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VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT

Kinship as Social Capital: Economic, Social and Cultural Dimensions of Changing Kinship Relations in a Northern Vietnamese Village

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. L.M. Bouter,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Sociale Wetenschappen
op donderdag 22 april 2010 om 13.45 uur
in de aula van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door

Nguyễn Tuấn Anh

geboren te Nghệ An, Vietnam

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copromotor: dr. G.C.F. Thomése

Acknowledgements

It would be impossible for me to thank all those who have kindly helped me one way or another in completing this dissertation, for which I apologize in advance. Here I name just some of them.

I owe a great debt to my promotor Oscar Salemink and my co-promotor Fleur Thomése. We Vietnamese all learn by heart the proverb “*không thầy đố mày làm nên*” (without your teachers, you achieve nothing), and I must say that without Oscar Salemink’s support, encouragement and supervision, it would have been impossible for me to complete this work at all. Oscar Salemink exemplifies the wonderful combination of the scholar/teacher/manager and I shall never forget the patience he showed me and the high academic standards he required of me. Fleur Thomése took a lot of time in sharing with me her expert knowledge especially with regard to theoretical aspects and her experience on the subject of my study. Her critical comments and thoughtful guidance have no doubt influenced the way my research was conducted.

I wish to express my warm thanks to Cao Xuân Tú for taking his time in editing this dissertation. Drawing on his knowledge of Vietnamese culture and history, Cao Xuân Tú also offered me valuable suggestions and raised penetrating questions which contributed to the overall improvement of this work. I also wish to thank Mirko Stuiveling. He not only helped me to translate the dissertation summary from English into Dutch, but also gave me warm friendship.

I would also like to thank the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam for granting me a scholarship to work on this dissertation. I am also grateful to Nguyễn Hữu Đức, Hoàn Văn Vân, Phạm Xuân Hằng and Vũ Hào Quang who helped clear the way for me to come and study in Amsterdam. Thanks are due to Trần Thị Minh Đức and Trương Huyền Chi for having encouraged me to apply for this PhD program in Amsterdam.

I am also thankful to Danièle Bélanger, Mai Văn Hai, Phạm Văn Bích and Phạm Tất Dong for their valuable comments on various drafts of this dissertation. My thanks go to André Droogers, Ton Salman, Freek Colombijn, Marjo de Theije, Marion den Uyl, Ellen Bal, Malte Stokhof, Kim Knibbe, Lan Winson, Joan van Wijk, Parachin Lapanun, Priscilla Koh, Tam Ngo, Patricia Kane, Matt Colley and other colleagues at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. They offered me not only an excellent academic atmosphere, but also generously gave me useful language tips and warm friendship during the time I was in Amsterdam.

I am profoundly thankful to Tijo Salverda and Scott Dalby. As the paranymphs at the defense ceremony of the dissertation, Tijo and Scott have actively supported me.

Above all I am grateful to the residents of Quỳnh Đôi and the leading officials and staff of the commune who were kind enough to share their knowledge and experience with me. Especially, I would like to thank Cù Ngọc Trúc, Hoàng Thị Quế, Hoàng Nguyên Ninh, Dương Văn Giáp, Phạm Mai Khôi, Phan Hữu Thịnh, Hồ Sĩ Bình, Hồ Sĩ Ngo, Hồ Đắc Thắng, Ngô Sĩ Tăng for their support during the time I was collecting data in the field.

Lastly I would like to thank my uncle Nguyễn Hữu Tràng, my aunt Nguyễn Tuấn Hương, and my parents-in-law Đặng Trọng Vân and Trần Thị Mùi who gave me much encouragement during the writing of this thesis. I am forever indebted to my mother Phan Thị Ngợi, my wife Đặng Thị Mai Hương, my son Nguyễn Hoàng Anh, and my daughter Nguyễn Mai Anh. They not only shared my life’s ups and downs but also suffered my long absences from home so that this work could come to a fruitful end.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale of the study

This is an anthropological and sociological study of kinship relations in Quỳnh Đôi village, Quỳnh Lưu district, Nghệ An province, Northern Vietnam. This village was chosen as the research site because many significant historical events that happened here reflected the transformation in other Northern Vietnamese villages in various respects. In the past Quỳnh Đôi was well-known for its literati who received high degrees in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script. In the colonial period, many villagers joined anti-colonial movements and some became well-known revolutionary leaders. Quỳnh Đôi is part of Nghệ An province, where the abortive Soviet-styled revolt took place in the 1930s and the collectivisation policies were enthusiastically implemented in the socialist transformation period in the 1960s and 1970s, depriving kinship of some of its pre- and post-revolutionary functions. Throughout these decades actions were taken against vestiges of ‘feudalism’, patrilineages included. Now, in the wake of the reform period [*Đổi mới*] that started in 1986, some old functions have returned to kinship relations, which evolved also in new directions. Against the background of the rather extreme historical changes in this village, a sociological and anthropological study of kinship relations may help elucidate how changes in forms and functions of kinship relations intersect with cultural and economic processes during the *Đổi mới*, as compared to the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period.

This dissertation will study the changes of kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period (which roughly coincides with the colonial period). In the colonial period (from the late 19th century to the mid 20th century), Vietnam was under French domination during which deep changes took place in the country. The changes included administration, taxation policy, social polarization, the recruitment of labour for French enterprises, the establishment of modern factories, the discontentment with the new rule and anti-colonial movements (Beresford, 1988: 8-16). The socialist transformation period lasted from the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945 until the initiation of the Reforms in 1986. During this period, the country went through two major wars, first against the French - which ended with the Điện Biên Phủ victory in 1954), and then against the Americans - which culminated in the liberation or fall - depending on one's perspective - of Saigon in 1975, bringing reunification to the country under the leadership of the Communist Party. Throughout this time, socialism in Vietnam was built following the guidelines of three revolutions: the revolution of relations of production, the scientific and technical revolution, and the cultural, and ideological revolution (Hà Huy Giáp, 1973; Lê Duẩn, 1976; Trần Độ, 1986). Faced with socio-economic difficulties reaching crisis proportions in the late 1970s, the Communist Party launched a full-fledged reform programme in the mid 1980s. These reforms in fact had their beginnings in 1981 in the domain of agricultural production. Economic reforms were not only carried out in agriculture, but also in the domains of industry and trade. There was growth of private domestic enterprises and foreign investment (Sikor & O'Rourke, 1996), accompanied by a shift from protectionism to a liberal trade regime (Mazyrin, 2007). On 11 January 2007,

Vietnam became the WTO's 150th member, which marked the historical integration of Vietnam into the global market economy. Although the *Đổi mới* policies primarily focus on the economy, there was also “a profound reorientation of the party and state role in Vietnamese life” (Malarney, 2002: 1), leading to extensive changes in Vietnamese society. This anthropological and sociological study is intended to shed light on the changes of kinship relations against the background of economic, political, social and cultural changes in the *Đổi mới* era, in comparison with the socialist transformation period and pre-socialist period.

There have been a number of studies concerning Vietnamese kinship relations, mainly focusing on the patrilineage. For example, Woodside (1976) considered the Vietnamese kinship system as similar to the Chinese kinship system in terms of patrilineage predominance. Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn (2000) emphasized the importance of patrilineages in village life during the *Đổi mới* era. Trịnh Thị Quang (1984) stressed the legal, economic, moral and religious functions of patrilineages. Pham Van Bich (1999) underlined the temporal continuity of patrilineages. Sorensen classified Vietnamese kinship as part of the patrilineal stem systems (Sorensen, 1993a). Besides the approach from the patrilineage standpoint, there was a perception that considered kinship relations from a bilateral standpoint. For example, Luong Van Hy (1984, 1989) viewed Vietnamese kinship relations from male-oriented (“patrilineal”) as well as non-male-oriented (“bilateral”) perspectives. Haines (2006) mentioned the importance of paternal features and maternal features in the Vietnamese kinship system. In our view, bilateral models more or less coincide with the patrilineage viewpoint, since the bilateral models emphasize the importance of the patrilineage on both the father’s side and the mother’s side. In addition, there were studies demonstrating the importance of immediate kin relationships in Vietnam in the *Đổi mới* period. For example, Cox, Fetzer, and Jimenez (1998) argued that most private transfers took place between parents and children, between spouses, and between siblings.

In delving further into Vietnamese kinship relations, besides taking the viewpoints of patrilineages and “bilateral” models, this research also looks at these relations as ego-based kin networks. Kinship relations in terms of the patrilineages, the “bilateral” models as well as ego-based kin networks will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2 which deals with the guiding theoretical concepts for this research. In a nutshell, a patrilineage is formed as a membership group with boundaries defined by rules of descent, in which members define their relationship to each other with reference to a paternal common ancestor (Fox, 1967). The bilateral models consist of the male-oriented model (patrilineage) and the non-male oriented model, which mentions the significance of kinship relations on the women’s side (Luong, 1984, 1989). An ego-based kin network (or ego-centred kin network) is defined by people who are related to an individual called ego. Those people may or may not share a common ancestor with Ego but they have some duties toward Ego and some claims on Ego (Fox, 1967). The patrilineages and the ego-based kin networks are two types of social networks, where a social network is “a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994: 20). This research focuses on the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network as the two major kinship structures in Vietnam.

The kinship relations are examined here in a village context. Based on Appadurai’s perspective of the production of locality (Appadurai, 1996), kinship is examined as a dimension of the village that is not socially or naturally given but constantly produced and re-produced through the actions of villagers. There are diverging perspectives on how villages - as localities in Appadurai’s sense - are (re-)produced. According to Scott (1976) peasants minimised risks and maintained subsistence security through collective welfare and moral arrangements. In contrast, according to Popkin (1979), peasants made cost-benefit calculations and often opted for their own interests and their family’s interest over common

interests. In this study, I shall apply Popkin's perspective on individual calculations and decisions which may illuminate the importance of kinship as foundation for villagers to secure benefits from collective arrangements in everyday life.

In this dissertation the changes of kinship functions and forms will be examined from a social capital perspective, based on the perceptions of social capital developed by a number of scholars (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995, 2000; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Social capital is described as resources in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges embedded in individuals' social networks. In social networks, social capital is built and used by individuals to secure benefits. Patrilineages and ego-based kin networks are types of social networks where social capital is built and used. Therefore, examining how social capital is produced and used in kinship relations is a way to study kinship relations. Applying the social capital perspective to examine kinship helps to reveal why individuals invest in and make use of particular kinship relations in comparison with other social relations and networks. A social capital perspective can serve as a lens to look at kinship relations from an individual's vantage point, answering the question why people privilege certain relationships in the context of particular practices, thus providing a microcosmic study of kinship.

The thesis will show the changes in kinship relations through examining kinship forms and functions in ritual, education and economic domains. In the ritual domain, the study will deal with kinship relations in marriages and funerals, in ancestor worship and in activities related to patrilineage annals, patrilineage halls and cemeteries. In the education domain, the thesis will look at the study encouragement funds of the patrilineage, the patrilineage study encouragement sections, and the lending and exchanging of textbooks between related children. In the economic domain, the thesis will focus on kinship relations in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association. By applying a social capital perspective, the thesis will explore changes of kinship forms, in terms of the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network, and changes of kinship functions in the ritual, education, and economic domains. The changes of kinship forms and functions will be shown by the way in which villagers could build and use social capital in kinship relations in these domains through the three periods.

By showing the changes of kinship relations in the three periods, I will argue that gender relations in the context of kinship relations have also changed. While most studies of kinship relations mainly focus on gender dimension in the patrilineage setting, this study will look at gender dimensions in the changes of kinship relations in terms of both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. By examining the ways in which women build and use social capital in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network, I will highlight the choices and opportunities available to women and how they use them within the context of the *Đổi mới*.

2. Research objective, research questions

Research objective

The objective of this study is to enlarge our understanding of kinship relations by examining changes in kinship relations in a Northern Vietnamese village from the standpoints of both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. By examining kinship relations in terms of the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network from a social capital perspective, this study explores the new choices and opportunities that villagers may avail themselves to secure their

benefits in the *Đổi mới* period. These new choices and opportunities, often precipitated by changing kinship relations, may not be detected by viewing kinship relations exclusively from a patrilineage standpoint. In order to explore this, the study first seeks to examine kinship relations in three different socio-political contexts: the pre-socialist period, the socialist transformation period, and the *Đổi mới* period. The study then moves on to examine the changes of kinship forms and functions in articulation with other social practices in the village.

Research questions

Drawing on the research objective, the research questions of this study are as follows:

- 1. What were the changes of kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with those in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period?**
- 2. How did the changes in kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household articulate with other social practices in the village?**

3. Organization of the dissertation

In Chapter 2, I present the theoretical foundation of the thesis. The discussion of the concepts and notions of village, kinship relations and social capital in this chapter prepares for the main argument of the study, that villagers build and use social capital in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network in order to secure benefits in various domains. That way of building and using social capital reflects the importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison with the patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* period. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology. In this chapter, I refer to the data used in this dissertation and present the way in which these data were collected, compiled, and analysed. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the village of Quỳnh Đôi, in which kinship relations will be examined. In this chapter, I will show that Quỳnh Đôi is a well-known village where many historical developments and events during the three periods happened in a more pronounced manner, thus putting socio-economic and cultural changes into starker relief. Studying kinship relations in this situation allows for a clearer observation of the ways changes in kinship relations intersect with socio-economic and cultural changes. Chapter 5 studies kinship relations in the pre-socialist period. In this chapter, I point out that in the pre-socialist period, the patrilineage dominated over other types of kinship relations. This domination is reflected in various practices, such as the organization of the patrilineage and the functions of the patrilineage in the ritual, education and economic domains. Chapter 6 examines kinship relations during the socialist transformation period. In this chapter, I show the changes in the patrilineage as an organization, especially with regard to the simplifications of ancestor worship rituals. I further demonstrate the decreasing importance of ritual, education and economic functions of the patrilineage in the context of land reform, the collectivization movement and ideological campaigns. I also show that the emotional bonds of patrilineage members were severely damaged in this period. Chapter 7 examines kinship relations through ancestor worship and life cycle rituals in the *Đổi mới* period. In this chapter, I show that through ancestor worship and life cycle rituals - including marriages and funerals - villagers built social capital not only between relatives in the patrilineage but also between relatives in the ego-based kin network. Chapter 8 is about

kinship relations and children's education. I argue that social capital, in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, played an important role in generating human capital through patrilineage financial and non-financial study encouragement measures, as well as through exchanging textbooks among children of related families from different patrilineages. Chapter 9 studies kinship relations in the economic domain. In this chapter, I show how reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust in the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network helped villagers to secure benefits in agricultural production, cottage industries and rotating credit associations. In the final chapter, I recapitulate the main findings as well as the limitations of this study together with suggestions for further research on Vietnamese kinship relations and implications for the study of kinship relations and social capital in Vietnam and beyond.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS: KINSHIP RELATIONS IN VIETNAMESE VILLAGE FROM A SOCIAL CAPITAL PERSPECTIVE

Your corn is ripe to-day; mine will be tomorrow. Tis profitable for us both, that I shou'd labour with you to-day, and you shou'd aid me tomorrow. I have no kindness for you, and know you have as little for me. I will not, therefore, take any pains upon your account; and should I labour with you upon my own account, in expectation of a return, I know I shou'd be disappointed, and that I shou'd in vain depend upon your gratitude. Here then I leave you to labour alone; you treat me in the same manner. The seasons change; and both of us lose our harvests for want of mutual confidence and security (Hume, 2000[1740]: 334).

1. Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for the research, which is based on three categories: (1) that of the village, which provided the vantage point of the study; (2) the sociological and anthropological perspective of kinship relations; and (3) the theoretical concept of social capital.

First, in conceptualizing Vietnamese villages - focused in the northern area, I adhere to the view that each Vietnamese village is a cultural and social unit of the countryside and the aspects of the village do not maintain a status quo because the village is historically reproduced. Kinship as a dimension of the village life is constituted in the context of the change. In addition, I suggest that in collective village affairs, villagers engage in collective actions. However, in everyday life, they rely on their relatives to ensure their livelihood and secure their interests. For the purposes of this study, the village is taken as the unit of observation for exploring the changes of kinship relations in rural northern Vietnam.

Second, as to the concept of kinship relations, I will examine Vietnamese kinship relations from two perspectives, ancestor-focus and ego-focus. From the ancestor-focus viewpoint, descent groups form membership groups, in which members define their relationship to each other with reference to a common ancestor – the lineage and in the Vietnamese case, the patrilineage. From the ego-focus, all people who are related to the ego can belong to an ego-based kin network, including those who do not share a common ancestor. This perception will be employed to examine the changes of kinship relations in terms of patrilineages and ego-centred kin networks in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with previous periods.

Third, social capital is considered as resources embedded in one's social network, resources that can be produced, maintained and used through ties within the network to secure benefits. In this dissertation, I distinguish two dimensions of social capital: enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges. Social capital is used to detect changes in kinship through the

ways in which enforceable trust and reciprocity exchange are generated, maintained and used in patrilineages as well as in ego-based kin networks in comparison with some other social relations such as friend and neighbour relations.

2. Village - the unit of observation

Vietnamese terms for village

The scientific perception of the village applied in this research is derived from the villages in the lowland and midland of Northern Vietnam, bearing in mind the diversity of Vietnamese villages and the fact that “variations in landscape, physical attributes, socio-cultural circumstances and historical background do not warrant a comprehensive description of ‘the’ Vietnamese village” (Kleinen, 1999: 2). Therefore, in the following I only examine the features of the Northern Vietnamese village in lowland and midland. I mainly mention the traditional features of the village before 1945 and take into account the changes that occurred during the socialist transformation era and the reform period. Before exploring the features of the Northern Vietnamese village in lowland and midland regions, I will review the terminology that are used to denote the “Vietnamese village” and explain why the village, and not the commune, is chosen as the unit of observation.

In ancient documents, many terms were used to refer to the Vietnamese village depending on region and time, including *làng*, *xã*, *thôn*, *phường*, *trại*, *châu*, *vạn*, *giáp*, *phố*, *tích*, *sách*, *động*, *lũng*, *xưởng*, *mỏ*, *bến*, *chòm*, *nậu*, *đội*, *tộc*, *ấp*, *lý* (Nguyễn Tùng, 2003: 17-20). In northern Vietnam, commonly the village is related to three Vietnamese terms: *làng* (village), *xã* (commune), and *thôn* (hamlet). The word *làng* was derived from proto-Vietnamese. *Làng* is used to call the smallest settlement unit and fully-fledged entity of the *Việt (Kinh)* peasant ethnic group. The word *xã* was derived from Chinese. *Xã* denotes the primary administrative unit of society in *Việt*’s countryside (Trần Từ, 1984: 135). The term *xã* was adopted in 1242 under the Trần dynasty (Lê Văn Hưu, Phan Phu Tiên, Ngô Sĩ Liên, & etc, 1272 - 1697). *Xã* derives from the Chinese term *she*, which indicates primary administrative unit of society (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 101). In the lowland and midland areas of Northern Vietnam, a *xã* can be made up of one or several *làng* (villages) depending on its size. Being integrated into *xã*, *làng* (villages) become administrative units; in this case, *làng* is called *thôn* (the Chinese’s language term). Therefore, in this sense *làng* and *thôn* are nearly synonyms. However, there are nuances in using the terms of *làng* and *thôn*. *Làng* denotes a sense of attachment, of personal feelings, the term often used in everyday life, while *thôn* with its administrative attribute, is usually used in official texts (Trần Từ, 1984: 135; Yu Insun, 2000: 21). In some cases, a *xã* has only one *làng*. This leads to a jumble of the two terms. In the everyday language, northern Vietnamese usually connect the two words *làng* and *xã* together into a compound word with vague meaning: *làng xã* (Trần Từ, 1984: 135). Since the 20th century, there has been a tendency of using *xã* (commune) to denote a primary administrative unit, which consists of one or more *thôn* (hamlet) while *làng* (village) remains the basic settlement unit where peasants actually share their sentiments (Nguyễn Tùng, 2002: 98-99). The residents in the village follow both the rules of kinship relations and neighbour relations (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 151). Today while the commune [*xã*] is considered only as an administrative unit, the village is actually the cultural and social unit of countryside with its traditional settlement having a certain territory, structure and customs. As Đỗ Thái Đồng puts it, regardless of the changes, Vietnamese villages always exist in terms of

maintaining a village mentality, village behaviours and relations (Đỗ Thái Đồng, 1995: 91). That is the reason why the village and not the commune is chosen as the study unit.

Structure and organization of village prior to 1945

Vietnamese villages are diverse. There are “differences in the pattern of village administration and society between North, Centre and South, as beneath the broad picture of institutional conformity there was probably considerable diversity in actual village arrangements, particularly regarding differences of origin and size, and patterns of power and wealth involving the dominant village families” (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 103). Therefore, what I would like to stress here is that it is difficult to pinpoint the common features of traditional Vietnamese villages. In the following, I will provide an outline of structure and organization of the village in the lowland and midland in the northern Vietnam, from the late 19th century to prior to the August 1945 Revolution.

Regarding territory, each village has its own territory. The village territory includes housing land [*đất ở*], cultivation land, lakes, hills and mounds. The traditional village charter [*hương ước*] states clearly the boundary of the village and villagers have to protect the territory against the encroachment of other villages (Nguyễn Hồng Phong, 1978: 464). Moreover, the village territory is not an area where any outsider can settle if they want. In fact, each village has its roll of taxpayers, that discriminate between official residents (of the village) [*chính cư, nội tịch*] and unofficial residents (those off the village) [*ngụ cư, ngoại tịch*] and through the process of confirmation unofficial villagers can become official villagers (Kleinen, 1999: 7). Popkin stresses that: “Clearly, the concept of village citizenship was important, for the insider-outsider distinction was sharply drawn”... “The emphasis on village citizenship, therefore, encouraged local ownership and impeded the development of powerful multivillage landed fortunes” (Popkin, 1979: 89).

About social and political institutions of the village, each village had an authority institution, including three sub-institutions or organizations: the village taxpayers [*dân hàng xã*], the Council of Notables [*Hội đồng kỳ mục*], and the Village Officials [*Lý dịch*]. The village taxpayers include all men over 18 year-old, paying tax for the state, having the right to vote and to deliberate village affairs. The Council of Notables consisted of people who were elected by the village inhabitants [*dân hàng xã*]. Actually, they were people who usually had both mandarin grades [*phẩm hàm*], and personal estates. The function of the Notables’ Council was to lay down village policies and measures to implement the policies. The Village Officials or state bureaucratic officials at villages were the Village Chief and his assistants. The function of village officials was to implement policies of the Council of Notables and carry out the duty and obligations toward the state (Trần Từ, 1984: 65-66). The traditional village had several kinds of institutions such as patrilineages, groups of households in the same alley, age group associations, and the volunteer groups (guilds) (Trần Từ, 1984).

Economically, the village depended on agricultural production. The land was nominally owned by the King but in fact, the village was the collective owner of agricultural land (public land). However, public land had undergone privatization for a long time. Shortly before the 1945 Revolution, the majority of public land became private land. So the Vietnamese villages before 1945, especially villages in lowland and midland regions of Northern Vietnam had both private land (held by households in small scale) and public land (Trần Từ, 1984: 19-20). The village was a self-sufficient unit in its function of organizing and allocating agricultural land for households. The village also had its budget. Traditional handicraft was maintained among villagers with its trade secrets kept away from outsiders (Popkin, 1979: 89-90; Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 241-242). In political affairs, the village apparatus was run by the Council of Notables and the Village Officials. The village had its

own law or specific charter [*hương ước*]. Depending on its apparatus and its own law, the village could establish its own court of justice. In emergency situations such as banditry or war, the village could mobilize troops from among able-bodied villagers (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 241). In the sphere of religion and culture, the village had its tutelary god [*thành hoàng*], a communal house, temples and pagodas. It also organized festivities and was responsible for education matters (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 241-243).

Vietnamese village in change

Regarding the traditional village in lowland and midland regions of Northern Vietnam, there have been a number of authors who put emphasis on its political autonomy and economic self-sufficiency; it is a closed and static society. For example, according to Trần Đình Hượu, the village was not only an administrative unit but also a community with many functions. Though small, the village was tightly structured, suitable to the demands of everyday life, and able to cope with difficult situations such as natural calamity, banditry and warfare. The particular trait of the village was its closed life. The village was a distinct world by itself. All villagers could depend on village institutions, communal spirit and village sentiment without going out or making exchanges beyond the village gate (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 297). After fulfilling its obligations to the state, the village could run its own affairs. The state had no affairs with individuals but with the village (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 247; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]: 824). The distinct world of village life not only depended on the autonomy of religious, social and political affairs and self-sufficiency in economy but also in population reproduction. Endogamy within the village was in the majority. The regulation of paying a fine by person who married outside the village [*nộp cheo*] confirms this fact (Đỗ Thái Đồng, 1995: 89-90).

However, the perception of the village as a closed and static society has to be re-interpreted. Appadurai emphasizes that ethnographic records can be re-read and re-perceived as descriptions of the production of locality (1996: 205-207). According to Appadurai, the notion of ‘neighbourhood’ indicates situated communities existing in reality as social forms. The notion of locality refers to a dimension or value of neighbourhood that is variably realized (1996: 204). The relation between neighbourhood and locality is as follows: On the one hand, a neighbourhood or village is a context or set of contexts, in which local subjects carry out their actions as well as interpret these actions. On the other hand, the neighbourhood or village produces contexts through activities of production, representation, and reproduction that are carried out by local subjects. These processes happened constantly in a wider context. Thus, the village is not naturally given but constantly re-produced through efforts of local people in relation to a wider world (Appadurai, 1996: 208-212). Appadurai emphasizes that because the production of locality happened constantly, the village cannot be seen as a status quo before modernization happened, but was historically constituted against the backdrop and in the context of this change in the past already (1996: 205, 207). In addition, locality is a social achievement. Local people make constant efforts to keep the continuity of locality. Thus, the village remains so much the same in the situation of perennial change (Appadurai, 1996: 205). In the case of Vietnam processes like wars, migration and colonization, economic (ex)change, political and religious integration impacted on and often constituted historical villages. Thus, villages cannot be viewed as existing in opposition to the outside world. In addition, villages cannot be described as timeless and immutable, i.e. outside history. In the following, I will elaborate these points in more detail.

