SESSION 5 : Designing Modernity

Development as a Brand? Japanese Aid to Asia and the Case of Vietnam in a Historical Perspective

Marco Zappa

Department of Asian and North-African Studies,

Ca' Foscari University of Venice

marco.zappa@unive.it

Introduction

When one analyses the case of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA), it is clear that aid to foreign countries, and Asia in particular, is not just an act of solidarity or complimentary help. In fact, it has been demonstrated that Japanese ODA entails national as well as private economic interest (Söderberg, 1996; Arase, 2007) and that there is a link between public policies and the diffusion of culture abroad (Anholt, 2009). In detail, my analysis will focus on the relationship between Japan and Vietnam, which at least since the first decade of the 21st century has been one of the fastest growing economies in South-east Asia, and Tokyo's ODA top bilateral recipient (OECD, MOFA 2012; Ohno, 2010).

One could argue that wealth and power are not all that a country needs to become a hegemon, meaning the ability to make other countries perceive its values as their own. For many decades, military power and wealth have been the main criteria to measure the role of a country in the international community. However, is it still possible to account for a country's role in the world or in a specific region just in terms of power and capital? Needless to say that the criterion of wealth is still crucial in the age of globalization: the world could be more peaceful and interdependent than before, but it is not more equal (Easterly 2007; Sumner 2013). Thus, the focus of the policy of a country in a position of dominance in the international system has shifted from showing individual power and/or wealth to showing its most appealing assets, like aid and culture. The aim of such policies is to get, where possible, other countries to cooperate thus attaining what will be perceived as a mutually beneficial gain (Nye, 1990).

In the first section of this paper I shall present the main theories I have drawn upon in establishing the topic of the present research[1]. After a brief summary of the mainstream approaches to international relations in the field of development, I will consider the ones deemed useful in order to develop a critical analysis of the topic. In addition, Simon Anholt's notion of competitive identity or nation branding (Anholt, 2009) will be taken into consideration. This concept is, in my view, particularly interesting when approaching IR in the context of globalization, as it underlines actual political or economic impact of public policies versus its symbolic value.

I will therefore present an account of the main historical features of Japanese ODA and Japan's role in Asia as a model for development in neighbouring countries and give a brief account of the case study (Vietnam) I intend to analyse. Finally, I will try to define the lines of future development for my research design, particularly focusing on the following questions: what is the future of Japanese foreign aid? What is the idea of "development" entangled in such a public policy? Is it possible to find in Japan any drive to a non-official development in Asia (via NGOs, social and environmental movements, common good movements).

1. Theoretical Framework

1.1 The Development Issue

Since 1945, the concept of development has been interwoven with that of nation-state: it can be related to the nation-state's economic growth, i.e. an increase of its national output, expressed by the increase of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP); or it can be caused by an increase in the available factors of production (labour, capital and raw materials) or by an increase in the efficiency of their use (Sloman, Wride and Garratt, 2012: 41-43). Nevertheless, as some scholars (Sen, 1999, Todaro, 2009) pointed out, economic growth is only one aspect of development. According to Todaro, "development must be conceived of as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of poverty" (Todaro, 2009:16).

---

[1] The research will be carried out during a 3-year doctoral course at Ca'Foscari University of Venice, Department of Asian and North-African Studies.

Against such a background, the definition of development could become highly controversial. What is development, then, and why is the international community so concerned about it?

The United Nations have broadened the scope of its definition of development: in 1990s, UNDP focused on the notion of "human development", as defined in 1990 by economists Mahbub ul Haq and Amartya Sen, which included an evaluation of life expectancy, education and health, and social inequalities. Every year, UNDP publishes a report and a ranking of the most developed countries in the world according to their Human Development Index (HDI). However, there still is a very clear a connection between affluent economies (as measured by more GDP-related statistic by IMF, World Bank or disposable wage-related statistic by OECD) and the level of human development[2].

1.2 Development as an ideology

Classical liberalism has it that all individuals in the world have the right to enjoy freedom of expression, private property and equal opportunities. So do nation-states that have to cooperate in order to avoid conflict and maintain peace and harmony in the international system. It is not a coincidence that after 1945 liberalism has become embedded in the rules of the international institutions created since, as a consequence of the US hegemonic position. However, it can be argued, this very system has inevitably favoured the USA and its allies, which are now able "to claim special rights and privileges over other members of the international society" (Dunne, 2011: 109).

The relation between the "developed" and the "underdeveloped" is here crucial. Immanuel Wallerstein (2005) clearly identified the link between development and colonialism. In fact, during the colonial era, the concept of development was associated with that of mise en valeur, namely, following Wallerstein's analysis, exploitation and profitability (Wallerstein, 2005). From 1945 onwards, development became a "code word" for former colonies: being gradually recognized as nation-states by the international community, they could finally develop and "become as technologically modern and as wealthy as the countries of the North" (Wallerstein,

---

2   The   Human   Development   Report   2013   can   be   consulted   at http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-2013 (retrieved on February 9, 2014)

2005: 1264). In compliance with such a view, William Easterly (2007) claimed the birth of the ideology of the new millennium: developmentalism[3].

However, such an account cannot disregard Wallerstein's view of a capitalist world-economy, a world-system that is by definition unequal. Such global entity is divided in three zones: core-periphery and semi-periphery, which are necessarily linked together in a relationship that guarantees a continuing drainage of wealth from the periphery to the core (Wallerstein, 1974).

David Harvey (2006) maintains that in the last decade of the 20th century an effective but unequal "neoliberalization" of the global economy took place. This trend was favoured especially in the 1990s by the 'Washington consensus' (World Bank, International Monetary Fund and US Treasury Department): what Harvey calls the new economical "orthodoxy" revolved around a drive towards privatisation, financialisation, manipulation of economic crisis and State redistributions which had the effect of restoring class power (Harvey, 2006:153-155). IMF, and World Trade Organization since 1995, proved to be "convenient vehicles" through which US financial and political power could be exercised in a "global network of power relations"(Harvey, 2006: 151).

In sum, according to critical scholars like Easterly, Harvey and Wallerstein, the triumph of neoliberal governance and globalization since 1980s has increasingly stressed asymmetric relations in terms of economic advance and political power while "development" has become nothing more than a slogan. Such a position, however, is supported by some empirical evidence: as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) stated in the 2010 Human Development Report, global inequality is, if not rising, very high (UNDP, 2010: 73). Roughly put, the richest 20 percent of the world's population enjoys 75 per cent of the global output, whereas the poorest 20 percent only enjoys 1,5 percent (Dunne, 2011: 109; Casari, 2003: 51).

1.3 Power Relations in the Empire

---

3 William Easterly, an economist with the New York University Development Research Center, has compared developmentalism to other twentieth century ideologies, such as Communism and Fascism, which have produced damage and not reduced, rather they have increased inequalities in wealth distributions in the world. However debatable this view may be, it seems an interesting approach against the mainstream one that consider development, as defined by the framework of a few developed countries, as a necessity (Easterly, 2007).

In this sense, I will posit that development policies have retained an "imperial" significance: development may still be seen as a mere "code-word" or as Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri underline, as a "discourse". The so-called developed countries in the "global North", provide aid and advice to the so-called underdeveloped "global South", thus defining what development is or has to be. Such an aspect is decisive to the analysis of the two Marxist scholars, as developmentalist views strongly relies on unbalanced power relationships in the economic sphere (Hardt, Negri, 2000: 282).

Hence, the importance of the diffusion of developmentalist position through the diverse political, but most of all, financial institutions that contribute to operating the "Empire" (United Nations, World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank) in relation to conflict-prevention and economic stability in the global system by dominant countries. On the other hand, as Hardt and Negri posit, underdeveloped countries remain subordinate in the global system (Hardt, Negri, 2000: 283). In this regard, the increasing role of transnational organizations and international led to the establishment of precise sets of rules that constitute the foundation of what Hardt and Negri identify as a "decentered and deterritorialising apparatus of rule that progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers" (Hardt, Negri, 2000: 34-37), namely the "Empire".

As Hardt and Negri maintain, such a system is created in response to the contemporary crisis of the nation-state and implies for the national entities abiding to a globalised concept of rights and ethics. Nonetheless, it can be argued that inside Negri and Hardt's system, there is still room for some countries to exert some sort of economical and cultural hegemony on other countries. My analysis of Japan's aid policies to Asia moves precisely from such a description of the international system provided by the two scholars.

1.4 The logic of branding a nation in the global market

Military power and national wealth have been two main factors of influence in traditional approaches to IR. However, the display and use of military power may not be appealing to other countries and may affect the country's national reputation. The origin of this concern could be traced back to Hans Morgenthau's concept of prestige, (i.e., the importance of how a country is perceived as strong by other countries) which is fundamental in the balance of power dynamic. However, a thorough analysis of the shift in the conception of power is that of Joseph Nye (1990).

According to Nye since the end of 1970s the diffusion of technologies and sophisticated weapons in industrialized advanced countries as well as in less advanced countries have changed the nature of world politics. Thus, the ability of great powers "to control their environments" is diminished (Nye, 1990: 163). As a consequence, a way of exerting power alternative but at the same time coordinate to the military – co-optive or soft power (e.g., diplomacy, culture) – has emerged and has become more attractive than costly forms of coercion or hard power. To put it in Nye's words, co-optive power is "the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own" (Nye, 1990: 168).

Such a form of power may be efficient not only in a balance of power context, but also in market-oriented environment. As Simon Anholt noted,

> Today the world is one market; the rapid advance of globalisation means that every country, every city and every region must compete with every other for its share of the world's consumers, tourists, investors, students, entrepreneurs, international sporting and cultural events, and for the attention and respect of the international media, other governments and the people of their countries (Anholt, 2009: 206).

In the complexity of the contemporary world, people's (i.e.: consumers) perception of one country and its citizens tends to be mediated by clichés and stereotypes. Thus, it is the specific duty of every government to assess what images the world perceives about its country, and consequently to formulate a strategy to manage them in the most appropriate and profitable way (Anholt, 2009). Hence, nation branding becomes a public policy that involves the spreading of cultural as moral values from which dominant countries in the world system succeed in benefiting.

Nation branding policies are particularly worth studying when we approach Japan's international attitude towards Asia. If on the one hand Japan has established a good reputation thanks to its wealth and unprecedented economic development, which brought it among the top-three world economies, as well as high-profile educative institutions; on the other hand, it had, and still has, to come to terms with its history of military aggression and expansionism less than a century ago. If one uses Anholt's approach, an efficient nation branding policy has to coordinate aspects concerning government bureaucracy (especially within the ministries dealing with economic, financial and foreign affairs) and the transmission of its culture abroad. Figure 1 clearly

shows factors like tourism, policy, investment and culture as significant to establishing a national reputation abroad.
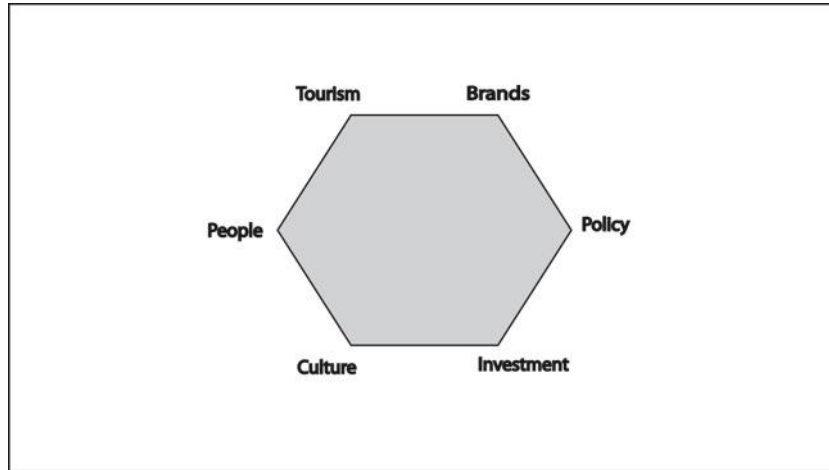
[Fig.1: Anholt's Hexagon of Competitive Identity; source: Anholt, 2009: 209]

In my view, contemporary nation branding policies, such as the Cool Japan campaign designed to promote Japanese popular culture abroad, cannot be fully understood without examining the role of Japan from the 1970s to the early 2000s as one of the world's top donors to developing countries especially in Asia.

