

Population, Industrialization, and Pollution

Social Change in Asia

April 10, 2020

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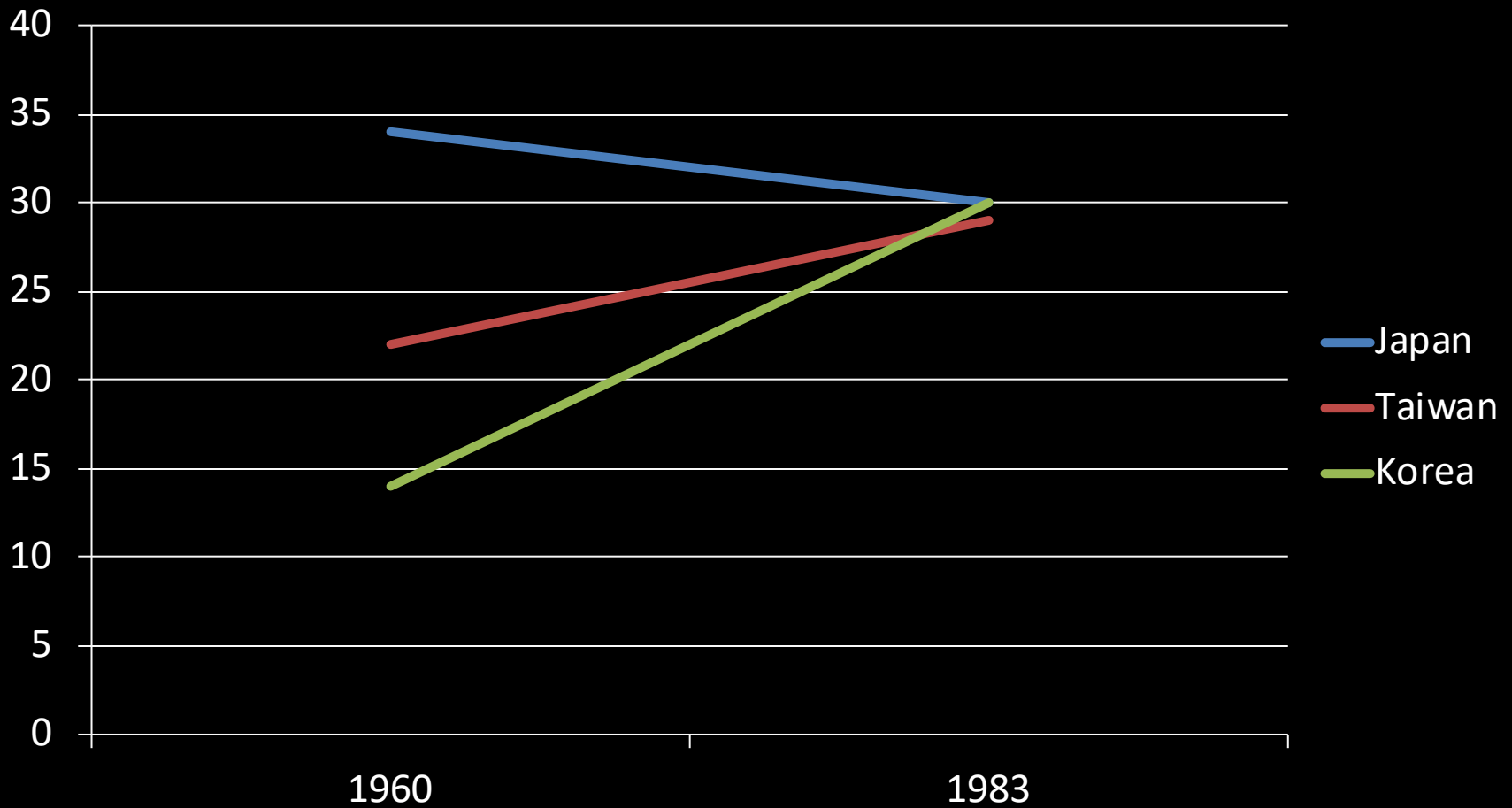
Culture and Environmental Action

- Questions (Weller page 106-7)
 - In what ways do people's understandings of nature influence when and how they take environmental action?
 - What are the cultural and social resources that shape their behavior?
- Weller will find that in both Taiwan and the PRC local and national environmental interests may diverge (but in different ways due to institutional differences)