According to Breman (1995) the perception of the village as “a unique, distinct, compact and isolated community” has to be reconsidered. When mentioning Asian villages Breman notes that, there is no general conception that encompasses all Asian villages because

the variety of Asian village is too large. Therefore, it is not warranted to simplify Asian village into inflexible model. The perception of closed characteristics of Asian village has to be reconsidered due to several reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to say that the village was isolated, exerting self-control when it had to give up a large part of its production to the state. Secondly, its self-sufficiency is doubtful because its economy depends on the transacting a diversity of products, the role of money and the variety of land in possession. Thirdly, the validity about political autonomy is highly questionable because the village's political life is linked with the broader political world outside. Popkin (1979: 1) also states that "most (but not all) of the world's peasantry today live in open villages". Vietnamese villages in the northern lowlands are no exception.

Actually, the way in which the village is open and in constant change can be perceived from several dimensions. The first important dimension is through the relations between the village and the state in the socio-political domain. For instance, according to *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* (The Complete History of Great Viet), in the year of 1242 (under the *Trần* dynasty), a distinction was made between large villages and the small villages, and officials were appointed to individual villages (Lê Văn Hưu et al., 1272 - 1697). Another example is that imperial seals of recognition [*sắc phong*] also reflected the fact that authorities in the old dynasty – in this case the Nguyễn court- influenced village institutions and ambitions (Salemink, 2007: 582). In fact, the successive central governments tried to control the villages. The interventions of the state in the village were carried out by appointing and organizing the village authorities and maintaining their activities, controlling over private and public land, collecting taxes, population registration, recruiting of manpower for military service and corvée labour, etc. During dynasties in the past, depending on particular circumstances; the degree of supervision of the central authorities on villages went up and down (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 103-116).

The way in which the village is open and in constant change could also be seen via its economic activities. Each village is linked with the world beyond the village through trading activities in the system of markets (Ngô Thị Kim Doan: 2004: 26). The system of markets includes village markets, canton markets and district markets. Before August 1945, in the provinces of the Red River Delta (Northern Vietnam), on average there was one market for about three villages (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 59). Moreover, the connection among villages can be seen through several handicraft guilds such as woodwork, bricklayer, etc. Each guild was organised within a single village or extended to other villages (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 68-69). Many handicraft products of villages were sold in far off places (Ngô Thị Kim Doan: 2004: 26) implying that villages were economically connected with the surrounding areas.

The way in which the village is open and in constant change, was also reflected through migration. There were constant movements of people leaving their own villages to form other villages or new settlements elsewhere under the pressure of village population growth (Lê Nguyễn Lữ, 2006b: 119-120). The migration also followed the expansion of Việt polity, known as the process of March to the South [*Nam Tiến*]. While the old dynasties tried to pacify their border areas with China to the North, they expanded their territory gradually to the South. Through the southward expansion in old dynasties, a large number of people from the North migrated to the South (Salemink, 2003a: 25-26). In the 11th century, the territory was extended to the region, known as Quảng Trị province now. In the 18th century, the territory was extended to the area, where is Southern Vietnam (Mekong Delta) now. Many policies of the old dynasties were carried out to colonize the new regions in the South (Trần Đức, 1993: 107-125).

Since the French colonial period, beginning in the late nineteenth century, the village transformed and opened more profoundly. The changes in the political, socio-economic spheres together with Western (French) influences had a deep impact on village life. Under

the colonial rule, the colonized authorities intervened in village affairs with new policies and reforms (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 116-121). The colonial administration, education, life style also contributed to a transformation of the village. Some villagers – the educated or wealthy – used Western soap and clothes, read novels, imitated new lifestyles; some went to the city to learn, work, and play (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 297-298). During the French colonial period, many villagers from northern Vietnam went to work at the rubber plantations in eastern Cochinchina and other plantations in the Central Highlands and Tonkin (Salemink, 2003a: 27). The situation of villagers leaving their home villages to work at the rubber plantations was described vividly in literature (Nam Cao, 1943). Additionally many landless villagers moved to urban areas, while others migrated seasonably between transplanting and harvesting to look for temporary employment (Dang, Goldstein, & McNally, 1997: 315).

Since the 1945 Revolution, a great turning point in Vietnamese history, the Vietnamese village has undergone 30 years of wartime (1945-1975), 10 years of “High-Socialism” (1976-1985) and more than 20 years of “Renovation” (1986-2008). Through all these years, it has been deeply transformed under the policies of socialism and subsequent reforms. During wartime, a large number of villagers left their home villages to the front. Salemink sees the flow of troops and resources from the North to the South in the wartime as a modern-day *Nam Tiến*. After reunification in 1975, many farmers from rural areas in the North moved to live in the South, which could be seen as another episode of *Nam Tiến*, exemplified by the migration of many villagers from the North to the Central Highlands. In addition, others moved to the areas near the western border in a process which Salemink called *Tây Tiến* (March to the West) (Salemink, 2003a: 28-29). Since the *Đổi mới*, there have been changes in village life that reflect the opening and transforming of the village in a wider new context. In the economic domain, the agricultural co-operative has systematically lost its functions (Kerkvliet, 2005; Kleinen, 1995; Tô Duy Hợp et al., 2000). In the political and administrative arenas, there has been a tendency of democratising the apparatus of local government (Tô Duy Hợp et al., 2000). In the socio-cultural field, there is a significant revival of religious and life cycle rituals and festivals (Kleinen, 1995; Tô Duy Hợp et al., 2000). Migration from the countryside to the cities has been a significant phenomenon in the *Đổi mới* era with the rapid growth of the economy (Salemink, 2003a: 43). Migrants mostly went to areas which were more urbanized and more industrialized (Dang et al., 1997: 332).

Thus, in line with Appadurai’s conceptualization, Vietnamese villages are not “natural” as such but historically constituted and constantly re-constructed through social actions of local subjects in terms of villagers, in relation to the wider contexts outside. In other words, through social activities of production, representation, and reproduction carried out by villagers in relation to the world beyond the village, the village is constantly re-produced.

Fragmentation inside village and kinship as foundation for villagers to secure benefits

The village perceptions can be related to Scott’s viewpoint of “The Moral Economy of the Peasant” and Popkin’s standpoint of “The Rational Peasant”.¹ According to Scott (1976), the subsistence for peasants through moral arrangements that minimised risks was very important. Traditional Vietnamese villages were to keep subsistence security and collective welfare for peasant life, in which “the specter of hunger and dearth, and occasionally famine” were brought “to the gate of every village” (Scott, 1976: 1). The subsistence of peasants depended

¹ For more information on the Scott-Popkin debate about The Moral Economy of the Peasant and The Rational Peasant see Salemink (2003b).

on “patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity, communal land, and work-sharing” (Scott, 1976: 3). In contrast, Popkin (1979) argues that the livelihood of peasants did not depend on the moral arrangement but depended on the individual calculations and decisions or rational choices of individuals, as he puts it:

Villages were not egalitarian, levelling, welfare oriented, or necessarily harmonious. There was at once both cooperation and conflict, and individual behaviours in the village was governed by considerations of self-interest (Popkin, 1979: 132).

In this study, I apply Popkin’s standpoint of individual calculations and decisions in securing benefits. I follow Popkin’s perception in order to explain individual actions with recourse to the concept of social capital, as will be elaborated below.

At the first level, the village exists as a unit when it is threatened from outside. In this situation, the connections between villagers help individuals to carry out their collective actions to protect the interests of the whole village. For example, the villagers carry out their actions in the collective affairs such as in coping with natural calamity, banditry and warfare (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 297), encroachments of other villages and irrigation works (Nguyễn Hồng Phong, 1978: 468-469).

At the second level, in everyday life, the village is the arena in which there is factionalism, contradictions and fragmentation between contending groups of peasants (Trần Từ, 1984: 30-31). In this situation, the social capital within each group is important for individuals of the group to secure and protect their own benefits in case of “extreme conflicts among groups of peasants” (Popkin, 1979: 96). In Vietnamese, the word ‘*cục bộ*’ is usually used to indicate factionalism, contradictions, and fragmentation. In other words, *cục bộ* is used to show the way in which people gather into groups to secure or protect their own benefits. According to Trần Từ (1984: 43), there are countless contradictions in villages, and each family finds support from its relatives. Vietnamese proverbs also express this tendency: “Uphold kin's interests in the village affairs” [*Đi làng thì bênh họ*], “Give the surplus to kin and rely on kin when in need” [*Đủ bỏ vào họ, khó nhờ vào họ*], or “When a person becomes a mandarin, his whole kin benefits” [*Một người làm quan cả họ được nhờ*].

Thus, villagers band together to protect their common interests against outsiders but are fragmented, conflicting and factional on the inside. These are the points for my argument that in the collective affairs, villagers engage in collective actions but in everyday life, kinship relations form the foundation for villagers to ensure their livelihood and secure their benefits. My discussion on kinship relations in the following chapters are based from this premise.

3. Kinship definition and types

As Radcliffe-Brown pointed out more than 60 years ago, “the subject of kinship has occupied a special and important position in anthropology” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1941: 1). In the simplest way of definition, kinship is the relationship among people who are related to each others by real, putative or fictive consanguinity (Fox, 1967: 33). According to Harris, the nature of kinship is demonstrated not only by biological relations or kin terms but also by social relations (Harris, 1990: 35).

Many anthropologists try to give definitions and interpretations of kinship, among whom Morgan, Radcliffe-Brown, Levi-Strauss, Malinowski. Morgan considered the terminology as a method to understand various systems of “kin”. Radcliffe-Brown classified “kin” based on “rights and duties”. Levi-Strauss used kinship to categorize people into “marriageable” and “unmarriageable”. Regarding the term “kinship”, Malinowski argued that

what we should study is “behaviours” or “rules”, not language (quoted in Fox, 1967: 240-243). According to Fox, anthropologists use the term “kinship relations” in two ways. First, this term is about forming groups including gens, curia, phratry, etc. and how they function; and in this connection we might add for the Vietnamese patrilineage. Second, kinship relations show “the network of relationships (that) bind individuals together in the web of kinship”. For this study, kinship relations encompass both patrilineages and ego-kin networks, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Fox comments that “it is much more adequate to look at kinship terminologies simply as ways in which people classify their kinship universe” (Fox, 1967: 243). And viewing kinship from an ancestor-focus and from an ego-focus permits to clarify types of kinship. From an ancestor-focus, descent groups form membership groups, in which members define their relationship to each other with reference to a common ancestor – the lineage. The various types of lineage organize kinship in membership groups with boundaries defined by rules of descent. If we see kinship from the ego-focus, all people who are related to ego can belong to the ego-based kin network, including those who do not share a common ancestor. The kin network only exists in relation to ego. A vital feature of the ego-centred kin network is that all ego-based cognates up to a certain degree are recognized as having some duties toward him and some claims on him (Fox, 1967: 146-174). One point here is that kinship in each particular society is viewed from the vantage point: “how the people themselves see their world of kin” and “who do they distinguish from whom and on what basis” (Fox, 1967: 243). This perception will be employed to examine the kinship relations in the context of the *Đổi mới* era in Vietnam.

4. Vietnamese kinship relations: Patrilineage and ego-based kin network

At the outset, it is necessary to say that I discuss the kinship relations of Kinh ethnic (majority) in the lowland and midland regions, Northern Vietnam. Scholars usually study Vietnamese kinship from patrilineal viewpoint, such as Pham Van Bich, Mai Văn Hai and Trịnh Thị Quang. According to Mai Văn Hai, kinship (more exactly patrilineage) is a group of people having blood relations. Each patrilineage takes its source from a common ancestor [*thủy tổ*] in a certain area. The common feature of lineage in Red River Delta (Northern Vietnam) is patrilineal system – lineage is considered to follow the father’s line (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000). Trịnh Thị Quang stresses that patrilineage is the core of many social relations in Vietnamese society (Trịnh Thị Quang, 1984). Pham Van Bich emphasises “the temporal continuity of lineage and the family” (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 3). Sorensen also emphasizes that kinship in Vietnam is patrilineal system (Sorensen, 1993a). Traditionally, patrilineage serves a variety of functions: legal, economic, moral and religious (Trịnh Thị Quang, 1984).

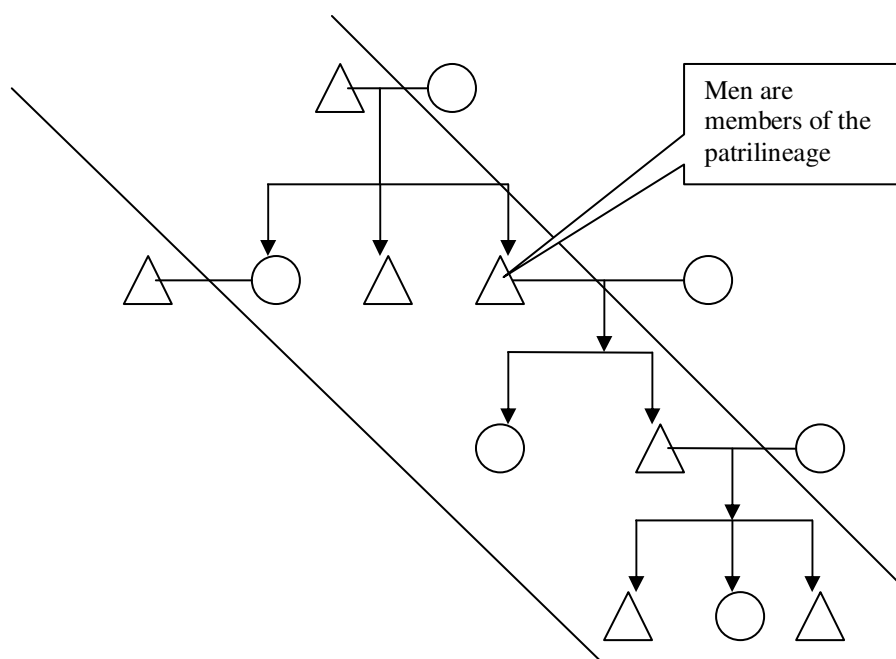
About the Vietnamese kinship, Woodside writes: “The kinship system, whose form (if not always its informal substance) deliberately resembled the Chinese kinship system, was patrilineal” (Woodside, 1976: 95). Krowolski also states that the kinship system in Vietnam is patrilineage as the kinship system in China. More than one thousand years of Chinese occupation of Vietnam explained this similarity (Krowolski, 2003a: 82). Even after achieving independence in 938, Chinese culture continued to exert its influence on Vietnam (Trần Đình Huôu, 1996). Freedman (1970) describes the lineage (patrilineage) system in China as follows. The lineage (patrilineage) is composed of several sub lineages. Each sub lineage includes several branches. Each branch comprises several compounds. Several families (family-household) make up a compound. Each family-household has a family head, each

compound has a compound head, each branch has a branch head, each sub-lineage has sub-lineage head, and each lineage has a lineage head. Family is the foundation unit, including all relatives in the paternal line sharing a stove under a house roof. There are intermediate stages between family and lineage. Sub lineage heads set up the ancestral hall association. From a functional standpoint, it is reasonable to say that the family is considered an economic unit, the compound is a political and social unit, the branch as a religious and worshipping unit, the sub lineage and lineage are the “economic, political, social, religious, educational, and military unit” (Freedman, 1970: 34-35).

From the viewpoint of Vietnamese kinship as patrilineage, each man is a member of a patrilineage. His name is written in the book of patrilineage [*sổ họ*]. Officially the patrilineage defined its member as someone with rights and obligations in matters such as worshipping ancestors, inheriting lineage property and contributing to building, maintaining the property of the patrilineage such as ancestral house and graves, bearing the name of the patrilineage, and attending other activities of the patrilineage. Traditionally each woman carried her father’s patrilineage name as her family name all her life but she had no rights to become a member of her father’s patrilineage. After getting married, she also did not become a member of her husband’s patrilineage. The position of women in the patrilineage sphere was quite ambiguous. A woman was considered to belong to her father’s patrilineage and because of this she carried her father’s patrilineage name all her life. She was considered to belong to her husband’s patrilineage based on the simple fact that she was married to him. However, officially, she belonged to neither of them.

A traditional patrilineage has five important features: ancestral hall [*từ đường*], genealogical record or patrilineage annals [*gia phả*], ancestral graves [*mồ mả*], patrilineage property [*hương hoá*], and patrilineage head [*trưởng tộc*] (Lê Văn Chưởng, 1999: 139; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]: 773-774). Each patrilineage also has a name [*tính, tên họ*] (Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]: 772). Some authors contend that the names of Vietnamese patrilineages appeared after the period of Chinese domination (Lê Nguyễn Lưu, 2006: 35). The patrilineage structure can be seen as follows:

Figure 1: Kinship relations in terms of patrilineage



While considering Vietnamese kinship from a patrilineal viewpoint and taking the view that kinship in Vietnam resembles Chinese kinship, we also note that Vietnamese kinship was characterized by a mix of influences from China and Southeast Asia. Vietnamese kinship nature has both paternal features coming from the North (China) and maternal features coming from the South (Southeast Asia) (Haines, 2006: 4-6). Hirschman & Vu Manh Loi also state, “over the centuries, Vietnamese society and culture have blended influences from the North (China) and South (Southeast Asia) with indigenous traditions” (Hirschman & Vu Manh Loi, 1996: 229).

The perception of Vietnamese kinship characterized by both paternal features coming from the North and maternal features coming from the South is especially apparent at the household level. Hirschman and Vu Manh Loi depend on the data from the 1991 Vietnam Life History Survey to explore three dimensions: household composition, co-residence, and frequency of visits between parents and their grown children. Concerning the latter, there is a higher level of parental visiting by men than women (Hirschman & Vu Manh Loi, 1996: 248). Regarding household composition, the data show that most Vietnamese families are modest in size ranging from four to six members and extended family is a minority among households. About co-residence, less than one-third of informants report that parental family relatives ever lived with their family of origin. Commonly, living arrangement is the independent nuclear household without relatives from either side of the family. This fact does not strongly support for the Confucianism cultural model of patrilocal residence or bilateral kinship system of matrilocal system that characterised much of Southeast Asia (Hirschman & Vu Manh Loi, 1996: 247). “Vietnam appears to have incorporated East Asian Confucian culture in family organization, but has leavened it with considerable flexibility of gender roles and obligations that are characteristic of Southeast Asian family structure” (Hirschman & Vu Manh Loi, 1996: 248). In this connection, Bélanger portrays the Vietnamese family in rather glowing terms: “The early emancipation of children, the responsibility of the eldest son for his parents and the continuity of the family line, the power of the wife and the widow and the egalitarian inheritance system make Vietnam’s family unique” (Bélanger, 1998: 5).

Actually, many features of Vietnamese family such as the individual mobility and autonomy, the right of inheritance between children, the rights of women in divorce and possession of personal belongings as well as the strong position of the widow in the family, do not entirely fit with the view that Vietnamese family as being Confucian, thus involving patrilinearity, patrilocality and patriarchy (Bélanger, 1998). Therefore, Vietnamese kinship system should not be seen only from a patrilineal viewpoint. Because of the maternal features coming from the south, the Vietnamese kinship system could be viewed not only from a patrilineal viewpoint but also from both male-oriented and non-male-oriented models as argued by Luong (1984; 1989). In addition, with the role of individuals in Vietnamese kinship system as shown above, I suggest that Vietnamese kinship system should be also seen from an ego-centred perspective. In the following, I will discuss male-oriented and non-male-oriented models, as well as the ego-centred perspective.

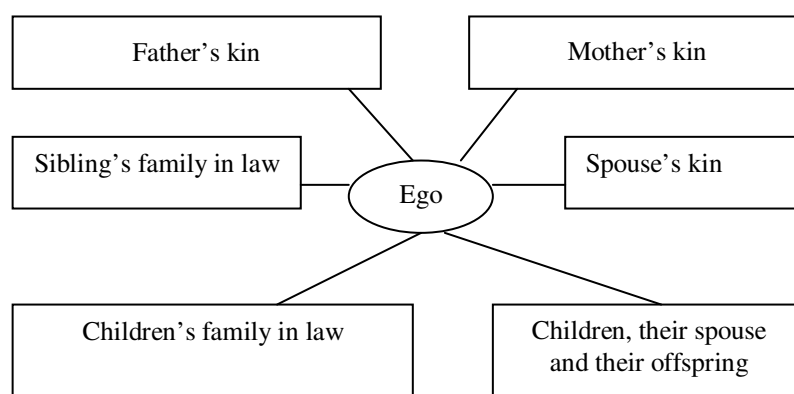
About male-oriented and non-male-oriented models, Luong suggests that Vietnamese kinship consist of “the two structurally opposing male-oriented (“patrilineal”) and non-male-oriented (“bilateral”) models” (Luong, 1989: 742). As to the male-oriented model, Luong argues that in pre-socialist era, the male-oriented model of Vietnamese kinship system could be seen through several important aspects. Those aspects include the polygamy emphasising the continuity of male-oriented kinship, the patrilineal extended family, the rule of patrilocal residence, the gender hierarchy with most privileges for men, the labour division with the public-oriented roles of man and the domestic-oriented roles of women, the emphasis of distinction between patrilineal and matrilineal relatives (Luong, 1989: 744-745). Concerning the non-male-oriented model, Luong points out that a woman still kept the surname of her

father after she married. She kept contacts with her own relatives and brought her children to her parent's house to attend important anniversaries (Luong, 1989: 747). Le Thi Que (1986: 15) also states that when her children got married, offerings were made not only to her husband's ancestor but also her father's ancestors as well (quoted in Luong, 1989: 747). In addition, in Vietnamese the word *họ* refers not only to the father's patrilineage but also the mother's patrilineage as well (Luong, 1984: 301, 1989: 747). Moreover, "Diffuse, enduring solidarity ideally characterizes interactions with both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives" (Luong, 1984: 301).

Besides taking the viewpoints of patrilineage and "bilateral" model, we can also look at Vietnamese kinship relations as ego-based kin networks. Fox assumes that in complex societies, kinship tends to be defined more in terms of ego-based kin networks than in terms of membership in (lineage) descent groups (Fox, 1967). In the setting of Vietnamese society, one that is rapidly changing and becoming more complex, besides considering the viewpoints of patrilineage and the "bilateral" model, I will also look at Vietnamese kinship relations as ego-based kin networks bearing social network features (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1998; Howell, 1998). The reason is that the perception of bilateral models more or less was developed from the patrilineage viewpoint. Patrilineages are generally seen as basic kinship institutions with common ancestors, heads of patrilineages, patrilineage councils, ancestor worship, patrilineage annals, patrilineage halls and cemeteries, as well as patrilineage functions in various domains. Ego-based kin networks are viewed as networks of kinship relations based on individuals as egos of the networks. An ego-based kin network contains several clusters of people coming from different patrilineages. Such a network contains kinship relations mentioned in bilateral models. In the following, I will discuss ego-based kin networks in more detail.

Vietnamese kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin networks are formed from several kin networks that are related to the ego. In this sense, each individual has ties at least with six networks: (1) mother's kin [*họ ngoại*], (2) father's kin [*họ nội*], (3) spouse's kin [*họ đằng nhà vợ, họ đằng nhà chồng*] (with married individuals), (4) children, their spouse and their offspring, (5) children's family in law [*thông gia*] (if ego-based children are married), (6) sibling's family in law [*thông gia của anh em ruột*]. These six networks have different degrees of significance to the individual's life. The ego-based kin networks can be seen as follows:²

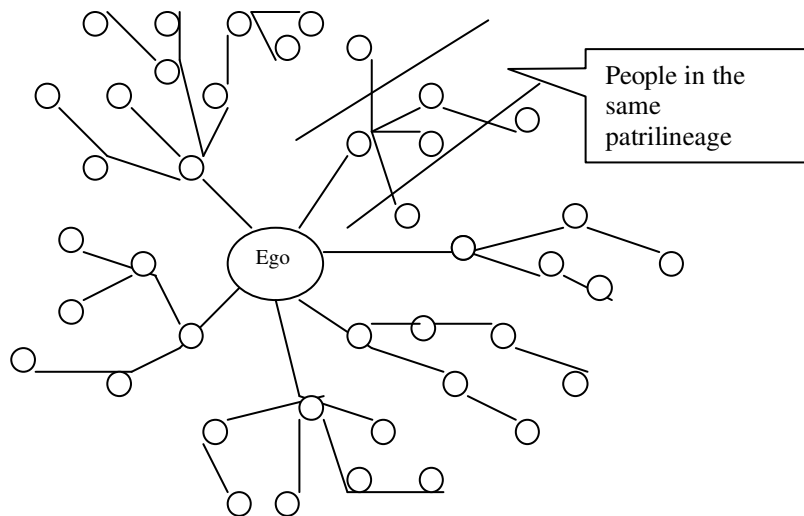
Figure 2: Kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin network



² The diagram is remotely reminiscent of Talcott Parsons' diagram of modern western kinship (see Parsons, 1943).

With this diagram, each individual has connection with many people making up a network where he/she is the central point. There are two significant features in this network. The first is that each ego-based kin network is an open network containing six sub-networks of kin, who are relatives of the egos. People in each sub-network can come from different patrilineages but having kinship links with the ego. For example, the sub-network of father's kin includes the ego's father, the ego's paternal uncles and their children, the ego's paternal aunts and their children, etc. While the children of the ego's paternal uncles are in the same patrilineage of the ego, the children of the ego's paternal aunts are not in the same patrilineage of the ego. The diagram of Vietnamese kinship in terms of ego-based kin networks could be also seen as follows:

Figure 3: Kinship relations as ego-based kin network



The second point is that the ego-based kin network will be viewed from Fox's perception, to the effect that the way to give a picture of the kinship in each particular society is viewing "how the people themselves see their world of kin" and "who do they distinguish from whom and on what basis" (Fox, 1967: 243). It means that in certain contexts, individuals in terms of the egos in ego-based kin networks could choose a number of relatives, not all, to invest in and to get expected returns from them.

