it is an easier way to get an opportunity to work in abroad than to be employed as a business expatriate.

Differ from the case of economically-developed cities such as Hong Kong, Shanghai or Singapore, Nanjing is not the main destination to look for a locally employed position. The situations are different from those large cities, for instance, not so much Japanese companies and very few staffing agencies. It means there are a few jobs for Japanese locally employed workers. Because of this background, the cases of locally employed workers looked very rare in Nanjing. A man who has been in Nanjing for 2 years and knows well about various types of Japanese residents in Nanjing, insisted that some students try to find jobs in Nanjing while some Japanese companies in Nanjing need Japanese locally employed workers, however they could not know each other. He told that many graduates go back to Japan and some graduates move to other areas such as Shanghai to get jobs.

I introduce a young woman's case, which is a rare case of getting a locally employed position after graduate. She is in the middle of 20s. She was not satisfied with her Mandarin ability when she graduated university. She decided to continue to stay and work. She found a job in a

magazine company on a bulletin board of her university. In her case, she chose a university in Nanjing because of the good studying environment compared with Beijing, which is to large city and Shanghai, which is filled with people. In addition, she has acquaintances in Nanjing before moving. Later on she changed her job and at that time, one of her Japanese friend introduced the job to her.

I also met a young man, who used an agency in Japan to find a job in abroad and found his job in a hotel in Nanjing accidentally. At first he thought southern area such as Singapore or Kuala Lumpur as his destination, however it was difficult to find a post there immediately after the Lehman Shock. He finally got a job in Nanjing. He thought the age of China would come soon and he would get jobs constantly if he masters Mandarin. He also thought that Japanese who can use Mandarin would be needed in the near future because of deregulation of travel visa for Chinese.

Considering these 2 cases, some want to remain in Nanjing after graduating university in Nanjing, and some chose Nanjing as a possible work place in accident. The network before moving has a role of attracting in the first woman's case. On the other side, the case of the young man, similar to the cases of young Japanese teachers in 4-2, indicates the recent trend of young Japanese, in which they prefer working abroad, using options of Japanese teacher or locally employed worker, also occurs in a small city such as Nanjing. However, they have to find a job without the help of staffing agencies. The internet and the network with other Japanese residents has very an important role under this situation.

I note that the locally employed worker is not only for potential young workers in Japan but also for the people who stay abroad for some reasons and need to work. I'll mention the case of the woman who got married with Nanjing man.

4-4. Elder Student Studying Mandarin

In the second section, I declare that I mention elder students since their choices are new and reflect the recent social changes in Japan. In addition, some of them stay long and live locally. They have getting become one of the main groups of Japanese residents in Nanjing. Some Japanese residents who have lived for 5 and more years told the elder students has increased in these 2 or 3 years. One example is the man stays in Nanjing as an university student to study Mandarin and works as a Japanese teacher subordinately, whom I introduced in 4-2.

As a general back ground of them, they get the old-age pension and they can use the amount effectively in China because of the lower currency rate of Chinese RMB. Additionally, they chose China from their own interest. One was interested in the history, the other wanted to see the drastic economic-social changes in recent China.

They insisted the common reason of choice of Nanjing: its living environment. One said Nanjing had many plants and had less tall buildings. They often compare Nanjing with other big cities in China: Beijing and Shanghai. A man told Beijing or Shanghai is a magnificent city, however, built of steel and concrete, which is similar to Tokyo. The other woman decided to

choose Nanjing after travelling to Beijing, Shanghai and Nanjing. She told in similar way to the man, Beijing and Shanghai were large cities and similar to Tokyo while Nanjing was quiet and calm. The density of Japanese people in each city also could be a positive factor. One said Nanjing has not so many but enough number of Japanese¹⁸. It means the number is enough small to concentrate on studying Mandarin or live locally and enough large to be supported by other Japanese residents.

In Some cases they have friends or acquaintances before moving, whereas the others do not have. Supporters of their living are needed, however, they can find them even after arriving in Nanjing. For instance, a woman learned to play *erfu*(二胡) and studied with Chinese students to teach their language each other. Through these activities, she got supporters: The teacher of *erfu*(二胡) and Chinese students.

One thing I'd like to exaggerate here is that they have their reasons for living and enjoy their days: teaching Japanese, daily and social activities such as grassroots culture exchange of Japan-China, or studying his own theme as well as Mandarin, etc.

In fact, people move among these business/staying statuses. They can participate in the above activities of doing business, teaching Japanese, or studying, at the same time. For instance, the elder man introduced in the 4-2 stays in Nanjing as a language student and at the same time he is a Japanese teacher. A man began his business after working as a business expatriate, who I mentioned in 4-1, told he had a plan to attend Mandarin classes of an university in the next semester since he need the language ability to do his business. An elder female student, shown in 4-4, who has stayed for 6 years in Nanjing, is now employed as an executive vice-president by an office of a Japanese man in order to get visa for further stay. Now she can be categorized as a locally employed worker under view of her visa status. A young man started his own business after graduating university in Nanjing. We can see, from these instances, that various patterns of their life.

5. Marital Status and its Effectiveness

So far I overviewed the migrants' from the aspect of their activities. In most cases their activities are related to their visa status such as student or worker. On the one hand, marital status reflects the different dimension of their life. It can be motives or reasons of living in Nanjing. I have to insist that their marital status also can be a negative barrier of moving especially in younger generation, depending on the planning of migration and marriage in their life course¹⁹. In

¹⁸ I add that some young students often insisted the similar thing. They told they did not want to go to Beijing or Shanghai because of too much of Japanese, which means a not good environment for studying a foreign language.

¹⁹ For instance, Kōu, A et.al insist that "If there is also a partner in the picture, this may mean that, with migration in mind, they get married earlier than they would have normally planned to. Not being married, after all, may mean that no use can be made of spousal facilities. If the knowledge migrant and his or her partner go away for only a short time, they may choose to postpone having children. This has consequences for the household career." [Anu Kōu et.al 2010: 11]

cases of elder people introduced in 4-4 are often married, they decide to move of their own will and live alone whilst their family live in Japan. In general, the main groups to which the marital status can effect or work as the motive for settling in or remaining to stay are consist of people introduced in 4-1 and 4-2. Among people approximately in their 30s-40s, their marital status could affect their life and the decision to migrate: moving to other area, returning to Japan, transition of their visa status or working condition.

The married people can be divided into 2 patterns according to the timing of their marriage and migration; one is that married before moving(pattern 1) and the other is that married after moving(pattern 2).

[Pattern 1]

A man in the early 40s got married with Nanjing woman in Japan. At the time they got married they planned to stay in Japan, however, after he visited Nanjing via Shanghai in the marriage procedures, he changed his mind. He was inspired by the atmosphere of China and believed China would develop more and more. He thought he and his children should learn Mandarin. He and his family came to Nanjing and now they do their own business.

The other young man I mentioned in 4-1, got married with a Chinese woman(her hometown is not Nanjing) while he was in Japan. He estimated her ability as an expert and wanted to start their business. Then he decided to go to his wife's country to do their business.

In the first man's trajectory, his option to live abroad came up from the marriage. And the main factor of deciding the living place was that Nanjing is her wife's hometown. In the second man's case, the main factor of choosing their destination city is more related to their business circumstances, but the country they chose has something to do with his wife's home country.

[Pattern 2]

A woman working as a Japanese teacher, initially intended to go back to Japan after 3 years stay in Nanjing. However she met her future husband while she worked in Nanjing and got married. She had to change her mind of returning to Japan. Now she still works as a Japanese teacher in the same school.

The other woman got married after she arrived in China. After graduate, she got a job in Suzhou(苏州) using her network. At that time she planned that she would return to Japan after 2 or 3 years stay. But while she was there she met her future husband, who is from Nanjing. After working in Shanghai, she moved to Nanjing to get married. In Nanjing she worked in a Taiwanese company, the owner of which is her friend. What I would like to exaggerate is that she insisted that it was harder to find a job of which conditions she would be satisfied with in Nanjing than in Suzhou or in Shanghai, however she chose to stay with her family.

