

Analysis from Center for Social Capital Studies: Cases of Fuzhou City Survey, Taipei City and New Taipei City Survey

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Outline of surveys (OYANE)

I . Introduction: background of surveys

We conducted two surveys – in the Chinese province of Fujian and in Taipei, Taiwan. The first half of today’s symposium was dedicated to reports from different regions. With respect to reports among them on China and Taiwan, their presenters explained the findings of simple tabulation and cross-tabulation of the data obtained in the surveys using standardized questionnaires. Our report now discusses the background and framework of the surveys in the two areas as well as implications seen from them.

1 . Background of surveys

Let me start by talking about construction of the structure for implementation of the surveys. Center for Social Capital Studies, Senshu University have examined research on social capital in East Asia countries in the region. Our research assistants have focused on and long conducted pre-research fieldwork in China’s Fujian Province. One of the major reasons for this was that it is the home of our former research assistant ZHANG Guangyun. This region has a long tradition of community-wide overseas migrant labor and past studies explored its significance. By chance I was acquainted with some of the teaching staff of Fuzhou University, who helped me to meet Dr. GAN Mantang. Having returned home after completing his term as a research assistant, ZHANG Guangyun effectively and frequently contacted him in China. That was highly significant for implementation of the international comparative surveys.

For the survey in Taipei, the Center for Japanese Studies of National Sun Yat-sen

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University, which has an international exchange agreement with Senshu University, acted as a partner. To this university, with an abundance of experience in conducting international comparative surveys after raising funds from outside parties, we as the research outsourcer made repeated requests and maintained close communications with it in design control and process control for the social survey.

In a survey, especially an international comparative survey, it is necessary for both the outsourcer and the contractor to properly understand the control of the design of the questionnaire and the process of conducting the survey. This might be seen as similar to the construction of a building. Given that the surveys conducted in the two areas in the two countries in fiscal 2012 were in the late group in the research project, we reviewed the achievements of surveys conducted earlier in some countries in an effort to prepare a standardized questionnaire. In what follows, we take a look at some of the findings of the surveys in the two areas in the two countries.

2 . Fuzhou Survey

For the survey in Fuzhou, many different forms of social mobility were observed from the preliminary fieldwork that lasted two years before the survey was conducted. In this report, Mr. MIYAGAWA will discuss *qiao xiang*[僑鄉], or hometowns of Chinese migrants, and about chain migration in association with bridging social capital.

3 . Taipei Survey

For the survey in Taipei, I took part in the process control by making repeated requests of the local survey partner. Specifically, I joined the process of conducting the survey at the survey site and processing and analyzing the data. Mr. MIYAGAWA will explain the characteristics of the survey's process and, as a finding of the fieldwork, the characteristics of local society in Taipei in the area of social capital.

Report of survey details (MIYAGAWA)

Today I am reporting on part of the survey design and the survey process for the Fuzhou survey in China and the Taipei and New Taipei city survey in Taiwan.

Let me start by discussing the survey design. Japan's Cabinet Office conducted a survey ¹ in 2002 and our center conducted a survey ² in Southeast Asia with the previous survey used as

¹ The Cabinet Office, Japan (2003), *Social Capital: Toward a Virtuous Circle of Rich Human Relationships and Civic Activities*. [URL: https://www.npo-homepage.go.jp/data/report9_1.html]

² MURAKAMI, Shunsuke (2013), "Social Capital in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos", in *The Senshu Social Capital Review*, No. 4.

a preceding study. With these quantitative surveys, our center conducted a qualitative survey in a village in the county-level city of Fuqing in Fuzhou city. With these surveys as preceding studies, the surveys were conducted in Fuzhou and Taiwan from November 2012 to January 2013.