The concept of social network based on social network theory provides a theoretical basis for study kinship relations from the viewpoint of ego-based kin networks, and patrilineages. Social network viewpoint from the works of Howell (1988), Wellman (1988), Wellman & Berkowitz (1988) provide the basis for analysis of ego-based kin network. It can be said that social network views social relations in terms of nodes and ties. The nodes are the individual actors in the networks and ties are the relations among the actors. Kinship system can be represented as networks – "as sets of nodes and set of ties depicting their connection" (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1998: 4). In case of Vietnamese ego-based kin networks, the sets of nodes and set of ties of ego-based kin networks depict the relationship of the ego with the six kin networks in which the ego stand at central position of kinship system. The sets of nodes and the set of ties of patrilineage illustrate the relations among members of patrilineage. The kinship system in terms of social networks as the sets of nodes and the set of ties created by many happenings in the course of an individual's lifetime including birth, death, marriage, divorce, adoption, and other fictive relationships or disconnections such as mutual dislike. As Howell puts it:

When a person is born, he or she automatically acquires a mother and father as primary kin, along with indirect ties to siblings and other relatives...kinship relations are severed through the death and created through the birth of new siblings or cousins or through the marriage of kinsmen... When a child grows up and marries, its kin inventory suddenly increases, not just by the spouse who will eventually link ego to children and grandchildren, but also by weaker but numerically important new affinal connections (Howell, 1998: 66).

In short, the Vietnamese kinship system, as a kind of social network, can be seen as both patrilineage and ego-based kin networks. It is my assumption that since the economic reforms ego-based kin networks have gained importance in comparison with membership-defining patrilineage. These changes can be understood from the social capital viewpoint in the following sections.

5. Social capital

Fukuyama asserts that social capital “resides primarily in kinship networks” (2002: 28). Putnam sees “the most fundamental form of social capital is the family” (1995: 73). Bourdieu affirms that social capital can be established and re-produced through “...transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the workplace, or even kinship...” (1986: 249). Coleman contends that “...social capital in the family...play roles in the creation of human capital in the rising generation” (1988: 109). Thus, social capital is in kinship relations, and examining how social capital is produced, maintained and used in kinship relations is a good way to scrutinize kinship relations. In this respect, a social capital perspective can serve as a lens that enables us to examine kinship relations, and to study kinship relations in terms of their forms and functions.

The first person credited with defining the term *social capital* was Lyda Judson Hanifan, who, in 1916, coined this word in an article entitled ‘Rural Community Centre’. Hanifan used this term to refer to “goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy, and social intercourse among group of individuals and families”. Forty-five years later, in 1960s, the modern usage of the term can be traced to Jane Jacobs (Smith & Kulynch, 2002: 153-154). Systematic discussions of the term social capital as a pivotal theoretical construct only appeared in the work of Bourdieu (1986) entitled ‘The Forms of Capital’ (Smith & Kulynch, 2002: 154-155; Portes, 1998: 3).

Social capital is first and foremost considered as a form of capital. According to Brewer (1984), the notion of capital can be traced to Marx (quoted in Lin, 1999: 28). As Nan Lin puts it: “In his (Marx’s) conceptualization, capital is part of the surplus value captured by capitalists or the bourgeoisie, who control production means, in the circulations of commodities and monies between the production and consumption process” (Lin, 1999: 28). According to Bourdieu, “capital is accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its “incorporated,” embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour” (Bourdieu, 1986: 241).

This section reviews the conceptual definitions and interpretations of social capital in order to formulate a social capital perspective to examine kinship relations for the purposes of this study. The first part compares the perceptions of social capital of well-known authors, thereby forming a foundation from which a theoretical guideline for this research can be sketched in the second part.

Key authors on social capital

Bourdieu on social capital

Bourdieu defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word” (1986: 248-249).

Thus, the emphasis here is that social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources, which results from mutual acquaintance networks or recognition networks. Bourdieu shows that social capital is not naturally or socially given; it is “the product of an endless effort” or “the product of investment strategies...aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationship” (1986: 249). This could be compared to Appadurai’s perception of the production of locality when he emphasizes that the production of locality reflects the efforts of local people (Appadurai, 1996: 210-211). It can be said that analytically speaking the production of kinship relations through the way in which individuals invest in social relations to build and use social capital is comparable to the production of locality at the village level. Neither process is naturally or socially given. Instead, they are the result of constant efforts of people involved.

According to Bourdieu, social capital as a result of the investments is “directly useable in the short or long term”. Social capital is a collective asset, which is product of the group’s members as well as shared by the group’s members. In other words, actors invest in social networks in order to get social capital to secure returns in terms of material or symbolic profits or otherwise (Bourdieu, 1986: 249-250). Bourdieu further clarifies:

The network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationship that are directly usable in the short or long terms, i.e., at transforming contingent relations, such as those of neighbourhood, the workplace, or even kinship, into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). This is done through the alchemy of consecration, the symbolic constitution produced by social institution (institution as a relative – brother, sister, cousin, etc. – or as a knight, an heir, an elder, etc) and endlessly reproduced in and through the exchange (of gifts, words, women, etc.) which it encourages and which presupposes and produces mutual knowledge and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986: 249-250).

For Bourdieu, capital is embodied in three guises: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital “is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights”; cultural capital, “is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications”, and social capital, “is made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (1986: 243). Bourdieu uses the concept of social capital to study how individuals improve their economic capital in capitalist societies

by explaining how social capital functions as a resource that helps individual increase their economic capital.

Coleman on social capital

According to Coleman, “Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure” (1988: 98).

For Coleman, social capital as resource exists in relations between actors (1998: 98), and is manifested via changes in the relations among persons that facilitate actions (1998: 100). Coleman sees social capital as a by-product of other activities (1988: 118). Fukuyama consents to that opinion as evident in his claim that “social capital is a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experiences, and other factors ...” (Fukuyama, 2001: 17). The value of social capital is understood as resources that actors can use to achieve their interest (Coleman, 1988: 101). Actors establish relations purposefully and continue the relations if they continue to provide benefit (Coleman, 1988: 105). Coleman goes on to claim that social capital comprises three forms: 1/obligations and expectations, and trustworthiness of structures; 2/information channels, 3/norms and effective sanctions. Coleman asserts that social capital constitutes an aid with several outcomes for actors at individual and group level (Coleman, 1988: 101-108). Coleman (1988: 109-116) applies the notion of social capital in order to explore the relation between the attainment of human capital of children and social capital inherent in family and community. He argues that social capital in families in relations between children and parents as well as other family members and social capital in community in relationship among parents, which are resources for children to secure human capital.

According to Coleman, the “closure of social networks” is important for the existence of social capital because it enhances forms of social capital such as trust, norms, obligations and expectations. Coleman’s perception of “closure of social networks” could be linked to Appadurai’s perception of the production of locality. According to Appadurai, keeping the continuity of locality requires constant efforts of local people (Appadurai, 1996: 205). This is in the same line with keeping the closure of social networks. The involved people also have to make constant efforts in order to maintain the closure of social networks. Thus, the process of keeping the continuity of locality is comparable to the process of keeping the closure of kinship networks.

Fukuyama on social capital

For Fukuyama, “social capital is an instantiated informal norm that promotes co-operation between two or more individuals. The norms that constitute social capital can range from a norm of reciprocity between two friends all the way up to complex and elaborately articulated doctrines like Christianity or Confucianism. They must be instantiated in an actual human relationship: The norm of reciprocity exists in potentia in my dealings with all people, but is actualised only in my dealings with my friends” (2001: 7).

Fukuyama emphasizes that “social capital is what permits individuals to band together to defend their interest and organize to support collective needs; authoritarian governance, on the other hand, thrives on social atomization” (2002: 26). In discussing social capital,

Fukuyama uses the term 'radius of trust'. He writes, "All groups embodying social capital have a certain radius of trust, that is, the circle of people among whom co-operative norms are operative" (2001: 8). By exploring the nature of family-owned businesses in Latin American countries, Fukuyama emphasizes that trust between family members and close friends is the strongest and most reliable. Using the example of Mexico and Argentina, Fukuyama stresses that family network is a mainstay for the individual in hard times such as high unemployment (2002: 27-28). Expanding this idea, he writes, "Social capital, thus, resides primarily in kinship networks, and in many respects such networks constitute an important social asset" (2002: 28).

Putnam on social capital

According to Putnam, "social capital refers to connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise among them" (2000: 19).

According to Putnam, television, the internet and other modern technology leads to situations where people in modern society do not invest in social capital by participating in voluntary organizations such as labour unions, professional societies, church-related groups, etc. Generally, most people prefer to do solitary activities without the company of others. They participate less in elections, attend fewer public meetings, and generally are less involved in the outside world. As people participate less in public activities, mutual trust and support decreases, thereby resulting in the decline of social capital (Putnam, 1995, 2000).

Regarding the positive effects of social capital, Putnam stresses its pro-social consequences, including "mutual support, cooperation, trust, and institutional effectiveness" (2000: 22). These positive effects included increased educational levels, better child welfare, safe and more secure neighbourhoods, as well as an improved physical and psychological happiness. Putnam even adds democratic values and equality to the list (Putnam, 2000). As he sums up: "for a variety of reasons, life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital" (Putnam, 1995: 67). Thus, social capital is a public good, though not exclusively so as evident in his claim that "Social capital can thus be simultaneously a private good and a public good" (Putnam, 2000: 20).

Putnam differentiates between "bonding" social capital and "bridging" social capital. Bonding social capital applies only within homogenous groups while bridging social capital is formed across diverse social groups. For example, Putnam argues that bonding social capital can be created in ethnic fraternal organizations, whereas bridging social capital can be produced in youth services groups. According to Putnam, both bonding and bridging social capital could bring out positive social effects in many situations. Bonding social capital is useful for reinforcement of specific reciprocity and encouragement of solidarity. Bridging social capital is useful for connection to outside resources and information distribution. While bonding social capital is useful for "getting by", bridging social capital is important for "getting ahead". Putnam adds that bonding and bridging can exist simultaneously in a group depending on the dimensions, which are examined. For example, an internet chat group can bridge across gender, age, geography, but can bond along education dimension (Putnam, 2000: 22-23).

In the context of my research, if Putnam's perception of bonding and bridging social capital could be linked to kinship relations, then bonding social capital could apply to relatives within the patrilineage, while both bridging and bonding social capital could apply to relatives in the ego-based kin network. In the latter case, bonding social capital is built and

used among relatives of the same patrilineage and bridging social capital is built and used among relatives belonging to different patrilineages.

Drawing on Putnam's perception, it should be noticed that the notion of bonding and bridging social capital is not an absolute category, but rather an analytical distinction. The distinction between bonding and bridging is flexible depending on the questions under examination (Putnam, 2000: 23). For example, if the village boundary is taken into account, then both bonding and bridging social capital are possibly built and used in the patrilineage. In this case, bonding social capital could be built and used among relatives who belongs to the same patrilineage and live in the same village, while bridging social capital could be built and used among people living in the village and relatives of the same patrilineage living outside the village. This analytical distinction refers, of course, not only to the ways in which kin groups are delineated (as patrilineage or ego-based kin network) but also to the ways social capital might be used – for 'getting by' or for 'getting ahead'.

In this thesis, I will depend on several dimensions to make analytical distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital. I am particularly interested in the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital in kinship relations based on the patrilineage dimension. Bonding social capital in the patrilineage, and bridging as well as bonding social capital in the ego-based kin network can be illustrated in the following diagrams.

Figure 4: Bonding social capital in the patrilineage

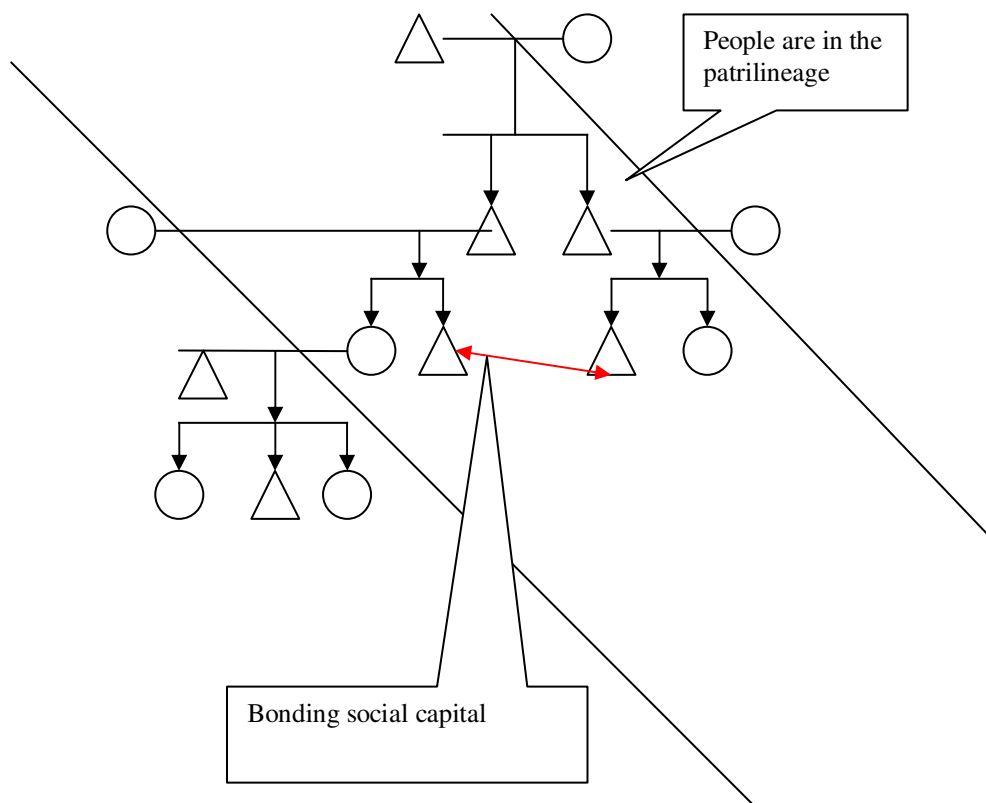
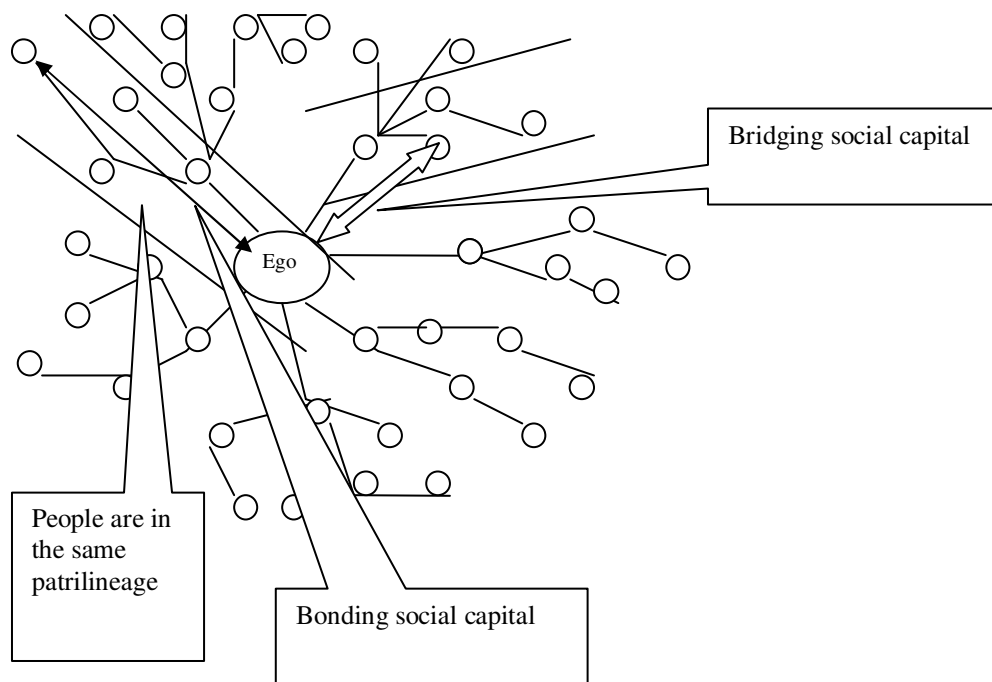


Figure 5: Bonding social capital and bridging social capital in the ego-based kin network



In terms of bonding and bridging social capital, Putnam used the example, in which people in the same ethnic enclaves provide crucial social and psychological support for less fortunate members to declare that bonding social capital is good for “getting by”. He also used the example, in which people can access external assets and information (such as in seeking jobs or political allies people could depend on distant acquaintances) to state that bridging social capital is crucial for “getting ahead” (Putnam, 2000: 22-23). The perception of bonding social capital is good for getting by and bridging social capital is crucial for getting ahead was also emphasized by Woolcock and Narayan (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Woolcock and Narayan used several examples to demonstrate the range of outcomes of bonding and bridging social capital. For instance, they showed that bonding social capital was good to reduce risk and uncertainty or vital for important protection, whereas bridging social capital was important for the advancement of material interests or enhancing productivity and profits (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000: 233). Based on the insights of Putnam, Woolcock and Narayan, in this study I operationalize ‘getting by’ as dealing with difficulties in production, coping with economic difficulties or maintaining cottage industry production through protecting trade secrets, whereas ‘getting ahead’ is understood as advancement through education, advancing material interests, enhancing productivity and profits or improving household’s welfare as well as improving women’s social status in kinship setting. The greater possibilities to get ahead with the help of relationships outside the patrilineage could help explain why the emergence of kinship after the *Đổi mới* would be based more on network connections and less so on patrilineage membership.

Lin on social capital

According to Lin, “social capital may be defined operationally as the resources embedded in social network accessed or used by actors for actions” (2001: 24-25).

Lin emphasizes that the notion of social capital indicates the investments of individuals in social relations to secure returns (1999: 30). Lin highlights that a theory of social capital should explain how the resources take on values and how actors access resources for gains (Lin, 2001: 29). Lin shows two kinds of returns for social capital, (1) returns to instrumental action (e.g. economic, political or social return) and (2) returns to expressive action (e.g. physical and mental health and life satisfaction) (Lin, 1999: 39-41).

As regards the levels at which social capital is produced and used to get returns, Lin shows two levels – the individual level and the group level. At the individual level, two processes are raised. The first has to do with how individuals invest in social relations. The second concerns how individuals capture the resources embedded in social relations to bring about returns. At a group level, the two correlatives are how certain groups develop and maintain social capital as a collective asset and how that asset enhances the life changes of a given group member (Lin, 1999: 31-32). In this research, I will analyze how individuals invest in social relations in terms of kinship relations to produce social capital and how they use social capital to reap benefits.

Portes on social capital

Portes defines social capital as an “ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other social structure” (Portes, 1998: 8). Portes points out the necessity to show the possessors of social capital, the sources of social capital, and the resources themselves (Portes, 1998: 6). Portes emphasizes the distinctions between the motivations of givers and the motivations of receivers in transactions that depend on social capital (Portes, 1998: 5-6). He argues that motivations for givers could be consumatory or instrumental. Consumatory motivations consist of value introjections and bounded solidarity. Instrumental motivations comprise reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust. Those are sources of social capital (Portes, 1998: 7-8).

According to Portes, value introjection is a source of social capital brought about by the mechanism of norm internalization. For example, people donate to charity because they internalized norms, perhaps from an early age, creating the motivation for them to make the donation. The social capital source in terms of value introjection is in opposition to the social capital source of reciprocity exchanges. For this source, donors offer in order to receive in the future, as dictated by the norms of reciprocity. However, this transaction is different from a purely economic transaction in two respects. First, what the donors receive is not necessarily the same as what they offer; it could well be something intangible such as approval and praise. Second, the time for donors to receive is unspecified (Portes, 1998: 7).

As to bounded solidarity, Portes (1998: 7-8) argues that this is a source of social capital among people who share together common features such as the same community or the same social classes. In this case, they could support each other because of a shared level of solidarity. Thus, identification sharing by these groups could be a motivational force. About enforceable trust as an element of social capital, Portes asserts that enforceable trust is appropriated for both givers and receivers. For receivers, enforceable trust helps to obtain resources. For givers, enforceable trust provides approval and expedites transactions (Portes, 1998: 9). Concerning social capital transactions based on enforceable trust Portes writes:

The donor's returns may come not directly from the recipient but from the collectivity as a whole in the form of status, honour, or approval... the collectivity itself acts as guarantor that whatever debts are incurred will be repaid (Portes, 1998: 8-9).

Different and converging viewpoints on social capital

Converging points between authors in discussing social capital

In surveying the key points relating to social capital as expounded by the scholars above (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995, 2000), some salient features emerge. The first is that social capital is network-based. Bourdieu contends that social capital is linked to possession of a durable network. Coleman believes that social capital inheres in social relations among people, and closure of networks reaffirms the existence of social capital. Fukuyama asserts that social capital resides in networks. Putnam considers network to be an element of social capital. Lin understands that social capital to be embedded in social network. Portes observed social capital through networks and other structures. In addition, Bourdieu, Coleman and Lin, as well Portes use the term resource to indicate social capital. In this study, I also look at social capital from a network-based viewpoint from which I will make comparisons between patrilineages and ego-based kin networks by examining the ways in which social capital operates in these types of kinship relations.

The next relevant feature is that social capital is created through investments in social relations or social networks, and thanks to social capital the actors involved could secure benefit for themselves. For Bourdieu, social capital results from the investments, and these results could be used in the short or long term through conversions from social capital into other forms such as economic capital. According to Coleman, social capital is a 'by-product' of other activities in relations among actors who establish and maintain these relations purposefully in order to gain benefit. From Fukuyama's perspective, an individual could produce social capital and use it for one's own purposes. For Putnam, people could produce social capital by participating in public activities in order to garner its pro-social consequences such as better education, and a high level of economic prosperity. Lin emphasizes that the term *social capital* reflects investment in social relations in order to get returns. Portes argues that social capital has to do with the fact that individuals secure benefits through participating in social networks or structures. By applying this concept, I will explore how villagers invest in kinship relations in terms of patrilineages and ego-based kin networks to build and use social capital. The way in which individuals build and use social capital, will be examined in ritual, education and economic domains.

An important element in discussing social capital is the question of trust and reciprocity. Bourdieu considers social capital as resources which are based on a mutual acquaintance and recognition network, which could be produced through establishment of exchange; each member of the network is provided with a 'credential' through membership in the network. Coleman views obligations and expectations, together with trustworthiness as forms insofar as individuals trust each other to reciprocate in the future thereby creating shared expectation and obligation. Fukuyama considers social capital as informal norms, including the norm of reciprocity, and social capital indicates trust among people. According to Putnam, social capital includes norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. Portes regards reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust as sources of social capital. Drawing on the perceptions of these authors, in this study I will examine how villagers build and use social capital through reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust in kinship relations.

Some differences between authors in discussing social capital

Definitions of social capital

While Bourdieu (1986: 248) sees social capital as the resource which is connected with social networks and Coleman (1988: 98) considers social capital to be aspects of social structures facilitating certain actions of actors, Putnam (2000: 19) asserts that social capital is comprised of social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. Comparatively, Lin (2001: 25) defines social capital as resource embedded in networks and Fukuyama (2001: 7) views social capital as informal norms between individuals, including the norm of reciprocity, whereas Portes (1998: 8) delineates social capital as ability to secure benefits through membership in networks and other structures. Thus, several terms are used to describe social capital. Those are resources, aspects of social structures, informal norms, networks, norms of reciprocity, and trustworthiness. That reflects a variety of definitions and interpretations of social capital. For the purpose of this research, I will give a definition of social capital, drawing upon the perceptions of the above-mentioned authors, to the effect that social capital is resources in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, which is built and used through kinship networks.

Focal points in analysing social capital

Various authors focus on social capital in different ways. Bourdieu's analysis of social capital is related to explaining how individuals use social capital to improve their economic capital in capitalist societies. He focuses on how cultural capital, especially social capital, helps individuals increase their economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Coleman interprets social capital in family and community settings, emphasizing its role with regard to children's education (Coleman, 1988). Putnam analyzes social capital in regional and national settings, highlighting the decline of social capital in the American case. He also makes the connection between social capital and education, child welfare, economic prosperity, physical and mental health and happiness (Putnam, 1995, 2000). Fukuyama focuses on how social capital contributes to economic growth, and is also interested in the relations between social capital and development (Fukuyama, 2001, 2002). Lin analyzes social capital in relation to other resources such as wealth and power. Lin highlights social capital in relation to social actions and choice behaviours of individuals (Lin, 1999, 2001). Portes focuses on sources of social capital and consequences of social capital, showing the effects of social capital as evident in available research (Portes, 1998). For the purpose of this study, I will examine the way in which individuals build and use social capital in kinship relations. More particularly, I look at how villagers invest in kinship relations to build social capital in the domain of rituals, and also scrutinize the way in which villagers use social capital to secure their benefits in education and economic domains.

Social capital as private good and public good

Bourdieu views social capital as public good while emphasizing 'the backing of the collectivity-owned capital' (1986: 248-249). Coleman also considers most forms of social capital as public good as he writes, "a property shared by most forms of social capital that differentiates it from other forms of capital is its public good aspect: the actor or actors who generate social capital ordinarily capture only a small part of its benefits, a fact that leads to underinvestment in social capital" (Coleman, 1988: 119). This perception is opposed by Fukuyama who opines that social capital is produced by individuals and for individual

benefits. Commenting on Coleman's perception, Fukuyama contends that "this is clearly wrong: since co-operation is necessary to virtually all individuals as a means of achieving their selfish ends, it stands to reason that they will produce it as a private good" (Fukuyama, 2001: 8). While Fukuyama considers social capital as private good and Bourdieu views social capital as public good, Putnam sees social capital as both a private good and a public good (Putnam, 2000: 20). For the purpose of this research, I take Putnam's view regarding social capital as both a private good and a public good because the way in which individuals invest to build and use social capital produce both individual benefits and collective benefits.