The pattern 1 shows that in some cases the partner's home place might bring about

migration. On the other side, the pattern 2 indicates that the meeting with their partner has a strong effect to their process of migration and their life course. Both women changed their life plan and decided to stay in Nanjing for long. In both patterns, the partner's home place has a large role of deciding the settlement place: in Nanjing or widely in China.

In addition, their partners are very good supporters to find a job or solve daily problems. Their marital status should be related with their localizing process, as referred in migration literature.

Discussion and Conclusion

From this case study, I could suggest the general features of the migrants in Nanjing: a few locally employed workers, the presence of Japanese teachers and elder students, the impressive features of those who try to do their business in Nanjing, the effectiveness of their marital status to a particular age group.

At first, I summarize the merits and demerits of Nanjing as the destination. The crucial factors in the small number of Japanese residents in Nanjing would be 1) a few Japanese companies and 2) less staffing agencies for Japanese residents. Though the city's living environments of lots of trees, the calm atmosphere, good security, small but enough number of Japanese etc. are more attractive than Beijing or Shanghai, the worse conditions is related to business for Japanese residents looks critical for those who want to be locally employed workers or ambitious entrepreneurs. This would be the reason for the presence of Japanese teachers and elder students in the Japanese community. This is the big difference from the other economically-developed cities, which has many Japanese companies and enough staffing agencies. However, some chose this city to begin their business because of the lower cost of labor and tenant than large cities like Shanghai and the access to other big cities such as Shanghai or Suzhou(苏州) and inner potential business areas. This condition offers good business chances for small business, with the strong currency rate of Japanese Yen to Chinese RMB.

Secondary, I see the influence of the social economic change in Japan to the trend of emigration from Japan. I found the phenomena which seem to reflect the trend. From the presence of elder students, I can say the trend of staying abroad after retiring has getting spread and covering small foreign cities such as Nanjing. Though now some of them still need the acquaintances before moving, the others chose the city without friends or any acquaintances. They use some agencies to prepare for migration. In addition, some younger Japanese teachers, who did not chose Nanjing affirmatively might suggest the tendency of the present young emigrants who do not care the destination and just try to get language ability and work experience in abroad.

At last, I mention the relationship between their marital status and migration. In some cases, the network built before migration: acquaintances or friends they got in Japan or while they had worked in Nanjing, could be an important factor when they chose the destination. The marriage with Chinese also could be a trigger of migration and might lead them to Nanjing. On the one hand, after moving to Nanjing or other cities in China, some happened to get married with

Chinese and decided to stay longer with their new family. The strong relationship, such as marriage, with people in Nanjing, is one of the crucial factors for staying in Nanjing for long. Marriage might affect the decision-making of migration and the change of the quality of migration; it could make short-stay migrants to long-stay residents and might make change their living place.

At least in the present research, people who have no network before choose Nanjing as their working or studying place. They make networks needed to support their life after migration. Compared with large cities such as Shanghai or Hong Kong, where I had surveys before, the networks of Japanese residents in Nanjing seem to be tight and have a stronger role as their safety net. Especially for both of locally employed people and independent business people, the network which contains friends or acquaintances and marital partners is very important to find a job, develop business as well as to solve daily problems. The informants live separately, which means they get localized instead of living concentrated with other Japanese, however, they help each other.

This is a short overview of the Japanese residents in Nanjing. I would like to have further discussion on the phenomenon investigated in Nanjing and the recent migration tendency in this globalizing world from the sociological perspective, with more data if possible.

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II. 从日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究观点来探索现代中国农村研究方式
：根据南京及苏州农村调查的试论

从日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究观点来探索现代中国农村研究方式 ：根据南京及苏州农村调查的试论

中山大将、司开玲、巫靛、笠原真梨子、李德营、福谷彬*

1 关心之所在

本研究的目的是探索中国农村研究的方式。跨地域掌握农村状况是现今农村研究的课题之一。如果一位研究者将日本农村看作是日本农村，中国农村看作是中国农村，苏州农村看作是苏州农村，A村看作是A村，即一切农村在各个方面都必须各别对待的话，那么这位研究者只能是日本农村研究者，中国农村研究者，苏州农村研究者，A村农村研究者，而不是农村研究者。每个地域每个农村虽然都有自己的个性，但农村研究者所关注的不应被地域的边界所分隔，农村研究者应把自己的研究地域与他人的研究地域联系起来思考农村。农村研究者应探求的不是支配农村，而是维持和发展农村的方法。本论文不是为这一目的而写的第一篇论文，当然也不会是最后一篇，而是对它的一种尝试。因为本研究并非来源于“中国的”中国农村研究，而是来源于日本的日本农村农业史及农村社会学。因此这个研究重视“日本的”中国农村社会经济结构研究。只依赖于记述农村的农村研究者是不能完成目标的，因为那只不过是描述了各个农村。应该掌握农村的结构。据张乐天（2005），“中国的”中国农村研究缺乏社会经济结构研究，因此本研究重视至今为止“日本的”中国农村社会经济结构研究¹。

如果要问为何要掌握农村的结构，我们可以回答，是为了维持和发展农村。那么农村是什么，农民又是哪些人呢？对此，西方经济学屡次使用的评判基准最为简单，即个人或家庭所得。但是，这一基准却隐藏着一个重大陷阱。经济的发展伴随社会经济结构的变化，而社会经济结构的变化与发展又会要求农村对此做出很大牺牲（速水·神门，2002，53-54）。农村经济发展了，但很多人却因此被迫离开农村，那么这样的发展是不能被看作一个真正的发展的。本研究以多方面且有机地掌握农村社会结构为目标。

本论文第二章将概述至今为止日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究及日本农村农业史的重

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¹ 在日本的中国农村研究中，本研究所主要依据的中国农村社会经济结构研究是古典式的。20世纪90年代以后，日本的农村社会研究者和农村史研究者进行了有关中国农村的共同调查（细谷昂等 1997《沸腾する中国农村》御茶の水书房；熊谷苑子 2002《离土离乡》南窗社；细谷昂等 2005《再访·沸腾する中国农村》御茶の水书房）。另外，人口问题研究方面（若林敬子 2005《中国人口问题社会的现实》密涅瓦书房 等等）以及中国农村社会学研究方面（首藤明和 2003《中国人治社会》日本经济评论社 等等）的成果也出来了。这些只不过是寥寥数例，近年来在日本，关系到诸如社会、经济、政治等各方面的中国农村研究也已经出来很多。

要概念。第三章出示本论文的课题和方式。本论文的调查地是中国的两个农村，最近南京大学在那里进行了学生调查实习。第四章概括调查实习的成果。第五章和第六章分析本研究的调查结果，第七章论述结论。

2 研究史

1) 日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究

据石田浩（1986），日本的中国农村社会经济构造研究分三个阶段。

第1阶段即从20世纪20年代后半到20世纪30年代前半期。蒋介石1927年发动武装政变，国民革命受挫，进而引起了有关中国社会阶段规定的争论。中国共产党宣布《中国共产党土地问题党纲》，提出了非资本主义的路线。其目的是使中国过渡到新的生产方式（社会主义）。但中共六大又否定了这一纲领路线，主张资产阶级革命。其后，便引起了“中国社会性质的论战”。

反观日本学界，“日本资本主义争论”从1929年开始，橘朴，中江丑吉等曾提到中国社会。1931年列宁格勒东洋研究所及马克思主义东洋学者在列宁格勒举办了有关“亚细亚的生产样式”的讨论大会。之后该会的内容被介绍到日本学界，引起了日本的社会科学学者就“亚细亚的生产样式”的深化及将这一理论适用于中国的讨论。尽管他们以“农村共同体”作为“亚细亚的生产样式”解释概念的前提进行了讨论，但对此他们却没出示任何有关农村的具体形象。由此可见，这一阶段日本学界对中国农村（的共同体）的研究，是源于对马克思主义理论的关注而被论及的。