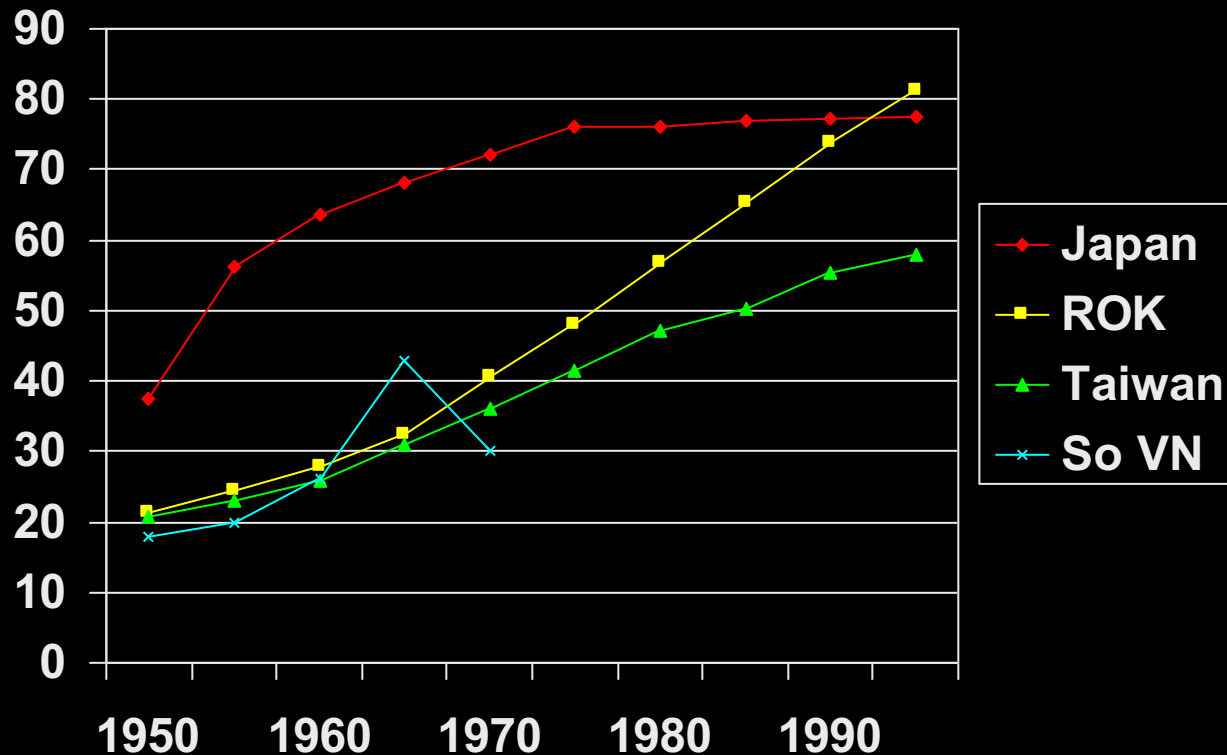
Garbage a Modern Industry

- Premodern peasant society
 - Most production at home
 - Home the same as work (no commuting)
 - Small entrepreneurs recycle things
 - “honey buckets” gathered for application on fields
 - “rag pickers” pick up and resell garbage that can be converted into raw materials
 - Search for fuel can have serious environmental consequences
 - Air pollution from burning straw, deforestation from burning wood
- Industrial society
 - Most production done in factories, so people consume commodities and then discard the leftovers—i.e. create garbage
 - People commute to work (air pollution)
 - Large firms pick up and dispose of garbage in dumps (can be sanitary landfill or incinerators, but often just dumped)