Critiques of social capital

The term *social capital* continues to be developed and discussed with a variety of definitions, interpretations and criticisms. Portes points out that the concept of social capital is not a new idea because it captures insights related to the perceptions of Durkheim on group life and Marx on class (Portes, 1998: 2). Fukuyama argues that there is no consensus about what social capital is (Fukuyama, 2002: 27). He goes on to claim that there is "no commonly accepted standard for measuring or incorporating it into conventional economic models" (Fukuyama, 2002: 29). By reviewing the many works on social capital and criticisms thereof, Pawar suggests alternative choices as constituent phrases of social capital including trust, networks, collective actions, norms, relationship, social capacity, community capacity, social networks, informal networks, communities, informal care, welfare practices, etc (Pawar, 2006: 222).

In my opinion, the fact that there are many definitions and interpretations of social capital creates both advantages and disadvantages for applying the notion of social capital in empirical research. As regards the advantages, many definitions and interpretations of social capital show that social capital can be applied in different fields of endeavour. For example, as shown above, Coleman uses his definition and interpretation to study the education domain, Fukuyama has his own theorizations of social capital when he examines economic development. The disadvantages are that, many definitions and interpretations lead to confusion and contradictions rhetorically. For instance, while Putnam considers that social capital includes social networks, Lin states that social capital is not social networks, but rather resides in social networks. Fukuyama considers social capital as private good, whereas Bourdieu views it as public good. Therefore, drawing on converging points as well as different points in definitions and interpretations, each researcher should spell out his/her notion of social capital to be applied in the research. In the following sub-section, I will put forth an appropriate perspective for my research.

Social capital definition for this research

Drawing from the perceptions of the above-mentioned scholars, I use a network-based approach to social capital for the purpose of this research. Accordingly, I define social capital *as resources in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges embedded in individuals' social networks. Individuals can produce, maintain and use social capital through ties in that network to secure benefits for themselves.* This definition fits into the general premise that social capital is network-based, which is acknowledged by most scholars (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995, 2000). In addition, the perception of social capital that entails enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges also derives from the discussions of these scholars on social capital as detailed above (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 1995, 2000). The perception of social capital as resources including trust and reciprocity is also applied in other

empirical studies. For example, Nguyen Van Ha, Kant and Maclaren see social capital as “resources embedded in relationships among households that facilitate productive capacity of households”. By operationalizing this definition, they focus on aspects including trust and reciprocity (Nguyen Van Ha, Kant, & Maclaren, 2004: 374).

In the scope of this study, social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges is examined in kinship relations with respect to the ego-based kin network in comparison with the patrilineage and some other social relations such as friend and neighbour relations. More specifically, I will examine the way in which individuals produce, maintain and use social capital in kinship networks as a kind of social network. Although there are diverse viewpoints of social networks (Howell, 1988; Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988; Wellman, Carrington, & Hall, 1988), the view taken in this research defines a network as “a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994: 20). This definition suggests the closure of networks because “a finite set or sets of actors” specify people who belong to the network. This perception could be linked to Coleman’s perception of “closure of social networks”, with which he emphasizes that the “closure of social networks” is important for the existence of social capital. Thus, in social network, individuals can build and use social capital because the closure of social network helps social capital to exist.

From the definition that a network is “a finite set or sets of actors and the relation or relations defined on them” (Wasserman and Faust, 1994: 20), we can see that the patrilineage is such a type of network. The network in terms of the patrilineage consists of people sharing common ancestors. The kinship relation in terms of sharing common ancestor is the relation, which specifies these people as belonging to the same patrilineage.

This definition of network also encompasses the ego-based kin network or ego-centred kin network. Each ego-centred network is a network consisting of a “focal” person, called the ego, and people who have ties to the ego (Wasserman and Faust, 1994: 42). In the case of the ego-centred kin network, each individual has his/her ego-based kin network, in which the relatives are tied to the ego. These relatives come from (1) mother’s kin, (2) father’s kin, (3) spouse’s kin (with married individuals), (4) children, their spouses and their offspring, (5) children’s family in law, (6) sibling’s family in law. An ego-based kin network does not encompass all relatives of these six clusters. An ego-based kin network only consists of relatives who are tied to the ego.

In short, each individual is an actor in kinship networks in terms of patrilineages and ego-based kin networks and he/she can invest in connections or relations with other individuals in order to build and use social capital.

6. Village, kinship and social capital

So far, I have discussed the notions of village, kinship and social capital. In this section, I will link the discussion of the village and kinship relation to a discussion of the notion of social capital as the conceptualization for the research.

As mentioned above, by applying Popkin’s standpoint of individual calculations and decisions in securing benefits in villages, we can look at social capital at two levels. At the first level, when the villages face outside threats, the social capital between villagers helps individuals to carry out collective actions in order to protect the interests of the whole village. At the second level, in everyday life the village is the arena in which there is factionalism, contradictions and fragmentation between several groups. The social capital within each group, especially kinship group, is usually important for individuals of the group to secure and protect their own benefits. Drawing on this perception, I propose that villagers would

prefer to build and use social capital in kinship networks rather than in networks of neighbours and friends in everyday life. This assumption also derives from Coleman's perception of "closure of social networks". Coleman argues that "closure of social networks" is important for the existence of social capital because effective norms and sanctions are better with closed social networks (1988: 105-108). Drawing on this perspective, I suggest that the closure of social networks in terms of kinship networks works better than the closure of social networks involving friends or neighbours because effective norms and sanctions between relatives are often better manifested than those between friends or neighbours. The hypothesis that villagers prefer to build and use social capital in kinship networks to that in networks of neighbours and friends will be examined in the empirical chapters that follow.

In line with Appadurai's perception that villages are re-produced constantly, we can see that kinship relations, an important aspect of village life, also follow the same line. The production of kinship relations could be seen through the way in which social capital is built and used in these relations. Accordingly, I will apply a social capital perspective to explore how villagers build and use social capital to secure their benefits in two types of kinship relations: the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. More specifically, I will examine the changing functions and forms of kinship relations through examining how villagers build social capital in the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network through rituals related to ancestor worship and other related activities such as compiling annals, repairing ancestral halls, embellishing cemetery, as well as rituals related to marriages and funerals. The changes of functions and forms of kinship relations will also be scrutinized by observing how villagers use social capital in the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network to secure their benefits in the education domain. Attention will be paid to phenomena such as study encouragement fund, study encouragement section of the patrilineage, and the exchange of textbooks among related children. Kinship relations will be explored in the economic field by finding out how villagers use social capital in the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network to secure their benefits in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association.

Drawing on the perceptions of Putnam (2000), Woolcock and Narayan (2000) and Woolcock (2001) regarding bridging and bonding social capital, in this thesis I will examine the correspondence between bonding social capital and getting by as well as the correspondence between bridging social capital and getting ahead.

In the scope of this study, I will focus on how villagers may build social capital in the ritual, economic and education domains. Rituals could provide opportunities for relatives to reinforce their connections and reach the closure of kinship network, which is a good condition for existing social capital. In the education and economic spheres, villagers may convert social capital into human capital and economic capital, for their own good.

Producing and maintaining social capital in kinship network

As argued by various authors (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000) social capital is produced and maintained from social relations or social networks. As discussed previously, Coleman sees social capital as a by-product of other activities (Coleman, 1988: 118) and Fukuyama considers that "social capital is a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experiences, and other factors..." (2001: 17). Based on these perceptions, I will examine kin-related cult, in this case ancestor worship and other related activities such as supplementing, compiling, editing, and revising patrilineage annals, as well as repairing, building and re-building patrilineage halls

and cemeteries. These activities enable villagers to produce and reproduce social capital.³ I suggest that these activities help to reach closure of kinship network, which is an important condition for creating social capital. In addition, marriages and funerals - important life cycle events – may provide opportunities for individuals to produce and reproduce social capital. As discussed earlier on, kinship relations in contemporary Vietnamese villages could be examined from both patrilineage and ego-based kin network perspectives. This research will examine the creation and maintenance of social capital in the ego-based kin network as well as the patrilineage and compare them with some other social relations such as those involving friends and neighbours. These matters will be discussed in Chapter 7.

On the use of the social capital in the education domain

In the domain of education, I focus on the encouragement schemes sponsored by the patrilineages. In accordance with the perceptions on the use of social capital to secure benefit (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000) and in particular, Coleman's perspective of social capital and human capital (Coleman, 1988), I will examine the role of social capital in kinship relations in creating human capital – via children's education - by means of encouragement schemes including financial support and reward, among others, for the benefits of related children. Likewise, the role of social capital in education will be examined in the practice of exchanging textbooks among children of related families to cut rising school costs. These matters will be presented in Chapter 8.

On the use of the social capital in the economic domain

Relying on the assumptions that individuals could secure tangible returns via social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000), I will examine the way this works in the economic domain. The three mainstays of the village economy are (1) agricultural production, (2) secondary jobs in cottage industry, and, (3) the rotating credit association. The phenomena of lending, borrowing, and exchanging agricultural land and labour - the three important ingredients in agricultural production - are the subject of examination. Regarding secondary jobs, attention will be paid to the role of social capital in the formation and operation of cottage industry groups and workshops. Lastly, since rotating credit associations serve as the primary source of credit at the village level, how social capital operates in the formation and operation of these associations is also a subject of inquiry to see. All this will be examined in Chapter 9.

Justification for choosing domains of study

As presented above, in this study I only focus on the changes of kinship relations in three domains of the village life: ritual, education and economic. In Vietnamese villages, kinship relations have been deeply embedded in these domains as highlighted by authors such as Trịnh Thị Quang (1984), Hy Van Luong (1993), Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn (2000), and Phan Đại Doãn (2001). By examining kinship relations in the ritual domain, I wish to explore the creation and enhancement of social capital since participating in rituals helps relatives reinforce their connections and reach closure of kinship network – a good condition for

³ Throughout the course of this work the expression 'repairing, building and re-building, patrilineage halls and cemeteries' will be reduced to 'repairing patrilineage halls and cemeteries'; the expression 'supplementing, compiling, editing, and revising patrilineage annals' will be reduced to simply 'compiling patrilineage annals'.

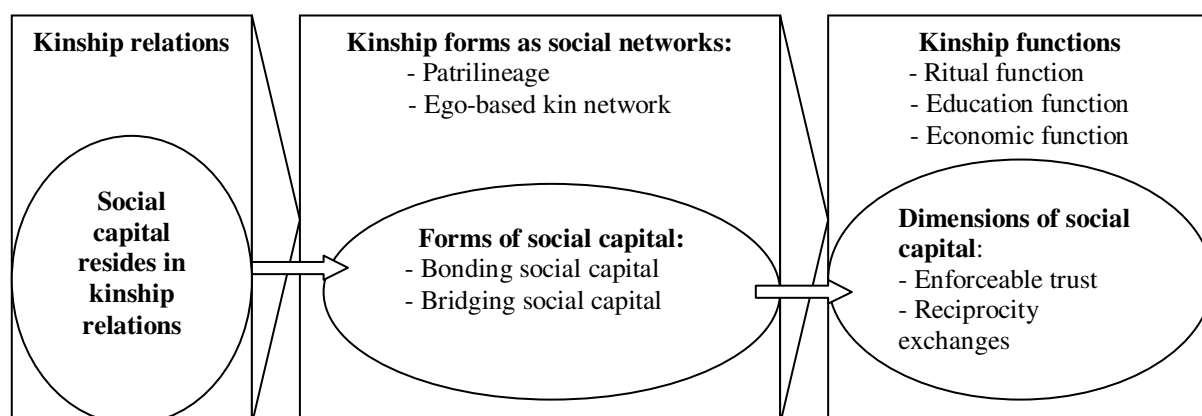
creating social capital. By looking at kinship relations in the education and economic domains, I wish to investigate the conversion of social capital into human capital and economic capital because in these areas individuals can use social capital to secure economic benefits and to create better conditions for education.

In the scope of this Ph.D. project, I would not have time and ability to cover the changes of kinship relations in other fields such as politics, religion outside ancestor worship, and the cultural domain outside marriage and funeral. Also, a political study is difficult because of specific sensitivities, not to mention problems of access and ethics. Access to reliable information may be difficult because political elites tend to shield themselves from outside scrutiny. An ethical problem may emerge when specific knowledge about a connection between politics and kinship would be exposed, bringing potential harm to informants. I have chosen not to focus on such areas but instead concentrate on kinship functions in the ritual, education and economic domains, which may fruitfully illustrate the connection between kinship changes and wider societal changes.

Diagram of conceptual framework

As discussed earlier the links between village, kinship relations and social capital serve as the theoretical framework for this study, as illustrated in the following diagrams.

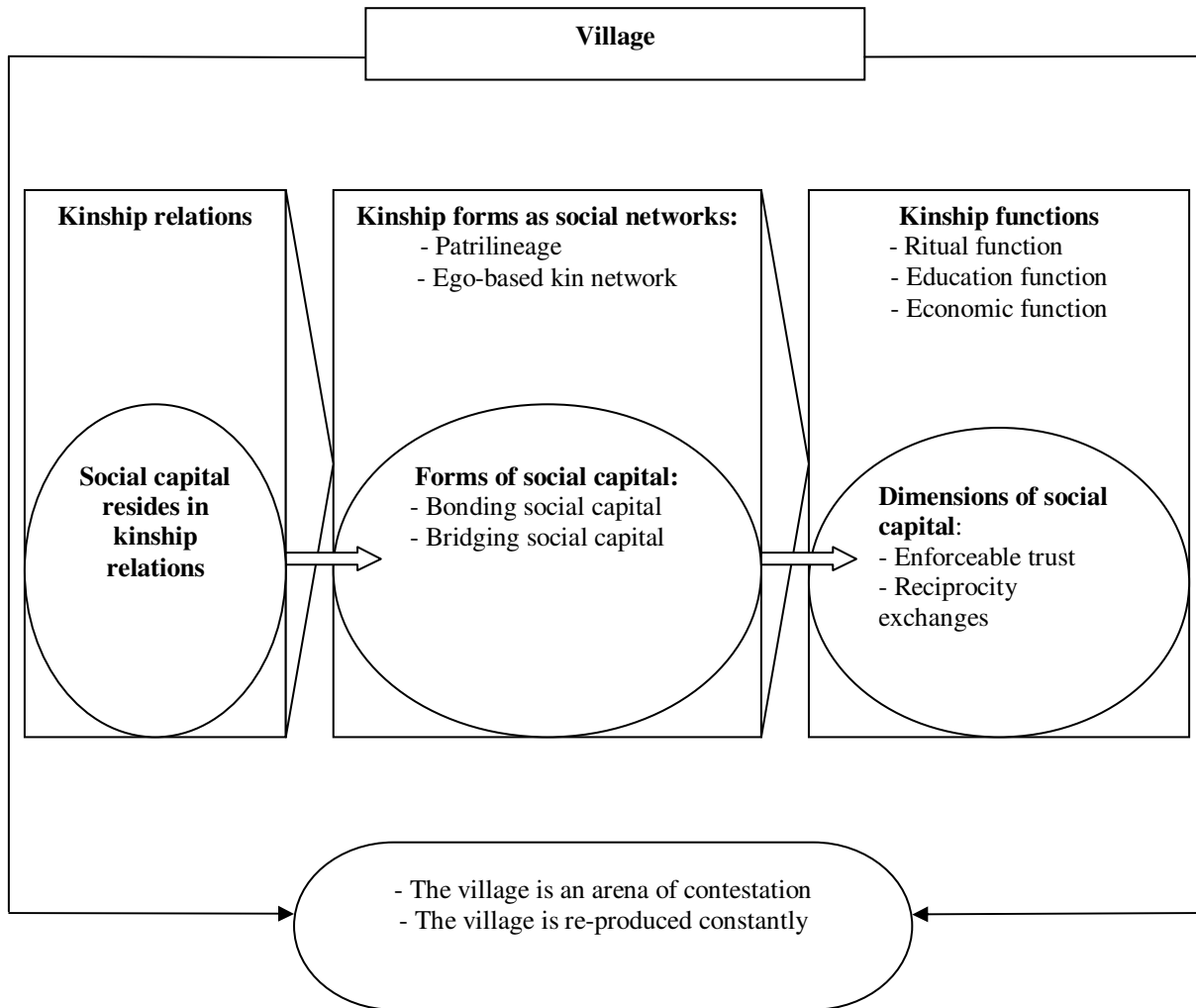
Figure 6: Links between kinship relations and social capital



This diagram shows the links between kinship relations and social capital. In this study, I see kinship relations in two forms: the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. I examine how villagers carry out the ritual, education and economic functions pertaining to the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. I view social capital in two forms: bonding social capital and bridging social capital. The bonding and bridging social capital have two dimensions: enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges. As discussed above, social capital is supposed to be built and used in the kinship relations. The two dimensions of social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges are applied to examine the ritual, education and economic functions of the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network.

In examining the changes of kinship relations from the social capital perspective in the village context, it would be helpful to illustrate the links between the village, kinship relations and social capital as follows.

Figure 7: Links between the village, kinship relations and social capital



This diagram shows the village as the setting where kinship relations are examined. Summing up the foregoing discussions I wish to reiterate two perspectives when viewing the village. The first is that the village is the arena of contestations - factionalism, contradiction and fragmentation, where kinship relations are the preferred social institution for villagers to rally in order to secure and protect their benefits. The second perspective is that the village is re-produced constantly. Drawing on this standpoint, I suggest that kinship relations are re-produced all the time, comparable to the way in which the village is re-produced incessantly.

Now, with regard to the theoretical consideration of the study, I would like to re-iterate the research question that I spelled out in the introduction chapter. The research questions are as follows:

- 1. What were the changes of kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with those in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period?**
- 2. How did the changes in kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household articulate with other social practices in the village?**

Drawing upon the research questions and the links of the discussions of village, kinship relations and social capital, I propose the following hypotheses.

- 1. In the pre-socialist period, the patrilineage held important functions in ritual, education and economic domains and dominated over other forms of kinship relations.**
- 2. In the socialist transformation period, the patrilineage lost many of its functions in the ritual, education and economic domains to the state and the cooperative.**
- 3. In the *Đổi mới* era, the kinship functions in the ritual, education and economic domains revived, together with the growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison with the patrilineage.**
- 4. The changing kinship forms correspond with changes in the ways villagers built and used bonding and bridging social capital in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network.**

7. Summary

This chapter addresses the theoretical aspects of the research. The discussion of village and kinship relations is linked to the notion of social capital with a view to providing an appropriate theoretical framework for this research.

The village is a cultural and social unit and at the same time an arena of conflicting interests of the countryside. The village is not a natural, unchanging setting, instead it constantly re-invents itself in response to the wider world outside, politically, economically and culturally. Kinship relations - an important dimension of village life - are re-produced against the backdrop of perennial change. In this study, I will examine the way in which kinship relations are re-produced through examining the changes of kinship forms and functions specifically in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison to the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist transformation period.

Kinship relations will be observed from ancestor-focus and ego-focus vantage points, thereby distinguishing two types of kinship relation based on the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network respectively. While other scholars have often focussed either on the concept of patrilineage or bilateral models of kinship when studying Vietnamese family and kinship relations as reviewed above, this study offers a more complete perspective by looking at the changes of kinship relations in terms of kinship forms and functions occurring in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin networks.

The changes of kinship relations in terms of forms and functions in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with the previous periods will be examined from a social capital perspective. For the purposes of this study, social capital is understood as *enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges - resources embedded in one's social network that can be produced, maintained and used through ties in the network to secure benefits*. This study scrutinizes the changes in kinship relations by examining the ways in which villagers produce, maintain, and use social capital in their kinship network – that include ego-based kin network, in comparison with kinship relations inherent in patrilineages and some other social relations such as friends and neighbours, to secure economic and human capital.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This chapter concerns the data, which are used in this research. It also discusses the ways in which these data were collected and subsequently analyzed. The data used in this dissertation came from fieldwork conducted in Quỳnh Đôi village, Quỳnh Lưu district, Nghệ An province, Northern Vietnam. The research site will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. As presented briefly in the introductory chapter, Quỳnh Đôi is a well-known village, where important economic, political, social and cultural developments took place in a more radical manner, especially in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period. That made the changes here all the more pronounced and therefore more visible than elsewhere. Against this background, a sociological and anthropological study of kinship relations can show clearly how changes of kinship forms and functions intersected with economic, political, social and cultural processes in the *Đổi mới* period in comparison with the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period.

In this dissertation, I use both qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative data come from two sources. The first source is published and unpublished data of the patrilineages, the village, and the commune. The second source is observations, interviews and conversations during fieldwork. The quantitative data come from three surveys, which were carried out in 2000, 2003, and from late 2006 to early 2007. In addition, I also use population statistics and socio-economic data provided by the commune, particularly those related to land use and labour.

The qualitative data help draw a general picture of the research site and show the changes in economic, social and cultural domains. They also provide a comparative picture of the set of phenomena concerning kinship relations in the pre-socialist, socialist transformation and *Đổi mới* periods. Qualitative data are used in most chapters of the dissertation.

The quantitative data in this study serve two main purposes. First, statistical data of the commune related to population, economic, social and cultural life are used to provide a general background of the research site as well as to illustrate specific subjects in corresponding chapters. Second, the quantitative data emanating from the three surveys are used to measure the extent of the phenomena of kinship relations and the effect of the *Đổi mới*. The quantitative data used in this study pertain mainly to kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* period.

There were two groups of informants in this study. The first group includes commune and hamlet officials, heads of patrilineages and presidents of patrilineage councils. This group provided information related to the economic, social, and cultural context of the commune as well as the kinship organization and its activities in general. The information enabled me to have a general knowledge of the research site. Since I had to get permission from the commune authorities before doing research, these officials were the first that I approached at the start of conducting fieldwork. The second group of informants consisted of people engaged in the process of exchanging land and labour during agricultural production, in woodworking, bricklaying, and incense production, as well as people with first-hand

experiences with funerals and weddings, etc. The aim of approaching these informants was to collect data concerning kinship relations in comparison with non-kin relations in the ritual, education and economic domains.

The next section of this chapter considers the periods of conducting fieldwork and the process of requesting permission to do fieldwork and finding suitable accommodation when doing fieldwork. Section 3 is about collecting and analyzing qualitative data. Section 4 refers to sociological surveys. The section 5 offers reflections on the researcher's position. The concluding section focuses on the expectations and limitations of the research outcomes in terms of methodology.

2. Fieldwork

The field research was carried out intermittently during the period between August 2000 and January 2008. Except for the year of 2005 when I was in Amsterdam, I returned to Quỳnh Đôi from 3 to 5 times each year to collect data. Each trip lasted from one to two weeks. After getting data from each trip, I analysed them before returning again to collect more data.

In 2000, I stayed in the field for two weeks in August, one week in September and one week in October. The fieldwork of that year was in the framework of my Master's thesis on 'the role of patrilineages in village life' at the Vietnam National University, Hanoi. Part of the data from the fieldwork that year was used in this Ph.D. dissertation. From 2001 to 2004, I did fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi intermittently for a doctoral project at the same university. From 2001 to 2002, I returned to Quỳnh Đôi three times each year, once in January and twice in July and August. Each trip lasted one week. In 2003, I stayed in Quỳnh Đôi one week in January, two weeks in August and one week in September. In 2004, I returned to Quỳnh Đôi three times in January, August and September. Each trip lasted one week. Part of data from the fieldwork in the years from 2001 to 2004 was used in this PhD dissertation. In January 2005, I started my PhD program at VU University Amsterdam. After one year of coursework and research preparation, I returned to Vietnam in late 2005 to do more fieldwork. In 2006, I completed five trips to Quỳnh Đôi to collect data. The trips were in January, February, July, November and December. Each trip lasted about two weeks. In 2007, I returned to the field four times in January, May, October, and December. Each trip lasted about two weeks. January 2008 was the last time I returned to Quỳnh Đôi for a two-week trip.

From Hanoi I often went to Quỳnh Đôi via my home village in Yên Thành district, next to Quỳnh Lưu district. From my home village, I borrowed a motorbike from a relative of mine and then travelled around 60 kilometres to Quỳnh Đôi village. During my field research, I sometimes returned to my home village for a few days for rest and then back to Quỳnh Đôi. Besides these formal research trips to collect data, occasionally I also made brief visits to this village when I returned to my home village. Each visit lasted from just a few hours to one or two days. I used these occasions to say hello to old acquaintances/informants, to collect some written materials or conduct one or two interviews to fill the gaps in my research.

The first time I went to see the Quỳnh Đôi commune authorities, I introduced myself as a MA student as well as a lecturer from Hanoi.¹ When I became a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Social Science, Vrije University Amsterdam, I re-introduced myself as a *nhà nghiên cứu sinh* (doctoral researcher) studying in the Netherlands. I told them I was interested in studying the changes of kinship relations in their commune and asked for their permission. Researchers doing fieldwork in Vietnam must receive prior approval from local authorities before doing fieldwork in their localities. In my case, the approval was verbal after I presented

¹ I have been a lecturer at the Vietnam National University, Hanoi since 1998

a letter of introduction from the College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University in Hanoi, where I am a lecturer. Earlier on, each time I returned to Quỳnh Đôi to do research, I had to submit letters of introduction. This was waived later, when the authorities became accustomed to my unobtrusive presence. In the beginning, I stayed with an old couple, Hoàng Nguyên Nhung and his wife Nguyễn Thị Yên who came from a village in Diễn Châu district not far away. Because they were quite old and found it difficult to cook meals for me during the time I stayed with them, I moved to stay with Cù Ngọc Trung and his wife Hoàng Thị Quân, both in their sixties. Their house had plenty of room to accommodate me since their children were all married and lived in other localities. I remained a paying guest with Mr Trung and his wife for many years now and I was grateful for their friendship.

3. Collecting and analyzing qualitative data

Collecting written materials of households, patrilineages, village, and commune

Written documents may not be created for research purposes but they can be useful for this study. From that standpoint, there are two types of documents: solicited and unsolicited. For solicited documents, researchers would normally ask informants to create documents such as written diaries for a specified period of time. For unsolicited documents, researchers could use diaries of informants who have been writing them as part of their everyday life (Flick, 2006: 245-246). For the purpose of this study, I use unsolicited documents, those already existing for analytical purposes.