第2阶段是从20世纪30年代后半到1945年。日军进攻中国，为了侵略统治而进行农村调查。在华北地区，满铁天津事务所进行了《冀东农村实态调查》，《河北农业调查》，《北支农村概况调查》，《北支农村惯行调查》；在华中地区，满铁上海事务所调查室进行了《江苏省农村实态调查》；林惠海和福武直进行了江苏省吴县枫桥镇的农村调查。另外，费孝通进行了“江村”调查，还有一些欧美的研究者也开始了农村调查。实证性质的中国农村研究这才拉开序幕。

在这一阶段存在两个争论。第一是“中国统一化论争”。以西安事件（1936年12月）为契机，引起了有关对南京国民政府评价的争论。矢内原忠雄认为南京政府是近代中国统一国家的中心，但马克思主义者却批判他的见解。因为马克思主义者认为当时的中国处于“半殖民地状态”。在此争论中对实证性质的中国农村结构掌握得不够。

第二个争论是“平野戒能论争”。平野义太郎和戒能道孝是东亚研究所研究员，尽管他们二人都利用了满铁资料进行研究，但两人的研究结果却恰恰相反。平野极力认为中国农村拥有共同体的性质。据平野的看法，中国的自然村落拥有自治机关的机能。但是，他对土地所有习惯的共同体性没有给予重视，而只重视了生活的共同性，因此他把中国农村看作“生活共同体”。反之，戒能则极力认为中国农村是肢解的个人的集合体，村民的归属意识非常薄弱，在日本和欧洲的农村存在村落共同体，而中国农村没有那样的村落共同体。

第3阶段是1945年以后。许多个研究者用第二阶段的中国农村调查结果进行了研究。诸

如，福武直《中国農村社会の構造》（1946）、根岸稔《中国社会に於ける指導層》（1947）、内田智雄《中国農村の家族と新興》（1948）、村松祐次《中国經濟の社会態制度》（1949）、仁井田陞《中国の農村家族》（1952）、天野元之助《中国農業の諸問題》（1952）、今堀誠二《中国の社会構造》（1953）、旗田巍《中国村落と共同体論理》（1973）。他们极力认为中国农村缺乏“共同性”没有“村落共同体”，因而中国农村是开放的社会。比如，福武提出了“乡镇共同体”的概念，G. W. Skinner 提出了“市场社会论”，他们将农村市场看作农村的社会经济单位。他们的论证是继承第二阶段戒能的见解。反之，石田浩则是继承了平野的见解。他的论述来源于如下理论。据马克思的理论，近代资本主义来源于市民社会。若这样，那么近代资本主义没有发展但却完成了向社会主义的过渡的社会是不是市民社会，或者能不能向市民社会发展？这样的社会能不能到达“（马克思所提倡的）联合”？根据资料分析和实地调查，他得出以下结论。解放前，中国农村有“生活共同体”，那是归属集团，包含两个原理——“同族（血缘）”和“同乡（地缘）”。他认为这两个原理在“中国社会主义农业”还没有解散。

由此可见，日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究来源于对马克思主义的关注及帝国主义侵略的实际需要。假如日本的社会科学学者没有关注马克思主义，他们就不会关注中国农村，假如日帝没有进攻中国，那么以上的那些中国农村调查也不会被进行。

2) 日本的共同体论

日本的中国农村社会经济研究的中心课题是共同体问题。说到共同体，日本农村农业史研究也有重要的争论。

最初的争论是 20 世纪 50 年代由自由主义者和马克思主义者所引起的，即“共同体解体论”。他们把日本的共同体看作日本法西斯主义的温床，极力主张解散日本的共同体。第二次争论发生在 20 世纪 70 年代后半期，“共同体解体论”遭到批判。他们将日本的共同体看作反近代主义和反西洋主义的堡垒，但在此争论中岩本由辉（1979）批判这一争论缺乏共同体研究，之后他提出了非常重要的概念——“疑似共同体”。

“疑似共同体”是指政府为了行政、征税及动员而设立的组织。“疑似共同体”与为了生产和生活农民主动地组成的村落共同体不一样。总而言之，前近代的农村有两个层次，一个是村落共同体，一个是疑似共同体。反之，近代的农村则只有疑似共同体，因为在近代，生产和生活是个人的领域，而不是共同体的领域。另外疑似共同体会干涉个人的生产和生活²。

在本研究中“共同体”是指共同进行生产以及生活，且由固定的成员构成的团体。基于中国农村社会经济结构研究以及“疑似共同体”论都重视了以上特点。

3) 中国农村的近代化（现代化）

现代中国农村有没有村落共同体，对于现代中国农村来说，疑似共同体是指什么。在日本农村农业史上“近代化”是指“资本主义化”，“资本主义化”的中心是“土地私有化”。而反过来，在中国农村农业史上“近代化（现代化）”则是指“社会主义化”，“社会主义化”的

² 岩本（1985）。

中心是“集体化（集团化）”。

“集体化”的过程逐渐发展。建国前，中国共产党已经开始土地改革，将土地分给农民，施行土地私有和个别经营了。1950年“互助组”开始普及。“互助组”是为了共同作业和共同生产手段（生产资料）组成的。1954年“初级合作社”开始普及，实行集团经营和共同劳动。1956年初级合作社开始合并，“高级合作社”开始普及，施行土地集体所有和统一分配。1958年毛泽东对试验阶段的人民公社给予很高评价，“政社合一”运动开始，高级合作社的合并开始。“政社合一”是指统一行政组织“乡”和经济组织“公社”，平均规模达到4,800户。1962年在“三级所有，队为基础”“一大二公”的口号下人民公社体制得到确立。公社、大队、生产队拥有生产手段，生产队实行经营和分配，公有的规模越大，得到的评价越高³。

我们可以将人民公社看作近代（现代）中国农村的疑似共同体。但是，生产率的下降却明显产生。因此政府从1978年开始实行“农村改革”，集体化的解散开始了。简单地说，微观经济的单位由生产队转移到了个别农户。

3 研究课题及方法

1) 课题

本研究所关注的并不是什么特殊的社会现象，而是农村的社会结构。正如日本的中国农村社会经济结构研究所关注的，本研究同样关注的是“共同体”问题。具体说来，即农民会以何种形式又以何种理由，在农村内部以及与农村外界进行结合，何时何地会产生与他人共事的契机及动机，这是本研究将查明的。

“中国农村”的“中国”是指什么，为何本研究能将调查的农村称为“中国农村”？每个地域每个农村都有自己的个性，地形、气候、作物、居民、历史都不一样。但是，下面的这一点却是相同的，即那些农村都是被中国政府作为一个疑似共同体所编制的。这一疑似共同体即指人民公社。“中国农村”的“农村”是指什么？作为现今政府叫“（农）村”且曾叫人民公社大队的集团，若给“农村”这个词下定义的话，问题或许会变得明快。不待说，这些“农村”不但拥有并非同样的“面孔”，而且多种多样的结合可能存在于现今的“村”中。如前所述，疑似共同体“人民公社”从1978年就开始解散了。疑似共同体是怎么解散的？是否有新的疑似共同体或者组织取代这一旧的疑似共同体？村落共同体是否出现？

本研究的课题是查明人民公社解散后农村居民之间是以怎样的形式结合的。本研究从三个角度进行了实地调查，即指“政治（行政）”、“经济（生产）”、“社会（生活）”。“政治（行政）”是指政府所制定设立的组织集团行政区等等；“经济（生产）”是指为了生产活动居民所设立的组织集团共同经营体等等；“社会（生活）”是指为了社会生活居民所设立的组织集团，诸如亲属集团、共同管理组织、宗教集团等等。