2. Japan as ODA top donor

In the modern age, Asia has always been fundamental to the development of Japanese economy. In the 1930's and 1940's under the drive of military imperialism, Japan established a regional empire. By the ruling elite it was perceived as a necessity: on the one hand, Japan perceived the external threat of Euro-American imperialism and opted for a developmental model focused on the motto fukoku kyōhei, rich country, strong army. On the other hand, territorial expansion could provide Japanese industrial conglomerates with natural resources and new markets[4].

---

4 For a better understanding of Japanese imperialism, see Duus, Myers, Peattie (eds) (1998) and Oguma (1998 and 2002).

After the defeat of the Empire of Japan in 1945, countries in Asia and South-east Asia that were occupied by Japanese military started claiming for war reparations. In the 1950s, leaving aside China, Korea and Taiwan, war reparations were evaluated in terms of Japanese assets and infrastructures, Japanese war reparations started flowing to countries that had been militarily occupied from 1941 until 1945. In 1952 Burma agreed on a 200 million dollar war reparation plan; in 1956, the Philippines reached an agreement on a 550 million dollar plan in yearly instalments over 20 years; in 1958, Indonesia accepted a 220 million agreement; Vietnam ratified the San Francisco Treaty, receiving nearly 39 million dollar (MOFA)[5], barely a tenth of what they had asked for (Bouissou, 2003: 136).

There is no doubt that the then prime minister Yoshida Shigeru saw in this an opportunity to boost Tokyo's national interest, namely national security and prosperity (*kokueki*), in a more pacific, thus softer, way and to help Japan's postwar recovery. In fact, such disbursements provided the chance for the post-war leadership to rehabilitate Japan's national image in front of the newly born international community: especially with regards to the US, which became Japan's most prominent ally (*tsukiai*)[6].

Moreover, if we consider South-east Asia's traditional richness in raw materials, it was an occasion, using the words of prime minister Kishi Nobusuke at a Budget committee of the House of Representatives in 1960, to secure "as many raw materials as possible, and sell manufactured goods overseas" (Sato, 2013:14). It is possible to argue that Kishi's words revealed a new interest towards Asia, which needed to be coordinated by a set of institutions (a research institute, a special fund and a bank for Asian development) through an effective economic policy.

However, a real implementation of this new and pacific "Asian policy" was enacted a few years later. Under the Ikeda administration, in 1964, Japan entered the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as the first Asian country to be accepted in a Euro-American institution. This diplomatic success gave Ikeda the possibility to put Japan on a different

---

5 Retrieved December 3, 2013 from http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q_a/faq16.html

6 The term kokueki means national interest; the term tsukiai means "company","association" even "friendship". These two words acquire significance when we consider the scope of Japanese ODA in the 1970s. It was a process directed by both an endogenous (kokueki) and an exogenous pull. The concepts were introduced in the field of Japanese ODA studies by the scholar and UN advisor Hasegawa Sukehiro 's 1975 The objectives of foreign aid: Japanese aid for domestic prosperity and international ascendency and cited in Arase (2007).

position in the East-Asian frame of political and economical relationships. In those years, the *gankō keitai* (flying geese) paradigm gained popularity. According to this economic model of development defined by the Japanese economist Akamatsu Kaname (1961), industrial development is the leading force of economic development. This can be attained through the adoption of industrialised advanced countries' industries in order for a less advanced countries to catch up with them on the path of development (Korhonen, 1994). However, as Kasahara (2004) noted, when applied to the Japan-Asia relationship, during the mid-1960s, this paradigm implied a hierarchical structure with Japan at its top. Following this interpretation, a disparity in political and economic power between Japan and its Asian neighbours is apparent.

2.1 Development institutions

Japan's ODA is a highly institutionalised and bureaucratised process that involves key ministries and agencies. The entire process is also monitored and coordinated by supranational institutions such as the OECD. In fact, OECD defines ODA as aid flows to countries and territories identified by the Development Co-operation Directorate that is "provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies" and "administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective"; it must be "concessional in character" and convey "a grant element of at least 25 percent (calculated at a discount rate of 10 per cent)"(DAC-OECD, 1972). The high degree of institutionalization of Japanese foreign aid has attracted much attention from both economics and IR scholarships. Along with the recent work by David Arase (2007), Marie Söderberg (1996) described the main features of Japanese ODA, considering for the first time the recipient perspective, i.e., the impact of Japanese aid abroad.

Söderberg identified four main themes of analysis of Japanese ODA: first, the institutionalization of Japan's development aid, which is based on the request of the recipient country via formal diplomatic channels. Such a system leaves room for non public agents to be involved, as private companies and local leaders, experts or technicians (Söderberg, 1996: 55). As Arase adds, the decisional process can be complicated as it involves 13 bureaucratic actors at the cabinet level; in particular three main institutions are involved: the Minister of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) which is in charge of managing the requests for grant-aid; the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) in charge of loans; and finally the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA). Some argues that such a system, which is unique among DAC

211

countries, often lacks transparency and coherence. Moreover, there have been reports of misuse and illicit appropriation of ODA funds by politicians[7].

Second, the relationship between private and public sectors. ODA, as Söderberg stresses, are a fundamental ingredient of economic cooperation with the developing countries. In particular, Japanese business associations and entrepreneurs who in the mid-1980s started transferring parts of their productive activities abroad, especially in developing countries in Asia, like Indonesia and China, ODA is crucial in order to support Japan's competitiveness. That is why the keidanren, the most prominent association of Japanese entrepreneurs, is particularly keen to have ODA increased as they are crucial in developing the infrastructural frame necessary to support industrial production (communications, energy, etc.) .

Third, the relationship with the international institutions. Even if Japan has been the world's top donor in terms of total amount of aid provided (volume of aid) for 22 years (1989-2001), several aspects of its ODA policy have fallen under criticism by DAC. To begin with, its geographical distribution. The flow of aid disbursement has been directed mainly to Asia (Söderberg, 1996: 34): in 1970s aid to Asia counted for the 80 percent of the total, in 65percent in 1980s and still held a predominant position in the first decade of the 21st century (53 percent in 2007-8) (Potter, 2012: 12); secondly, ODA disbursement as percentage of GDP (0,25 percent) lags far behind the 0,7 percent established as a target for the next decade at the Monterrey Consensus in 2002[8]. Moreover, Japanese ODA, in comparison to other DAC countries, are less gratuitous as the interest rates on ODA loans are higher[9].

Japanese ODA has also been criticized for being ineffective, due to

---

7 In 2002, an ODA-linked scandal involving MOFA bureaucrat and Liberal-democratic party (LDP) member Suzuki Muneo, and then minister of Foreign Affairs, Tanaka Makiko, had a great resonance among the public opinion. See Berkofsky (2002), 'Corruption and Bribery in Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the case of Muneo Suzuki', Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper, No 86, June 2002 Retrieved February 9, 2014 from http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp86.html

8 The 0,7 percent target was reaffirmed in 2002 as the ratio of GDP "rich countries" should commit to Official Development Aid, in order to attain the UN's Millennium Development Goal and end poverty by 2030.

9 According to OECD's data, in 2011 Japan received nearly 2,6 billion dollars in loan repayments. See http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/apr/30/aid-overstated-donors-interest-payments (retrieved February 10, 2014)

a relatively underdeveloped field presence; a limited capacity to engage recipients and other donors in a multilevel policy dialogue at the country level; low coherence in overall ODA policy direction and implementation due to bureaucratic factors; and difficulty in meeting actual recipient needs in technical cooperation (Arase, 2007: 14).

Such criticism has to be understood in terms of national polity. In fact, as both Arase and Söderberg maintain, since 1945, ODA has been a key element of Japanese *nemawashi* diplomacy[10]. ODA helped Japan to present itself to the world, and other Asian countries, as a "peace" country, trying to forge a national image alternative to the tremendous memories of the Empire of Japan's military expansionism. Finally, it must be noted that the domestic political debate has influenced ODA disbursement. Especially in 1990's, Japan's ODA has fallen under the criticism of politicians opposed to the LDP rule and civil society, as Japan lost its status of economic superpower. Japan needed first to help itself and then other countries (Arase, 2007: 4-5). Nevertheless, public involvement in the ODA decisional process is very limited. In addition, it must be emphasised that, despite pledges to enhance transparency and greater involvement from non-governmental organizations (NGO) in the ODA Policy Charter of 1992 and its revision in 2003, more has to be done in terms of enlarging the scope of public debate around ODA (Williamson, 2011).

2.2 Why Vietnam?

Choosing Vietnam as a case study is no coincidence. As Ohno (2009; 84-86) pointed out, since 2001, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has been among the top four recipients of Japan's aid.

---

10 As noted by Hook, Gilson, Dobson and Hughes, Japanese postwar diplomacy is characterized by three "key modes" to lay the groundwork needed for the deployment of Japanese power. One is the omote (surface or explicit) mode (e.g.: bilateral meetings at ministerial level);then there is the ura (back or implicit) mode (e.g: single members of parliament or political parties visits to China or North Korea) and the proxy channels' mode. These two "behind the scenes" modes are specifically identified by their focus on laying the groundwork (nemawashi) via an informal process of interaction (Hook, Gilson, Dobson, Hughes, 2005 :80).

Official Development Assistance has provided nearly two trillion yen in infrastructural and social development projects in the last few years (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan's data)[11]. This trend is clearly illustrated by fig. 2, which refers to FY 2011.

Chart III-8	Japan's Assistance in the East Asia Region							
2011								(Net disbursements, US$ million)
		Grants				Loan aid		
		Grant aid						
Rank	Country or region		Grants provided through multilateral institutions	Technical cooperation	Total	Amount disbursed	Amount recovered	Total	Total
1	Viet Nam	26.74	—	125.07	151.81	1,198.72	337.48	861.24	1,013.05
2	Cambodia	62.12	14.67	50.25	112.37	20.88	2.32	18.56	130.93
3	Mongolia	58.47	—	23.42	81.88	14.56	20.81	−6.25	75.63
4	Laos	8.60	1.00	36.63	45.23	6.85	3.57	3.28	48.51
5	Myanmar	19.70	7.70	22.80	42.50	—	—	—	42.50
6	Timor-Leste	18.08	1.69	8.63	26.71	—	—	—	26.71
7	Malaysia	6.87	—	22.03	28.91	163.82	213.74	−49.92	−21.01
8	Thailand	7.25	1.25	45.89	53.14	240.89	478.04	−237.15	−184.01
9	China	13.42	—	286.97	300.38	560.44	1,342.14	−781.70	−481.32
10	Philippines	37.62	0.81	59.00	96.62	311.79	975.30	−663.51	−566.89
11	Indonesia	23.95	0.98	110.17	134.12	879.74	1,647.58	−767.83	−633.71
	Multiple countries in East Asia	0.13	—	6.23	6.36	—	—	—	6.36
	East Asia region total	282.94	28.11	798.47	1,081.41	3,397.69	5,020.98	−1,623.29	−541.88
	(ASEAN total)	192.84	26.41	473.04	665.88	2,822.68	3,658.02	−835.34	−169.46

[Fig. 2: Japanese bilateral ODA in Asian countries; source: MOFA, Japan Official Development Assistance White Paper 2012]

ODA impact has been particularly relevant since 1993, when Tokyo and Hanoi normalized their relations, and the bilateral ODA flow restarted after a 20 year hiatus. The case of Vietnam clearly shows that Japanese aid is mainly directed to middle-low income countries (as identified by UN's HDI ranking), contradicting the DAC guidelines on boosting help to the least developed countries (Potter, 2012: 17). As figure 2 shows, Japan's aid initiatives in Vietnam focus on a) infrastructural and poverty reduction projects, financed through ODA loans (National Highway N.1, North-South Express way, Hanoi's Noi Bai airport, power plants, etc.; Poverty Reduction Support Credit); b) grant assistance to scholarships and environment-linked projects (Human Resource Development Scholarship; Afforestation in Central and South Vietnam); c) technical cooperation (Training in food, education, public health and fund management sectors)

---

11 Available data updated to F.Y. 2011; retrieved September 28, 2013 from http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/shiryo/kuni/12_databook/pdfs/01-07.pdf

(MOFA, 2012)[12]. Figure 3 shows in greater detail the relative amounts of Japanese aid from 2007 to 2011.