During the time I stayed in Quỳnh Đôi, I collected published and unpublished written materials concerning households, patrilineages, the village and the commune. For materials on households, I focused on notes related to important life cycle events such as marriages and funerals. For example, I collected households' notes on numbers of guests and guests' gifts and/or offerings at marriages or funerals. These notes were useful to explore the types of relatives attending these events, as well as the nature and/or value of their gifts.

As to materials related to patrilineages, I collected annals, minutes of meetings, written regulations, and notes on events and activities, such as lists of people contributing money to the study encouragement fund, and letters sent to relatives living outside the village. These materials were useful in understanding the structural organization of patrilineages and their historical background. They also contained valuable information about the participation of villagers in ancestor worship, funerals and weddings, and matters related to children's education.

For materials concerning the village and the commune, I collected both published and unpublished sources. These included books about the history of the village, the new charter of the village, statistical data provided by the People's Commune Committee as well as reports and other written materials related to important events and activities such as the project on reallocating agricultural land.² The annual reports of the Commune People's Committee provided basic information related to various aspects of the local economy such as agricultural production, breeding, cottage industry production, credit services, agricultural land managements, information on the socio-cultural activities domain (propaganda, sport,

² Every year, the Commune People's Committee draws up a report on the implementation of socio-economic, security and defense duties [*Báo cáo thực hiện nhiệm vụ kinh tế, xã hội, quốc phòng và an ninh*]. This report is presented to the Commune People's Council.

education, healthcare, etc). Also worth mentioning is a chronicle entitled ‘Old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi’ [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*], compiled in 1856 and published in 2004 and 2005. This is a rich source of information about the history of the village. These documents were useful to obtain a general view of the village. Depending on the material, I drew a picture of the economic, political and cultural life of the village from which an analysis of kinship relations would be made.

Analysing written materials of households, patrilineages, village, and commune

For analysing written documents, certain questions should be posed by researcher, such as: What do the documents refer to? What are the ways of the referring? What are the ways of creating and using the documents in their circumstances? (Flick, 2006: 250). In this study, I focussed on two types of information from these documents. The first relates to economic, political and cultural aspects of the village from which an analysis of kinship relations would be made. The second concerns kinship relations. For example, wedding hosts usually kept a list of guests and their gifts. The purpose was to receive them properly and reciprocate their goodwill in the future. These materials are useful in exploring the types of kinship relations between hosts and guests, see for example Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn (2000: 142-143) and Malarney (2002: 132).

Collecting qualitative data through observation

The observation method involves both participant and non-participant. Using the observation method, the researcher relies on skills of seeing, hearing, feeling and smelling to acquire information (Flick, 2006: 215-227). Taking notes in observation is also important: the researcher may take notes during observation or do so as soon as possible (Babbie, 2004: 203-206). In carrying out my own fieldwork, I sought to share the experience of the people who were my study subjects. In many situations, I was a participant observer. For example, when I took part in a ritual I tried using all my senses to see, hear, and feel as much as I could in order to gather information such as the number of people involved in the ritual, the interactions among these people, the role of men and women, etc. In other situations, I was an observer, for example, when visiting a carpenter workshop or an incense production workshop. Through seeing and listening, I gathered information regarding kinship relations, such as the number of men and women working at these workshops, how they were related to each other and to the owner himself. Usually, after a participant observation session, I wrote down my experiences. For example, after attending an ancestor worship ceremony, I made a detailed description of what happened. As regards non-participant observation, I often jotted down on the spot the main points of the scene and wrote detailed description later on. Observations - participant or otherwise - allowed me to gather first-hand information about the phenomena that lay at the core of my research such as ancestor worship ritual, wedding and funeral, as well as the repair and embellishment of patrilineage halls and cemeteries. Through observation, I was also able to get other useful information while conducting interviews such as the way in which villagers carried out cottage industry at home. The information from interviews, conversations and observations formed the bulk of materials to be analyzed in the scope of this dissertation.

Collecting qualitative data through interviews and conversations

In anthropological field work there are two major types of interviews: unstructured and semi-structured. Unstructured interviews can be seen as open conversations between interviewers and interviewees. As for semi-structured interviews, the researcher would have to prepare questions on a specific topic as a guideline for collecting information. However, the interviews are flexible. While sticking to a certain guideline, the interviewer needs not follow the questions strictly (Bryman, 2001: 314). For my own fieldwork, I conducted semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews as well as open conversations. Before doing fieldwork, I always prepared a list of specific topics to be explored but should the conversation veers towards unexpected direction, I would allow it to develop naturally in the hope of getting relevant information and fresh insight on a certain subject. The interviewees included ordinary villagers, and Quỳnh Đôi commune officials and their staff. These included the Secretary of the Commune Party Committee, the Chairperson of the Commune People's Committee, the Cultural Officer of the Commune People's Committee, the Land Officer of the Commune People's Committee and the heads of hamlets. In addition, I met and interviewed the presidents of various patrilineage councils and the heads of patrilineages. During my fieldwork, I recorded 81 full-length interviews, and conducted many short conversations with the villagers.³ A structured overview of the interviewees and an overview of the interview topics can be found in the appendices. I took notes almost every day when I was in the field.

Analyzing qualitative data coming from observations, interviews and conversations

According to Manson, the researcher may “read data literally, interpretively or reflexively” (Mason, 2002: 148). For reading literally, the researcher may not only focus on the literal content but also on other aspects, such as the words and language used. For reading interpretively and reflexively, the researcher should focus on both the interviewee's interpretation of the phenomenon under observation and the researcher's own interpretations (Mason, 2002: 149). For this study, the steps of analysing conversations and interviews are as follows. First, I listened and transcribed those interviews into texts. Second, since these interviews and conversations were mostly open-ended, there were many episodes and information that had little to do with the subjects under discussion, so I had to sort out only those data which were relevant to my research. Third, I proceeded to analyse these data, taking into account both the interviewee's interpretations and my own interpretations of relevant information from these interviews and conversations. Fourth, I incorporated the results of these analyses into my dissertation.

In the process of retrieving data from the mass of conversations and interviews, I tried to stick to the objectives of my research. For example, an informant named Nguyễn Thị Trân (in hamlet number 2, interviewed on 27 December 2007), while answering my questions about the exchange of textbooks among children of related families, she told me lengthy stories about her family, how her husband went to work in the South and had an accident which cost him a hand.

Regarding the observation method researchers record what they ‘know’ occurred. These are empirical observations which are to be interpreted, that is what they ‘think’ occurred (Babbie, 2004: 304). From my notes, I described what I observed in the field, and

³ The names of informants in this dissertation are fictitious in order to ensure the anonymity and privacy of the informants.

tried to interpret them, relying on my knowledge, my feelings and impressions in order to tease out the meanings of what was happening. Sometimes, I interpreted what I was observing while taking field notes. Analysing observational data usually goes hand in hand with cross references to other sources such as conversations and written documents to check their accuracy and credibility. For example, when observing a meeting of a patrilineage council in the period of the *Đổi mới*, I noticed the presence of two women. Does it mean that in the *Đổi mới* period women have crossed the gender divide and can now sit at these councils or become members of the patrilineage - an exclusive male-only institution up to then? That would be something of a novelty. A look at the minutes of the meeting and subsequent interviews with these women and the president of the patrilineage council confirmed this point. Another example is when I wanted to check a piece of information according to which households of the same patrilineage were located next to each other in the pre-1945 period I would consult local people who grew up in the village in that period. I went as far as asking one villager to sketch out a map showing the configuration of residential clusters in a hamlet during that period. I also consulted other villagers to ensure its accuracy and credibility.

During my fieldwork I often met with a number of informants to ask not only about questions related to their households but also their opinion on my descriptions and interpretations especially when I felt unsure about certain information or episodes. For example I often discussed with the couple with whom I stayed when in Quỳnh Đô about my activities during the day and asked their opinion about my descriptions and interpretations of what I recorded. Then I would cross-check them with other informants for their validity. This approach was helpful for example in interpreting of the impact of the land reform on kinship relations in the socialist transformation period to avoid the subjective opinion of just one informant.

To validate the accuracy of findings, triangulation is an important technique in which researchers use different data sources when examining a phenomenon to build justification (Creswell, 2003: 196). Triangulation helps corroborate evidences collected through methods such as observations, interviews and documents. In my research, I applied triangulation in analysing qualitative data in general and written materials in particular. For example, when examining the relationship between the hosts and their guests at funerals and weddings, I used not only information from the notes kept by the hosts about of the list of guests together with their gifts but also information from interviews with the hosts themselves. In general, I often extended the scope of my research topics in more than one case study with a number of interviews and notes to achieve more depth and understanding.

4. Sociological survey

The survey in 2000

The first survey was carried out in August 2000 which formed a part of my Master's program. Some of these data was used in this PhD dissertation. The sample size of this survey was 300 individuals, which accounted for 6.56% of the total village population of 4,567 people that year. In this survey, 158 men and 142 women were interviewed, of which 63 were in the 18-30 age bracket, 146 informants were between 30 and 60 years of age, and 91 were over 60 years old. Each individual was chosen from a separate household and all were willing to be interviewed.

The sample of this survey was selected following a systematic sample with a random start. This is a type of probability sampling in which the first unit is chosen randomly. After

choosing the first unit, other units are chosen where the distance (sampling interval) between units selected is k (k = population size/sample size). Every k^{th} unit in a list is selected systematically for inclusion in the sample (Babbie, 2004: 203-205). For this case study, I considered the household residing in the village lanes of each hamlet as units in a list from which I selected for the survey sample. The village was divided into 8 hamlets. In the first 4 hamlets, 37 households were selected for interviews. In the other 4 hamlets 38 households were selected for interviews. I conducted the questionnaire hamlet-by-hamlet choosing the households residing in the village lanes. In each hamlet, I first chose a house randomly to interview. The sampling interval was 4, which is roughly equivalent to the total number of households of each hamlet divided by number of households selected. Six villagers declined to take part in this survey. When a villager does not want to cooperate, another would be asked to join in the survey according to the sampling procedure.

Three villagers volunteered to assist me with this survey. They were retired people - an ex-military officer, a former forestry worker, and an ex-labourer in the transportation industry. We maintained a good relationship. Sometimes I brought them small gifts when I returned to the village. They were eager to help me without being paid. Each day, an assistant took me to visit different households and introduced me to the informants. I gave them the questionnaires and asked them to complete it then I returned to collect them one or two days later. More than once I interviewed and completed the questionnaires at one session if the informants preferred that way.

The questionnaire consisted of 19 questions. These questions were about the perceptions of villagers on kinship relations in general and on patrilineage relations in particular. There were two themes. The first theme was about the kinship relations and ancestor worship, items related to the patrilineage such as ancestral halls, cemeteries, councils, annals, regulations, study encouragement funds, and suggestions whether the state should award patrilineage members who had “rendered services to the country” [*có công lao đối với đất nước*].⁴ The second theme was about the perception of villagers about kinship relations, especially within the patrilineages in matters such as economic cooperation, commune authority organization, marriage, wedding and funeral. The questionnaire can be found in the appendix of the thesis.

The survey in 2003

The second survey was carried out in August 2003. This survey was in the framework of a Ph.D. project I started at the Vietnam National University, Hanoi in 2002. In late 2004, I stopped this project in order to pursue a PhD in Amsterdam. Part of data from the survey was used in the current research.

The sample size of the survey was 300 individuals. This sample size accounted for 6.38% of the total village population of 4,699 people in that year. Each individual was chosen from a separate household. In this survey, the informants included 169 men and 131 women. Among these informants, 61 people were from 18 years old to under 30 years old, 183 people were from 30 to 60 years of age, and 56 people were over 60 years old. There were seven villagers who refused to cooperate in this survey. Other households were asked to join in according to the sampling procedure until we received 300 completed questionnaires.

The questionnaire of this survey consisted of 12 questions. The questions can be divided into two themes. The first was about patrilineages in the economic domain. The

⁴ It has become a common phenomenon in which patrilineages look into history books to find ancestors who might have rendered important services to the nation in the past (usually before the socialist era). Based on these findings the patrilineages would draw up petitions documents and submitted them to the state with the request to grant special honours to their ancestors.

second concerned ancestor worship, patrilineage regulation, patrilineage fund, and ways of behaving between relatives in everyday life. The questionnaire of the survey can be found in the appendix of the thesis. I carried out this survey in the same manner as I did the first survey.

The survey in 2006 and 2007

The third survey was carried out from late December 2006 to early January 2007. The sample size of this survey was 300 individuals who accounted for 6.46% of the total population of 4,640 people in the year of 2006. In this survey, 148 men and 152 women were interviewed. Each individual was chosen from a household. Among these informants, 67 people were from 18 years old to under 30 years old, 168 people were from 30 to 60 years of age, and 65 people were over 60 years old. The way of selecting the sample was similar to the first two surveys. There were four villagers who refused to participate in this survey. In these cases, the interviewers went on to other households according to the sampling procedure 300.⁵

The questionnaire of this survey contained 14 questions. Questions 1 to 6 were about kinship relations in relation to economic activities. Question 7 was about solving conflicts between relatives. Question 8 was about commune authority. Question 9 was about children's education. Question 10, 11 and 12 were about kinship relations in marriage, wedding and funeral respectively. Question 13 was about ancestor worship. Question 14 was about the informants' background information. The questionnaire can be found in the appendix of the thesis

In order to carry out this survey, I 'recruited' 8 persons coming from 8 different hamlets of the village to help me as research assistants. At first, I had a meeting with them to explain the purpose of the survey and the contents of the questionnaire with instructions as to how to ask questions and complete the questionnaire. I also made a demonstration by interviewing one of my assistants. After a day's work, I met my assistants in the evening to collect completed questionnaires and to discuss the things that happened during the day and get prepared for the next day. I also did the interviews myself and sometimes met informants who had been interviewed by my assistants to check the validity of their work. On average, each assistant finished 4 to 6 questionnaires a day. The data collection lasted two weeks. There were days when some assistants were too busy with their own work and could not conduct the interviews. I paid 30,000 VND (1.80 USD) per day for each assistant.⁶ That was the normal earning for a working day in Quỳnh Đôi at that time. In all three surveys, I did not pay money to the informants. In most surveys in Vietnam, researchers do not pay informants.

The differences between the three surveys

There are significant differences between the three surveys. The first relates to the structure of questions in the surveys. The questionnaires of the surveys can be found in the appendix of the dissertation. I present here some questions from the three surveys to show these differences.

⁵ According to Babbie, the face-to-face interview surveys (in the context of 'Western' society) often get completion response rates of at least 80 to 85 percent (Babbie, 2004: 263). In conducting the surveys of this study, as well as in others that I took part in the Vietnamese countryside, I found out that only a few people refused to cooperate. In fact most villagers were very curious and eager to be interviewed. In addition, since the research assistants in this study were villagers themselves who were acquainted with respondents that explain the high response rates.

⁶ In December 2006, one USD was equivalent to 16,594 VND.

From the survey in August 2000:

If a relative in your patrilineage chooses a spouse but you think that choice is not right, what will you do?

1. *Make a suggestion to the relative*
2. *Make a suggestion to the relative's parents*
3. *Make a suggestion to the relative and his/her parents*
4. *Comment behind his/her back*
5. *Oppose*
6. *Prevent*
7. *Pay no attention*
8. *Other opinions*

From the survey in August 2003:

Please give us your opinion about ancestor worship of your patrilineage every year?

1. *Showing respect for ancestor*
2. *Reinforcing solidarity among members*
3. *Contributing to teaching children*
4. *Only interest in feasting*
5. *Heavy financial contribution*

From the survey in late December 2006 and early January 2007:

What were your responses when families of the following people organized wedding ceremonies?

Household receiving helps	Kinds of helps	Money	Item	Labour	Other forms
1. <i>Mother's kin</i>					
2. <i>Father's kin</i>					
3. <i>Spouse's kin</i>					
4. <i>Sibling's family in law</i>					
5. <i>Children's family in law</i>					
6. <i>People from the same associations (veterans association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union ...)</i>					
7. <i>Friends</i>					
8. <i>Neighbours</i>					
9. <i>Others</i>					

In comparing the questions from the three surveys, while the questions of the first questionnaire mainly asked villagers about their perceptions of the matters under consideration, many questions of the second survey deal with their opinions on specific subjects and the third survey mainly enquires about their concrete deeds or experiences. It is worth noticing that the questions of the first and the second surveys focused on the patrilineage whereas questions in the third survey expanded to cover types of kinship relations: father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, children's family in-law and sibling's family in-law. In addition, the questions also dealt with non-kin relations. For the third survey, the questions dealt with 5 types of kinship relations: father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, children's family in-law, and sibling's family in-law. When asking informants, the question concerning the children's household was omitted because in the village parents usually organize weddings for their children.

Another difference between the third survey and the first two surveys is the way of filling in questionnaires. The first two surveys were self-administered questionnaires. The

third survey was basically interview-based. As argued by Bryman, the self-administered questionnaire has some advantages over the face-to-face interview as a survey technique because it is quicker and cheaper. Moreover in the self-administered questionnaire, the absence of interviewers may enhance the reliability of the survey results since considering the fact that characteristics of interviewers and/or respondents (gender, ethnicity, etc) may affect the answers of the respondents. The self-administered questionnaire also ensures the uniformity of information gathering method and it is generally more convenient for respondents than in the face-to-face interview survey (Bryman, 2001: 129-130). Babbie, however, points out that the face-to-face interview holds an edge over the self-administered questionnaire method because it often gets higher response rates while reducing the number of incomplete questionnaires. Besides this type of survey helps avoid misunderstandings which may arise from questionnaire items. Finally, with face-to-face interview surveys, researchers have the added advantages of observing and taking field notes during interviews (Babbie, 2004: 263-264).

In the first two surveys of this study, we gave the questionnaires to the informants, the informants filled in the questionnaires and then we collected them. In the third survey, my research assistants and I interviewed the informants directly and filled in the questionnaires ourselves. In the first two surveys using self-administered questionnaires, I did not have to hire, train or pay my assistants. However, it was inevitable that some informants might have misunderstood or got confused with some items in the questionnaires. The other way of filling in questionnaires by face-to-face interview required more time, labour and money but it had several advantages such as avoiding blank answers and/or misunderstanding the questions posed in the questionnaires. It also gave me the chance to take notes while interviewing. My research assistants did not take notes but informed me about what they observed during their interviews. When I carried out the third survey, since I had more time and some fund available, I opted for the face-to-face interview approach which proved to be more effective than the self administered questionnaires of the first two surveys.

The many questions contained in the questionnaires of the three surveys yielded a variety of information. However since the purpose of this study is to examine the changes of kinship forms and functions in the ritual, education and economic domains, I limited myself to data that concerned these domains, and particularly information related to what the informants have experienced themselves.

In this study, quantitative data analysis is limited to univariate analysis that is a single variable is analyzed for purposes of description. Frequency distribution is an example of this analytical method. Frequency distribution is a way to describe the number of times in which attributes of a variable are observed (Babbie, 2004: 400-402). For this study, using univariate analysis in terms of frequency distribution, I present percentages that reflect the extent or distribution of the phenomena. There are combinations between qualitative data from observations, interviews and conversations and quantitative data from surveys. The qualitative data show the existence of phenomena whereas the quantitative data measure the spread of these phenomena.

5. Reflections on the researcher's position

The native researcher doing fieldwork in his own backyard

Unlike foreign researchers doing fieldwork in Vietnam, I conduct fieldwork in my own society and culture. Moreover, I come from the region of the research site since my home

village where I lived continuously for 18 years until 1994, is just 60 kilometres away from the research site. My accent is the same as that of the villagers. I know the local customs, and I am without a doubt a native son of Nghệ An. All this helps me to integrate into the village life much easier than a foreign researcher and even a 'native' Vietnamese researcher who hails from other provinces.

Notwithstanding these personal attributes, my position in the field was somehow ambivalent. From the beginning, both villagers and commune authorities saw me as an outsider because of my position as a lecturer from a university in Hanoi. At the beginning, I was fed mostly with information about the good side of village life. In order to overcome this one-sided picture, I spent much time living in the village and built good relationships with commune authorities and villagers, cultivating close ties with a number of key informants. After a time, the villagers got used to my presence. After all, there are many people from the village who work as state officials in the cities, so my presence in the field should not remain an anomaly for long and villagers began to respond to my enquiries.

From past experiences, villagers often suspect 'native' researchers coming to conduct fieldwork in the countryside as central cadres [*cán bộ trung ương*]. This perception often prevent researchers from collecting reliable information because the villagers are afraid that these 'cadres' may be investigating something problems at the site. Researcher Nguyen Van Chinh, while studying of child labour in a village in the Red River Delta, recalled this experience quite vividly (Nguyen Van Chinh, 2000: 22-23). In my case, when I came to Quỳnh Đôi, I did not encounter this problem. At first, I introduced myself as a lecturer from the Vietnam National University, Hanoi. Through my accent and my introduction letters, the commune authorities and local villagers recognized that I came from a village in Yên Thành, a neighbouring district of Quỳnh Lưu. In August 2000, a few days after I first came to Quỳnh Đôi, the news spread out that a lecturer from Hanoi University, 'a boy next-door', came to do research in the village. In such a tightly-knit community my arrival generated a sense of curiosity among the villagers

The problem facing me was a different order, however. Since I presented myself as a university lecturer and a 'local boy', my would-be informants tended to think what happened in their village was similar to what happened in my own village - something I already knew, there was no need to talk about it. For example, when I asked some villagers about wedding ceremonies that they organised they often told me: "There is nothing special about it. I thought you knew these matters already". In this situation, I had to explain to them that as someone doing 'scientific' research I need to know exactly what happens in the field. The information they give me would be of great value to my work regardless whether I have received similar information in the past.

The researcher and his informants: commune authorities and common villagers

The relationship between researchers and informants may affect the reliability of data. My dealings in the field with both commune authorities and ordinary villagers testified to this point. The commune authorities and their staff only wanted to say things in line with state policies. They also did not want villagers to say anything that would bring about undesirable consequences for them. As for the villagers, their conventional wisdom told them to say what they thought were current state policies and to go along with the perceptions of the local authorities because they did not want to have problems with them.

All this I learned from several informants, especially a person who lived close by where I was staying when doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi and whose name I cannot mention here. Once I bought two copies of a book entitled "The History of the Communist Party

Chapter of Quỳnh Đôi Commune”, [*Lịch sử Đảng bộ xã Quỳnh Đôi*] and offered him one. This book was written under the guidance of Quỳnh Đôi Commune’s Communist Party Committee. After reading it, he told me that some information in the book was not accurate and that the Commune Party Committee wanted to show things better than they really were. He advised me not to mention this conversation to the commune authorities because he did not want to get into trouble with them. He added that the authorities always wanted to present a good image of the commune to the world outside. If they did not like him, he could have trouble getting loans from the bank since he would need their approval.⁷ He also advised me that I should establish good rapport with the commune authorities and staff if I wanted to conduct fieldwork in this village in the long run.

With the local officials there was no better way to build trust and confidence than explaining to them in all good faith my purpose for collecting data and the types of data I would collect. I showed them the questionnaires that I would use to do surveys. Sometimes, when returning to Quỳnh Đôi I showed them the articles I wrote on their village. I also cooperated with the cultural staff of the Commune People’s Committee to write an article about study encouragement schemes in Quỳnh Đôi which was published in a provincial newspaper called ‘Nghệ An Weekend’ [*Nghệ An Cuối tuần*].

From my dealings with the commune authorities and staff, I came to know a senior cadre. We became good friends I and visited his home several times. We also cooperated professionally (writing the above article). He told me that every year the commune authorities were to report their achievements [*báo cáo thành tích*] to the district and provincial authorities. Based on these achievements, the district and provincial authorities could commend and reward them accordingly. The least things they wanted were to create reveal bad images of the commune, especially when such bad images could be magnified if they were ever published in the newspaper.

The gender barrier: a male researcher and female informants

Researchers doing fieldwork in Vietnam have had various experiences regarding gender. Male researchers often claimed that gender did not influence their data, whereas female researchers often signalled problems related to gender matters. For example, while studying health and family planning in Hà Tây province Gammeltoft reported that she had trouble in establishing rapport with men (Gammeltoft, 1999: 46). In a study of girls’ socialization in Hà Tây province, Rydström showed that there was good male and female morality in daily practice and local villagers expected her to demonstrate good female and Vietnamese morality while doing fieldwork (Rydström, 1998: 17-19). Boselie, in his study of agricultural diversification and commercialization in Vĩnh Phú province, reported that at the markets women were open to express certain things to stranger men (Boselie, 2002: 24). Pham Van Bich, while studying family planning in Thái Bình province, reported some difficulties related to doing fieldwork but he did not mention gender as an obstacle in collecting data (Pham Van Bich, 1997: 17-19).

In this study, many of my informants were female. The relationship between me as a male researcher and female villagers might affect the reliability of my data. My own experiences indicated that there was a difference between conducting interviews with female and male villagers. When I met the husband of a household, I could talk with him quite easily. If I met the wife, I could have conversation with her also but there were cases when I met

⁷ In order to secure loans from the Vietnam bank for Agriculture and Rural Development, villagers have to put up their properties as collateral along with the documents signed by the head of their neighbourhood and commune authorities.

both husband and wife at their house, the husband tended to dominate the conversation. In Vietnamese society, it is a custom for the husband to receive guests, especially male guests. In conducting interviews, I often suggested talking to both husband and wife if I had the chance. Being a male researcher in the field I found it was easier to have interviews with male villagers than with female villagers because local women were more reserved to talk to male strangers. Hence, useful information may be unwittingly omitted by female informants or overlooked by the researcher in conversations with female villagers.