³ 严（1997）。

2) 方式

实地调查采用了两种方式。一是通过采访调查，这是本调查的中心。主要对象是农村行政机关（村民委员会或者居民委员会）的干部及普通居民。二是通过资料调查，从农村行政机关那里我们得到了一些有关农村的基础资料。

采访的具体涉及方面如下：

1 采访对象：村干部

1-1 政治（行政）

- 1-1-1) 社区的人口及户数。
- 1-1-2) 现今社区与人民公社的组织及解放前组织的关系。
- 1-1-3) 社区的行政组织及职务。
- 1-1-4) 社区所有的下级组织及户数（依法令规定的）。
- 1-1-5) 人口的动态（户口的流入及流出）。
- 1-1-6) 最近动向、事件。

1-2 经济（生产）

- 1-2-1 每个生产组织（企业，合作社、共同经营）的户数、人数、生产额及地理上的范围。
- 1-2-2 现今生产组织与人民公社的组织及解放前组织的关系。
- 1-2-3 主要生产物。
- 1-2-4 生产物的销售方式。
- 1-2-5 工作地点、出外务工的种类、经济上的比例以及地理上的范围。
- 1-2-6 最近动向，事件。

1-3 社会（生活）

- 1-3-1 单姓村还是杂姓村。
- 1-3-2 亲族集团的数目及每集团的户数。
- 1-3-3 祖庙的数目、每个祖庙的祭祀情况、参加祭祀的户数以及地理上的范围。
- 1-3-4 社区祭祀的种类、参加户数以及地理上的范围。
- 1-3-5 宗教团体的种类、参加各团体活动的户数以及地理上的范围。
- 1-3-6 每个宗教集团的活动。
- 1-3-7 其他集团和活动。
- 1-3-8 应付社区问题的方式。
- 1-3-9 管理道路、用水、电气、公有地的方式及组织。
- 1-3-10 社区居民的生活。
- 1-3-11 购买食品、日用品的商店及市场的地理上的范围。

1-3-12 学校的地理上的范围（小学校，初中，高中，大学）。

1-3-13 最近动向、事件。

2 采访对象：居民

2-1 政治（行政）

2-1-1 所属社区下级组织。

2-1-2 在社区内行政组织中所担任的工作及义务。

2-2 经济（生产）。

2-2-1 农业收入和其他收入的比例。

2-2-2 农业生产物的种类及生产额（或者量）。

2-2-3 参加的生产组织（企业，合作社、共同经营）的种类及地理上的范围。

2-2-4 生产物的销售方式。

2-2-5 工作地点、出外务工的种类、经济上的比例以及地理上的范围。

2-2-6 最近动向、事件。

2-2-7 农地面积（经营-种植，私有-组地）

2-3 社会（生活）

2-3-1 家庭的人员（与家庭生计相关的人员）

2-3-2 移居社区的时间。

2-3-3 社区内外亲族的户数。

2-3-4 社区内外祖庙的数目。

2-3-5 参加的祭祀的种类及地理上的范围。

2-3-6 参加的宗教集团、地理上的范围及活动。

2-3-7 参加的其他集团、地理上的范围及活动。

2-3-8 管理道路、用水、电气、公有地的方式及对此进行的责任分担。

2-3-9 购买食品、日用品的商店及市场的地理上的范围。

2-3-10 学校的地理上的范围（小学、初中、高中、大学）。

2-3-11 最近动向、事件。

本研究是基于对中国的两个农村进行实地调查之上。一是南京江宁区淳化街道青龙社区（2010年8月28-29日），一是苏州市吴江市七都镇开弦弓村（2010年9月3-5日）。开弦弓村即费孝通所写《江村经济》中的“江村”，对中国农村研究者而言非常著名。很多研究者因此慕名来到“江村”，并在他们的作品中对它进行了描述。如前所述，最近南京大学在这两个农村进行了学生调查实习。本调查报告书是有关这两个农村的最新研究成果之一。在分析本研究调查结果之前，我想在下一章先概括一下调查实习的成果。

4 南京大学社会学系学生调查实习

基于《江村变迁与生态》⁴《青龙社区调查报告》⁵，本章整理了现阶段调查中所无法得到的关于调查的基础情报。《江村变迁与生态》是南京大学社会学系 2007 年度夏季课程的课题，《青龙社区调查报告》是 2008 年度夏季课程的成果报告书。根据这些报告书，能知道的不仅是两农村的情况，还有学生们所关心的内容。不管是青龙社区还是开弦弓村在解放前都是著名的社会学者们所选择的调查地点，通过对现有的调查成果的比较，来分析当代农村的发展实态。

通过参阅姚远和郑雨晨的《青龙社区市场与生活变迁调查》中关于青龙社区的沿革的记载，可以说青龙社区农人生活的变迁是中国农村变革的一个缩图。

1) 青龙社区的历史沿革

青龙社区隶属江宁区淳化镇，原为青龙行政区，于 2003 年改村为社区，属于涉农社区，地处淳化镇最东部。

①从乔启明调查（1930-1931）到解放初期

淳化镇为完全乡村市场体系。农民一般都在每天的早集上交换他们的日常必需品。当时青龙社区的中心市场在毗邻的索墅镇。为了不影响农活，青龙社区的居民在凌晨一点半就赶往索墅镇，早上五点就散市。但是这样的严酷生活的背面，在街上的茶馆耽于赌博和鸦片的人却不少。在乔启明做调查的时代，这些都是深刻的问题。然而这在当时却是自然而普遍的状况。

②人民公社

自 1953 年土改完成以后，政治因素成为社会的主要指导因素。农村经济生活呈现出单一化的趋势，并逐步走向衰弱和消亡。当时，青龙社区居民的土地和各种生活生产资料都被收归集体所有，居民被统一整编到生产队中进行固定劳动，每人每天领取固定口粮。

③改革开放以后

实行包产到户制度，把大部分或全部集体以户为单位，将土地划分到户，事实上允许以户为单位进行生产。农民从人民公社的束缚中解放出来自主投入生产，就有了生产资料的消费需求和消费能力。在国家政策的引导之下，现代化的市场体系逐步建立起来，这就形成了一个传统与现代因素相结合在农村市场体系模式。青龙社区在最近几年开起了很多小杂货店，分散在社区各个自然村中，急需的零用商品可以直接在杂货店购买。所以索墅镇的传统市场渐渐衰弱而被东山镇市场取代。此外，在改革后，靠自产来取得日常生活用品的方式已无法满足农民日常生活的需要，而越来越依赖市场。这也是青龙社区发展的另一个侧面。

以上是青龙社区的简单沿革。青龙社区的繁荣不仅依靠生产能力的提高，也是市场兼并的结果。所以能说青龙社区的经济是基于别的地区的牺牲而成立的。其次，来探讨关于青龙社区的繁荣。

⁴ 南京大学社会学系（2007）。

⁵ 南京大学社会学系（2008）。

2) 青龙社区的公共事业

邵颖萍（教师）在序文中说，

2006年，青龙被定为新农村建设示范点，近年来先后被授予“江苏省卫生村”，“江苏省康居示范村”，“南京市新农村建设村”，等多项荣誉。

我们必须重新考虑模范农村这个单词的含义。我们不可以把青龙社区作为一个标准，由此来推测全中国农村情况。但我们可以通过考察农村的发展情况来了解中国共产党未来的最理想的指导方针。

中国共产党未来的最理想的指导方针是怎么样的？

南京大学学生的研究中，关于卫生，医疗，教育，娱乐设施等公共事业建设项目的调查内容也占了很大比例。这些公共事业多由政府援助。可以说现在中国共产党的农村政策的目标不仅是经济的发展，也包括居民生活环境的提高。如果仅看《青龙社区调查报告》，这些公共事业的建设似乎是相当成功。但是实际情况却并非如此。