Share of Manufacturing in GDP



East Asian Urbanization



Workers per Firm



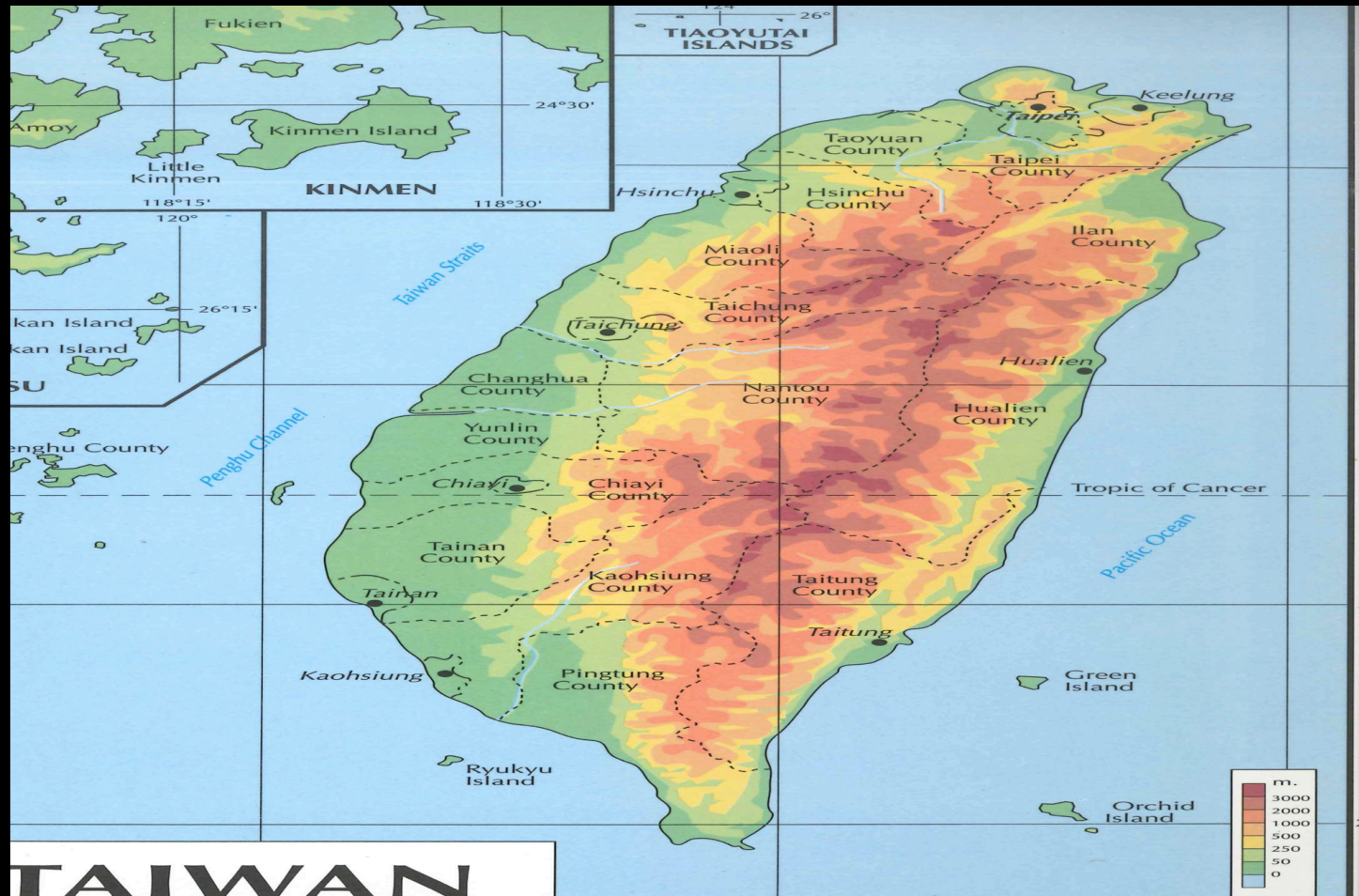
Taiwan Development

- At time of reversion
 - Taiwan twice as prosperous per capita as mainland
 - More than half of the population went to school
 - Japanese had provided good transportation and government infrastructure
- Rapid development with modest urbanization
 - Land reform of 1953 preserved small holder agriculture even for sugar industry (maximum of 3 hectares=7.35 acres=9 city lots)
 - Light industrialization based on small and medium enterprises
 - 以農養工 build industry through agriculture
 - As late as 2003 77.5% of the workforce was employed by small and medium enterprises
 - Especially in mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, and transportation (less true in finance and gas and electricity)

Taiwan Urban Structure

- Taipei metropolitan region 7 mil 臺北基隆都會區
 - Gaoxiong 2.7 million 高雄市
 - Taijung 2.7 million 臺中市
 - Tainan 1.9 million 臺南市
 - No other large cities

Taiwan Map



Garbage as a Political Issue

- Modernizing state intervenes in waste management as a health issue—smell redefined as a health issue
- Issues
 - Who bears the burden of garbage?
 - Smell? Water pollution? Scavenger animals? Health effects?
 - How are these issues decided?