To overcome this situation, I decided on a new strategy in conducting interviews with female informants. After being introduced to a prospective informant by her neighbour or relative, I would visit her to get better acquainted before getting on with the 'real' interview. For example, before interviewing Hoàng Thị Hoa (living in hamlet number 1) on 26 October 2007 about labour exchange in agricultural production of her household, I got acquainted with her through the introduction of a neighbour of hers a few days earlier. That gave her confidence and trust to talk to me. There were many instances when I interviewed a couple separately. Sometimes I interviewed the wife first; at other times, I interviewed the husband first depending on the circumstances. For example in reconstructing the marriage of Dương Văn Gia and Cù Thị Ngân in the socialist transformation period (see Chapter 7), I interviewed them separately to avoid the possibility of missing relevant details. If the husband was away - mostly working as a migrant worker elsewhere - and I could only interview his wife, as in the case of Hoàng Thị Hoa above then I would cross-check her information with other villagers, especially her neighbours whom I know from past experiences in my own village, were likely to share her family's episodes.

Apart from effort to make good rapport and cross-checks when interviewing female informants, I also focussed on additional cross-checks by asking several informants about the descriptions and interpretations in the process of analysing data, as presented above. In this manner I tried to limit or reduce any potential gender bias which might result from my own embodied gender.

6. Summary

This chapter dwells on the methodological aspects of the research. It describes the problems facing a native researcher like me doing fieldwork in his own home province, the process of collecting qualitative and quantitative data, and how these data were analysed.

In the hope of providing an understanding of changing kinship relations in a northern Vietnamese village in a transitional setting, I carried three major surveys between 2000 and 2008. In between, I made numerous short and long trips to the field for data collection, which enabled me to have a deep understanding of the village life. In data analysis, I used the qualitative data to show the characteristics of phenomena related to kinship relations, whereas the quantitative data were used to assess the scale of these phenomena. These combined data were useful in drawing a credible picture of the changes in kinship relations in the fast evolving Vietnamese society today. From a personal perspective, it should be mentioned that my knowledge of the local scene helped facilitate my fieldwork in no small measure, saving me time and preventing me making unnecessary *faux pas*.

It should be emphasized that the result of this study does not claim to be a representative picture of kinship relations in present-day Vietnam for the following reasons. First, the study was based on data, which were collected in this particular village only. Although descriptions and interpretations of these data have been compared to studies from other localities, the findings of this research reflected what happened in this village. Second, the village of Quỳnh Đôi was chosen precisely because it represented an 'extreme case',

where the changes were more discernible to the researcher because developments in the economic, political, social and cultural domains took place in a more pronounced manner than elsewhere, especially during the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period. The intention was to examine how kinship relations evolved from the turbulent periods of war and high socialism to an era of peace no less tumultuous, marked by a market economy with all the consequences that went with it. One should also bear in mind the diversity of Vietnamese villages from North to South and from the highland to the lowland, so a Northern village like Quỳnh Đôi cannot claim to represent the rest of Vietnamese villages. Therefore, in order to generalize the empirical findings of this study, one needs to carry out more studies in other localities.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH SETTING:

Quỳnh Đôi VILLAGE - A RURAL COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN VIETNAM

Trống làng nào làng ấy đánh, thánh làng nào làng ấy thờ

Each village strikes its own drum and worships its own deities
(Proverb)

1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the most common characteristics of Quỳnh Đôi village - the setting for this research. Its aim is to draw a general picture of the village as the background for analyzing the changes of kinship relations in the following chapters. The availability of documentations and the relatively easy access to this famous village with its long history explain why Quỳnh Đôi village was chosen as the research site. By showing the characteristics of Quỳnh Đôi as a ‘traditional village’ prior to 1945, and as a village during the socialist transformation and the *Đổi mới* periods after 1945, I will try to reconstruct the changes that occurred in the socio-economic, political and cultural landscape of villages in northern Vietnam in general.¹

It would be fair to mention at the outset that Quỳnh Đôi is probably one of the most famous villages in northern Vietnam, before and after 1945. There is a proverb: ‘*Bắc Hà: Hành Thiện, Hoan Diên: Quỳnh Đôi*’ in order to refer to the two villages which were famous in the history of ‘feudal’ Vietnam for the number of licentiates [*cử nhân*] and doctorates [*tiến sĩ*] (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 18-19). Quỳnh Đôi is a village with famous ‘historic’ people like the historian Hồ Sĩ Dương, the poetess Hồ Xuân Hương in the past (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1988: 65-80); and recent big names like revolutionary Hồ Tùng Mậu (former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam) and revolutionary Hoàng Văn Hoan (ex-Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam) (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 276). Hồ Tùng Mậu’s grandchild Hồ Đức Việt is currently a Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam).² In 1996, Quỳnh Đôi commune was awarded the title of ‘Hero of the people’s

¹ Vietnamese researchers for example Diệp Đình Hoa (1990: 12) and Trần Từ (1984: 13) often considered Vietnamese villages before the August Revolution 1945 as ‘traditional’ [*cổ truyền*]. According to Trần Từ, Vietnamese villages before 1945 were considered as ‘traditional’ because they mainly retained age-old characteristics over long periods of time (Trần Từ, 1984: 12-14). Despite the changes incurred under the influence of the colonial French regime (late nineteenth century to 1945), many traits of the traditional village including its structure and functions remained as much as before (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 116-121).

² Emperor Quang Trung (1752-1792). Quang Trung was his royal name, his “real” name was Nguyễn Huệ is reputedly the great-great grandchild of a Quỳnh Đôi villager, Hồ Thế Anh, born in 1618. This ancestor of Nguyễn Huệ moved from Quỳnh Đôi to Quỳnh Hồng commune, Quỳnh Lưu district, Nghệ An province. The grandfather of Nguyễn Huệ migrated from Quỳnh Hồng commune to Thái Lão village, Hưng Nguyên district, Nghệ An province. Nguyễn Huệ’s father migrated from Hưng Nguyên district, Nghệ An province to Bình Định province (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1995: 41).

armed forces' [*Anh hùng lực lượng vũ trang nhân dân*].³ In 1998, the village was certified as a cultural village at provincial level [*Làng văn hóa cấp tỉnh*] (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 239-240).⁴

The history of Quỳnh Đôi village can be divided into five periods. The first period is from the foundation of the village in 1378 to the August Revolution in 1945. The second period is from 1945 to 1955 after the resistance war against the French was won. The third period is from 1955 to 1975 when the country was reunified with the fall of Saigon. The fourth period is from 1976 to 1985 with ten years' experience with high socialism. The fifth period is from 1986 to the present time, marking a time of renovation, of de-collectivization and of integration.

The data and information used in this chapter come from published and unpublished materials concerning patrilineages, the village and commune. Those relating to patrilineages include genealogies, records of meetings and materials on patrilineage events. The materials of the village and commune consist of published and unpublished materials about the history of the village, the old and new charter of the village [*hương ước* or *quy ước làng*], statistical data about the commune, the resolutions of the Commune People's Committee and the local Communist Party's Committee, and other written materials related to village events. An important document about Quỳnh Đôi village is a chronicle entitled 'Old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi' [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*] written by Hồ Phi Hội and Hồ Trọng Chuyên and Hồ Đức Lĩnh. This chronicle is a historical account of the village in chronological order. Between 1856 and 1857, Hồ Phi Hội wrote the history of Quỳnh Đôi from the year when the village was founded to 1857. Between 1940 and 1941, Hồ Trọng Chuyên covered the period from 1858 to 1942. Between 1942 and 1944 Hồ Đức Lĩnh translated the book from Chinese characters into modern Vietnamese, and between 1961 and 1963 he recorded some important events during the period from 1857 to 1963. In 2005, the children of Hồ Đức Lĩnh published the entire book. Other important books include 'From Thổ Đôi Trang to Quỳnh Đôi commune', and 'Continuous stage of Quỳnh Đôi' by Hồ Sĩ Giàng. The two books provide an overview of the village history. In 2005, a book on the history of Communist Party in Quỳnh Đôi entitled '*Lịch sử đảng bộ xã Quỳnh Đôi*' was written by Hoàng Nhật Tân and published by the Commune's Party Committee. Additionally there are patrilineal genealogies of the Hồ, the Nguyễn, the Hoàng, the Phan, etc. not to mention data and documents of the Commune's People Committee, the Commune's Party Committee and information collected from field interviews.

It should be noted that while a good number of books about village histories and Commune Party Committees have been written and published elsewhere, books like 'Old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi' [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*] are few and far in between. Therefore, this book is quite a unique source of references since it provides a continual picture of a traditional Vietnamese village spanning long periods of history. Admittedly not all data and information in the book are reliable, one can nevertheless gain valuable insights into the social-economic, political and cultural life of the village at different points in time, and from which an analysis of kinship relations can be made. Besides, the book provided useful information about the history of the village with full-length village charters, data about land, population, occupation, education and customs.

³ Quỳnh Đôi commune was awarded the title of 'Hero of the people's armed forces' because the village made many contributions, like manpower and food, to the war against the Americans. For more information on this, see chapter 6, section 2. Many villages were awarded this title.

⁴ There was a movement of creating 'cultural villages' in the *Đổi mới* era in Vietnam. In order to be certified as cultural village, the village had to meet the relevant criteria promulgated by the authorities, such as implementing the policy of the Party and its State well. A lot of villages were certified as 'cultural villages'.

2. Village location

Quỳnh Đôi village is Quỳnh Đôi commune as well. This is the case Vietnamese social scientists usually call “the village coincides with the commune” [*nhất xã, nhất thôn*]. In 1749, the village had four neighbourhoods [hamlets - *xóm*]: Thọ Khánh, Phú Thọ, Ngũ Phúc and Trung Thôn. The structure and the names of these hamlets remain until 1945 (Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Lĩnh, 2005[1856, 1963]: 35-37). Quỳnh Đôi now has 8 hamlets or neighbourhoods [*xóm*], numbered from 1 to 8.⁵ According to Trần Từ, pseudonym of Nguyễn Từ Chi (1984: 31-38), villages in Northern Vietnam usually comprise several neighbourhoods. There are four ways neighbourhoods are structured, depending on the topography of the village. First, the village has neighbourhoods situated side by side, following a main road. The villages in these cases are often seen along riverbanks. Second, the village’s configuration is like a chessboard in which neighbourhoods lie next to each other. Third, the village is designed with its neighbourhoods set side by side, from the foot of a hill stretching halfway up to the top. This type of villages can be found in midland regions. The fourth type has neighbourhoods scattered in large rice fields, separated from each other by paddy fields. Quỳnh Đôi’s geographical structure belongs to the second pattern in which neighbourhoods lie next to each other, like a chessboard. The village is surrounded by paddy fields.

Quỳnh Đôi is a commune of Quỳnh Lưu district. Under Chinese rule, from the 1st century to the 3rd century Quỳnh Lưu was a part of Hàm Hoan district [*quận Hàm Hoan*]. From the 3rd to the 7th century, Hàm Hoan was renamed Đức Châu (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1990: 22-23). In the independence era, during the dynasties of Ngô, Đinh, Tiền Lê, Quỳnh Lưu was a part of Châu Diên district [*phủ, lộ, châu Châu Diên*]. In 1010, under the Lý dynasty, Quỳnh Lưu belonged to Diên Châu district [*lộ Diên Châu*]. In 1379, Diên Châu was renamed Vọng Giang region [*trấn Vọng Giang*]. Under the Hồ dynasty, Vọng Giang was renamed Linh Nguyên district [*phủ Linh Nguyên*]. In 1469, under the reign of Lê Thánh Tông, the national map was redrawn and Diên Châu formed (belonged to) a district of Nghệ An [*Nghệ An Thừa tuyên*]. At that time, Diên Châu district had two sub-district Đông Thành and Quỳnh Lưu. The name Quỳnh Lưu was called from that time (Ninh Viết Giao, 1998: 15-20).

Quỳnh Đôi borders Quỳnh Yên commune and Mai Giang River to the West, Quỳnh Bá commune to the South, and Quỳnh Thanh commune to the North. All these communes belong to Quỳnh Lưu district, which is located in the northern part of Nghệ An province. It lies between Nghĩa Đàn district to the West, Diên Châu and Yên Thành districts to the South, the East (South China) Sea to the East, and Tĩnh Gia district to the North. Nghĩa Đàn, Diên Châu, Yên Thành are three districts of Nghệ An province whereas Tĩnh Gia belongs to Thanh Hoá province. Quỳnh Lưu district covers an area of 58,507 hectares. The agricultural land is 15,427.64 hectares in area. Quỳnh Lưu consists of 43 communes (Ninh Viết Giao, 1998). The national highway One runs across the district. Nghệ An is located in the northern part of Central Vietnam, about 300 kilometres south of the capital of Hanoi. It lies between Thanh Hoá province to the North, Hà Tĩnh province to the South, Laos to the West and the East (South China) Sea to the East.

⁵ Some authors use the term hamlet, other use the terms neighbourhood to translate the term *xóm* from Vietnamese into English.

3. The foundation of Quỳnh Đôi

The first name of the village was Thổ Đôi Trang, meaning Thổ Đôi farm. The village's foundation can be traced back to 1314 under the reign of King Trần Minh Tông when Hồ Kha, an official of Trần dynasty passed by this area. He liked the local scenery and intended to make this place his second home. Shortly after he returned to his native village in a neighbouring district, he sent his eldest son Hồ Hồng to settle in Thổ Đôi. In 1378, Hồ Hồng collaborated with Nguyễn Thạc and Hoàng Khánh to establish the village of Thổ Đôi – thus Hồ Hồng, Nguyễn Thạc and Hoàng Khánh are the real ancestors of the patrilineages Hồ, Nguyễn and Hoàng. It can be seen that Thổ Đôi was initially developed in 1314 but was founded as a small village only in 1378 (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1988: 11-12). In 1528, Thổ Đôi was renamed Quỳnh Đôi by a mandarin, the marquis Bao Vinh - Hồ Nhân Hy (Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Lĩnh, 2005[1856, 1963]: 35). From that time up to the Nguyễn dynasty around 1800, in turn, ancestors of several patrilineages came and lived in Quỳnh Đôi: Phạm (Phan Phạm), Trần, Lê, Trương, Mạc (Hoàng Hồ), Trịnh, Cù, Cao, Ngô, Bùi, Đinh, Vãn, Vũ and Phạm. From the late Trần dynasty to the beginning of the Lê dynasty, Thổ Đôi had just a few families grouping together in a small hamlet, which belonged to Kim Lâu village, Hoàn Hậu commune. Since the Nguyễn dynasty, Quỳnh Đôi has become a populous village.⁶ Shortly after the August revolution of 1945, Quỳnh Đôi village and Thượng Yên village were merged together into Quỳnh Yên commune. In 1950, the four villages Hạ Lăng, Cẩm Trương, Thanh Dạ and Cự Tân were incorporated into Quỳnh Yên with a new name: Quỳnh Anh. In 1955, the communes were rearranged and Quỳnh Đôi became an independent commune (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1988: 11-18).

According to Hồ Sĩ Giàng (1988: 15-16) the foundation of Thổ Đôi was a result of the colonizing policy of the Trần dynasty. In 1226, obeying the King's order, many aristocracies gathered the landless population to colonize coastal and border regions. At that time, Nghệ An -called Hoan Diên area - was the frontier region of the country. The appearance of Hồ Kha in this area was seen to be part of the Trần dynasty's economic policy.

4. Village population

Population of the village following historical materials

Population census was a major concern of the central government in the past because it related to tax collection, military conscription and corvée labour for the construction of dikes, irrigation canals, city walls, roads, bridges, etc. During the past dynasties in Vietnam, the authority usually calculated the number of able-bodied men [*tráng đinh*] of each village who were liable for military service, corvée labour or taxation. The number of *tráng đinh* of each village was written in a book called *sổ đinh* (roll of taxpayers) (Trần Từ, 1984: 113). The accounting the able-bodied men can be traced back to the Lý dynasty in 10th century when annually each village had to report the number of village men over eighteen [called *hoàng nam*] and over twenty [called *đại nam*]. Depending on these figures, the state set out to collect taxes and conscript people for military service or corvée labour. The dynasties that followed

⁶ Canton [*tổng*] was an administrative unit between district [*huyện*] and commune [*xã*] (Nguyễn Tùng, 2003: 33). Just before 1945, Quỳnh Đôi village belonged to Phú Hậu canton (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 124).

the Lý continued to count able-bodied men for the above purposes but there were differences about the official ages of able-bodied men. Since 1929 under French colonial rule, the age of able-bodied men was from 18 to 60 (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 99-105). During the ‘feudal’ times, the population of each village was calculated thanks to a roll of taxpayers. All able-bodied men were listed in the book. The purpose of the book was to collect taxes and recruit soldier for the army and labourers for building public work. Usually able-bodied men of the village were all males from 18 years old to 50 years old. Each able-bodied man was allocated a share of the village public fields which in principle were reallocated three year per time. The village managed the public fields but the King was their supreme owner. In return for a share of the village public fields, each able-bodied man had to pay taxes, and perform military and corvée duties (Trần Từ, 1984: 50-57).

The population of Quỳnh Đôi village fluctuated during the course of its history. While it was Hồ Kha who chose this place to live in 1314, the village was established only in 1378 with three families [*gia đình*], whose heads are the progenitors of the Hồ, Nguyễn and Hoàng patrilineages as mentioned earlier (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 17). According to Hồ Đức Lĩnh (Hồ Phi Hội & Hồ Trọng Chuyên, 2004[1856]: 43) in 1944, one year before the August Revolution 1945, the number of people attending village deity post-worship feast [*hương ẩm*] in Quỳnh Đôi were 1116 (all men over 18 years old) among whom 804 were registered on village roll [*nội tịch*]. According to ‘The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi’ (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 45-47) in the year of 1786, the population of Quỳnh Đôi was 500. In the 18th and 19th centuries the number of able bodied men of Quỳnh Đôi village based on its roll of taxpayer was as follows:

Year	Able-bodied men
1777: ⁷	40
1819:	172
1840:	204
1856:	198

It should be mentioned that when discussing the population data in Vietnamese villages one should be aware of the reliability of the number of able-bodied men. Before 1945, local officials tended to under-report to the state the number of able-bodied men in their village, so that they could reduce the tax burden owed to the state (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 160-161). According to Gourou (2003[1936]: 163-164), during the French colonial period, the gap between real and reported numbers of able-bodied men was less than 10%. The manipulation of these figures was kept in check due to strict control by the state. And there were fears of being denounced when conflicts arose between local officials and influential groups within the village itself. One more note of caution about population data in the ‘feudal’ past: since there was no way to know the proportion of the number of able-bodied men to the total population at a given time, it was impossible to arrive at exact figures of the village population.

Population Quỳnh Đôi recently

For a long time now the statistical data at the commune level was far from satisfactory due to the lack of trained statisticians. When I tried to examine the annual population changes in the village between 1945 and 2005, the Commune People’s Committee could not provide the information because they did not keep them on file. Recently this situation has improved

⁷ During the civil war between the North and the South the number of able-bodied men of the village was very few.

since a committee member has been put in charge of data management. Based on recent statistical reports of the Quỳnh Đôi Commune People's Committee, I have tabulated the population-related changes over the 2000-2005 period.⁸

Table 1: Statistical data about the population in Quỳnh Đôi village

	Calculating Unit	Changes of the commune population in recent years					
		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
1. Total population	People	4567	4613	4657	4699	4736	4632
2. Number of female	People	2380	2310	2340	2343	2400	2470
3. Numbers of people in working ages ⁹	People	2051	2075	2119	1740	2083	1939
4. Total households	Household	1232	1244	1256	1279	1289	1278
5. Agricultural households	Household	858	853	870	890	883	984
6. Non-agricultural households	Household	374	391	386	389	406	294
7. Number of birth	People	60	57	66	64	65	53
8. Birth rate	%	1.31	1.23	1.14	1.36	1.37	1.14
9. Number of dead	People	18	15	17	14	13	21
10. Household size	People/ Household	3.71	3.71	3.70	3.67	3.67	3.62
11. Number of couple getting married in the year	Couple	19	23	22	24	25	31
12. Number of widowers	People	17	15	15	12	8	10
13. Income per capita	VND ¹⁰ USD	2,820,000 192.45	2,868,000 181.79	2,847,000 177.82	3,130,000 193.78	4,317,000 273.55	5,000,000 312.91

The statistical data shows that in recent years the population in Quỳnh Đôi has not changed significantly. The population of the commune between 2000 and 2005 increases from 4567 people in the year of 2000 to 4736 people in the year of 2004. In 2005, the population dropped slightly to 4632 people. The people engaged in agricultural production accounts for about two-thirds of the total population. The household size varies from 3.6 people to 3.7 people per household. The female-male ratio fluctuates around 50%. The birth rate is from 1.14% to 1.37%. Income per capita per year increases from 2,820,000 VND (192.45 USD) in 2000 to 5,000,000 VND (312.91 USD) in 2005.

The factors contributing to population fluctuations are endogamous and exogamous marriages, deaths, births, military service and migration. About migration, there are three kinds: people leaving the village to work in the cities or elsewhere, retired people returning to live in the village, and pupils leaving Quỳnh Đôi to enter colleges and universities. The phenomenon of villagers leaving to work in the urban areas is relevant in terms of kinship relations and social capital – a subject that will be discussed more deeply in the following

⁸ The data was collected and clarified thanks to reports of the commune (Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2000a, 2000b, 2001b, 2001d, 2002a, 2002c, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b) and data presented by the material of Hồ Ngọc Minh (2004).

⁹ Men from 16 to 60, women from 16 to 55.

¹⁰ One USD was approximately to 14,559 VND in December 2000 (15,780 VND in December 2001; 16,010 VND in December 2002; 16,152 VND in December 2003; 15,781 VND in December 2004; 15,979 VND in December 2005).

chapters. In the aftermath of the *Đổi mới* people have left their home villages in large numbers to look for employment opportunities elsewhere, especially in cities and industrial zones. For example, according to local statistics, in 2005 there were 258 villagers leaving Quỳnh Đôi to work elsewhere. My field work indicates that this figure does not reflect the real migration situation for a number of reasons. Villagers often move in and out quite often, some have migrated permanently while others have done so temporarily, and a number of them did not inform the authorities. There was no mention of the proportion of females to males. It is most likely that men migrated more often than women (who moved out for marital reasons) because the number of females was considerably higher than the number of males. Moreover, the data did not distinguish between temporary and permanent migrations. At any rate, the phenomenon of villagers leaving to work in cities and industrial zones permanently or temporarily has been popular. That reflects two important issues related to kinship and social capital. First, migrants may transfer agricultural lands to others if they no longer use these lands. Second, agricultural labor exchanges occur due to shortages of agricultural labor caused by migration. Research on migration in Vietnam (e.g. Hardy, 2003) indicates that migration itself is facilitated by kinship and other networks - meaning that kinship may function as social capital for migration which may be seen as a risky investment.

The following table shows some population-related differences among the hamlets of Quỳnh Đôi village.¹¹ The data come from a survey of the population and land of the commune conducted in December 2004 (Hồ Ngọc Minh, 2004: 18).

Table 2: The population aspects among hamlets

Indicators	Unit	Commune	Hamlets							
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Total population	People	4736	560	697	637	474	622	570	595	581
2. Number of people engaged in agricultural production	People	3244	327	471	469	338	397	408	418	416
3. Number people not engaged in agricultural production	People	1492	233	226	158	136	225	162	177	165
3. Number of people in working age	People	2125	154	310	296	205	274	251	268	267
4. Number of people in working age engaged in agricultural production	People	1424	169	209	197	137	182	166	181	183
5. Number of people in working age not engaged in agricultural production	People	701	85	101	99	68	92	85	87	84
6. Number of households	Households	1289	151	174	182	137	178	143	170	154
7. Number of houses	Houses	1219	155	145	166	142	160	144	164	143
18. Average household size	People	3.67	3.7	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.5	4.0	3.5	3.5

The table shows that, in 2004 the population of the commune was 4736. Hamlet No 2 has the largest number of inhabitants, (697); while hamlet 4 has the smallest number of

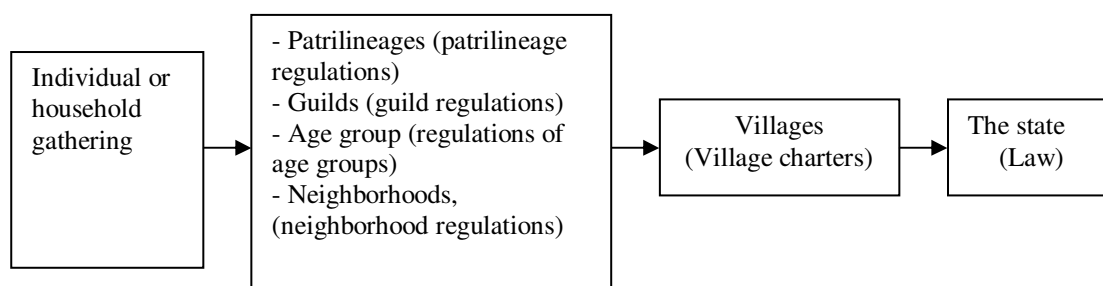
¹¹ This census was conducted by Hồ Ngọc Minh (2004: 18) and Quỳnh Đôi commune authority.

residents (474) spread over 137 households. The total land tenure of the commune covered an area of 23.78 hectares. The commune had 1219 houses, of which 166 were located in hamlet No 3 and 142 houses located in hamlet No 4. These were the two hamlets having the largest and smallest number of households. The average household size varied from 3.5 people per household to 4.0 people per household.

5. Traditional and modern village charter

Most traditional Vietnamese villages had their own village charters.¹² The appearance of these charters can be traced to the fifteenth century when the state required all village charters had to be submitted and ratified by the local mandarin (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 192). The charters include village administrative rules, customary law, and religious guidelines. All these are mixed together, and aim at regulating the interactions and relationships of the villages (Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003: 103). While sharing common points, the charter of each village usually contains many specific details, which does not exist in other charters. This feature reflects the differences between villages. For example, the charter of a village, which had several cottage industries, may have more articles concerning the cottage industries in comparison to the charter of a village, which had fewer cottage industries (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 200; Trần Từ, 1984: 99). The following figure shows the village charter in relation to the law of the state and regulations of organizations within villages.