I.Japan's ODA Disbursements to Vietnam

Year	Loan Aid	Grant Aid	Technical Cooperation	Total
2007	547.71	18.48	73.85	640.04
2008	518.15	26.29	74.59	619.04
2009	1,082.29	22.82	86.24	1,191.36
2010	649.12	51.84	106.84	807.81
2011	861.24	26.74	125.07	1,013.05
Total	8,109.44	1,031.84	1,364.54	10,505.80

Source: OECD/DAC

[Figure 3. Japan's ODA to Vietnam (2007-2011); source: MOFA, OECD/DAC, 2012]

Bilateral diplomatic relations were in place since 1973 but remained cold after the demise of South Vietnam and the newly born Socialist Republic of Vietnam's rapprochement with the USSR. However, it is worth noting that one of the main aim of the 1977 Fukuda Doctrine, which marked a new era in Japan relations with Asia, was to "support ASEAN" with "economic means", leaving room for a deeper cooperation with Hanoi that at the time was seen with suspicion by the member countries of the Association (Bouissou, 2003: 233).

Since 1986, Vietnam has undergone a process of massive political and economic process of reform, called doi moi (literaly "renovation"). This state-mediated process of opening the country to the global market economy spurred an unprecedented growth, which helped to reduce poverty by a third and favoured the transition from an import-substitution economy to an export-oriented one. In 1995, Vietnam joined ASEAN and secured a stronger relationship with Japan and the other South-east Asian countries. The joining of ASEAN was followed in 1998 by that of APEC and finally in 2007 after a long negotiation, of WTO, thus ensuring fairer access for Vietnam exports to the international market (Kokko, 1998: 319-321).

With the launch of the Japan-Vietnam Joint Initiative in 2003, under Koizumi administration, the relationship between the two countries gained further strength. In fact, eonomic cooperation has ushered in activism by Japanese cultural institutions as the Japan

12 Further details on the entity of Japanese aid in Vietnam can be found on Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs website at the link: http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/data/pdfs/vietnam.pdf (retrieved February 9, 2014)

Foundation in further promoting Japanese language education in Vietnam as well as artistic, cultural and scientific exchange between the two countries[13]. For instance, in November 2013, a Japanese film and animation festival was hosted in Hanoi with the support of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs and the Japanese Image Council to celebrate the 40th anniversary of Japan-Vietnam bilateral relations and enhance mutual cultural comprehension[14]. In this regard, how is the bilateral relation perceived in the public sphere? Did ODA play a role in establishing a positive image of Japan as a "developed country" among the Vietnamese public?

In 2012 AUN Consulting Inc., a Japanese marketing consultancy agency, conducted a survey among the top 10 Asian countries by GDP (Korea, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Philippines) on their people's degree of fondness of Japan. Answers from 100 male individuals for each country, aged 18 on, were collected. The results (Figure 4) show that the country where Japan is appreciated the most is Vietnam. Nearly 97 percent of the interviewed responded positively, confirming the good reputation Japanese enjoys in the country (AUN Consulting, 2012). As shown by the survey, the Vietnamese's fondness of Japan is higher than that of Thai and Filipino. 45 per cent of Vietnamese responders told AUN Consulting that they "like Japan very much", while 52 per cent told that they "like Japan"[15].

---

13 It is important to note that Hanoi's Japan Foundation Center for Cultural Exchange opened in 2008, as one of the newest overseas office of the organization. A statement with the Center aims and projects can be found here http://jpf.org.vn/jp/about-us/brief-introduction/ (retrieved on February 11, 2014)

14 See 'Betonamu de Nihon animation tokushu jōei, gekiba anime kara tampen made 19 sakuhin' , Animeanime.jp, November 2, 2013, retrieved February 11, 2014 from http://animeanime.jp/article/2013/11/02/16171.html

15 The survey was articulated in five questions: 1. Do you like Japan? 2. Do you like Japanese people? 3. Would you go to Japan on a trip? 4. Do you like Japanese goods and services? The possible answers were: "like very much" (daisuki); "like" (suki) "don't like" (kirai); "hate" (daikirai). The majority (97 per cent) of Vietnamese respondents declared that they like (suki) Japan or they like it very much (daisuki); 98 per cent of them answered positively to the second question as well. The third question presents slightly different outcomes, as respondents from Philippines (95 per cent) and Singapore (94 per cent) showed more interest in tourism to Japan. Finally, 62 per cent of Vietnamese respondents said they "like very much" Japanese products and services. Retrieved February 10, 2014 from http://www.globalmarketingchannel.com/press/2012110602
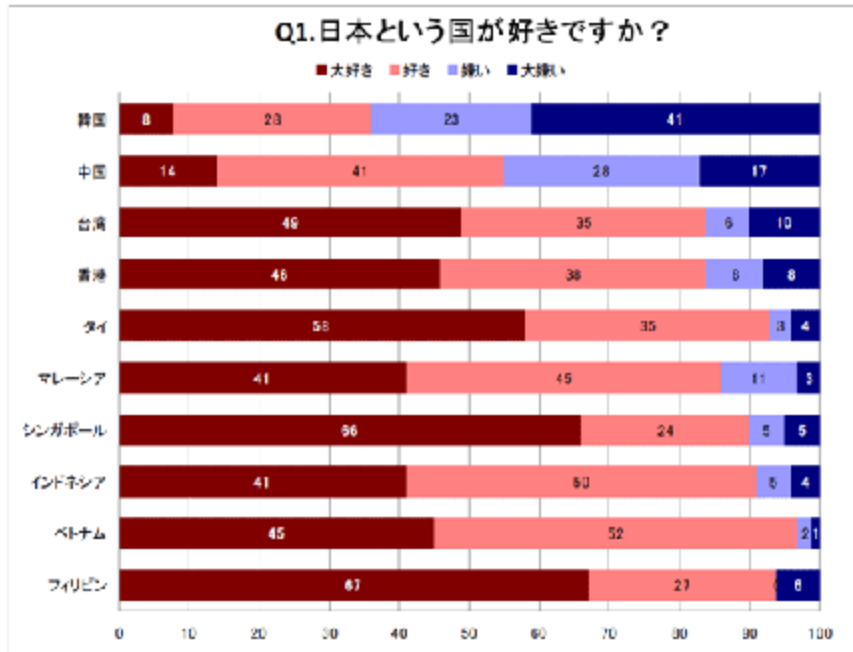
[Figure 4. Reputation Survey: Do you like Japan? Source: AUN Consulting, *Ajia 10ka koku shinnichi do chōsa* (November 2012)]

3. Conclusions

As shown above, developmental issues are highly debated. International organizations such as UN, OECD, World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have tried to get rich countries to cooperate in order to reduce the development gap between the first world and the third world through developmental aid initiatives. The results are not very encouraging, as those supranational institutions are accused of not being democratic and influenced in their decisions by the world's richest countries in their decisions (Dunne, 2011: 111). Critics as Easterly (2007) argue that the guidelines for development aid agreed on by those countries as disregarding the viewpoint of the recipients of their aid. In fact, criticism from NGOs, independent research institutes and media is that ODA masks public and private interests15. It is then possible to argue that the definition of development itself depends on unequal power relations between nation states in the international system.

In the case of Japan, these features have been here briefly examined. However, in order to have a better insight on the matter, one cannot overlook the historical importance that Asia has

had in Japanese history spurring Tokyo's strive for regional leadership. The need, on the one hand, for raw materials and for an outlet for commodities and investments by domestic industrial groups on the other has driven such a peaceful economic activism by the Japanese governments since 1945. To this end, one could argue that development has become one of the main elements of the Japanese national brand. If one considers the developmental state model that Japan has helped to introduce in developing countries across Asia since the 1960s, the era of Chalmers Johnson's "Japanese Miracle" (Johnson, 1982), thanks to Tokyo's aid programmes, one cannot help but to identify a clear hierarchical structure, which reflects dichotomies, such as the North/South and developed/underdeveloped, still recognizable in the contemporary world.

If on the one hand, official aid policy's effectiveness in the infrastructure sector, especially in low growth countries, has been ascertained (e.g. Kasuga, Morita, 2009), on the other, it appears clear that ODA to Asia, and Vietnam in particular in the last decade, can be interpreted as a political means through which Japanese governments (mainly LDP-led) have enhanced favourable environments for private investments by Japanese industries. However, achievements in what UNDP identifies as human development should be better considered. Furthermore, for a future development of my research it will be useful to investigate ODA awareness in the Japanese civil society and how the Tokyo's branding endeavour is perceived abroad, through interviews with social actors, representatives of the state institutions and NGO involved in the ODA process. Moreover, it will be of particular interest to study social alternatives to official aid for development programmes in the non-public sphere. Thus, a multidisciplinary approach that entangles IR and social studies seems the most appropriate to deal with the subject.

References

Anholt S. (2009). 'Branding places and nations' in Brands and Branding. London: The Economist-Profile Books.

Arase D. (ed.) (2007). Japan's Foreign Aid, Old continuities and new directions. London-New York: Routledge.

Baylis J., Smith S., Owens, P. (eds.) (2011). The Globalization of World Politics, 11th edition. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.

Berger M.T. (2004). The Battle for Asia: From Decolonization to Globalization. London-New York: Routledge Curzon.

Berkofsky (2002). 'Corruption and Bribery in Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs: the case of Muneo Suzuki' in Japan Policy Research Institute Working Paper No 86, June 2002 Retrieved February 9, 2014 from http://www.jpri.org/publications/workingpapers/wp86.html

Bonaglia F., Goldstein A. (2008). Globalizzazione e sviluppo. Bologna: il Mulino.

Bouissou J. (2003). Storia del Giappone contemporaneo. Bologna: il Mulino.

Casari M., Corna-Pellegrini G., Eva F. (2003). Elementi di geografia economica e politica. Milano: Carocci.

Dunne T. (2011). 'Realism', in Baylis J., Smith S., Owens, P. (eds.) The Globalization of World Politics, Oxford-New York, University Press.

_____ (2011), 'Liberalism' in Baylis, Baylis J., Smith S., Owens, P. (eds.). The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.

Duus P., Meyer R.H, Peattie M. R.(eds) (1996). The Japanese Wartime Empire: 1931-1945, Princeton-NJ: Princeton University Press.

Easterly W. (2007). 'The Ideology of Development' in Foreign Policy, No. 161, Jul. - Aug., 2007, Washington – DC, Washingtonpost.Newsweek Interactive, LLC, pp.30-35.

Embassy of Japan in Vietnam (2012). Tai Betonamu shakai shugi kyōwa koku kokubetsu enjo hōshin. Retrieved November 20, 2013 from http://www.vn.emb-japan.go.jp/document/pdf/vietnam-1.pdf

Furuoka F., Oishi M., Kato I. (2010). 'From Aid Recipient to Aid Donor, Tracing the Historical Transformation of Japan's Foreign Aid Policy' in Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies. Retrieved February 9, 2014 from http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2010/FuruokaOishiKato.html#About%20the%20Author

Government of Japan (2008). 'Comments of the Government of Japan' in Review Session on Chapter III of the Monterrey Consensus, "International Trade as an engine for Development". Retrieved December 1st, 2013 on http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/doha/chapter3/Japan_statement.pdf

Hardt M., Negri A. (2000). Empire. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hatakeyama K.(2008). 'Japan's Aid to Vietnam: Becoming an Intellectual Leader', in Japanese Studies, Vol.8, No 3, London-New York, Routledge, pp. 345-362.

Harvey D. (2006). 'Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction' in Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography, Vol. 88, No. 2, "Geography and Power, the Power of Geography" (2006).pp.145-158.

Held D.(1993). 'Liberalism, Marxism and Democracy' in Theory and Society, Vol. 22, No. 2, Apr. 1993, pp. 249-28.

Hobden S., Wyn Jones R.(2011). 'Marxist theories of international relations' in Baylis, Baylis J., Smith S., Owens, P. (eds.). The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.

Johnson C. (1982). Miti and the Japanese Miracle, The Growth of Industrial Policy: 1925-1975. Stanford-CA: Stanford University Press.

Hook G.D., Gilson J., Hughes C.W., Dobson H. (2005). Japan's International Relations: Politics, Economics and Security (2nd edition). Oxon: Routledge.