根据《农村教育及城乡人才流动研究》的结果可以知道，

因建设公立学校，青龙社区居民的教育水平有了确实的提高，考上大学的人越来越多，但是人才回流却无法保证。很多大学生不愿意回到他们的故乡。

另外，沈英杰、孙仲文在《看得见的新农村》一文的小结与讨论中写道，

青龙社区的公共事业无疑是处在一个蒸蒸日上的阶段，一个地区公共事业是否发达某种程度上决定了该地区能否留住人才，能否持续发展。但是青龙甚至整个中国农村的公共事业建设依然有很大的提高空间，比如说服务的质量，光鲜的大楼固然可以吸引眼球，但是真正造福于人的还是内部服务质量，又比如说设施的有效性，不是城市的东西照搬到农村也有一样的功效，必须结合考虑到农民的切实需要，再比如说政府的扶持，青龙社区发展的好很大一个原因是成为试点，得到上级政府的大力扶持，中国这么大，别的农村呢？能否得到如此力度的支持？没有足够财力，物力支持下的农村该如何发展公共事业？有没有独立自主发展的可能性？这些问题都需要思考。

这是个很耐人寻味的见解。可以说青龙社区是一个“橱窗”。从表象来看，那里的发展的确很吸引眼球。然而，这些表象并不代表实际状况。教育水平有了提高，然而人才无法实现回流，公共事业建设增加，然而不知道是否结合农民的切实需要。这个决定同时显示出研究“模范农村”的困难。只调查关于经济发展和公共事业的统计是不够的，对农民的实际生活调查更为重要。

3) 开弦弓村的社会变迁

其次，讨论《江村变迁与生态》这一论文集。《江村变迁与生态》分为上下两篇。上篇论社会变迁，下篇论环境问题。在这章，通过介绍《江村变迁与生态》中收录的论文要点，考察两章中所涉及到的共同社会问题。

《江村变迁与生态》上篇：社会变迁

上篇的《江村变迁之土地篇》记述了江村通过土地改革运动，农业合作化运动和家庭联

产承包责任制等一系列土地制度改革，顺利完成了由田地向鱼池的转变，从而促进了经济发展。此外，陈少进在《从离土不离乡到离土又离乡——江村工业变迁》一文中写到江村的新兴私营企业取代老式的集体所有制企业，因而具有更强的市场适应能力。可以说江村的工业是以稳健的步伐向前发展着。

然而，这种社会发展形式引发出其他的社会问题。《由外来人口引发的思考——苏省吴江市庙港镇开弦村实施调查报告》一文中表明，江村在经济发展的过程中吸引了很多外来务工人员，但这些外来务工人员并不为当地村民所接受。这种偏见也直接影响到外来务工人员的子女——即使出生于江村，也仍被当作外地人对待。因此外来务工人员与当地村民之间有着很大的矛盾，双方的关系一直无法得到很好的调解，并互相排斥，产生所谓“二元社区”的现象。

外来务工人员多是受雇工人，在江村的经济发展中扮演着重要的角色。然而他们与当地村民关系的恶化，也产生了其他深刻的问题。

4) 开弦弓村的环境问题

《江村变迁与生态》下篇：环境问题

廖璐璐，宋小冬在《环境保护与经济博弈——江村调查报告之工业生态》和《责任依赖与重组 人类行为对农村环境的影响 以开弦弓村为例》中写到，

“村民们口头上说会重视环境问题，实际上在日常表现中却表现得并不使人满意。在责任定位上，村民们习惯于依赖政府，而政府则把责任推给了外来人员。在这样消极面对问题的前提下，只带来了环境的日益恶化。”

由此可知，随着农村的发展而涌入农村的外来人员，其个人权利实际上只有很小的一部分得到保证。一旦发生什么问题，他们往往成为被归咎责任的对象。

在讨论环境问题的时候论者常常议论“我们要选择经济发展还是环境保护”。然而，这样的二者择一的议论往往使人忽略了两者的具有同等重要性的这一根本点。

所谓的环境问题其实一半是“人祸”。但只靠政府的政策无法从根本上解决问题，最终承担问题的责任者不是政府而是每个居民。因此，外来人员和当地居民关系的缓和和改善，才是解决问题的关键所在。

以上是本研究所特别感兴趣的见解。

5 青龙社区

1) 居民委员会调查

本社区户数 1,084 户，居民人数 3,395 人，总面积 10.08 平方公里。社区拥有“省市科普文明社区”“市综合实力百强村”“市民民主法制示范社区”“市社区环境卫生整治先进单位”“区先进基层党组织”“区信息化示范社区”“区科技示范村”等称号。目前，青龙社区正在规划“五个千亩工程”，其中，中心地区为粮食保丰区，主要生产稻米和小麦；在东部地区茶园集中，西部地区有苗木基地，南部地区主要生产蔬菜和瓜果，北部地区有工业园。专业

农户占总户数的 85%，但从事农业的人中大部分超过 40 岁。很多年轻人在外务工，占居民总数的 30%。务工人员大多在东山镇工作，未婚者通常住在社区内，每日往返上班，而已婚者大多选择居住在东山镇。

淳化街道有 17 个社区，青龙社区是其中之一。在人民公社时代，淳化街道是一个人民公社，而现在的社区相当于那时人民公社的大队。人民公社解散后不久，大队更名为“(行政)村”，之后又更名为“社区”。目前的青龙社区拥有 5 个“大村”(或称为“片”)，28 个小组(小组相当于人民公社的生产队)(表 1)。第 1(小)组到第 5 组属于“西龙村”，从第 6 组到第 10 组属于“东龙村”，从第 11 组到第 15 组属于“岗家边”，从第 16 组到第 21 组属于“杜村”，从第 22 组到第 28 组属于“邓下村”。这里需要补充说明的是，第 28 组不被叫做“第 28 组”，被叫做“菜队”。因为 1982 年以前这一小组(生产队)是专门生产蔬菜的。另外，5 个大村由 14 个“(自然)村”组成。14 个“(自然)村”分别是指“东山头”“西山头”“魏村”“下岗家边”“纪村”“代塘”“杜村”“东龙”“西龙”“大城”“下庄”“邓下”“西龙一队”“邓家庄”。因此，平均下来，每个小组有 39 户 121 人，每个村有 77 户 243 人，每个大村有 217 户 679 人(表 2)。

表 1 青龙社区行政单位的变迁

	人民公社	现在	组织数
淳化	公社	街道	17
	大队	村·社区	
青龙		大村(片)	5
		村	14
	生产队	小组	28

出处：根据青龙社区居民委员会资料。

表 2 青龙社区行政单位的户数和人数

		户数	人数
总数		1,084	3,395
平均	大村(片)	217	679
	村	77	243
	小组	39	121

出处：根据青龙社区居民委员会资料。

“居民委员会”是政府的基层行政组织。社区党支部也在此。支部的“书记”从居民之间通过选举选出，并由上级政府委任。同时，书记还担任居民委员会的最高负责人“主任”。支部有两位“副书记”，一位由党员⁶选举选出，一位由共产党提名。每个小组有二三“村民代表”，由每户的代表联合选出，居民委员会和“村长”会作为证人在场。“村长”即“自然村”的代表。“村民代表”及居民委员会参加每月 28 日举行的“村民代表会议”。这个时候，村民代表将村民提出的问题反映到社区，由社区派人协商处理。二月份会议时会对一年进行总的计划讨论。这样，“居民委员会”和党支部共同进行行政，居民的意见通过每个小组的“村民代表”到达行政机关。

在日本的农村，村民为了经管道路、用水等基础设施会结成组织。而在青龙社区，是没有这样的组织的，政府经管用水设施，社区雇人经管道路。另外说到宗教，由于每个自然村都是杂姓村，所以社区没有祖庙。每年祭祖时，在外务工的家庭成员会回来祭祖。社区中有