Figure 8: Village charters in relation to the law of the state and regulations of organizations within villages



(Source: Adapted from Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 200)

In villages, individuals and/or households gather together into patrilineages, guilds, age groups, and neighbourhoods. As the state has its law, villages have their charters and each organization within villages has its own regulations. The most important thing is that village charters exist as the creeds for villagers. Depending on these creeds, all organizations within villages - neighbourhoods, patrilineages, age groups, career and volunteer organizations, as well as the village administrative apparatus operate together as a system (Trần Từ, 1984). Although they were not empowered as full law, village charters assume many functions of the law at the village level, especially with regard to regulations of village administrative apparatus, reward and chastisement to villager behaviours (Trần Từ, 1984: 101-102). Village charters are particularly important documents for studying Vietnamese society at the grass roots from different angles.

¹² The Vietnamese term *Hương ước* is translated into English by several terms such as village convention, commune charter, and village law.

Quỳnh Đôi had its charter a long time ago (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]). The traditional charter [*hương ước*] of Quỳnh Đôi comprises four separate conventions: the village convention [*khoán làng*], the literati's association convention [*khoán hội*], the funeral convention [*khoán phe*], and the village customary law [*phong tục, lệ làng*].¹³ The village convention with 119 articles was drawn up from 1638 to 1856. The literati's association convention had 47 articles drawn up from 1660 to 1852. The funeral convention has 21 articles, written from 1645 to 1855. The village customary law did not indicate the time of its writing and it did not have separate articles.

Each convention has its concrete content. The village convention involves all village inhabitants and covers all aspects of village life in which 31 articles stipulate village politics, 33 articles relate to village economy, 44 articles instruct cultural life of the village, and 11 articles concern in village military and security. The literati's association convention prescribes the rules and rituals related to the cult of Confucius, and other Confucian icons. It also stipulates the rights and duties of its members. The funeral convention instructs the way of doing funeral. The customary law stipulates the etiquette concerning the cult of ancestor, village management, and relations in everyday life, in agriculture, in cottage industry production and in trading, marriage, and dress code (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]).

There were some articles in the village convention mentioning how women should conduct themselves. For example, women should work diligently, should not quarrel among themselves (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963: 112]). Unmarried women had to have no promiscuous behaviour. If an unmarried woman got pregnant, she would have to pay a heavy fine to the village (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963: 105]).

After the August Revolution in 1945, the old charter was no longer valid in village affairs. However, since renovation, especially in the 1990s many villages began to draw up new charters. This movement was officially approved and encouraged by the Congress of Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party in June 1993 (Bùi Xuân Đính, 1998: 155-157). Until now many villages have their charters. The new charters provide foundation for management, regulation and harmonization of social relations within each village. In Quỳnh Đôi itself, the Commune People's Committee promulgated its charter on 10 August 2002 and the charter became effective from 1 December 2002. The charter comprises six chapters with 47 articles. The first chapter mentions the purposes, scope, and validity of the charter. The second chapter deals with political ideology. The third chapter refers to economic life. The fourth chapter focuses on socio-cultural life. The fifth chapter concerns military and security matters. The final chapter is about execution provision [*điều khoản thi hành*]. All in all the charter covers every aspects of life in Quỳnh Đôi village. On gender relations, the article 3 stipulates that all people are entitled to equal rights. There are no articles that treat men and women separately (Hội đồng Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi: 2002).

Regarding the major differences between the traditional and current charters I will analyze these later, particularly as they concern the problems of kinship relations and children's education in the past and at present.

6. Village administrative apparatus and mass organizations

In the wake of the August Revolution in 1945, there have been drastic changes in the village's social and political structure as well as in the local administrative apparatus. Before 1945,

¹³ The literati's association was the association of villagers who were Confucian degree holders and learners

villagers depending on their social positions could join the village administration apparatus, patrilineages, neighbourhoods, age group associations and guilds. Since 1945 these were replaced by new organs such as party cells, local branches of the youth union, the women's union, the veterans' association. Age group associations remained and the guilds were supplanted by voluntary organizations.

Before 1945, as in other pre-socialist villages, Quỳnh Đôi had a dual administrative structure: the Council of Notable [*Hội đồng kỳ mục*] on the one hand, and the Village Executive Officials [*lý dịch*] on the other. In principle, the Council of Notables was elected by village inhabitants (men over 18 years old). This council was in charge making policies and measures to fulfil village affairs. The leader of the council was First Notable [*tiền chủ*] who was holder of a high degree or had served in an important official position. His voice was powerful in village affairs and he played the leading role in officiating ceremonies in honour of the village tutelary guardian [*thành hoàng*]. The Village Executive Officials were local representatives of the state. These include the Village Chief [*lý trưởng*], Deputy Village Chiefs [*phó lý*], a Land-Book Keeper [*chưởng bạ*], a Village Registrar [*hộ lại*], a Police Commissioner [*trương tuần, or khán thủ*], and a Village Commissioner [*cai đám, cai thôn*]. The Village Chief was responsible for collecting taxes, recruiting corvée labour, supervising land and population records, and other miscellaneous matters. The Land-Book Keeper was in charge of keeping land records. The Village Registrar kept the book about birth, marriage and death records. The Police Commissioner was in charge of public order and internal security. The Village Commissioner was in charge of matters related to tutelary deity worship, feasts and public meetings [*việc làng*] at the communal house [*đình*], and supervised all public constructions such as roads, canals, etc (Bùi Xuân Đính, 1998; Gourou, 2003[1936]; Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]; Trần Từ, 1984). In Quỳnh Đôi, the old village charter indicated clearly that the leader of the Council of Notables held substantial power and had the right to convene council members to discuss village affairs as he saw fit. The Village Chief was responsible for carrying out the instructions of the council. Before 1945, women had no position in the village administrative apparatus (Trần Từ, 1984: 60-81).

One important way of grouping villagers together is through the neighbourhoods (hamlets). Each neighbourhood comprises several alleys (lanes) occupied by households living in a certain area of a village. Each neighbourhood had a (male) Head Neighbourhoods served a number of functions such as keeping security, maintaining the rituals of worshipping the earth genie [*thổ thần*] of the neighbourhood, and giving mutual support in everyday life (Trần Từ, 1984: 31-38). Before 1945, Quỳnh Đôi village had four neighbourhoods: Thọ Khánh, Phú Thọ, Ngũ Phúc, Trung Thôn. The names of and the boundaries between neighbourhoods were written down in local documents as early as 1749 (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 35-41). These names and boundaries existed until 1945.

Patrilineages have been important organizations in rural life. Each village usually has many patrilineages. Although they did not play an official role in village affairs, to a certain extent patrilineages had a considerable influence on the local scene (Trần Từ, 1984:41-43) and the running of the village apparatus. From 1921 to 1927 for example, through a Decree signed by Resident Superior in Tonkin (North Vietnam), the Council of Notables was replaced by the Council of Patrilineage Representatives (Bùi Xuân Đính, 1998: 70-81; Toan Anh, 1999: 69).¹⁴ A detailed discussion on the importance of patrilineages in traditional society will be presented in Chapter 5.

¹⁴ In 1927, a decree signed by the Résident Supérieur in Tonkin re-established the Council of Notables. From 1927 to 1941 the Council of Notables existed in parallel with the Council of Patrilineage Representatives (Toan Anh, 1999: 71). In 1941, the Emperor approved of a decree, which was submitted by the Résident Supérieur in Tonkin. With this decree, the two councils were abrogated and a new Council of Notables was established. While in colonial Tonkin, the French authorities reformed the village apparatus in 1921, in Annam (Central

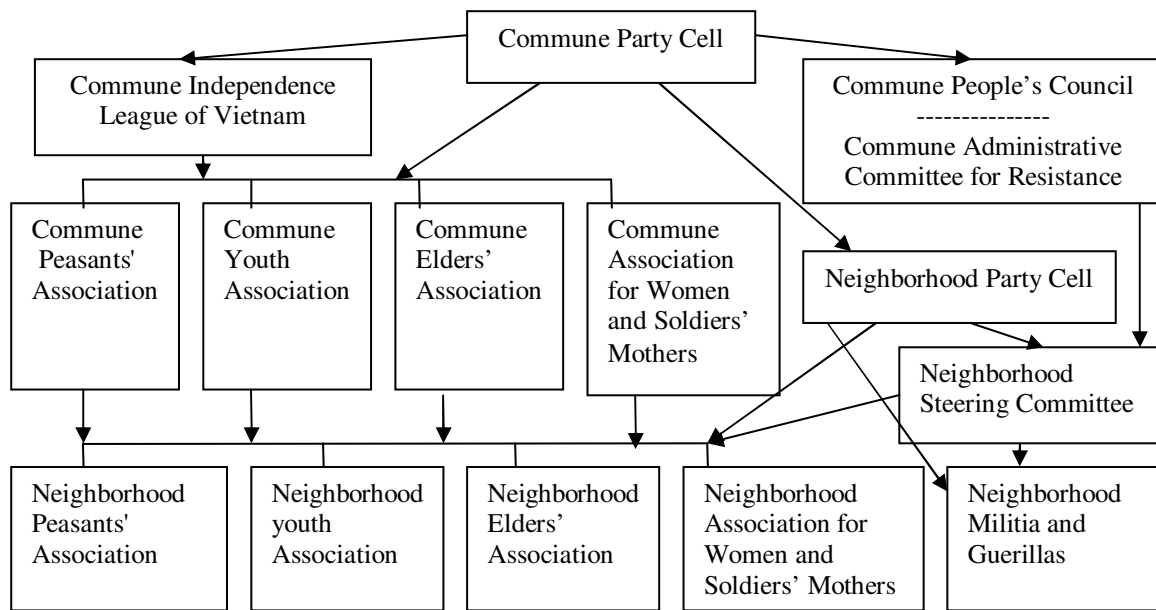
Other important organizations were the guilds, set up along professional lines such as groupings of people who followed handicraft and trading, and those involved in credit rotation. There were also voluntary aid groups. Members of these guilds forged close ties in carrying out their professions effectively, while those in the aid groups were to help each other on important occasions marking life cycle events such as wedding, marriage, birth and funeral, etc (Bùi Xuân Đính, 1998; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]; Trần Từ, 1984). According to Trần Từ, while women could not hold official positions in the village administrative apparatus, they could join these associations (Trần Từ, 1984: 92).

Age group associations [*giáp*] were the associations of males of age groups and related by blood ties (Trần Từ, 1984: 46-60). Each age group association included males coming from some patrilineages and some neighbourhoods. When a male belongs to a certain age group association, his sons continue to be members of this association. Traditions required that after his son's birth, the father was obligated to make a contribution at the meeting of age group association before his son's name was entered in its register (Trần Từ, 1984: 43-49). The most important duty of age group associations was to prepare food offered to the village deity during ceremonies and feasts. The head of the age group association was usually appointed as *cai đăm* (Village Commissioner) (Trần Từ, 1984: 52-55). In age group associations, the status of each member depended on his age, which showed that age was an important factor in the social hierarchy where people's status depended on wealth, education, and public functions (Trần Từ, 1984: 55-60). The village administration often used the influence exerted by these age group associations on their members to carry out public duties such as tax collection, labour for corvée and soldier recruitment, and land allocation (Trần Từ, 1984: 50-52).

Since the August 1945 Revolution and the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Vietnamese villages have undergone drastic changes in all aspects. The changes in the administrative structure and social institutions at the local level can be periodized as follows periods: from 1945 to 1954, from 1955 to 1975, after 1975 to the 1980s, and from 1990s to now (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 234-238). Shortly after the 1945 Revolution, political and social institutions such as the Council of Notables, Village Executive Officials, age group associations and guilds were all abolished; and communes (*xã*) replaced villages as local administrative units. During the war against French, from 1945 to 1954, in the areas controlled by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the political and social institutions can be seen in the following figure.

Vietnam, of which Nghệ An was a part) the village reform was carried out in 1942. The local administrative reform was carried out in 1942 by a decree approved by the Emperor. This decree was prepared by the French authorities and similar to the 1941 decree in Tonkin. This village apparatus regime (in Tonkin from 1941 and Annam from 1942) lasted until 1945 (Toan Ánh, 1999: 73-74).

Figure 9: Commune administrative structure and social institutions from 1945 to 1954

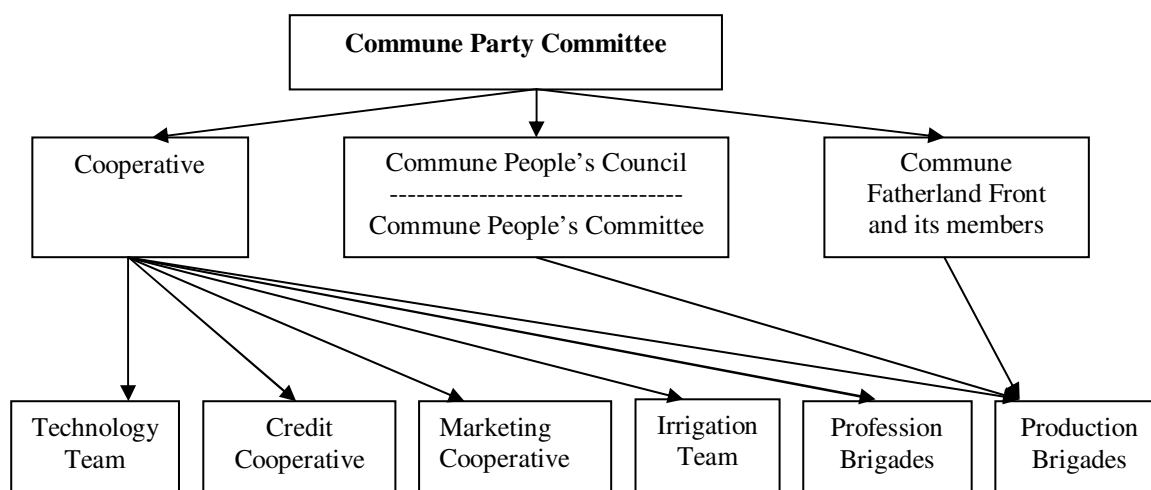


(Source: Adapted from Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 235)

As shown in the figure, from 1945 to 1954, at the commune level the administrative apparatus comprised the Commune Party Cell leading the Commune National League of Vietnam [*Mặt trận Liên Việt*] and the Commune People's Council [*Hội đồng Nhân dân*] with its executive organ - Commune Administrative Committee for Resistance [*Ủy ban Hành chính Kháng chiến*]. The commune social organizations included the Peasants' Association [*Nông hội*], the Youth Association [*Thanh thiếu niên*], the Elders' Association [*Phụ lão*], and the Association for Women and Soldiers' mothers [*Phụ nữ và Mẹ chiến sĩ*], all were led directly by the Commune Party Cell, and the local branch of the National League of Vietnam. At neighborhood level, the administrative structure consisted of the Neighborhood Party Cell [*Tổ đảng*] and the Neighborhood Steering Committee [*Ban chỉ huy thôn*]. This Steering Committee was under the control of the Neighbourhood Party Cell which in turn was under the direction of the Commune Party Cell. The Commune Administrative Committee for Resistance directed the Neighborhood Steering Committee. The Commune Party Cell and the Neighborhood Steering Committee directed the Neighborhood Militia and Guerillas [*Dân quân Du kích*] and four neighborhood associations including the Peasants' Association, the Youth Association, the Association for Women and Soldiers' Mothers, and the Elders' Association. As regards gender relations, while before 1945 women had no position in the village administrative apparatus, in the new administrative system they could become members of all institutions of the village administrative apparatus. In principle, from 1945 onwards women have chance as men have in joining administrative apparatus.

On 15 August 1945, under the leadership of the Independence League of Vietnam [*Việt Minh*], the villagers of Quỳnh Đôi seized power from the local authorities of the old regime and established a new administration attached to the new Revolutionary regime. In early 1946, Quỳnh Đôi and the neighbouring village of Quỳnh Yên merged together to become Quỳnh Yên commune (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 21-25). Since 1945, with the foundation of the new commune, all social and political institutions in this commune were established with the structure like the figure. After 1954 to until the 1980s, the structure of political and social institutions underwent some changes. We can see these changes in the following figure

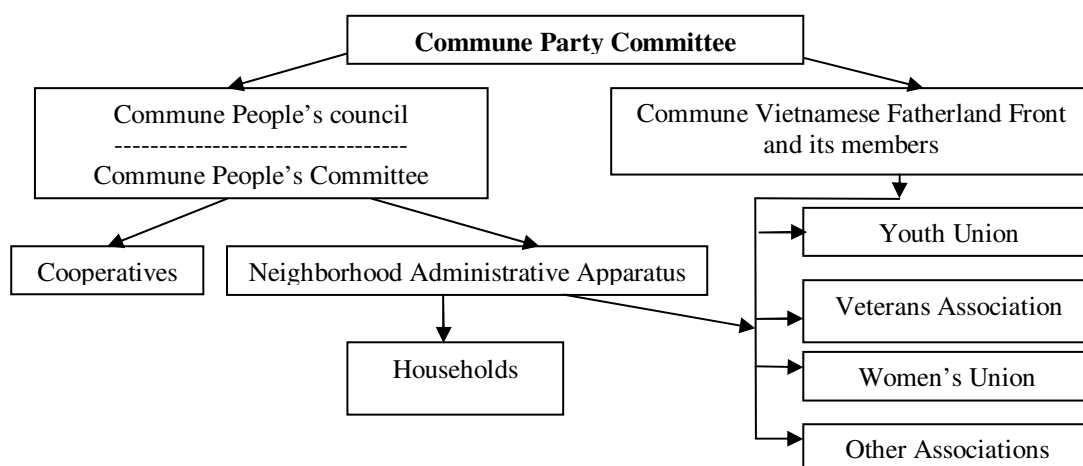
Figure 10: Commune administrative structure and social institutions after 1954 to the 1980s



(Source: Adapted from Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 236)

As can be seen from this figure, in comparison with the structure of social and political organs in the previous 1954 period, the Cooperative played an all-important role in the lives of villagers. It ran a Technology Team, a Credit Cooperative, a Marketing Cooperative, an Irrigation Team, Profession Brigades and Production Brigades. All villagers were members of one or more of these organs. Neighborhoods were replaced by Production brigades, which were not only managed by the Cooperative but also directly controlled by the People's Committee and the Fatherland Front. All social associations were members of the Fatherland Front [*Mặt trận Tổ quốc*]. From the 1980s especially after renovation in 1986, the structure of the political and social institutions were changed again to adapt to the new policies of the state as shown in the following figure:

Figure 11: Commune administrative structure and social institutions in the *Đổi mới* era



(Source: Adapted from Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 237-238; Bùi Xuân Đức 2002: 10)

It can be seen that there were significant changes in the structure of political and social institutions since renovation in comparison with the previous period. First of all, households became basic production units which replaced the function of the production brigades. With

this change, the role of the Cooperative declined drastically and all institutions directly under its control were dissolved. Now, the Cooperative only serves as provider of certain services for the peasants in agricultural production such as irrigation and field protection. Secondly, the role of neighborhoods was restored with the establishing of the Neighborhood Administrative Apparatus with a Secretary of the Neighborhood Party Cell, a Head of the Neighborhood and a Neighborhood Police Commissioner. An important change was the development of various social associations; most of them were affiliated with the Commune's Fatherland Front and to a certain extent were controlled by the neighborhood administrative apparatus.

7. Village pagoda, communal house, deity temple, and literature temple

In the traditional society, cultural and religious activities of villagers took place mainly in local pagodas, communal houses, deity temples, and literature temples. According to Trần Từ, before the 15th century when the Buddhism was the national religion [*quốc giáo*] in terms of official ideology, village pagodas played as the centres of social and religious activities of villages. Afterward, Confucianism replaced the position of the Buddhism as the official ideology and communal houses took over the position of village pagodas. In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, the activities related to village pagodas were like those of a religious club, mainly attended by older women (Trần Từ, 1984: 91). In Quỳnh Đôi, the Quỳnh Thiên pagoda was built in 1531 by Hồ Nhân Hi (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 65-66). The pagoda was situated in Trung Thôn neighbourhood, surrounded by about a *mẫu* of its own rice fields. From its earlier days up to 1945, the pagoda was rebuilt several times. In December of 1945, in the wake of the anti-superstition movement, Quỳnh Thiên pagoda was destroyed to build the commune's administration office (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 44). Quỳnh Đôi has another pagoda named Đồng Tương, named after field called Đồng Tương. After the Quỳnh Thiên pagoda was destroyed, Buddhism in Quỳnh Thiên pagoda was moved to Đồng Tương pagoda. Until now, this pagoda still exists. From the foundation to the present time, Quỳnh Đôi pagodas have no Buddhist priest.

Before 1945 Quỳnh Đôi had five communal houses: the main communal house of the village [*Đình làng*] and four communal houses belonging to the four neighbourhoods (hamlets) [*Đình của bốn xóm*]. These communal houses were established a long time ago and the exact time of their foundation cannot be traced. Nevertheless the times when these houses caught fire and were restored were recorded. The communal house of the village has five spaces [*đình có năm gian*]. In 1740, 1786, 1859, and 1885 fire broke out in the communal house and repairs were done each time. The communal houses of Trung Thôn, Phú Thọ, Ngũ Phúc, Thọ Khánh neighbourhood burned down respectively in 1860, 1863, 1856, 1871 and were all rebuilt (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 60-65). The village communal house was the place for people to worship the village deity. Official business of the village was conducted there as well. In general, only men took part in activities at the communal house, but in particular cases women were allowed to join in activities such as worshipping the village deity (Diệp Đình Hoa, 2003: 52-53). In Quỳnh Đôi, in the years after 1945, the communal houses of the four neighbourhoods were demolished in the campaign to eradicate superstition. Fortunately the communal house of the village still exists today since it has been preserved as the 'traditional house' of the village [*Nhà truyền thống*].

The year when Quỳnh Đôi deity temple was first built was not recorded. What is known however is that its location did change several times. In 1834 it was situated in a field

named Đồng Trú. Around the 1850s, the temple was moved to Thọ Khánh neighbourhood. The temple was repaired in 1803, 1828, 1845, 1849, 1852, and 1856 (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 56-59). The deity of Quỳnh Đôi is a Guardian Spirit named '*Bụi Cút*'. In 1803 the founders of the three patrilineages (Hồ, Nguyễn and Hoàng) who set up the village were also worshipped as deities in the temple, along with the Guardian Spirit. In the late 19th century the Court in Huế conferred official titles on the Quỳnh Đôi deities (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 21). Normally the deities would reside in the temple. On festival days, the deities were ceremoniously carried to the village communal house by a procession and would be returned to the temple when the ceremonies were over.

Quỳnh Đôi also has a Literature Temple [*Nhà thánh* or *Văn miếu*] devoted to the cult of Confucius and other Confucian icons. The members of the village literati's association were people who at least succeeded at the regional examinations. During certain periods, the membership was open to all Confucian learners. Because only men could become Confucian scholars, there was no place for women in the activities related to this temple. The Literature Temple was built in 1531. Repairs were done to the temple in 1831, 1845, 1865, and 1869 (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 52-54). Next to the literature temple, there is another temple named Hiền Từ house where villagers who rendered important services to the village or the nation or had great dignity [*đức hạnh cao đẹp*] were worshiped (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 20). In November 1887, a French troop fired at the temple. Three years later, a Confucian scholar named Phạm Đình Toái (a famous scholar, co-author of *Đại Nam Quốc sử diễn ca* [History of Đại Nam in verses]) collected money to re-build the temple. The temple existed until 1961 when it was dismantled to build the village school (Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003: 15-16).

In the wake of the August Revolution communal houses, the deity temple, the pagodas and the literature temple in Quỳnh Đôi which had served as venues for cultural and religious activities for villagers were destroyed because these were seen as symbols of feudalism and superstition. This situation was the consequence of misconception about building a new society after the Revolution.

8. Social and cultural life of the village after the August Revolution

If before the August Revolution, village cultural and religious activities were carried out in the pagodas, the commune houses, and the temples, during the 1945-1975 period, the social and cultural movement in Quỳnh Đôi focused on wall-newspapers, village broadcasts, poetry readings, classical and modern drama. In 1947 the first wall-newspaper of Quỳnh Đôi was introduced under the auspices of the Commune's Independence League of Vietnam [*Việt Minh*]. The village broadcasting station was established in 1947. Every night, villagers listened to newscasts and other information from loudspeakers set up in the communal houses of the village. During this time Quỳnh Đôi had some poetry clubs. Every week the village organized evenings of poetry reading. Quỳnh Đôi also had 8 modern drama groups and 2 classical drama groups. The audience was made up of villagers regardless of gender and age. There were poetry nights organized by women or by elderly people themselves (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1993: 32-33; 92-93). The cultural movement during this period was aimed at achieving two objectives. Firstly, it was to mobilize human resources for building a new society and whipping up enthusiasm for the war efforts. Secondly, it set out to eradicate all religious and cultural traits associated with the old regime. Therefore, the contents of wall-newspaper, village broadcast, poetry, classical and modern drama served as propaganda boosts for the

socialist regime. Actually, the movement created a new way of life in Quỳnh Đôi during the socialist transformation period (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 32-35; 92-93). It declined in the 1980s after the war had ended and faded away as the socio-economic crisis deepened (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 93-94).

In 1947, Quỳnh Đôi set up a library and turned the communal house into a 'traditional house'. Many objects related to the development of Quỳnh Đôi were displayed here. This house still exists today. The library was built next to the traditional house. At the beginning, many families offered their books to the library, which was well stocked with many books and other reading materials. However, recently very few villagers visit the library (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 95-96). From 1945 to the 1980s, various sports and physical training developed strongly in the village (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 96). The football and swimming clubs were most active and won prizes in provincial competitions. The commune had a good swimming pool which was very popular with the local crowd. In the past many villagers swam there everyday. However, since the late 1980s the movement of sport and physical training ebbed away. In 1990, the pool became the pond for cattle go swimming. Recently, it became the fishpond (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 96-97).