Kasuga H., Morita Y., (2009). 'Aid Effectiveness, Governance and Public Investment' in RIETI Discussion Papers Series 09-E-055. Tokyo: METI, Research Institute of Economy, Trade & Industry, IAA.

Kasahara S. (2004). 'The Flying Geese Paradigm: A critical study of its application to East Asian regional development' in UNCTAD Discussion Paper No. No.169.

Kokko A. (1998). 'Vietnam: Ready for a Doi Moi II?' in ASEAN Economic Bullettin, Vol.15, No 3, Singapore, ISEAS, pp. 319-327.

Korhonen P. (1994). 'The Theory of the Flying Geese Pattern of Development and Its Interpretations' in Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Feb., 1994), pp. 93-108.

Lamy S.L. (2011). 'Contemporary mainstream approaches: neo-realism and neo-liberalism' in Baylis J., Smith S., Owens, P. (eds.) The Globalization of World Politics. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.

Luong Hy V. (2007), 'Vietnam in 2006: Stronger Global Integration and Resolve for Better Governance' in Asian Survey, Vol. 47, No. 1 (January/February 2007). Berkeley-CA: University of California Press, pp. 168-174.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2004). Vietnam-Japan Joint Initiative to Improve Business Environment with a view to strengthen Vietnam's Competitiveness. Retrieved November 20, 2013 from http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/vietnam/report0312.pdf

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2012). 2012 nenban Seifu kaihatsu enjo (ODA) hakusho. Retrieved September 28 from

http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/shiryo/kuni/12_databook/pdfs/01-07.pdf

Oguma E.(2002). A Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Image. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.

_____. (1998). Nihonjin no kyōkai. Tokyo: Shin'yōsha.

Ohno I. (2010). 'Japan's ODA to Vietnam and new growth support to Africa: projecting the East Asian development vision into the global aid debate' in Ohno I. Japanese aid and the construction of global development: inescapable solutions. London-New York: Routledge, pp. 72-102

Potter D., Japan's (2012). 'Official Development Assistance' in Kokusai kyōiku sentaa kiyō No 12, March 2012, Nanzan University.

Provost C., Tran M., 'Value of aid overstated by billions of dollars as donors reap interest on loans, in The Guardian, online edition, Tuesday 30 April, 2013. Retrieved April 30, 2013 from http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/apr/30/aid-overstated-donors-interest-payments.

Sato J. (2013), 'Aiding development-how does recepient experience count?' in Sato J., Shimomura Y., The Rise of Asian Donors, Japan's impact on the evolution of emerging donors, London-New York: Routledge, pp.1-27

Sloman J., Wride A., Garratt D., (2012). Macroeconomia. Milano: Pearson.

Söderberg M. (1996). The Business of Japanese Foreign Aid. London-New York: Routledge.

Sudo S.(2005). Evolution of ASEAN-Japan Relations. Singapore: ISEAS.

Sumner A., (2013). 'What will it take to end extreme poverty' in Development Co-operation Report 2013 (Ending Poverty), OECD.

Tew R.(2013). Oda Loans – Investment to end poverty Discussion Paper, April 2013, London: Development Initiatives

Todaro M., Smith S.C.(2009). Economic Development (10th ed). Harlow: Pearson Education. United Nations (2009). Doha Declaration on Financing for Development, International Conference on Financing for Development. Retrieved December 1st, 2013 from http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/doha/documents/Doha_Declaration_FFD.pdf.

Wallerstein I. (1974). 'The Rise and Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis' in Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 16, Issue 4 (Sep. 1974), pp. 384-415.

Wallerstein I. (2005). 'After Developmentalism and Globalization, What?' in Social Forces, Vol. 83, No 3, Chapel Hill – NC, University of North Carolina Press, pp. 1263-1278.

Williamson C.(2011), 'Best and Worst of Official Aid 2011- new release' in AidWatch. Retrieved December 3, 2013 from http://aidwatchers.com/2011/05/rhetoric-on-%E2%80%9Caid-effectiveness%E2%80%9D-keeps-escalating-is-there-anything-to-show-for-it/

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development - Development Co-operation Directorate (1972). Official Development Assistance – definition and coverage. Retrieved December 1st, 2013 from http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistancedefinitionandcoverage.htm.

Environmental Taxation in China: Theory and Practice
The Debate over the Land Use Tax from an Environmental Viewpoint

Graduate School of Economics

Kyoto University

Wang Tianhe

Abstract

These Nowadays, OECD countries are using taxation to reach their environmental objectives. Much discussion focuses on green taxes, carbon taxes and so on. However, there is no consistent definition of environmental tax yet. In China, there are no real environmental taxes, although the emissions pollution charges can be viewed as a form of environmental tax. Environmental tax is an effective way of protecting the environment and at the same time enhancing economic efficiency. Environmental policy can be taken as "courses of action to regulate polluting activities, the occupation of space, and the extraction of raw materials, all with the purpose of preventing the deterioration of, maintaining, or improving, the quality of the natural environment". Courses of action can be based on the policy makers' assumptions and knowledge about the relations between social organization and the natural environment, as well as on social judgments about what constitutes desirable environmental quality, but which are aimed at environmental goals, hence, an "environmental tax" is expected to be a means used within these courses of action.

In China, since the 1994 taxation reform there have beenare 23 tax items in the Chinese taxation system. Tax plans for encouraging "greening" always pay moret attention to Resource Tax reform or introducing a new tax item called carbon tax. Previous studies about environmental tax mostly focus on fossil fuels. However, land resources are also natural resources, and thesewhich have not been discussed. In China, there are several types of tax items related to land resources, for example the Urban Land Usage Tax and the Farmland Occupation Tax. In this paper, I will discuss the relationship between land use and land tax based on the theory of environmental economics tofor achieveing land resource conservation and sustainable use.

Introduction

After the reform and opening up of the economy in 1978, China has transformed its industrial structure and national land usage structure along with a remarkable pace of economic

growth. During this stage of economic development, much of land has been transferred from the agricultural to the industrial sector, causing a harmful effectsinfluence on the environment and a great loss ofto arable land resources.

As land resources are natural resources, their physical use is limited at any given time as well as the monetary income from land transfers. At present, the income from land transfers can satisfy the capital demand of local governments, however from the longer term point of view, land use transfer hasve caused a serious damage to land resources, in what could be seen as a prime example of an unsustainable development.

According to statistics, in 1996 the total size of farmland area was 0.13 billion hectares, whereas it had greatly decreased to 0.1217 billion hectares only ten years later in 2006. During these ten years a large agricultural area equivalent to the size of Hokkaido disappeared. A pThe possible reason for such a rapid drop is thatis as follows: because of the booming urban and industrial development, there was much construction in development zones facilitated by appropriating farmland. By contrast, on September 2006 the Standing Committee of State Council of the People's Republic of China announced the "Land Use Plans" to protect 0.113 billion hectares of farmland untill 2010 in the "Land Use Plans". Moreover, on March 2007 at the 5th meeting of the 11th National People's Congress, the former Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, presented athe plan for to protecting 0.12 billion hectares of farmland until 2020. In 2008, the land utilization rate of China rose up to 75.6% of the gross land area, so any further increase seems difficult.

The loss of farmland resources has an impact not only on the extensive area reduction but also on the falloff in the quality of soil. The reason for thisit is that a changeover from farmland to non-agricultural use destroys the structure of the ground surface, causing an unirrecoverable harm to the soil layer. According to the "Chinese soil environmental protection policy" promulgated in June 2013, the Ministry of Environmental Protection of the People's Republic of China made a survey of soil contamination between 2006 and 2010. Based on the results of sample measurements, from the 300 thousand hectares of fundamental farmland, 36 thousand hectares area were contaminated by heavy metal content of the soil 12.1% higher than the permitted environmental norm standard in China.

On the other hand, OECD countries are using taxation to reach their environmental objectives, for example green taxes, carbon taxes and so on. The debate over land contamination mostly focuses on insecticides and agriculturale antiseptics, so that some countries levy a tax on

such chemical agents. But regarding the land use, especially during the process of reallocation from farmland to non-agricultural use, there is no land-based tax protecting the environment yet. Land resources should be viewed as natural resources, however the general understanding of natural resources is mostly confined to the category of fossil fuel-based primary energy. In the Chinese taxation system, there are several tax items related to land resources, like urban land use tax, farmland occupation tax, land value added tax and so on, but land resource taxess are not classified as resource taxes, as they should be.

Therefore, in this paper I would like to argue for the proposalspect of taxation reform by reassigning the land related taxes and fees to land environmentally related land tax. As an extension of the Pigou tax, which promotes theadvocates, internalization of economic externalities, this proposition mostly focuses on balancing the protection and utilization of farmland resources, with the main purpose of finance contributing to financial harmony, in counter-cyclical spending and to the environmental conservation. Above all, I would like to look into the eaffects on the farmland during the transfer of land use, and examine the negativebad influence on protection and utilization from the twin -sides of collection and distribution of land profit. For that purpose, I will provide a theoretical framework, clarify the historical development, and offer amake critical assessment.

1. The limitations of Previous Researches
1.1 Discussion in OECD Countries

In OECD countries, farm policy based on stimulating production is viewed as a problematic because it is one of the causes of groundwater contamination and soil erosion. During 1985 to 1992, the OECD's Environmental Policy Committee debated the influence of agriculture on environmental pollution as well as the future of farm policy adjustments. In 1993, the OECD's Environmental Policy Committee and the Agricultural Committee established the Joint Working Party on Agriculture and the Environment (known as JWP for short), which mainly discussed the relations between agriculture and the environment. Presently, the JWP is investigating the issues related to agricultural policy and environmental problems. Also, the OECD has developed "the " Compendium of Agri-environmental Indicators", providing comprehensive data and analysis on the environmental performance of agriculture. However, there is still not much attention paid to the relationship betweenof farmland and environmental issues.

1.2 Discussion in Japan

In Japan, the land-related taxes are levied at 3 stages: acquisition, holding and transfer. In the acquisition stage, there are 3 tax items, which are inheritance tax (national tax), licensed tax (national tax), and real estate acquisition tax (prefectural tax). The holding stage, includes property tax (municipal tax), city planning tax (municipal tax), and special land-holding tax (municipal tax, collection suspended in 1993). In the transfer stage, land-related taxes are taxed on capital gains including corporation tax, income tax and resident tax.

Teranishi and Katayama (1999) have discussed the potential of land-based taxation to promoteing environmental protection. In particular, they evaluated the significance of a green tract of land in the city area for a variety of environmental conservation functions, and then reexamined the land taxation system as a part of the overall land policy scheme. They claimed that even though these land tax items do not specifically consider the purpose and effect they exert on the environment, their influence on the environment cannot be ignored.

Yokoyama (2011) have pointed out that, bBecause taxation measures directed at pollution assets in the form of environmental tax are lacking, heYokoyama (2011) proposed a tax as an on the environmental maintenance plan. He suggested that the environmental consideration measures directed at Japan's fixed property tax should beare accomplished as preferential treatment for environmental consideration assets. In addition, in comparison to with normal assets that are not burdened by pollution, the evaluation of fixed property tax for pollution assets is light, so the fixed property tax of Japan is unsuitable fordoes not fit the definition of an environmental tax as one that levies a tax on environmental burdens. , and aAt the same time the evaluation of fixed property tax for pollution assets will lead to a decrease in income fromof fixed property tax.

Kawakatsu (2012) mainly took up land value tax as common resource tax in order to promote the sustainable land use. Compared to general environmental tax, he mentioned the differences of common resource tax. They are 1) the slight influence on the economic activity and productivity of on amount in the land concerned, 2) the secureingment of stable tax revenue, 3) progressive taxation.

1.3 Discussion in China

In China, there are also 3 stages for levying land-related taxes. In the acquisition stage, there is one tax item called contract tax (transfer tax). In the holding stage, there are urban land usage tax, real estate tax, and urban preservation and development tax. In the transfer stage, there

are company income tax, land value added tax, personal income tax, and business tax. Among these taxation items, only company income tax is a national tax.

The research on land related taxes and land related fees in China hasve mostly concentrated on the land tax reform and property tax. For example, Wei Zou (2009) deliberated the introduction of property tax, and listed several problems associated with the reform. In this case the meaning of Chinese property tax is to combinellect real estate tax, land value added tax and land transfer fees into one tax item called property tax.