⁶ 目前社区有 108 位党员。

一个公墓，其中也包括一些外村的人的坟墓。文化大革命前，东龙和邓家村曾存在过庙和寺，但之后被拆除修盖成了小学。最近部分居民重新修建“龙王庙”进行祭祀活动。居民与村外的宗教组织也有关系，最近政府支援基督教堂在淳化街道的建立，社区的一些老年人经常去教堂。邻近社区的上峰社区有插花庙（娘娘庙）。在日本的农村，村民通过村的寺和神社进行聚合，而青龙社区却不存在这样的聚合。

如今每个农家都进行个别经营。在人民公社、生产大队、生产队解散后，1982年政府实行了“分田到户”，按劳动力等，进行了土地分配。由于存在一部分家庭劳动力过剩，一部分家庭劳动力过少的现象，1996年社区再次进行土地分配。每户可以通过契约，进行土地面积的调整。居民委员会会作为公证人在场。之所以需要契约，是因为农业税的存在。对于土地劳动力过少的农家，不仅需要承担耕种地的纳税，还要承担无法耕种地的纳税。但自2004年废止农业税后，一部分人主动组织成立“合作社”，进行共同销售。

以上是由村民委员会了解到的社区的情况。人民公社解散后，生产队、大队、人民公社等组织被改为小组、大村、社区（行政村），街道等政治组织。除了合作社外，看不出任何为了生产及生活而新设立的组织。

2) 普通居民调查

以下是从居民那里确认到的关于社区变迁方面的情况。

QA为自1965年以来，一直担当第8组（19户）生产队队长及村民代表。1982年第8组有163亩农地，与现在的面积一样。QA的家庭（5口人）1982年分配到15亩农地，1996年时没有发生变更。但目前QA为工业园提供10亩地，剩下的5亩地他正在找人耕种。转移到个别经营后，QA种植水稻。他没参加过共同作业，第5组本身也不存在共同作业。父亲家母亲家，祖祖辈辈都住在青龙。现在父亲的弟弟（叔）和母亲的两个哥哥（舅）住在社区，但没有交往。祭祖时他在自家举行，那时女儿会回来，他的妹妹们则不会参加，因为需要照看孙子。

QB属于第6组（42户），自2000年起担任第6组的村民代表。1982年第6组有220亩农地，QB的家庭1982年分配到1.8亩农地，1996年再分配时得到8亩农地。第6组的部分村民离乡在江宁区等务工，他们把农地出让了留在社区的第6组的人。QB种植水稻，插秧和收割的时候需要劳动力，从第6组的人、别组的人及亲属那里得到帮助。来帮助的人每年大致一样。QB的主业为兽医，兽医的所得相比农业要高很多。2004年为建设砖场，第6组的所有土地都被转让出去了。母系为青龙人，但祖父是结婚时从外村来到青龙的。4家父系亲属（父亲的兄弟）和3家母系亲属（母亲的兄弟）在社区，清明时QB和他们一起扫墓。

QC属于第7组（约80户），现担任村民代表。两年前，他加入“工商协会”，开始在本社区经营饭馆。他一直住在本社区，经营饭馆前他的主业为司机。1982年农地分配时QC的家庭有3口人（QC，QC的妻子，QC的女儿），每人分到8分农地，因此家庭共分到2.4亩农地。1996年再次分配时没有发生变更。繁忙的时候，每次雇用相同的两位邻居来帮忙。现在他的主业为饭馆经营，雇用两位厨师，他们是汤山人。目前女儿在南京市里工作。QC的父系亲属一直住在禄口机场的附近，父亲也在那里出生，与父系亲属没有交往。父亲退伍后，在江宁

区的邮局工作，在那里与妻子相遇、结婚。婚后，他们移居到了妻子的家乡青龙。目前，三家以上的母系亲属住在本社区。外祖父的坟墓在青龙山的公墓，祭祖时母系亲属方面都会参加。另外，他有两位弟弟和一位妹妹，其中的一个弟弟住在青龙，另外一个弟弟和妹妹住在东山。5家妻子的亲属住在吴墅区。第7组不存在共同作业。

QD属于第6组。出生于青龙，曾在人民公社工作过，22岁参军。7年后退伍，开始在南京担任公交车司机的工作。之后对调到青龙山水泥厂工作。现在退休在家。他家曾有4.7亩农地，但之后卖给工业园。父母都是青龙人，目前父系亲属没有，母系亲属方面，表兄弟住在本社区。QD有两位兄弟，一位住在本社区，一位在山东。祭祖时他在自家举行，别的亲属不参加。

3) 小结

在青龙社区，“疑似共同体”人民公社的下层“大队”“生产队”改组为“社区”“小组”，共同经营体“生产队”变为个别经营，生产手段（土地）得到分配。小组（生产队）内部进行的分配显得很重要。经济组织解散后，共同销售的合作社只是新组织的。据本调查显示，居民并未为共同生产而新设立任何组织，而是依靠个人之间的合作。基础设施由行政机关经管，需要的服务也由行政机关提供，在生活方面居民没有组织。居民从小组成员之间选出村民代表，居民的意见通过村民代表反映到村民代表会议，居民只能间接地参与行政。亲属通过祭祖等交往，但是远方的亲属往往疏远，因此不是和每家都有交往，在这种情况下，祭祖在自家举行。由于村民代表是由各家代表通过选举选出，而非小组全体成员选出，所以我们不但可以将家庭看作是生产和生活的最小且最大的共同体，甚至可以将家庭看作最小的疑似共同体。但是，家庭“共同体”的成员和家庭“疑似共同体”的成员可能并不一同，因此我们可以“家庭”看作“共同体”以及“疑似共同体”。

〈青龙社区外观〉



照片 1：居民委员会



照片 2：居民委员会前的马路



照片 3：居住区



照片 4：重建的庙（树脚。与门没有关系。）



照片 5：农活（撒农药）中的居民



照片 6：通往社区中心的马路及农地

〈开弦弓村的外观〉



照片 7：穿过村中的干线道路



照片 8：通往村民委员会的马路（铺路工程）



照片 9：居住区



照片 10：水路



照片 11：村中的纺织厂



照片 12：由村民委员会二楼所拍景象

6 开弦弓村

1) 村民委员会调查

本村户数 773 户，居民（现居住）3, 022 人，农业人口 2, 884 人，劳力 1, 518 人（工：850 人，农：212 人），总面积 4.5 平方公里，农地总面积 2.965 亩，稻田面积 117 亩，桑园面积 365 亩，大部分农地出租给养殖者。目前本村有 25 个“村民小组”。费孝通所写“江村”，为现在开弦弓村（吴江县震泽区开弦乡）的第 1 组到第 15 组。1956 年“联三高级社”（23 个组）由开弦弓村、荷花湾（现在的第 16 组到第 19 组）、埋石湾（4 个组）组成。1958 年高级社变成“吴江县庙港公社联三大队”，1962 年埋石湾的小组脱离联三大队。1967 年大队改组，开弦弓大队（立新大队）和荷花湾大队（红卫大队）分离。1982 年再次合并成为开弦弓大队。1984 年大队变为“村”，2001 年合并“西草村”（现在的第 20 组到第 25 组）（表 3）。除小组（生产队）以外另有一个单位“段”。“段”是指居住区的单位，跟小组没有直接关系。书记由党员⁷选举选出，村民委员会的主任由村民选举选出，村民代表由每户的村民代表推选。

表 3 开弦弓村的组织变迁

地名	埋石湾	开弦弓村	荷花湾	西草村
		开弦乡		
1956 年	联三高级社			
1958 年	吴江县庙港公社联三大队			
1962 年		吴江县庙港公社联三大队		
1967 年		开弦弓大队	荷花大队	
1982 年		开弦弓大队		
1984 年		开弦弓村		
2001 年		开弦弓村		
组名		第 1-15 组	第 16-19 组	第 20-25 组