In the process of preparing questionnaires for the two surveys, the questionnaire created by Japan's Cabinet Office was first referred to as a basis, given that the surveys were oriented toward using an authorized questionnaire template. Then Prof. GAN Mantang, a local researcher, was asked to reconstruct questionnaire in efforts to incorporate local information. He gave us good advices in areas such as the question as to how often respondents participated in social groups with common ties to the region.

Similarly, we enjoyed support chiefly from Prof. LIN Wencheng and Prof. KUO Yujen of the Center for Japanese Studies at National Sun Yat-sen University, who took the rostrum at today's event, in reconstruction of the questionnaire for our survey in Taipei and New Taipei.

➤ **Location**



The Map1 shows that the two survey areas are in close proximity with the Taiwan Strait in between. The Fuzhou survey was conducted in both urban and rural areas, whereas that in Taipei and New Taipei in urban areas and their suburbs.

Map.1 Survey areas

Source: <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/maptaiwanstrait.jpg>

➤ **research process**

Now I will take the Fuzhou survey as an example to talk a little about the survey process. This photo (Pic. 1) shows an actual scene of the survey. Local university students assisted with the survey. As you see from the photo, they visited the survey area and read aloud the questionnaire to interview the respondents. We selected the method of personal interviewing by survey staff, instead of leaving questionnaire sheets to the respondents.



Pic.1: Survey process: in Fuzhou city (research community, in 2010)

➤ **sampling method: in Fuzhou**

Moving on to the sampling method, in the course of preparing the residential map in the survey area, the Kish method (an area-sampling method) was planned for sampling. Selection of the sampling method depends on the lifestyles of inhabitants in the survey area, the method of resident registration and the statistical culture in the region. The Kish method and the like are

valid where there is no effective reference framework for sampling, such as resident registration. This method was deemed appropriate for understanding the facts about the inhabitants through the survey in Fuzhou.

However, this method could not be implemented in urban areas due to time and financial constraints, as well as regional particularities since many apartment blocks in urban areas in this region were equipped with locks that kept outsiders from entering. Under these circumstances, the door-to-door survey itself was not viable. Meanwhile, the survey based on area sampling was conducted in rural areas.

Pic. 2 shows an example of residential maps used in another survey. Pic. 3 demonstrates a sample table under the Kish method. This was actually used in this survey.



Pic.2: Sample of household map of research areas (another survey map)

家庭編號		性別編碼：男+1，女+0		抽樣表：												
家庭編號	性別	抽樣	抽樣	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	
1				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
2				2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	
3				3	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	
4				4	1	2	2	3	1	4	2	2	4	1		
5				5	4	1	3	4	1	2	3	5	4	2		
6				6	3	1	5	2	4	3	5	1	4	6	2	
7				7	1	4	5	6	2	5	2	5	7	4	3	
8				8	4	5	7	1	2	6	3	7	5	3	1	
9				9	5	1	4	3	8	2	7	6	5	2	8	
10				10	3	2	9	4	1	7	2	8	6	9	4	

Pic.3: Kish Selection Table (in Chinese) used in this survey

抽樣的名：王公莊		樣本的構成								抽樣地區：新北市農會區			
抽樣日期	日期	性別		年齡								備註	
		女性	男性	18-19歲	20-29歲	30-39歲	40-49歲	50-59歲	60歲以上				
1	12/9	√			√								
2	12/9		√				√						
3	12/9	√						√					
4	12/9	√			√								
5	12/9			√						√			
6	12/9			√				√					
7	12/15		√		√								
8	12/15	√					√						
9	12/15	√								√			
10	12/16			√								√	
11	12/16	√					√						
合計		6	5	2	2	2	1	2	1			2	符合
		男女各2位		20-29歲2位		30-39歲2位		40-49歲1位		50-59歲1位		60歲以上2位	