On the other hand, as for the research on farmland protection there are numerous analyses that have paid attention to the valuation of cultivated areas and the influence of elements oin its protection. According to Xuejun Du (2009), it is the "land finance" of China that exerts influence on the quantitative protection of farmland. She claimed that the "land finance" of China serves as an incentive to the local government not only to promote land development and land consolidation, but also to gain local income from land. As a result, the farmland area has increased, but because the incentive to obtain local income is stronger, the "land finance" of China has a negative influence on farmland resource protection.

In addition, there is anthe argument for ecosystem protection tax by Jinnan Wang (2009), which would tax private use of natural reserves, such as wetlands, for the purpose of natural resource use. Here the discussion of ecosystem protection tax is limited mainly to the natural reserves, so that farmland such as the cultivated areas or the forests is not a subject to taxation.

2. The Present Condition and Causes of Declining Cultivated Area in China

Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the cultivated area of China market showed an up and down trend in two periods of rise, and gradual decline.

During the first stage of Chinese economic reforms from 1949 to 1978 the total amount of cultivated area kept increasing except for several years of natural disasters and political turmoil. Thanks to the new land system, the farmers' zeal for improving productivity rose considerably.

During the second stage from 1978 to 2006, the total amount of cultivated area reached 0.134 billion ha at its peak in 1980, and then decreased to 0.1217 ha in 2007. The main reason for the decline in cultivated area was the conversion of cultivated areas into non-agriculturale industry and the urbanization of farm villages. Another reason was for the ecosystem protection, for which the Chinese government carried out the "leave fallow and reforest" policy from 1999 to 2006.

The third stage has startedis from 2006 up to the present. In 2006, the Chinese government set a target to protect a cultivated area of 0.12 ha for the purpose of food security. However, the Chinese government announced the total amount of cultivated area only until 2008, but from 2009 up to the present, no concrete numerical value has been proposed, except keeping more than 0.1216 ha of cultivated area.

In China, there is a considerable shortage of land resources. Therefore the Chinese government has carried out a supplemental plan for cultivated areas. The sSupplemental plan forof the cultivated area means developinga new cultivated areas by land consolidation, by reclaiming again of factory disposal or mine disposal land again, or by the development of uncultivated land. According to the Institute of Geographic Sciences and Natural Resources Research, Chinese Academy of Sciences (2006), it is possible to increase cultivated area by approximately 5.33 million ha ~to 7.33 million ha cultivated area bythrough land consolidation, and by reclaiming again of factory waste land disposal or mine wastedisposal land again the new cultivated area couldan reach up to 0.93 million ha, while by the development of uncultivated land the new cultivated area isare predicted to be able to reach 6.67 million ha maximum. It is expected that this couldit lead to 12.93 million ha ~ 14.93 million ha new cultivated area resources, which are supplemented newly. In addition, the "Land Use Plan for 2006 ~ 2020" that was devised by the State Council of the People's Republic of China in 2008, planned to newly develop 3.835 million ha cultivated area newly overfor 15 years. However, in reality the cultivated area in China continues to decreaseing and it has been difficult to secure 0.12 billion ha of cultivated area in thefrom present conditions.

The following 4 points can be given as the reasons for the decrease of of cultivated area decrease in China.

(1) Land use transfer from the agricultural sector to industrial sector: land use transfer has brought lots ofconsiderable loss to high quality cultivated areas. Especially in the areas of faster economic growth, there has been greater loss of stronger damage influenced to land resources by land use transfer. During the period from 1999 to 2008, the cultivated area decrease that caused by land use transfer wais 2.103 million ha. And from 2006 to 2008, 0.6389 million ha cultivated area has disappeared in only 3 years.

(2) Fallowing for ecology protection: the purpose of the "leave fallow and rechange forest" policy is environmental conservation, however it has had a big influence on cultivated area and agricultural production. From 1999 to 2006, in totalthere are totally 6.78 million ha cultivated area

was returned to forest in China. And dDuring 2006 to 2008, 0.372 million ha cultivated area has disappeared in only 3 years.

(3) Adjustment of agriculture structure: it is a regulation of land use to improve farm productivity and increase the income of farmers. For example, the transfer from cultivated area into the fruit farms caused decreases of cultivated area. During 1999 to 2008, there are 1.699 million ha of cultivated area disappeared in total due toby the adjustment of agriculture structure.

(4) The destruction inby disasters: a lot of cultivated areas isare destroyed by natural disasters and cannot be cultivated anymore. It is impossible toof forecast the cultivated area destruction by natural disasters. During 1999 to 2008, there are 0.529 million ha of cultivated area disappeared caused bydue to disaster destruction, and during forthe 3 years from 2006, 69 thousand ha cultivated area has reducedwas lost.

As shown above, until 2006 the main reason forof cultivated area decrease wais fallowing for ecology protection, and after 2007 land use transfer became the biggest factor inof cultivated area decrease.

3. Land Policy in China

Firstly, it should be neededis necessary to introduce the main government bodies which decide constituent of land policy in China. The State Council is the highest public administration of China, and it is also the highest government body which makes constituent of resources law in China. Under the State Council, the main executive body on constituent that related to land resources had been called the State Bureau of Land Management, which was a merger between merged by the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Real Estate, and now the official name is the Ministry of Land and Resources. In addition, there are several government bureaus related to land management and land taxes, they are the State Administration of Taxation, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Land and Resources.

Land related policies can be divided into two categories, economical means and regulation means. In the category of economical means, there are land related taxation, land related fees, and the "land bid invitation, auction and listing system" whichen happensned at the time of transferring land-use rights. In the category of regulation means, there are legal regulations, administration regulations, and technical regulations. In this paper, the discussion will mainly focus on the economical means.

3.1 Regulation Means

Legal regulations start with the "land management law", which was first drafted in 1986 and then revised in 1988, 1998, and 2004. The purpose of this law is to reinforce land management, to maintain the socialistm public ownership of land, to promote land use through development and protection olf land resources, to seriously carry outperform the protection offor the cultivated areas seriously, and to facilitate socioeconomically sustainable development. Here, "the socialismt public ownership of land" means that, the possession of land owned by all labor groups of people. ILand in China, the state has ownership ofin land and residents only have the right to use land. The lands in the urban areas isare owned by the countrynation, and the lands in the rural areas is are owned by farmers' village committees. In 1998, the revised "Land management law" divided the use of land resources into 3 parts, "construction sites", "agriculture sites" and "the unused ground". This paper mostly become a target of the Lland in rural areas that owned by farmers' village committees is the main target of this paper.

The others, administrativeon regulations includecontain the cultivated land protection policy, the basic agricultural land protection policy, the land use control system, and the requisition-compensation balance system. In addition, technical regulations includehave land use planning, the land use control schedule, land use division, land function planning and so on. Furthermore,And the regulation of the "national overall planning on land use" is placed on the top of technical regulation. The "national overall planning on land use" wais set every 15 years andthat targetsed a changes of intended land usage over thefor a long-term. It is organized by 5 administrativeon units, which are the nation, ministriesy (autonomous regions and direct-controlled municipalitiesy), citiesy, prefectures, townships and village enterprises. The latest "national overall planning on land use" was at the started inof 2006 and ends in 2020. It, targeted 4 set points, they are athe cultivated area inventory of 0.1203 billion ha, basic agriculture land protection area of 0.104 billion ha, newly increased construction possession land of less than 5.85 million ha, and newly supplemented land of more than 3.67 million ha compared with on the basis of 2005.

3.2 Economical Means

3.2.1 Land Relevant Government Revenue Related to Land

GLand relevant government revenue related to land can be largegreatly classified into "tax receipts" and "non-tax receipts". The land related "tax receipts" includehave farmland

occupation tax, urban land usage tax, land value added tax, real estate tax, and contract tax. These tax items are regulated in detail in laws or ordinances. SAnd since the tax reform of 1994, all of these taxes are part of the national budgetcompletely enter in the budget of nation, as fixedation income of the local government.

On the other hand, regardingabout the "non-tax receipts", there are approximately 200 kinds of expense items forof the whole country. In addition, it is said that there are more than 500 kinds when put local expense items are includedtogether. Many expense items don't have a nationwide general standard, and most of the expense items are regulated by local governments in each local ordinance. Therefore, it is not possible to unable to confirm them in the nationally unified statistics of national unification.

The termword "non-tax receipts" was used for the first time in 2001. It includes, which means all the incomes except the tax revenue the government gainsot by lawlawfully. Until then the termword "the funds of outside the budget" was used. Compared with "tax receipts", "non-tax receipts" areis a fund of existing outside the of fiscal budget management of the national government. In the developed countries, there is no the concept of "non-tax receipts", and all the revenues and expenditures of the government are controlled in budget management.

3.2.2 Land Related Taxes in China

The items of taxation that are calculated asto land related in China are farmland occupation tax, urban land usage tax, land value added tax, real estate tax, urban real estate tax, and contract tax (Ye [2005], Lu and Zhang [2006], Shan [2011], Liu [2013] etc.). In other words, there are many studies which handle land related taxes asfor real estate related taxes in a broad sensewide meaning. And iIn 2005, there wais a notice about the reinforcement of the management reinforcement of land related taxes by the State Administration of Taxation, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Land and Resources, which said thate land taxes include contain 4 items, they are farmland occupation tax, urban land usage tax, land value added tax, and contract tax. However, in my opinion, I think it is necessary to divide taxes a contrast range into land resource related taxes and real estate related taxes when discussing land related tax. Therefore, in this paper, it is with the analysis is mainly that limiteding to 3 tax items, farmland occupation tax, urban land usage tax, and contract tax mainly.

Farmland occupation tax was introduced in 1987 in order to limit the occupancy of farmland for non-agricultural purposes and fund agricultural occupancy. It is one-time collection that taxesd cultivated area, and the tax rate is 5-50 yuan/m2.

Urban land usage tax developedcame from land occupation charges, and came into effect in 1988. It is a type of tax mainly intended to regulate the income from land price differentials mainly, and to promote effective and efficient use of the land for the second purpose. The tax rate is a fixed amount tax rate of 0.6-30 yuan/m2 based on the use area of the land.

Contract tax was introduced in 1997 as a tax that the new occupiersuccessor paysid with the changes of proprietary rights toof lands or buildings. The purpose is procuring the revenue sources for' procurement of the local governments and the regulating theorder of property market. The taxation base is assessment value that dependsed on the economic profit when the buyer acquires the right to use land, and the tax rate is 3%-5% differed varying by regions.

3.2.3 Land Related Fees in China

The main land related fees in China areis mostly the collection of land transfer fees, when land is transferred from the state-owned land to private enterprise by local governments. LThe land transfer fees areis called "the second finance of the local government" in China. Apart fromOther than the land transfer fees, there are cultivated area reclamation expenses, land recovery and reuse expenses, land leaving expenses, land collection administrative expenses, land registration expenses, newly increased construction land expenses and so on. The above land related fee items are mainly collected by state administration of land resources, committees on construction, and urban planning committees. From revenue method, the lLand related "non-tax receipts" can be divided into 3 parts by revenue method, they are, specialized item revenue, administrative business related revenue, and land assets revenue.

(1) Specialized item revenue includes: cultivated area reclamation expenses, land recovery and reuse expenses, and land leaving expenses. Cultivated area reclamation expenses areis the land reclamation costs that the user needs to pay for alternative land to be used for cultivation, equivalent to the same area they wish to use for other purposes. Land recovery and reuse expenses areis the feecharge required from the user when there is not a condition to reclaim land or when the reclaimed land does not meet the requirements. Lastly, the land leaving expenses areis fees the occupier needs to paythe charge that when the collected land is not used, the user needs to pay.

232

(2) Administrative business related revenue includes: land collection management expenses, land registration expenses and so on. Theses are the charges for providing public services by administrativeon organs or business establishments in the process of the collection of land.

(3) Land assets revenue includes: Mainly land transfer fees and, newly increased construction land expensese mainly. Land transfer fees areis the expenses that based on the expiration date and area of land, which the user pays for the land to the local government. NAnd newly increased construction land expenses areis land net revenue of city government and prefecture government from the newly increased construction land, when the State Council or the ministry grade government permits the diversion of agricultural land or collection of farmland. As for Out of the newly increased construction land expenses, 30% of the profit is central finance revenue, and 70% is the income forof local finance.