出处：根据村民委员会的资料。

生产手段（土地）方面，1951 年土地改革平均分配了土地，1954 年小组组织“初级社”实行土地集体所有。但一部分家庭到 1958 年都没参加初级社。1982 年进行了土地分配，每个人得到 0.5 亩稻田及 0.2 亩到 0.3 亩的桑园，另外，幸运的话，会分配到猪。90 年代后半以后，土地的出租通过契约成为可能。土地大多出租给养殖者，由于各家的农地面积较小且分布零散，出租时一般不单独出租，而是以小组为单位进行出租。出租农地的小组成员一般在工厂等工作，但并非同样的工作单位。每个小组虽然出租农地，但不是全部用于出租，一部分旱田会被留下作为自给。看不出任何为了生产而新设立的组织。

本村没有祖庙，但 1949 年前每家都有家堂。到 1958 年为止，村里的寺和庙都被拆毁了，但文化大革命时部分居民在同样的地方悄悄地进行过宗教活动。最近居民重建了 5 座庙宇，民间信仰又重新复兴起来。

2003 年以后，由从全体村民中选拔的“保洁队伍”担任村子的清扫工作，另外，紧急时

⁷ 目前村有 156 位党员。

(洪水等) 村民组织临时队伍进行抗洪, 但平时没有为了共同作业而设立的组织。

以上是由村民委员会了解到的社区的情况。以下是从居民那里确认到的关于农村变迁方面的情况。

2) 普通居民调查

KA 属于第 2 组, 自 1983 年以来一直担任第 2 组的村民代表。他曾担任村主任和经济合作社社长, 1997 年退休。祖父为本村人, 母亲来自何处不清楚。母亲自小作为养女被抱养, 长大后成为那家孩子的未婚妻, 但由于抱养家孩子不愿娶其为妻, 后 KA 的祖父将她买回, 与 KA 的父亲结婚。KA 3 岁时, 祖父去世, 13 岁时, 母亲去世, 而 14 岁时, 父亲因事故导致精神病。那时学校由于大跃进运动已经停办, KA 作为生产队的一员在生产队队长的指挥下从事农业工作。18 岁时, 参军离开本村。参军理由有三。第一、由于政策, 那时每个自然村需送三四个人参军。第二、由于生产队的农活都是由自家父母教授给孩子, KA 无法从父母那里学到农作的技能, 因此无法在生产队工作。第三、KA 觉得入队后, 生活会变得安定。他在江苏徐州、山东的部队共度过 7 年, 之后回到本村, 一边从事农业, 一边担任生产队的共产党青年团书记和民兵元长。每年都会有一段时间, KA 会作为民兵元长对本村的民兵进行训练, 同时他还会在大队指导农业。1993 年到 1996 年担任村主任, 之后成为了经济合作社社长。1982 年他家由土地承包责任制分配到 4.5 亩农地, 但农业的所得相比别的所得要少得多。现在 4 亩农地出租给同小组的一位养殖业者。由于余下的 0.5 亩相隔太远, 无法一同出租, 现作为自给生产蔬菜地进行种植。

目前他家有 6 口人。KA 的妻子原属于第 13 组, 曾在丝织厂工作。由邻居介绍, 他们相识、结婚。女儿在庙港工作, 在那里认识了现在的丈夫。女婿为上门女婿, 目前女儿女婿住在本村, 有两位孩子。妻子的哥哥和妹妹都住在本村, 有交往。文化大革命以前, KA 家有家堂, 但现在不但没有, 而且也不祭祖。最近庙宇虽然重建了, 可是他不拜庙。因为从小没有这样的习惯, 另外, 担任村主任的时候, 他本着共产党思想, 把庙宇看作迷信而排除。

KB 属于第 13 组。初中毕业后, 作为农业技术者在生产队进行工作, 之后 1975 年到 2008 年在村民委员会工作。人民公社解散后, 他家分配到 5 亩农地 (4 亩稻田, 1 亩桑园)。由于分配土地时, 是以小组为单位, 经协商后同等且分散地分配了生产队的农地, 所以他家农地很分散。1983 年灌溉设施机械化, 每个小组共同管理那些设施。混乱及跟其他小组的纠纷虽然屡次发生, 但是生产率还是提高了。除了灌溉设施外, 收获、加工、运送等的生产过程由各家进行。自 2001 年他家开始出租农地。说到土地的出租, 养殖业者先与组长交涉, 组长再跟小组成员协商。

他家有 6 口人, 母亲、妻子、女儿、女婿及外孙女。父亲是本村人, 母亲来自燕滨村。妻子原属于第 15 组。女儿通过结婚介绍所, 认识现在的丈夫。女婿为浙江人, 入赘以后, 住在本村。父系亲属 1 家及他姐妹的家庭都住在本村, 另外, 两位母系亲属住在母亲家乡。祭祖时他在自家举行。有时候参拜庙宇。

3) 小结

在开弦弓村，“疑似共同体”人民公社解散后，小组（生产队）有三个作用。第一，普通居民通过小组推选出村民代表参加村民代表会议，反过来，村民委员会及共产党的意向也会通过村民代表到达村民。第二，分配土地时，小组（生产队）的土地是分配给小组成员的。第三，出租土地时，以小组为单位进行出租土地。

对居民来说，重要的收入来源是地租及工资，而不是农业所得。平时没有为了管理基础设施而设立的组织。居民重建了由文化大革命拆除的宗教设施。民间信仰虽然逐渐复兴，但居民并非全部对其感兴趣并且实行宗教活动。

7 结论

本研究希望通过实地调查查明的是，农村居民会以何种形式何种理由，在农村内部以及与农村外界进行结合；何时何地会产生与他人共事的契机及动机。

人民公社是按“政社合一”的理念组织的。人民公社解散后，人民公社的“大队”转变为“村民委员会”或“居民委员会”，成为政府的基层行政组织。人民公社的“生产队”变成“小组”。每个家推选出代表，代表再选出各个小组的“村民代表”。普通居民的意见通过小组的村民代表到达村民代表会议，反过来，村民委员会及共产党的意向也会通过村民代表到达村民。总之，居民会在小组下的聚合确保了政治途径。

人民公社的解散过程是指：第一、政治和经济的分离过程；第二、共同所有及共同经营的解散过程。在第二个过程中，“小组”担任了分配生产手段的机关。这一过程不是将“村”“大队”的生产手段分配给“村民”，而是把“小组”“生产队”的生产手段分配给“小组”成员。居民会在小组下分配到生产手段，而共同经营变成了个别经营。但实行个别经营以后，除了一些例外外，居民没有为了经营而设立组织。

社会生活方面，承担管理基础设施的是主要行政机关，因此看不出任何为了生活而新设立的组织。新中国的建立及文化大革命对居民的信仰生活造成了损害。村里的庙寺，家里的家堂被拆除。人民公社解散后，祭祖及民间信仰复兴。亲属通过祭祖进行聚合，但不仅范围不大，而且也看不出与经济活动有任何密切关系。居民通过民间信仰进行聚合，但不是所有人都参加，并且与别的组织也没有任何关系。对于青龙社区一些经常去教堂的老年人，居民委员会的一位成员说到，他们不但不理解基督教的教义，而且也不会关心，他们关心的只是灵验不灵验。

在开弦弓村，小组的第三个作用是指出租土地时以小组为单位进行出租。居民虽然依旧在小组下通过“土地”聚合，但并非为了生产而聚合，而是为了出租，这主要是由于1982年土地分配时，整个小组经协商后同等且分散地分配了生产队的农地。如果那时每家分配到的土地相对集中，那么出租时他们就没必要聚合。另外，他们是同等且分散地分配到农地的，不是被归还祖祖辈辈耕种的农地。他们是被分配到“生产手段”，而非被归还“家产”。但社会主义的经济组织解散时，并非所有都变为个别经营，比如，俄罗斯萨哈林州的某集体农