Taiwan's Garbage Wars

- Pattern of escalation
 - Local people become aware of a problem
 - People try legal mechanisms (petitions, etc.)
 - People then resort to extra-legal mechanisms
 - Street marches, long-term blockades
 - May ultimately settle for financial compensation
- Pattern of mobilization localized
 - Temples
 - Lineages
 - Neighborhoods
 - Gangster groups
 - Some coordination with national NGOs but not much

Taiwan Environmental Bureaucracy

- Before 1971—Interior Ministry
- 1971-1982 Department of Environmental Health
- 1982-87 Environmental Protection Bureau
 - Noise and traffic control, air, water, waste management, health
- 1987 to present—Environmental Protection Administration
 - All environment policies, regulations, standards and enforcement (toxic substances, sanitation, monitoring environment)
- However, EPA not really involved in “garbage wars” that were essentially local township issues

Temple Organization

- Village and neighborhood temples in Taiwan
 - Until 1945 temples tended to be tightly associated with neighborhoods in Taiwan
 - Village temples often interacted with market town temples in a temple hierarchy
 - House Gods (家神), Village Earth Gods (土地公), city wall gods (城隍)
 - Today temple associations maintain temples, and while they may have a geographical concentration, they can have island-wide membership
 - The gods of temples can be various and are related to local history and what deities people think are powerful and can help them

Temple Activities

– Typical temple activities:

- Big annual community celebration on god's birthday
 - Lower ranked gods often meet higher ranked gods, sometimes invite opera troops for performance, fortune telling
- Festivals on calendrical holidays (New Year, Guanyin's birthday 2.19, Buddha's Birthday 4.8, Dragon Boat Festival 5.5 (忠孝節), Feast of the Hungry Ghosts 7.15)
 - Lunar new year stove god reports on family to the Jade Emperor
 - On 7.15 make offerings to hungry ghosts in front of house
- People can go to temple to consult the god at any time to get fortune telling, or advice
- In Taiwan 拜拜 involves lighting incense, bowing to the god, and using moonblocks (筊杯) to answer yes/no questions
- May also use divination sticks that have more complex written answers

Moonblocks

- Curved side is yin
- Flat side is yang
- First purify by revolving over incense burner three times
- Kneel, ask the god a question, cast the blocks
- One flat side and one round side up = yes
- Both round sides up = no
- Both flat sides up = “god smiles” or “maybe”



Examples of Political Moonblock Use

- Want to borrow the image of the god to parade in a demonstration
 - Have to ask the god's permission with moonblocks first (don't have to ask the temple's permission)
- In one case (beginning of Ch. 5) protestors threw moonblocks to ask whether to settle dispute or to protest, and decided to protest

Lineage Organization

- Common in Taiwan, Hong Kong, but illegal on the mainland
 - used to be common in Southeast China (Fujian and Guangdong), but not so much in North China
- All the local patrilineal descendants of someone who lived in the past gather for ancestor worship
 - In elaborated cases they will build a family temple with ancestral tablets (it takes a financial contribution to be enshrined)
 - Some temples have endowed lands that they use to support ceremonies, subsidize lineage education, or subsidize members
 - Meetings, ancestor worship, ancestral hall if very large

China Development

- Under Hu Jintao and Wen Jiabao (2002-2012) policy of “Harmonious Socialist Society” 和谐社会 and “Peaceful Rise” 中国和平崛起
 - This allowed space for civil society groups outside CCP control
 - NGOs, however, couldn’t be political
 - Limited themselves to “technical advice”
- Environmental bureaucracy
 - 1972 attended UN environmental conference
 - 1983 environmental protection state policy
 - 1998 Ministry level Environmental Protection Agency