Pic.4: Table of Sample Quota Control (in Chinese) used in this survey

➤ **sampling method: in Taipei city and New Taipei city**

Next we look at sampling in Taipei and New Taipei. For this survey, districts and villages were extracted from the survey area by a stratified two-stage method. For the third-stage sample, a method called “convenience sampling” was used onsite. With this method, the necessary numbers of research subjects in the villages to be surveyed are assigned in advance in line with the conditions; i.e., the number of respondents in each age group and gender group. The door-to-door survey is repeated until the conditions are met, so the response rate is certain to be 100%. For this survey, the respondents were required to have their family registers in the survey area. Pic. 4 portrays the sample quota table. As can be seen, a total of 11 respondents – six females and five males – were sampled. Two of the people of each gender are aged 18-29, four

are 30-49 and three are 50-60 or older. Pic. 5 shows the numbers of samples in each zone and Pic. 6 is a map of the research area with the districts. In January 2013 we visited the area. Carrying this map, the sample quota table and the questionnaire sheet, our survey staff split into pairs with each going to the survey area to conduct the survey.



Pic.5: Table of Sample Quota Control (in Chinese) used in this survey



Pic.6: Map of research areas

II. Pre-research: “Qiao xiang [僑鄉]” in Fuqing city



Pic.8: Qiao xiang in Fuqing (research community, in 2010)



Pic.7-1: Researcher (research community, in 2010)

Next I will discuss the findings of the qualitative survey in the city of Fuqing conducted prior to the quantitative survey. This survey was conducted in a village in this county-level city subordinate to Fuzhou in Fujian Province. The survey had an initial objective of visiting *qiao xiang* in the southeastern part of China as a hometown of over sea Chinese to study the social relations in the village that supports the migration. The survey was conducted from March 2010 to September 2012. As shown in Pic. 7-1 and 7-2, we had a total of four long-term stays. The three-member team of ZHANG Guangyun, QI Yingxian and myself³ conducted the onsite survey.

This photo (Pic. 8) is a full view of the village in which the survey was conducted. You see a cluster of four and

³ Hidekazu MIYAGAWA, Guangyun ZHANG and Yingxian QI, (2011), “A report on Chinese migration networks and “qiaoxiang” in Fuqing City, Fujian Province”, *Annual Report of the Senshu University Center for Social Capital Studies*, No. 2 (in Japanese).

five-story buildings with red roofs. They look like apartment buildings but in fact each is an individual residence. In China, an area from which a large number of people emigrate overseas is called *qian xiang*, and this village is one such area. These residential houses have been built using money sent from Chinese migrants living overseas and money brought back when these migrants returned home. When we visited the village in 2010, construction was underway. We saw the farmland around the village gradually turning into large residential houses (Pic. 9).



Pic.9: Qiao xiang in Fuqing (research community, in 2010)



Pic.10: Port around Qiao xiang in Fuqing (research community, in 2010)

Port development took place recently near the village chosen as a survey area. A container depot, mainly built on reclaimed coastal land, was constructed about a 20-minute walk from the village. We heard that the incoming population was on the rise in the vicinity of the village that now served as a logistical center. However, we saw none of this incoming population living in the village or entering or leaving the inside (Pic. 10).



Pic.7-2: Researcher

➤ **The relationships of residents in this village**

People sharing a single family name reside in the village. This is one of the characteristics of villages commonly seen in southeastern China. A Chinese patrilineal clan is divided into several levels by the blood relationship that forms it. The social bond inside the village is based on the group at a level called *dazong* [大宗] in Chinese. This group is allowed to worship the same ancestry in the village. The photo (Pic. 11) shows the ancestor hole in which the village's ancestry is enshrined. Since



Pic.11: Ancestral hall (祠堂) in Qiao xiang in Fuqing (research community, in 2010)

the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949 this patrilineal organization was strongly prohibited as a product of feudal society and was forced into dissolution. But since the reforms and door opening policies around 1980, such clans have rapidly been revived, particularly in southeast China amid dramatic changes in China's political and economic circumstances. Some say that one reason for their resurgence is that ongoing construction of new social relationships



Pic.12: Informant family in the Chinese New Year (research community, in 2012)

and dignity were rebuilt in the district through representations like tradition and history, such as through donations from those who have economic success, to the ancestor hole and their active participation in local activities⁴. It was observed that the same principle applied in the village in which the survey was conducted. The photo (Pic.12) depicts the family of a main informant. It was taken when we visited the village in the 2012 Chinese New Year season called *Chunjie* [春節]. At that time

of year, those usually living outside the country return home.