4. The Social Problems Caused by that Chinese Land Policy Brought The Uniquely Land System and "Land Finance" in China

The present Chinese land system began with the "land management law". As mentioned above, it is not permitted to own private land because of the public ownership system in China. However, the State Council, which is the highest organ of administration, adopted a land transfer system of "the right toof useing land" for the purpose of the economical utilization of land resources. Through thisHereby, it becaomes possible to own private buildings after going through thehaving procedure of transferring, from the farmland of the suburban area or rural areas to construction land. The land transfer system started withfrom the "Interim Regulations of the People's Republic of China concerning the Assignment and Transfer of the Right to the Use of the State-owned Land in the Urban Areas" in 1990. WithAnd from this, the unique Chinese uniquely land system that separatesd by proprietary rights and exclusive rights washas been completed.

There are 4Four different types of markets can be distinguished in China's current land market structure. They are the farmland rental market, the farmland acquisition market, the urban primary land market, and the urban secondary land market.

The farmland rental market is the market where farmers rent, sublease or exchange land inside their own village. Because the use of farmland is restricted to use for agricultural production and also because farmers cannot resist governmental acquisition of the land, the farmland rental market has no direct relation towith farmland conversion. In this paper, tThe farmland rental market is not the subject of discussion in this paper.

The fourth market, the urban secondary land market is the market in which urban land users sell, rent or mortgage their urban land use rights. The existence of a secondary land market gives urban land users more options to obtain land use rights. It gives buyers the a chance to the buyer to get a "second-hand" land use rights in the urban secondary land market. Most cities have mature established mature secondary land markets that offer such opportunities. However, this market is target area of real estate related, so here I won't analyze the details of the secondary land market here.

One of the important markets is the farmland acquisition market where the sole demander, the government, acquires farmland and changes the ownership from the village collective to the state. ThisIt is the only legal way to supply newly converted land for urban construction. The individual farmers who loset their land will receive compensation from the local governments. The compensation includesd 3 parts, according to the "land management law". They are: a compensation for the lost farmland, a compensation for resettlement, and a compensation for lost crops. The "land management law" doesn't specify detailed compensation guidelines. Therefore, the local governments have a lot ofmuch freedom in setting the compensation standards. Because the local government has a monopoly position in land acquisition, and also because land leasing is an important source of revenues for local governments, the compensation paid for the farmland is much lower than the price received when it is sold in the urban land market through competitive conveyance.

Another important market is the urban primary land market where the government allocates or conveys the land use rights toof newly converted farmland to different urban users. Urban land users include profit-making private businesses as well as non-profit organizations, such as governmental units and public units. For each type of land use, there are different allocation or conveyance approaches. Thesey are the administrative allocation of urban land (huabo), and market-oriented patterns of conveyance, which includeare negotiation (xieyi), tender (zhaobiao), auction (paimai), and listing (guapai) for the purpose of improving land allocation efficiency. Under these allocation or conveyance approaches, the urban land users need to pay land acquisition taxes and land acquisition fees, which are farmland occupation tax, urban land usage tax, contract tax, land transfer fees, cultivated area reclamation expenses, land recovery and reuse expenses, land leaving expenses, land collection administrative expenses, land registration expenses, newly increased construction land expenses and so on.

The government controls the Chinese land market structure is the government controls for the purpose of urban development, which results in the above two special markets, the farmland acquisition market and the urban primary land market. CAnd currently, the land related income accounts for a considerably high ratio ofto the revenue of the local governments in China. The reason is the that land plays an important role inof increasing the financial incomes ofto local governments. A, as a result, the local finance that arises through administratingg of the land to gain profit is called "land finance".

According to the Ministry of Finance and Institute for Fiscal Science Research redefinition, "land finance" is a form of financial administrational form that is highly dependentcy on land resources in the total fiscal balance (sometimes more than 70%), and from anthe abstract point of view, "land finance" has showned the activities of fiscal balance and the relationships of right participation under the condition of being based around the government (Economic Survey [2012]).

5. An Idea of the Land Related Tax Based on Cultivated Land Protection

The general environmental tax mainly most often discussed is levied on scientifically proven negative environmental impact, for the purpose of preventing pollution. However, the currently environmental related taxes are verymuch different from thesee incentive-type environmental taxes in line with traditional theory, but areas a means of collecting funds. So, although as much as environmental taxes areit is effective for environmental improvement, their revenuethe revenue of environmental related taxes is decreasing rapidly.

In contrast, as for the land related tax promoting environmental protection is aimed atfor the conservation of nature and preservation of cultivated land rather than soil contamination. However, against the background of remarkable economic growth in China, it seems hard to control land transfers from the agriculture section to the industrial section. As a result, the revenue from the land related taxes and fees becomes the financial incomes of local governments. Therefore, there has beenis a suggestion of levying a high tax on high-quality cultivated land, and low tax on deteriorated cultivated land in order to protect cultivated land resources as well as secureing of stable tax revenue for local governments.

In addition, as for representative environmental taxes, such as for example "carbon tax" and "energy tax" are levied taxes levied on energyies, which is aare requirement for daily lifeves and business activities. So it has beenis pointed out that these taxes havere are regressive

characteristics in these taxes because there is aof being taxed heavier tax burden on low-income peoplerson (OECD [1994]). In comparison to this, the land related tax here is progressive taxation because the higher the income the heavier the tax burden on the land user in the urban primary market.

Furthermore, from the viewpoint of revenue neutrality, I thought about returning the profit obtained from the land use transfers to the society. In other words, thisit is a method of distributing compensation money to the farmers who loset farmland and cannot maintain theirkeep life security, as well as distributing compensation money to the farmers who are thinking thought about giving up agriculture and selling farmland to the local government, or for newly cultivated area supplement. By this means of this, it can correct a social divides can be correcteddifference, and we can also get closer to the achievement of the equalityitableness.

However, there are many cases where it isthat are difficult to regulate the unit, which can be proved to have scientifically negative environmental impact for the purpose of nature conservation and cultivated preservation of cultivated land in the definition of environmental tax. Therefore, there still need detailed analysis is still needed for the reform of land related taxes and fees currently, and to consider how to establish the land related tax based on environmental tax theory.

Alienation from Architecture? A sociological investigation into the modernisation of architecture

Tsuguta Yamashita (tsuguta.y@gmail.com)

Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University

1. Introduction

As Walter Benjamin said '[b]uildings have been man's companions since primeval times', and 'many art forms have developed and perished…But the human need for shelter is lasting' (Benjamin 1936), building is one of the crucial elements of everyday life for human beings. Style of architecture, both form and function has been evolving through the course of time. Louis Sullivan who is called the "father of modernism" coined the famous phrase 'form follows function' (Sullivan 1896), as the manifesto of modernist architecture. Whereas form denotes aesthetical expression, function denotes use for everyday activity (Nanba 2003). After the birth of modern architecture, the relationship between form and function has been controversial. However, as Hiller argued, '[o]ne scours the architectural manifestos of the twentieth century in vain for a thoroughgoing statement of the determinism from spatial form to function, or its inverse, that would be the true architectural embodiment of the paradigmatic, as opposed to metaphoric, idea of the building as machine' (Hiller 1996 p. 292). It has never been true that function determined form. Therefore, it is necessary to focus both form and function to examine the transition of architectural style. However, Banham insists that whereas former architectural theorists discussed 'merely structural aspect' (Banham 1984, p. 11), and have not been focused on environmental conditions, 'the mechanical environmental controls are the most obviously and spectacularly important, both as a manifestation of changed expectations and as an irrevocable modification of the ancient primacy of structure; yet they are the last studied' (Banham 1984, p. 14). Therefore, focusing both on the form (section 2) and function (section 3) of architecture, this paper will explore how the relationship between architecture and human beings has been changed in three periods of time, pre-modern to modern, and postmodern, which are in other words, age of manpower, machine, computer. Since architecture is physical place, it conveys modernity through its design and the affordance (section 4).

As is often argued, the process of modernisation is a process of standardisation (Giddens 1990), modern architecture was designed to separate the building from its surrounding

environment and to provide standardised spatial experience, in order to deal with urban problems after rapid industrialisation. Due to the development of technology, unlike pre-modern architecture, modern architecture enjoyed the liberation of its surface from structure. Thus, contrary to the manifesto by Sullivan, form and function were separated from each other, and architects could choose freely to give it standardised design like modernist designs, or quite peculiar design like postmodernist designs according to the requirements of the market, without being concerned with its relationship to function. Therefore, the surface of architecture became the pure means to show the distinction of decoration to gain commercial value, and this fact promoted the commodification of architecture as exchange value, and as a result, architecture lost its role of providing identity for people. Meanwhile, the primary function of architecture is to protect human beings from the threat of nature. While pre-modern architecture was a form of mediation between humans and nature, modern architecture provided closed and self-contained space the environment of which is controlled by machines, so that people can enjoy the same conditions everywhere. Furthermore, architecture in the computer age automatically perceives changes in the surrounding environment, including people and nature, and controls it even without any conscious decisions or manipulation by humans. Thus, the modernisation of architecture was the process in which human beings lost their communication with architecture, and also with nature.

As a result, it can be said that, although modern architecture was invented as a solution to alienation in modern society, the modernisation of architecture was the process of the alienation of humans from architecture, and even from nature. While architecture is part of the culture of human beings, which was explained as superstructure by Benjamin (Benjamin 1936), it is also physical places where people carry out activities. Thus, architecture affords the physical activities and social interaction of people. Modernity was materialised by architecture, and was embodied by human beings through architecture as a medium. The design of architecture itself prompted the alienation of humans from architecture. Thus, it can be argued that human beings have been alienated from architecture as place, by architectural style as culture. In the final section, this paper will discuss what style of architecture can enable humans to escape from alienation again.

2. Modernisation of form

Modern urban planning was established in order to deal with the poor and unhealthy living conditions in urban areas brought about by the industrial revolution accompanied by mechanised production and the birth of the market economy and capitalism. This new style of

urban planning was accompanied by a new style of architecture. Therefore, this new style of architecture, called modern architecture, was designed to provide standardised living conditions for everyone. The pilotis which suspend the floor in the air whichcan be seen in Villa Savoye by Le Corbusier (Figure 1), and Farnsworth House by Mies van der Rohe (Figure 2), which are considered representative of modern architecture, symbolise their isolation from the surrounding environment. Mies called this unconstrained room 'Universal Space'. The material of architecture also shifted from bricks which reflect the climate and colour of the soil to mass production manufactured in factories. Therefore, it can be said that modern architecture is the style of the age of mechanical reproduction. In this way, shifts of both the structure and material enabled the space to be disembedded from its surrounding vernacular environment. As modernist architecture was called the 'International Style' by Walter Gropius, it enabled people to achieve the same spatial experience all over the world, and architecture has become a standardised commodity.

[Figure1. Villa Savoye]   [Figure2. Farnsworth House]

The International Style reflects the penetration of the market economy and globalization. Karl Polanyi argued that modernisation is characterized by the emergence of a self-adjusting market economy, and that this is explained by the commodification of labour, land and money (Polanyi 1944). In pre-modern society, land which was not reconstructed by human beings was a part of nature, not an asset of human beings. However, as a result of the industrial revolution accompanied by rapid urbanization, land began to be traded in markets. Then, houses and lands were established as commodities, and thus as exchange value. Moreover, as the market economy penetrated all over the world, globalization destabilised jobs. The destabilisation of jobs forced people to change their workplaces, and therefore their residence. Because of the increase of movement and migration, people lost their attachment to their homes and land, and could no

longer be identified by belonging to the land. Loss of identification can be interpreted as alienation from land, and as loss of the aura of land. Therefore, it can be said that standardised modern architecture is a style that reflects these modern life styles and economic structure. Individuals who have lost their family relationships and territorial bonds which can provide a solid and innate identity, because of the increase of movement, are now required to constantly obtain and confirm identity, as Giddens explainedusing the term 'reflexive modernity' (Giddens 1990). In reflexive modernity, people are required to purchase commodities not as necessaries to subsist, but as signs to display their difference from other people. Therefore, the style of modern architecture reflects the reflexive modernity in which the market economy penetrated throughout people's lives.