China More Recently

- Xi Jinping (2012-present)
 - Chinese Dream 中国梦（夢）
 - Prosperity, collective effort, socialism, and national glory *Qiushi* 2013.5.20
 - Four Comprehensives 四个全面战略布局—comprehensively build:
 - Moderately prosperous society 全面建成小康社會
 - Reform 全面社會改革
 - Govern nation according to law 全面推進依法治國
 - Strictly govern the Party 全面从严治黨

China Environmental Protest

- Interaction with environmental bureaucracy
 - Writing letters
 - Calling environmental hot lines
 - Some environmental lawsuits because of environmental laws
 - Situations tended to be solved with compensation (i.e. language of human gains and losses rather than of environmental protection)
 - Attitude seems to be more “anti-pollution” than “environmental protection”

Taiwan and China Share

- Big business has close ties to state
- Environmental administration exists, but tends to be quiescent
- Ladder of escalation
 - Letters, lawsuits, blockade → compensation
- Difference
 - Manner of political mobilization
 - Role of national NGOs

Central and local

- There are policies from above and countermeasures from below 上有政策，下有对策
 - Much of the conflict comes from competing priorities of higher and local government
- China—big contrast between environmental consciousness of educated urbanites and rural residents
 - Tianjin (prosperous city near Beijing)
 - Make environmental complaints
 - Take measures to protect family and children from pollution
 - Oxygen bars
 - Anhui (poor rural province)
 - Little environmental consciousness despite government campaigns
 - Unaware of meaning of “environmental protection” 环境保护
 - Continue environmentally damaging practices even though illegal

China Government

- Tianjin's lowest level of government
 - Neighborhood committees and street committees 居民委员会, 街道办事处
 - Now responsible for their own finances so become quasi-NGO's living off fees
 - May charge for registering migrant workers, for example
 - Strong incentive to ignore pollution so as to preserve their income from factories
 - Cadres rewarded primarily according to the rate of economic growth in their area
 - Thus without local political pressure, they have no incentive to enforce environmental laws—even those the central government wants
 - Progress toward rule of law under Hu Jintao is less apparent under Xi Jinping

Taiwan Government

- Kending National Park
 - 20,000 people lived within the boundaries in 1993
 - Some land had been nationalized by the Japanese, but is still farmed by residents
 - Other land is privately owned
 - Park cracked down on farmers
 - Prohibited insecticide use and construction of new buildings (similar to Green Belts in Korea)
 - Competition between DPP and KMT in which environmentalists favor DPP even though it does not have an environmentalist agenda

Implications

- Taiwan and China culturally similar but environmental protest takes different forms due to political differences
- Substantial similarities, however
 - United States and United Nations models more similar to each other than to traditional Chinese ideas
 - Market based tourism more syncretic but global influences the same for both

Variant globalism

- Three Western views
 - Separation of nature from culture
 - Objectifying nature for human progress and enrichment
 - Biocentric valuing of nature for its own sake
 - Pastoral view of humans and nature as one
- These three ideas appropriated as different times and to different degrees, and then reworked into Chinese culture
- Chinese environmentalism?

Civil Society and the Politics of Pollution Enforcement

- Bryan Tilt (Oregon State)
- Example of interaction of the local with the center
- Villagers understood environment through their agricultural activities that were threatened by factory pollution
- Ministry of Environmental Protection (2008) elevation of older State Environmental Protection Agency

Rural Industry

- High rate of natural resource consumption
- Lack of investment in pollution-control technology
- Effect on health and welfare of residents of rural areas is not quantified
- Local governments have a great deal of discretion in enforcement of environmental law
 - Environmental-protection target-responsibility system
环境保护目标责任制
 - Control pollution with compensation levies

Worked out?

- Smokestack put in according to system
- But air and water pollution above national norms continued
- Local television exposé led to local SEPA inspections and closure of factories
- Investors in factories incensed
 - Saw shut down as failure of rule of law (not 法大于权 but 权大于法)
- Pillars of environmental movement
 - Historical legacy of public protest and mobilization
 - Institutional reform
 - Administrative Litigation Law (1989) allows individuals to bring lawsuits against governmental units and individuals
 - Organic Law of Villagers' Committees (1998) allow election of rural cadres
 - Allow mobilization of NGOs