Next we focus on this main informant in the interview and his family members working overseas. He has three sons and one daughter and now lives in the village in the survey area and in the city of Fuzhou. Informer A is the first son of the main informant. He now runs an aluminum-processing plant in Algeria in North Africa. Informer B is the husband of the main informant's daughter. He runs a supermarket in Argentina.

⁴ SEGAWA Masahisa, (2004), *中国社会の人類学* [A Study on the Anthropology of Chinese Society], Sekaishisousha (in Japanese), p. 212.

➤ The characteristics of this village

To discuss other characteristics of the region as a hometown of overseas Chinese, it will be necessary to think about their destinations. Fuqing city is among the areas from which a particularly large number of people have traditionally emigrated. At the end of the Qing dynasty and during the period of the Republic of China they left for Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia, and for Japan. Today, their destinations have grown so diverse that their migration is no longer confined to that of unskilled labor. In the past two decades or so, China has seen an increase in social mobility of farmers as increasing numbers of them are moving to economically developed regions.

The village in which the survey was conducted was not an exception in terms of high social mobility. Particularly striking was that, according to interviews, their destinations were not limited to within the country. A family has a working member who has moved to Algeria and another family has a member now living in Argentina. The migrant to Algeria is a co-manager who invested in and engages in operation of a factory. The migrant to Argentina runs a supermarket.

These examples may have been found only because the village or the families surveyed achieved greater economic success than other districts or other families surveyed, but the factory manager started his career by working as a truck driver in the 1980s. With his limited funds, he raised more money from other migrants coming from the same hometown to start management of a gas station. Today he and some others from the same hometown jointly manage the factory in Algeria. The second migrant received some travel funds to migrate to South America from relatives and now operates his supermarket together with some migrants from the same hometown. It is noteworthy that these funds were not provided under any contract that clearly set the repayment deadlines. To sum up, it is observed that “selfless gifts”, irrespective of emergence of people attaining economic success or of generations, provide opportunities for moving and generate chain migration. In other words, the social bond in the *qiao xiang* community is a key to the practice of offering opportunities for migration and funds. It is presumed that the mechanism that enables selection of other countries as places of working or living functions effectively in this district in China with high social mobility.

III. Analysis of Survey results from field research

A question now arises in: Is this mechanism peculiar to *qiao xiang* [僑鄉]?

As mentioned by Chinese and Taiwanese researchers in their reports, the notion of *guanxi* [關係], or human networks, has long been observed in Han society in a broad sense. Its effect is exhibited on the occasion of familiar difficulties or job hunting. The fact that the reports on China and Taiwan both referred to similar concepts suggests that the *guanxi* social ties work powerfully in both of the survey areas. The example presented in my report suggests that the social relations in the *qiao xiang* community offer opportunities for moving through “selfless gifts” beyond the generations and supports the mechanism that brings about chain migration. An attempt to explore the relationship in the Han society from the perspective of the concept of

social capital was made, for example, by LI Minghuan ⁵, and our qualitative survey in rural areas has the same orientation. Its significance lies in that the review of the concept of social capital will enable comparison of the mechanism behind the chain migration with the mechanisms in other regions or cases.

The principle behind the migration supported by the social network in the community in the southeastern coastal region of China, with its rapid economic growth, from which migrants leave for overseas is not merely being understood internally in China. We think that comprehension of the principle through the concept of social capital will help better understand the relations between people in East Asia in a broad sense.

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