As Mies proclaimed in the statement, 'less is more', modernist architecture was oriented to the simplicity of form. However, Buckminster Fuller pointed out that '[t]he International Style "simplification" then was but superficial' (Banham 1960). In fact, the evolution of technology enabled the freedom of outward expression, as Le Corbusier argued, for architecture in 19th century, technology decided the form, but for modern architecture, form had to be autonomous, and form and technology had to be unified (Le Corbusier 1924). In masonry construction, stones and bricks which covered the surface of building were the structure itself. On the contrary, reinforced concrete and steel framework structures detached surface from structure, therefore surface lost its functional role as structure, and became a means to express the difference of colour and decoration. This encouraged commodification of architecture and shifted its value to exchange value. Fuller criticized this nature of modern architecture, arguing that the International Style 'used standard plumbing fixtures and only ventured so far as to persuade manufacturers to modify the surface of the valve handles and spigots, and the colour, size, and arrangements of the tiles… In short they only looked at problems of the modifications of the surface of end-products, which end-products were inherently sub-functions of a technically obsolete world' (Fuller, B., cited in Banham 1960, p. 325). Therefore, form was torn off from function. Benjamin distinguished two different technologies, the technology of pre-modern times and of modern times. "The first technology really sought to master nature, whereas the second aims rather at an interplay between nature and humanity' and '[t]he origin of the second technology lies at the point where, by an unconscious ruse, human beings first began to distance themselves from nature. It lies, in other words, in play' (Benjamin 1936). Whereas the first technology aimed to conquer the threat of nature, the second technology in modern society did not have any utilitarian aim, but was a tool to play. Therefore, technology used for modern architecture can be categorized as the second

technology. As a result of the shift to the second technology, architecture has been commodified, and its form has become a means to display difference.

In the two last decades of the 20th century, postmodern architecture appeared in opposition to modern architecture. Venturi coined the phrase, 'less is bore', as an antidote to 'less is more', and encouraged explicit decoration. Contrary to modern architecture, postmodern architecture explicitly emphasised excessive decoration to express difference (Venturi 1972). Since the design of postmodern architecture (also called deconstructivism) was quite avant-garde and complex, structural calculations could be only done by computer. Therefore, the severance between postmodern architecture and modern architecture is often pointed out (Jencks 1986). However, as is explained above, in modern architecture, form was already separated from function, and surface was separated from structure. Therefore, the difference between modern and postmodern architecture is only the surface expression. In respect of the relation between form and function, there is no severance, and postmodernism is an extension of modernism.

3. Modernisation of function

As mentioned above, modern architecture and 'Universal Space' are characterised by their disembeddedness from the surrounding environment. This disembeddedness is a matter not just of the design of form, but also of function. This is because, in order to create standardised space, the internal environment must be always kept in the same condition no matter where it is, therefore it must be closed and self-contained. Therefore, modern architecture was enabled not only by building technology including materials and methods of construction, but also by facility technology including air conditioning and lightning, and thus the modernization of architecture was accompanied by the process of electrification, as emphasised by Banham (Banham 1984). Since the primary purpose of architecture is to protect humanity from the threat of nature, the transition to a functional style of architecture accompanies the change of the relationship between nature and humans.

In pre-modern society, nature was still a threat to the everyday life of human beings. As I already cited above, Benjamin argued that the first technology in pre-modern society sought to deal with nature. At first, architecture was also invented as a shelter from nature and natural disasters. In order to protect themselves from nature, humans had to create windows and doors and to deal with fire and water which themselves are part of nature. Therefore, architecture was a medium for the communication between humans and nature. In modern architecture, the

241

communication between humans and nature has been replaced by the communication between humans and technology that was invented by human themselves. They do not deal with nature by themselves, since machines do this instead of them. What humans need to do is only to manipulate nobs and switches, but they do not understand what is happening inside the machine. Meanwhile, people still have to manipulate the machines with their own perception of the change of surrounding environment, the heat and the cold.

Whereas postmodernism was a new style of form, a new style of function also emerged in the same period of time. According to Junestrand, after 1980s, '[a] long term client-provider relationship with improved customer care is in focus; coupled with continuous improvements of the housing company's internal processes, increased service quality to the tenants, increased quality of the employees at all levels, and the focus shifting from the building to the clients' living situation in the local context' (Junestrand 2004, p.26). The increase of proportion of service industry, especially in urban areas, is another consequence of modernisation (Sassen 1991). In order to respond to these requirements from this new economy, intellectual design which also was developed after the 1980s was 'an important tool used to achieve these objectives' (Junestrand 2004, p. 27).

The idea of ubiquitous computing was established by Mark Weiser in around 1988. According to him, '[u]biquitous computing is the method of enhancing computer use by making many computers available throughout the physical environment, but making them effectively invisible to the user' (Weiser 1993, p. 75). It integrates information processing into everyday activities. This new technology was also adapted to architecture, and smart houses, home automation, and intelligent houses were developed. These new types of housing are equipped with centralised control of the indoor environment by computers, including lighting, heating and ventilation, openings including doors and windows, security for crime and fire prevention, and so on. Therefore, people do not even need to manipulate any facilities anymore. Whereas modern architecture replaced the communication between humans and nature by that between humans and machines, in intelligent houses, people do not even need to manipulate machines. Therefore, it can be said that the smart house is the radicalisation of the isolation of humans from the surrounding environment. According to Weiser, the most significant characteristic of ubiquitous computing is that it is based on 'context awareness' (Weiser 1993), which means the perception of its surrounding conditions by computers. In architecture, this means the perception of conditions both inside and outside of the building, and the temporal humans and objects existing in the building,

by computers through sensors and networks. At the same time, '[i]t enables human beings can use functions of computer, without being conscious of its existence' (Weiser 1991, p. 78). Architecture perceives changes in the environment and automatically turns on and off heating, opens and closes windows, etc. so that humans do not even perceive the changes of the environment. Thus, it results in the elimination of communication between human and architecture. Therefore, it can be said that humans have been deprived of context awareness by architecture.

Weiser also mentioned that, writing, which was the first information technology, is now ubiquitous and does not require the active attention of people (Weiser 1991, p. 78). He argued that computer technology also had to vanish into the background of people's awareness. However, there is a crucial difference between writing and computers. People can understand the process of writing - everybody can write, but no one can understand the whole process of the mechanism of computers, of each assembly - nobody can build a computer all by oneself. This is another consequence brought about by the shift to the second technology. As Marx argued, modernisation is accompanied by the expansion of the division of labour, and division of labour has penetrated into the process of design and construction. In pre-modern society, constructors in the village could carry out the whole process of design and construction by themselves, and people living in the houses repaired them by themselves. However, because of the increase of the scale of architecture and destabilisation of jobs, the construction process has been subdivided into building foundations, exteriors, and interiors, or even more minutely. Furthermore, as Giddens argued, modernisation is the process of professionalisation (Giddens 1990). The construction process has become professionalised and nonprofessional inhabitants have become unable to repair their houses by themselves, and it has become impossible for people to control their own houses. As a result, people have been alienated from their houses as a foundation of their identity. Since people are completely dependent on technology without understanding its mechanisms, they cannot deal with urgent problem or accidents, for example stopping provision of electricity and water, or dealing with natural disasters. While people are usually protected by architecture and technology, they became vulnerable to changes of the environment in emergencies. In addition, this process makes people vulnerable not only to natural disasters, but to simple failures of technology, and dependent on and vulnerable to exploitation by corporations and professionals who control the technology. As such, architecture as culture has been increasing the vulnerability of human beings.

In this way, the process of modernisation in architecture has been the process of the liberation of humans from the surrounding environment. In this sense, smart houses and

243

ubiquitous architecture are extension of modernism. Architecture changed its role from being the medium of communication between humans and nature to being self-contained space. Therefore, modernisation resulted in the alienation of humans not only from architecture, but also from nature. The purpose of architectural technology after modernisation was not to distance people from nature, but to automate this process, thus it can be categorised as a second technology in the terms of Banjamin. However, this argument that modern architecture was self-contained space was not really true, because this process was enabled by the replacement of man-power by machines, but machines are run by electric power which is generated from natural resources. Therefore, human life and architecture are still highly dependent on the exploitation of natural resources, but this fact has been disguised in everyday life. In pre-modern societies, people used fire for light and heating, and they had to go to pump water from wells. However, all of these activities were replaced by modern infrastructure including waterworks, sewerage and electricity. These are connected directly to each house underground, and are thus invisible to their users. As a result, people do not even need to care where electricity and clean water come from, nor where waste water is going to. Therefore, modernisation has been a process not only of the alienation of humans from nature, but also of the exploitation of nature which was hidden from users. It can be contended that both the form and function of architecture in modern and postmodern periods, or in the machine age and the computer age were following the same line of modernisation. This corresponds to the argument in social theory concerning whether modern and late modern are separate or successive (Giddens 1990). My argument in this paper agrees with the argument by Giddens that '[r]ather than entering a period of post-modernity, we are moving into one in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before' (Giddens 1990, p.3).

4. Embodiment of modernity

A significant characteristic of architecture is that architecture necessarily has a function. Structures without practical function are called by different names, for example sculpture or *objet*. Therefore, being architecture means being functional. Benjamin also pointed out this fact, saying '[b]uildings are appropriated in a twofold manner: by use and by perception—or rather, by touch and sight….On the tactile side there is no counterpart to contemplation on the optical side' (Benjamin 1936). He opposed use against perception, and touch against sight, and argued that architecture is used, whereas art in other forms is just perceived. Since architecture is physical

space, it triggers action, not only sight but touch. Architectural form decides the light, wind, temperature and humidity, therefore directly affects the actions of humans. Also, each architectural technology and style has different modules, which provide the scale of buildings, and tactile style. The module of modernism was proposed by Le Corbusier, and he called it 'Modulor' (Figure 3). Since architecture is appropriated by tactile sense, these physical designs of architecture decide the style of affordance. Benjamin argues that 'tactile appropriation is accomplished not so much by attention as by habit. As regards architecture, habit determines to a large extent even optical reception. The latter, too, occurs much less through rapt attention than by noticing the object in incidental fashion' (Benjamin 1936). Thus, like habit, affordance is not acquired consciously, but unconsciously. What is more, habit, and therefore affordance, decides not only personal action, but social and collective action (Figure 4). This is because any social interactions and social rituals are represented through physical action, and architecture is a significant element is everyday life which controls the physical action of people.
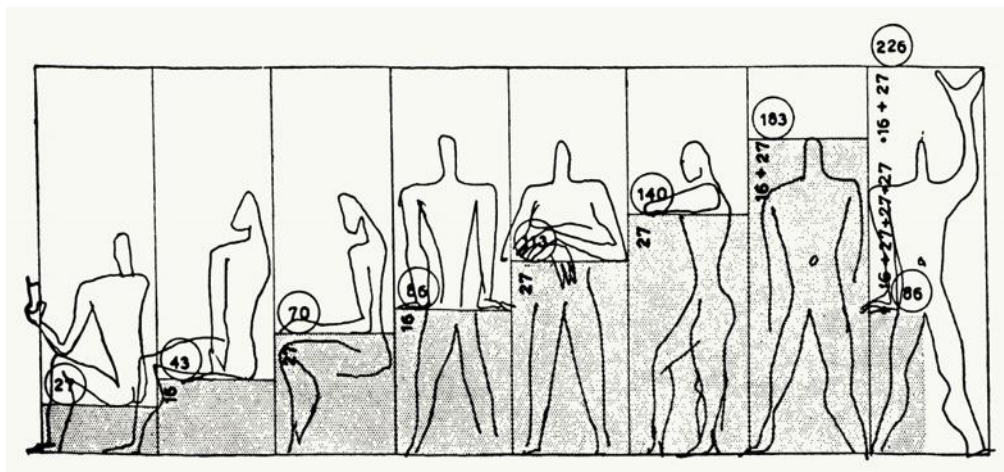
[Figure 3. Modulor by Le Corbusier]
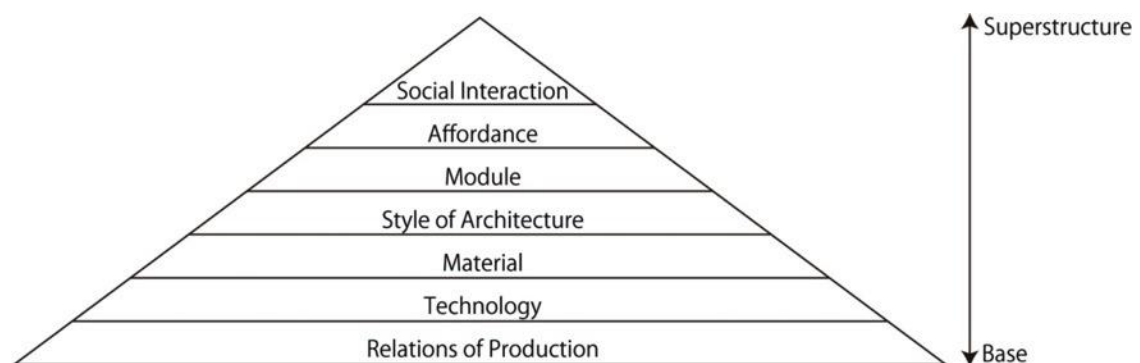
[Figure 4. The base and superstructure of architecture]