庄就变为了股份有限公司⁸，这是由于其成员都是 1945 年后从别的地方来到那里或者在那里出生的人，谁也没有个别经营的经历或者记忆。本研究所调查的两个农村，居民不但没有设立共同经营体，而且也没有恢复原来的村落共同体。据他们的经验，共同经营体是不合理的组织，但他们要的不是祖先的土地，而只是对生产有益的土地。

“家庭”是最小的政治共同体，是因为由家庭选出代表，再由此推选出村民代表。“家庭”是最小经济共同体，是因为生产手段由家庭拥有、管理、利用，家庭是经营体。“家庭”是最小的生活共同体，是因为家庭是家计的单位，祭祖在家庭内举行。

本研究的目的是探索中国农村研究的方式。我们可以将“家庭”看作现代中国农村的“最小”且“最后”的共同体，但日本农村研究的“村落共同体”在“疑似共同体”村以及社区中并不存在，而除了“家庭”——本研究的“共同体”。农村居民在农村里及与农村的外部的活动看作是“家庭”共同体的活动及其成员个人活动的总体。另外，“小组”虽不是共同体，但却是很重要的组织。查明农村居民以“最后”的共同体——“家庭”为基础，通过怎样的方式进行结合、怎样维持社会生活、怎样使经济活动合理化、怎样实现政治参加，以及被什么东西规定与限制是很重要的。

不待说，本研究是基于很少的实地调查⁹和资料及研究史进行的，所以本研究只能是一个试论或者草图。今后还需要基于本研究的成果进行更多更详细的调查深化研究。

对于中国农村的共同性，也有其他学者对此进行了考察。这之中，郑（2009）同样指出人民公社的“政社分离”只不过是旧有机关所进行的改称，并没有创造新的自治组织。但同时，他也指出因“新农村建设运动”形成了新的自治组织。这些自治组织与行政机关不同，主导了“新农村建设运动”。另外，他还提到，只有存在宗族的村落才有那些自治组织，即“单姓村”才有，“杂姓村”没有¹⁰。本研究所调查的两个农村都不是“单姓村”，也不存在自治组织，应证了郑（2009）的结论。而另一方面，他也指出，尽管集体化保存了基于亲族关系的社会结构，但市场经济却使之改变。

随着市场经济的渗透，农村的产业结构也在向多样化演变。发生了劳动力向别的产业的移动，而农地又充分聚集了吗？许多个农业经济学者认为农地的聚集会由“农地的流动化”，即农地的借贷而得到发展。据李（2010），亲族关系会影响农地的借贷。但事实上，不但亲族关系不是来源于共同性，共同性也不会由亲族关系发生。对农民来说，亲族关系只不过是降低了农地借贷的风险。据李（2008），山东省农地的聚集是由企业为设立生产基地而进行的，而一部分农民则如同是拥有农地的农业劳动者。在如上情况中，看不出基于农地的任何共同性。

⁸ 根据 2008 年 11 月中山大将在俄罗斯萨哈林州所进行的实地调查。

⁹ “市场圈”以及“通婚圈”是中国农村社会经济结构研究中所提出的重要概念。本研究没有涉及，但进行了相关调查。据本调查，目前“市场圈”这一概念并不存在特殊意义，“通婚圈”也存在代与代之间的差别。但由于相关事例过少，以上的说明只不过是基于调查的印象而已。但是，事例很少，这些只不过是印象。

¹⁰ 在本论中，“单姓村”是指“许多家庭属于某个宗族并参与宗族活动的村落”，并不是“许多家庭拥有共同姓氏的村落”。

郑极力认为“村民还不能以个人身份参与政策的讨论，也不能由此自行决定政策¹¹”。农村为了维持发展，需要与国家以及市场主动进行合作，因此所有人都应参加自治和政治，并且，所有人都应摸索的并非新的共同体，而是新的共同性。

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谢词

对青龙社区居民委员会以居民各位，开弦弓村村民委员会以及村民各位，而且张玉林教授（南京大学社会学院）表示感谢。如果没有张教授的支援，不但不能进行调查进行得那么顺利，而且不能进行京都大学和南京大学的共同研究。盼望这次共同研究有助于增进我们两国研究者的相互理解以及相互发展。

这次共同研究是由日本学术振兴会支持的“有组织的年轻研究员海外派遣计划（大航海计划）”里的“京都伊拉斯谟计划：为社会持续发展培育新一代亚洲共同研究领导者”的“国际共同研究集体研修 中国社会研究短期集中项目”中的一环。这次研修是平田昌司教授（京都大学大学院文学研究科）担任的。对平田教授再次表示感谢。

本次研修主要是由非专门从事中国现代社会研究的日本年轻研究员进行的，因此，报告中不免还有需斟酌之处。但此次共同研究富有启发，对此我们已经达到了目的。

¹¹ 郑（2009，p261）。

“中国农村研究”与“东亚农村研究”

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2010年盛夏,京都大学的几位年轻学人在平田昌司教授的带领下,来到南京实施作为“中国研究短期集中项目”的中国农村调查。出于对京大在中国研究方面的一种有意识转向——从只注重传统的“汉学”到关注巨变中的中国?——的感佩,我和南大的几位学子也积极地参与了这项活动。并向他们推荐了两个具有典型意义的村庄:工业化程度较高、涌入大量外来人口的吴江市开弦弓村,以及位于大都市远郊、人口外出-外迁较多的南京市江宁区青龙村。

京大同仁们的兴趣在于“探索中国农村研究的方式”,通过实地调查来研究“中国农村的社会经济结构”,查明“农村居民会以何种形式何种理由,在农村内部以及与外界进行结合”。现在,他们提出了初步的调查报告,嘱我写一些感想。我的确是“感慨无量”,但因篇幅上的限制,这里仅略述两点,以尽续貂之责。

第一,从方法论的角度而言,京大同仁们的关注点应该说对于中国的同行具有一定的启迪意义。在一个人心的流动和人身的流动都异常剧烈的时代,当村庄从极端封闭走向高度“开放”和“外泄”,从“熟人社会”逐步变成“陌生人的社会”,探讨社会“结合”的因缘、形式和可能性,无论是从学术的角度重新担负起社会学的原初使命,还是从实践的角度(在陌生人的社会重建“信任”及“和谐”)尽力于社会学者的应有职责,这都是一个重大命题,不仅难以回避,而且理应首选。

第二,同样是从方法论的角度来看,“中国农村研究”似乎已经很难再孤立地存续,或者即便能够存续也很难有所突破。就浅见而言,“中国农村”虽然因制度、文化的影响而呈现一定的独特性,但其实与日本、韩国,以及台湾地区的农村有着越来越多的相似之处。概而言之,尽管各个政治体都曾经和正在实施不同形式的“农村建设”计划,但东亚农村的衰落、凋敝、分崩离析的趋势并没有得到遏制,而且仍在加速。“过疏化”(空洞化)、“界限集落”、“留守儿童”、“独居老人”,乃至“新娘不足”等等现象,都昭示了“东亚小农圈”遭遇着前所未有的危机和痛楚。而在东亚农村走向解体和崩溃的背后,蕴藏着一个异常明显但并没有受到整体性重视的巨大尴尬:从食物供应或“谷物自给”的角度而言,东亚农村已经无法养活东亚的人民。这实际上可以看作一种文明——“东亚资本主义”以及“中国式的资本主义”——的危机。这种危机不仅是所谓“东亚的奇迹”的巨大代价,也是对它的巨大嘲弄。

如何面对“中国农村”的独特性和“东亚农村”的共同性?我很认同报告执笔者中山大将先生的主张:“农村研究者所关注的(事象)不应被地域的边界所分隔”。为了避免只见树木、不见森林的危险,有必要在比较研究和类型研究的基础上展开整合研究——“东亚农村研究”——。这需要东亚的同行一道来进行集体性的反思、自觉和努力。

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