245

For example, heating plays an important role in regulating the spatial experience. In pre-modern western architecture, fireplaces were used as heating. Since people had to directly manage fire, which is part of nature, it was dangerous for children to approach fires, while electric heating never hurtspeople. It can be said that the change of heating changed space for children and the role of children in managing heating, thus resulted in a change of relationship between adults and children. In this way, the adjustment of temperature also brings communication. As another example, if people need to add firewood and ignite it, or turn on and off a heater by pushing a switch, people have to approach the fireplace or heater to do these actions, therefore, the distance between person and the appliance is a factor in deciding who will do these actions, and in the process of this decision, there are various interactions based on social norms. However, remote controllers removed these actions based on spatial relations. In smart houses, people do not even need to decide to turn on and off, or adjust the temperature setting by themselves. The change of heating resulted in the change of social interaction. In this way, architecture directly controls not only the cognition, physical action and social interaction, since architecture is an essential element which triggers action in the everyday life of human beings. Due to the standardisation of architecture and the disappearance of communication between humans and architecture, the action and social interaction afforded by architecture have also been standardised. Since architecture represents modernity as explained in former chapters, for humans, modernity is embodied through the physical design and affordance of architecture.

5. Conclusion: toward kinetic architecture

The modernisation of architecture was a process of commodification and standardisation. Due to the development of technology, form was separated from function, and form has become a means to demonstrate distinction, to show archetecture's exchange value. Because of this separation, the only difference between modern and postmodern architecture is their surface expression, thus these were successive styles. As a result, architecture became exchange value, and people lost the identification previously provided by architecture. Meanwhile, in order to provide standardised spatial experience, architecture has become closed and self-contained space with mechanical environmental controls. Therefore, it became unnecessary for people to have communication with nature. Furthermore, machines have been replaced by computers, and people have even lost their communication with architecture. The transition of functions has also been a successive process of architecture becoming standardised and self-contained. Thus, modernisation

246

has resulted in the alienation of humans from architecture and nature. Furthermore, this alienation of humans from nature is based on the exploitation of nature, but this fact has been concealed by the design of architecture. Thus, as a physical space, architecture embodies modernity and alienation in human beings. It can be concluded that human beings have been alienated from architecture as place by architecture as culture. What style of architecture, then, can recover place from alienation, and reconcile place with culture?

After the emergence of postmodernism and intelligent houses, trends in architectural design have continued to head towards self-contained, automatic, and kinetic architecture. Whereas only facilities were manipulated by computers and kinetics in intelligent houses, recently, computers have also been introduced to the design process of architecture. As a result, '[t]he computer presents us with new perceptual entities and objects. Whereas the architect previously manipulated static forms, now she or he can play with geometric flows' (Picon 2004 p.117). This new style of design which 'succeeds Modernism as the next long wave of systematic innovation' (Schumacher 2008, p.15), was developed by Patrick Shumacher, who is the director of Zaha Hadid Architects, and he called it 'parametricism' [16] (Figure 5). The design of architecture is reduced into parameters which are displayed by numbers, and computers manipulate numbers to find the best design for the living conditions of human. However, the desired values in this calculation is decided arbitrarily by human designers, and what is more, although the process of design is dynamic, after its completion, the architecture becomes static. Therefore, though the conditions of people and society are constantly changing, this design process can only capture one social moment, and is not necessarily adaptable in future. Criticising this static nature of parametricism, structures which move automatically has been recently developed. One example is the, 'Kinetic Tensegrity Roof' by ShariShariShari, which changes its form by itself in accordance with sunlight, wind, and the movement of people, without any manipulation by humans (Figure 6). Therefore, it can be said that this style is literally kinetic architecture. However, like parametricism, the desired values are set by human designers, and thus the range of its movement is static.

---

[16] Zaha Hadid is considered to be one of the representatives of deconstructivism, which is seen as a type of postmodernism. Therefore, regarding both form and function, parametricism can be categorized as a successor of both portmodernism and intelligent houses.

[Figure 5. Innsbruck railway station by Zaha Hadid]
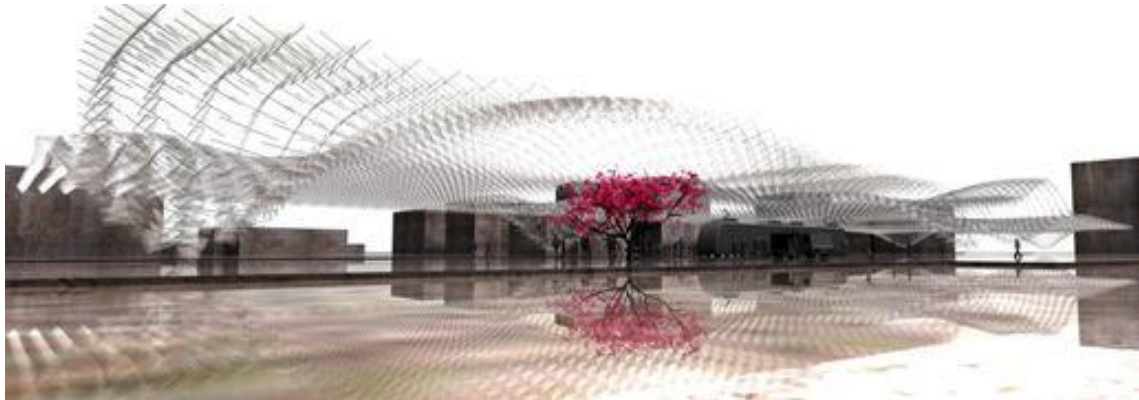
[Figure 6. Kinetic Tensegrity Roof by ShariShariShari]
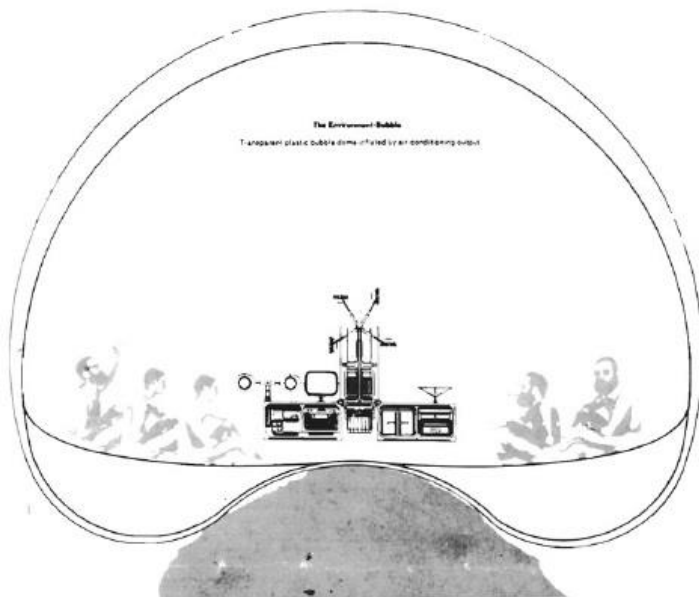
[Figure 7. The Environmental Bubble by Reyner Banham]

These kinetic types of architecture approach the prediction by Banham of the ultimate style of architecture which automatically adapts to its surrounding environment, pursuing 'the ultimate goody - the power to impose [human's] will on any environment' (Banham 1965, Figure 7). This ideal vision which supposes infinite energy was drawn when technology and science was believed in - when global environmental problems were not considered, and before the Chernobyl disaster happened – and is now about to be realised. However, today, after the Fukushima disaster, we have finally learned the hard way the fact that generating electricity destroys nature and even human life. What is more, in the 21st century, most newly built architecture will be informal self-help housing in the urban areas of developing countries (UNFPA 2007). People living in this housing cannot afford advanced technologies, and they do not even have access to proper infrastructure. Mehrotra argues that, contrary to the static city composed of permanent materials and permanent entities, a kinetic city composed of self-help housing 'constantly modifies and reinvents itself' (Mehrotra 2011, p.109). Kineticism does not necessary mean that architecture literally has to move automatically. Self-help architecture which can be modified by its inhabitants themselves in accordance with weather, family changes and economic conditions, kinetically adapts not only to natural environmental changes, but also to the economic and social situation of its inhabitants. Therefore, self-help housing can be categorised as the first technology according to Benjamin's classification. According to Christopher Alexander, 'the timeless way of building' is, 'quite simply, the desire to make a part of nature, to complete a world which is already made of mountains, streams, snowdrops, and stones, with something made by us, as much a part of mature, and a part of our immediate surroundings' (Alexander 1979, p.95). Self-help housing which requires communication between human and architecture, and between human and nature is a timeless way of building which has been inherited since the emergence of humanity on the earth. Is the ultimate style of architecturea self-help house in Daharavi in Mumbai or the Environmental Bubble predicted by Banham?

References

Alexander, C. (1979). "The Timeless Way", Larice, M. and Macdonald, E. eds., 2007, *The Urban Design Reader*, New York: Routledge, pp. 93-97.

Banham, R. (1960). *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, The MIT Press.

Banham, R. (1965). "A Home is Not a House", *Art in America*, 2, pp. 70-79.

Banham, R. (1984). *The Architecture of the Well-tempered Environment*, 2nd edition, Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Benjamin, W. (1936). "The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction". Retrieved December 5, 2013, from http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philos ophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm

Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.

Hillier, B. (1996). *Space is the Machine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jencks, C. (1986). *What is Post-Modernism?* Academy Editions.

Junestrand, S. (2004). "Being private and public at home: An architectural perspective on video mediated communication in smart homes", Doctoral Thesis, KTH School of Architecture.

Le Corbusier (1924). *Towards an Architecture*. Frances Lincoln Ltd.

Le Corbusier (1954). *The Modulor*, Reprint ed. 2004, New York: Faber and Faber.

Mehrotra, R. (2011). 'The Static and the Kinetic', Burdett, R. and Sudjic, D. eds, 2011, *Living in the Endless City*, London: Phaidon Press, pp. 108-15.

Nanba, K. (2003). "Isshituteki kukan jyukyo no kinmirai (Near-future of One Room Housing)", Retrieved December 5, 2013, from http://www.kai-workshop.com/archiv es/013.html (in Japanese)

Picon, A. (2004). "Architecture and the Virtual: Towards a New Materiality", *Praxis*, 6, pp. 114-121.

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Sassen, S. (1991). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schumacher, P. (2008). "Parametricism: A New Global Style for Architecture and Urban Design", *Digital Cities*, 79(4), pp. 14- 23.

Sullivan, L. (1896). "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered", *Lippincott's Magazine* 57, pp. 403-409.

UNFPA (2007). *State of World Population 2007: Unleashing the Potential of Urban Growth*.

Venturi, R. (1972). *Learning from Las Vegas*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Weiser, M. (1991). "The Computer for the 21st Century", *Scientific American*, 265(3), pp. 94-104.

Weiser, M. (1993). "Some Computer Science Issues in Ubiquitous Computing", *Communications of the ACM*, 36(7), pp.75-84.

Sources of figures

Figure 1: http://arch329lain.blogspot.co.uk/2011_11_01_archive.html

Figure 2: http://sholly.blog.ocn.ne.jp/akaaokiiro/2011/12/post_2a25.html

Figure 3: from Le Corbusier 1954, p.51

Figure 4: by the author

Figure 5: from Banham 1965

Figure 6: http://www.architecture.name/design/zaha-hadids-innsbruck-railway-station

Figure 7: http://sharisharishari.com/2011/08/lrt-station-design-competition-okayama-japan-2010/