Hoàng Nhật Tân argues that the revolutionary cultural and ideological policies were implemented with much vigour in northern Central Vietnam (formerly region 4) (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 141) for specific reasons. This region with the two provinces of Nghệ An and Hà Tĩnh is usually considered as the cradle of the Revolution because many Party founding members came from there. The Nghệ Tĩnh Soviet movement was carried out in 1930-1931 - a failed communist movement but considered as the prelude to the August Revolution in 1945. From a Marxist perspective, ideological and cultural values often support and maintain the interests of particular individuals or groups in society (Trần Độ, 1986: 8-11). Therefore culture that ideological remnants as the products of the ruling classes had to be replaced by socialist culture through a 'cultural and ideological revolution' [*cách mạng văn hoá tư tưởng*] (Malarney, 2002: 58).¹⁵ Throughout northern Central Vietnam, temples, pagodas, commune halls, patrilineage ancestral halls were destroyed or sold partly or totally during the socialist transformation period. Quỳnh Đôi was among those villages that carried this out to the extremes. For many years after 1945, the village communal house [*đình làng*] was used as the commune committee office (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 389). In 1947, an ancient banyan tree [*cây gạo*] was cut down (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 44).¹⁶ In 1959 - 1960, the deity temple, the literature temple, the Hiền Từ temple, and the communal houses of the four hamlets [*đình của bốn xóm*] were all demolished, and materials such as bricks, tiles and timbers were taken away to build the school of the commune (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 73-74). In addition, just after 1945, ancestor worship was simplified in Quỳnh (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 44; Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 141). Patrilineage ancestral halls were used as class rooms (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 30). This means that the role of the patrilineage was reduced even further in Quỳnh Đôi in comparison with other places. After the renovation with the retreat of the state, there was more room for new structures to take over roles, making Quỳnh Đôi an interesting research setting to analyze kinship relations.

¹⁵ I will discuss this matter more deeply in chapter 5 on kinship relations in the period of socialist transformation.

¹⁶ In most villages in Northern Vietnam, there is usually a banyan tree [*cây đa, hoặc cây gạo*]. At the foot of this tree, there is an altar where villagers worship several spirits (Toan Ánh, 1999: 7).

9. Education

Education in Quỳnh Đôi has a long tradition. In the ‘feudal’ time women had no chance to go to school. Written records confirm that Quỳnh Đôi residents took part in state examinations as early as 1449 (Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003: 3). In 1725, a book entitled “Quỳnh Đôi Laureates’ Record [*Quỳnh Đôi khoa danh trường biên*]” was begun by Hồ Sĩ Tôn, listing candidates who succeeded at state competitive examinations together with their biographies. This task was pursued by the literati’s association who continued updating it with new laureates in the years that followed.

The emphasis on education was spelled out formally in Quỳnh Đôi’s traditional charter which contained 24 articles dealing with educational matters, examinations, the rights and obligations of both students and degree holders. The charter stipulated that village made available 18 *mẫu* cultivated land in order to help poor students. On the 16th of January every year (lunar calendar), the village organized a trial examination for all students of the village. The ones with good results would be exempted from corvée duties for a period of three months, six months or one year depending on the level of their grades. At meetings at the communal hall or the literati’s association, the seating order followed the academic level of the degree holders, from licentiate [*cử nhân*] rising to doctorate [*tiến sĩ*]. If a native son received a doctorate degree the village would give him a lavish reception and revere him after his death. Even someone with the low degree of baccalaureates [*tú tài*] would be the pride of his patrilineage.

The Literati’s Association played an important role in education. This association was established in 1600 (Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003: 32). It was responsible for organizing competitive examinations at the village and supervised the implementation of the articles of the village charter related to education. From 1449 - the year when Quỳnh Đôi villagers first took part in these competitive examinations until 1919 - the year when these examinations came to an end, in Quỳnh Đôi alone there were 12 Doctorates [*tiến sĩ*], 6 Junior Doctorates [*phó bảng*], 203 Licentiate [*cử nhân*], and 539 baccalaureates [*tú tài*] (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 269).¹⁷ Also during the colonial regime up to August 1945, there were several people from the villages who received degrees and diplomas of different kinds (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 47-57). All in all, Quỳnh Đôi was considered as a village having a long and rich educational tradition.

Shortly after August Revolution, the new government launched a campaign to eradicate illiteracy. Mass education was the order of the day. Classes were held in the evening and at midday at the communal hall and patrilineage ancestral worship halls. School-age children and the elderly attended the eradication illiteracy classes. Up to May 1946, 50% the population of Quỳnh Đôi was literate as compared with a mere 10% before 1945 (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 32). In October 1945, a primary school was set up. In 1947, a secondary school named Tân Dân set up by the Dân Chủ (Democratic) Party. This school was first established in Vinh city – the provincial capital of Nghệ An province, and then was moved to Quỳnh Đôi. In 1948, the school was moved to Quỳnh Bá commune. In 1959 and 1960 the secondary education school of Quỳnh Đôi was built. The school was inaugurated in 1960 (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 73). Until now, Quỳnh Đôi had no high school, and pupils had to attend high schools in

¹⁷ There were differences between authors Hồ Sĩ Giàng (1988), Phan Hữu Thịnh (2003) and Hoàng Nhật Tân (2005) in presenting the number of Quỳnh Đôi villagers getting degrees in the classical education system in the Hán-Chinese script. For example, according to Hoàng Nhật Tân (2005: 269), there were 539 baccalaureates [*Tú tài*]. The data showed by Phan Hữu Thịnh (2003: 18) was 531 and the figure of Hồ Sĩ Giàng (1988: 62) was 511. The achievement of the native sons of Quỳnh Đôi in regional and national examinations was impressive, putting it on a par with other famous villages such as Mộ Trạch village in Hải Dương province (Nguyễn Văn Khánh, 2002: 207), and Hành Thiện village in Nam Định province (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 19).

Quỳnh Lâm commune or Quỳnh Bá commune. If in the ‘feudal’ time, women had no chance to go to school, after the August Revolution in 1945; both women and men have the equal right in education.

Since August 1945, Quỳnh Đôi has had around 500 university graduates. In the school year 2002-2003 alone, Quỳnh Đôi has 145 children attending nursery school, 423 attending primary school, 463 attending secondary school, 331 attending high school, and 102 College and University students (Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003:62). These figures account for about 30% of Quỳnh Đôi population. From 1945 to 2005, many Quỳnh Đôi women received their master’s degrees and some got their doctoral degrees (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 281-282). In 2002, the Society for the Encouragement of Learning [*Hội khuyến học*] of Quỳnh Đôi commune was set up. Its aim is to promote learning among the children in the commune. The society also collected money for a learning promotion fund to encourage scholastic achievements and assist poor children. It also set up branches among the village patrilineage. In Chapter 8, I will examine in detail education in Quỳnh Đôi when examining kinship relations in children’s education.

10. Land and land use

In past dynasties, the King was the supreme owner of all lands. The land system included public land as well as private land. The village allocated public lands to villagers. Usually every three year, each village reallocated public land for its inhabitants [*dân đinh*]. Villagers paid taxes to the King through the village administration. People cultivating both public and private land had to pay taxes for the state. Taxes on public land were higher than on private land (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 60-62). The French colonial regime introduced some changes in the land system, for example, while public land continued to be allocated to the village inhabitants - all men from 16 to 60 years old. Nevertheless, the way of land allocation varied from village to village. The differences depended on the age of recipients, the area of allocated land, and sorts of village inhabitants, etc (Gourou, 2002[1936]: 332-340).

An examination of the arable lands in Quỳnh Đôi reflects the continual process of improving soil of the villagers. In the past the fields in Quỳnh Đôi was mixed between small fields, hillocks and brooks. Inhabitants had to turn hillocks into rice fields and built some small dams to prevent sea water from following the brooks into rice fields. The rice field area of Quỳnh Đôi changed through the ages, relying on the improving soil work. Until now the names of several dams still exist (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1988: 22-24). In the feudal past, each village had a land register book for managing its land. The village authorities used this book for both economic and social purposes such as tax collection, soldier conscription and irrigation work (Trần Từ, 1984: 113). According to ‘The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi’, in 1722 Quỳnh Đôi had its first land register book. However, there was no mention of surface area of land in this book. In 1808 under the reign of Gia Long, the land register book of the village indicated that the fields of the villages covered an area of 275 mẫu in which 140 mẫu was taxed and 35 mẫu were left fallow. Under the reign of Minh Mạng, there was a dispute between Quỳnh Đôi village and Thạch Động, a neighbouring village about their respective fields and shared borders. Consequently, the local mandarin made a survey of the land of the villages. The results were catastrophic for Quỳnh Đôi, since the total area of its fields was declared to be 1,193 mẫu of which 609 mẫu were to be taxed. This sudden increase in the area of village fields led to a heavy burden of tax. Therefore, the village sent a petition to the Court. In 1850 the central government (under the reign of Tự Đức) ordered a re-survey of the village fields, which ultimately reduced the area of cultivated fields of Quỳnh Đôi village to 228 mẫu, 5 sào and 2 thước (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 46-50). Of these fields, the common fields

accounted for around 30% of the village's total fields.¹⁸ Public fields comprise communal public fields, patrilineage's fields, *phe*'s fields, *giáp*'s fields, fields set aside for helping bright promising students, for supporting soldiers, and for worshipping people who had done great services to the village (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 16).

The statistical data on landownership in Quỳnh Đôi was consistent with the situation in the Red River Delta. For example, an examination of the land register of Mộ Trạch village in the early 20th century shows that 83% area of the village land were private lands (Nguyễn Văn Khánh, 2002: 208). Using several data sources, Trần Từ shows that on average, just before 1945 only 25% of all cultivable lands in Northern Vietnam were public lands. While cautioning that these data were not totally reliable, he believes that most cultivable lands of the villages in Northern Vietnam were in private hands (Trần Từ, 1984: 21-22). Data on the Tonkin delta provided by the French colonial authorities show that total public lands account for one-seventh of all lands and cultivable public lands account for one-fifth of all cultivable lands. However, the figures vary from region to region and from village to village. In some regions most cultivated lands were private lands while in others they were in the majority (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 330). Quỳnh Đôi belonged to the category of villages where the majority of cultivated lands were privately owned.

According to the statistical data of Hồ Đức Lĩnh (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 50-51) in 1944 under the French colonial regime, the arable lands on which villagers had to pay taxes to the state, can be broken down as follows:

Total area of arable lands:	948 mẫu
Area of rice fields:	734 mẫu
Area of other cultivable lands:	214 mẫu
Area of first class special rice fields [<i>hạng 1 nông giang</i>]:	10 mẫu
Area of second class special rice fields [<i>hạng 2 nông giang</i>]:	35 mẫu
Area of third special rice fields [<i>hạng 3 nông giang</i>]:	170 mẫu
Area of first normal rice fields [<i>hạng 1 thường, nông giang</i>]:	60 mẫu
Area of second normal rice fields [<i>hạng 2 thường, nông giang</i>]:	58 mẫu
Area of third normal rice fields [<i>hạng 3 thường, nông giang</i>]:	366 mẫu
Area of fourth normal rice fields [<i>hạng 4 thường, nông giang</i>]:	35 mẫu

According to a land survey carried out in 2004 (Hồ Ngọc Minh, 2004), Quỳnh Đôi has a surface area of 399 hectares. The land uses are as follows:

The agricultural land area are used mainly to cultivate wet-rice (289.08 ha). Besides growing two harvests of wet-rice per year, some of these areas are also used for extra subsidiary vegetable crops. The lands for growing fruit-trees cover an area of 25.78 ha. There are 19.88 ha used for aquaculture production

Regarding housing and gardening, the residential areas occupy 23.78 ha, whereas areas for gardening are 25.76 ha.

Concerning lands for specific public uses, 31.0 ha are for roads, 18.10 ha for the irrigation system 1.67 ha for historical sites such as pagoda, the communal hall, etc; 1.0 ha for school buildings, 0.15 ha for the infirmary, 0.2 ha for sport fields, 2.61 ha for the graveyard and the martyrs' cemetery, the rest land areas for other purpose (such as the lotus pond in front of the Commune People's Committee office).

¹⁸ 1 mẫu = 5000 square meters; 1 sào = 500 square meters; 1 thước = 50 square meters.

11. Occupation

Agricultural production

From the foundation of the village in 1378 to the mid 17th century, Quỳnh Đôi villagers for the most part earned their livelihood from agricultural production. Their secondary sources of income come from catching fish from rice-fields and small streams (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 22). About agricultural production, wet-rice was the main crop plants. In addition, sweet potatoes and beans were also popular. Agricultural production in Quỳnh Đôi was not easy because of severe weather conditions and the presence of alkaline soil (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1988: 26-28). Before 1945, the old village charter had articles aimed at protecting agricultural production. These articles spelled out concrete measures for guarding dykes and drains, for protecting crops and water resources, and for fighting against drought and flood. Every year, able bodied males had to consolidate dykes and repair drains. When flooding occurred, all villagers had the duty to defend the dykes. Catching young fish was prohibited (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 71-118).

After the August Revolution 1945, works aimed at expanding arable land and improving the irrigation system were promoted. In 1947 and 1948, around 100 hectares of uncultivated land were transformed into cultivated land. The dykes of lake namely Hói Nôi, Đập Bản were improved. In 1958 the village built the irrigation trenches of Đông Dục. In 1960, the water inlet sluice at Âm Đồng Gậy was completed. That helped to expand the cultivated areas and increase agricultural productivity. In the 1960s the output of rice crop was around 650 tons per year and the productivity of sweet potato was around 8 tons to 9 tons per ha (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 25-28).

Two important events that had a great impact on agricultural production were land reform and collective farming. In 1955 land reform was carried out in Quỳnh Đôi. After land reform all landless households were allocated lands. A number of households received houses and cattle that had been confiscated from landlords. Despite its shortcomings this land reform improved the lot of poverty-stricken peasants. From 1958, Quỳnh Đôi villagers were mobilized to build collective farming cooperatives characterized by collective ownership of land and other vital resources such as cattle, fertilizers, collective production and distribution of outputs. In 1959, the commune had four low level collective farming cooperatives. In 1967, these were merged into two medium-level cooperatives which developed into one high-level cooperative in 1970. In 1960, 80% of households of the commune joined the cooperatives. In 1962, all households of the commune joined the cooperatives (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 174-196). In 1970, agricultural production of Quỳnh Đôi was 730 tons and rose to 1260 tons in 1972. Before the economic reform era, agricultural production of Quỳnh Đôi reached a peak in 1976 with 1636 tons. After that, production decreased following the economic crisis in the late 1970s. In 1981, the agricultural production of Quỳnh Đôi reached a deep point with only 1282 tons. In 1985, during the period between harvests, an estimated 80% households of Quỳnh Đôi could not find enough rice to eat. From 1979, 1980 up to 1985, Quỳnh Đôi population suffered from malnourishment (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 80-101). In the years after the implementation of economic reforms (1986), with the dismantling of collective farming and expanding family farm, like elsewhere in the country, agricultural production in Quỳnh Đôi has improved drastically. In 1995 agricultural production of Quỳnh Đôi attained 2146 tons, reaching 2348.5 tons in 2000 and 2394.8 tons in 2004 (Hồ Ngọc Minh, 2004: 20).

Other occupations

As can be seen in most villages in Northern Vietnam, Quỳnh Đôi inhabitants are also engaged in various cottage industry productions and household-based petty trading to supplement incomes from agricultural production. Traditionally textile (weaving) was the most important cottage industry in Quỳnh Đôi. The wife of a local mandarin named Hồ Phi Tịch introduced cottage textile industry to Quỳnh Đôi about 1685. This lady came from Hà Đông province where weaving was very well known. In the past, cottage textile industry was one of main occupations of many villagers, especially among women (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 22). This activity led to trading of silk products and other fabrics, inside and outside Nghệ An province. The textile industry of Quỳnh Đôi was thriving until the advent of French colonial rule when it began to decline for it could not compete with better fabrics produced by modern technology (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1988: 33-36). In the period of socialist transformation, weaving still existed but decreased significantly (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1993: 86-90). At present, Quỳnh Đôi has no weaving and no purchasing weaving products.

Other cottage industry such as rice vermicelli production and woodwork were important occupations of villagers. The rice vermicelli production began at the beginning of the Nguyễn dynasty. The wife of a villager named Nguyễn Thụ, who came from Quảng Nam province, brought this occupation to Quỳnh Đôi. Rice vermicelli in Quỳnh Đôi is well known in Quỳnh Lưu district. Woodwork is also a significant economic activity locally and has been practiced in Quỳnh Đôi since 1655. A wife of Hồ Sĩ Dương, a famous mandarin, brought woodworkers from her native Quỳnh Nghĩa a commune of Quỳnh Lưu district, to Quỳnh Đôi and set up a joiner's workshop here (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1988: 37). Since that time, many villagers have followed this occupation. The market for woodwork is both inside and outside the village. Up to this time, many male villagers continue follow rice vermicelli production and woodwork.

In the nineteenth century the building trade was introduced to Quỳnh Đôi. In the early 20th century, a few people in the village worked as hairdressers and dressmakers (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 23). Along with agricultural production, cottage industry petty trading and animal husbandry are also important occupations for Quỳnh Đôi residents who raise cattle, pigs, and poultry. During the socialist transformation period, the farming cooperative had a breeding farm and several fish ponds (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1993: 85). Since the economic reforms, breeding has been taken over by individual households and the collective breeding farm was dissolved. The ponds were contracted out to private operators. In 1995, the number of cattle raised in Quỳnh Đôi was 503. In 2000, this number was 563 and in 2004 the figure was 450. The number of pigs which were bred was 1235 in 1995; 1654 in 2000 and 2162 in 2004. The commune had 19,000 poultry in 1995 and 22,000 poultry in 2004. In the same year, the areas of fish pond was 26.5 ha with the productivity of fishes was 7.9 tons (Hồ Ngọc Minh, 2004: 23-24).

Trading in northern Vietnamese villages in the early 20th century was described in details by Pierre Gourou (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 488-501). Trading took place at first at the markets. There were two kinds of markets. The first were those markets where people could trade in many kinds of goods varying from rice and vegetables to fabrics, ceramics, and medicines, etc. Most of the traders were peasant women who sold agricultural and cottage industry products. The second were markets where just a specific kind of good was traded, usually a cottage industry product of a particular village. For example in Đại Bái village in Bắc Ninh province there was a market selling bronze goods produced by Đại Bái villagers. Many villages had markets selling fabrics produced by their own villagers such as the Lụa market and the Tây Mỗ market in Hà Đông province, Bảo Ngũ market in Nam Định province, etc. A smaller volume of trading was carried out by hucksters, mostly women. They travelled

from village to village, from household to household to sell their fares consisting of rice, fish sauce, cake, glass wares, etc. Hucksters were often professional traders. While Gourou did not describe specifically the role of women at these markets, in the case of Quỳnh Đôi women were in charge of selling fabrics - the main cottage industry products of Quỳnh Đôi at that time.

Regarding trading in Northern Vietnamese villages in the early 20th century Gourou (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 488-501) pointed out that the volume of exchanged goods was small and the profits were small. Others researchers came to the same conclusions and stated that women played a major role in trading (Toan Ánh, 1999: 103; Trần Từ, 1984: 40). However, there was no mention of kinship relations in terms of patrilineage or ego based kin network in the trading.

In the case of Quỳnh Đôi, there is the Nội market.¹⁹ According to Hồ Sĩ Giàng (1988: 35), before 1945 Nội market was an ordinary market but also specialized in selling fabrics produced by local villagers. Women were in charge of selling fabric. A Quỳnh Đôi local saying also reflects the role of women at this market:

*Chợ Nội một tháng sáu phiên
Em năng đi chợ cho duyên mặn nồng*²⁰

The Nội market meets six times a month
You should come more often so that our love may grow

Today, there are two kinds of trading in Quỳnh Đôi. The first involves agricultural products usually traded on a small scale: a few kilograms of rice, a live chicken from the family coops, some garden vegetables etc. Women are mainly engaged in this kind of trading. The second involves cottage industry products. The three main cottage industries currently active in Quỳnh Đôi are incense, woodwork and rice vermicelli.

About incense production, on 21 July 2006 I had an interview with Hồ Quốc Vinh, a man born in 1949. Vinh lives in hamlet number 4 and specializes in making incense. He told me that incense products made by the villagers are often sold wholesale to traders in places like Vinh, Hanoi and Hồ Chí Minh city.

Concerning trading in wooden products, on 26 July 2006 I had an interview with Nguyễn Bá Lâm, born in 1969, who also lives in hamlet number 4. Nguyễn Bá Lâm has a small carpenters' workshop at his house. Lâm told me that customers for woodwork producers like himself come from inside as well as outside the village. They would go directly to the carpenter's shop and order what they want. There are no intermediaries between customers and producers. The reason is that the work volume is small, and the business is limited to familiar circles.

Trading in rice vermicelli occurs in two ways. Villagers make vermicelli at night and try to sell them at the market next day, since it is difficult to keep them fresh longer than a day. Another way is to buy vermicelli wholesale from producers and sell them in the market. On 23 October 2007, I had an interview with Nguyễn Thị Ninh - a woman born in 1973, living in hamlet number 6. She often buys from 5 to 10 kilogram of vermicelli per day from producers in the village and sells them at the market. For her work she earns from 10,000 VND (0.61 USD) to 20,000 VND (1.22 USD) per day.²¹ On bad days when she cannot find enough buyers her family would have to eat what she could not sell or feed them to the pigs.

¹⁹ Nội market is also called Nôi market. Today, the market is located in hamlet number 3.

²⁰ Quoted in Hồ Sĩ Giàng (1988: 35)

²¹ In October 2007, one USD was approximately to 16,307 VND

Apart from these sorts of trading, some villagers set up small stalls selling groceries at the market. It is worth noticing that those villagers following trading are farmers themselves. People from other communes bring other products such as seafood, firewood, etc to sell at Quỳnh Đôi market.

12. Social welfare

This section is an overview of health service, elderly care and childcare in Quỳnh Đôi village. In traditional society parental care was the responsibility of children. A Vietnamese proverb says: ‘young children depend on their parents; old parents depend on grown up children’ [*Trẻ cậy cha, già cậy con*]. Article 506 in Vietnam’s code of the Lê dynasty [*Quốc triều hình luật*] stipulated that if children do not support their parents [*phụng dưỡng cha mẹ*], they will be punished with ‘*khao đình*’ penalty (*Quốc triều hình luật [Vietnam's code of Lê dynasty (1428-1788)]*, 2003).²² Taking care of old parents is an act of filial piety and a moral obligation. In the Nguyễn dynasty the Court encouraged state officials to return to their native village for a period of time to take care of their old parents (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 152-155).

In Quỳnh Đôi as well as in most rural areas nowadays elderly care is still the responsibility of grown up children, especially among old peasants who have no pensions or receive no state benefits. A survey in 1989 showed that 81.30% of the elderly people live in the countryside. 83.68% of all the elderly live with their children while 4.9% live alone. In general, the elderly prefer to live under the same roof with their oldest son [*con trai cả*], the percentage of the elderly who want to live with their married oldest son is three times bigger than those who want to live with their married second son, and ten times bigger than the those who want to live with a married daughter. A number of elderly couples, especially in the countryside, do not want to live under the same roof with their children but want to live nearby. 47.5% the elderly said that they want to live under the same roof and share meals with one of their children while 30.5% said they do not want to live under the same roof with their children but prefer to live next to them. Among widowers and widows, 61.1% want to live under the same roof with one of their children. These data indicate that married children play an important role in the care of their elderly parents (Lê Thi, 2002: 197-198). Another survey conducted in 2001 with a sample of 800 informants born between 1946 and to 1976, in Hải Dương province in the Red River Delta also shows the importance of grown up children in elderly care. One of the main reasons why couples want to have children is that ‘children are expected to take care of their parents in their old age’. The results of this survey are summarized as follows (Vũ Tuấn Huy (chief author), 2004: 253):

Very important:	72.40%
Quite important:	20.60%
Not so important:	5.80%
Not important at all:	0.30%
Do not know:	1.00%

Thus, today care for the elderly is still the responsibility of children, especially in the countryside where most senior citizens do not receive pensions or state subsidy. Since the main purpose of this study is to examine changes in kinship relations within lineages whereas

²² *Khao đình*: the criminals were drafted into the army (*Quốc triều hình luật [Vietnam's code of Lê dynasty (1428-1788)]*, 2003: 31).

elderly care is a part of intra-family relations between children and parents, I will not dwell much further on this matter.

The 2001 survey also provided a picture of household composition. Around 20.0% of the households were extended family - more than two generations living together under the same roof. Among households where the husband/wife's father/mother are still alive, from 47% to 60% of father/mother live with their children, mainly with their (youngest) sons (Vũ Tuấn Huy (chief author), 2004: 134-135). This explains the situation where parents living together with their married children actively help them to take care of their own children - the parents' grandchildren - while they are away at work in the daytime.

Concerning childcare, in Vietnamese traditional villages it is quite normal for older brothers/sisters to look after younger siblings (Toan Ánh, 1999: 55). To find out what happened in the period of socialist transformation in Quỳnh Đôi, on 24 October 2007 I had an interview with Hồ Trọng Thỏa, now 73 years old, living in hamlet number 6. He told me that under the collectivization regime, the commune nursery school and the commune kindergarten were subsidized by the agricultural co-operative. Babysitters and pre-school teachers received work points [*công điểm*] from the co-operative. Parents did not have to pay any school fees and children had free lunch. Most children were sent to the commune nursery school and the commune kindergarten. In households where old parents lived with their married children, the grandparents looked after their grandchildren at home.

At present the commune nursery school and commune kindergarten still exist. However they are no longer free, since they have become semi-public institutions [*cơ sở bán công*]. On 24 October 2007, I had an interview with Hồ Đắc Thắng, 37, who was in charge of education and culture affairs at the Commune People's Committee. According to Thắng, for a child to attend the commune nursery school or the commune kindergarten, the parents have to pay 70.000 VND (4.29 USD) per year as maintenance fee [*tiền xây dựng*], and 45.000 VND (2.75 USD) per month for the child's lunch.²³ He added that while a majority of children are sent to the nursery school or the kindergarten, a number of children still stay at home and are looked after by their grandparents.

In a 1989 survey of a rural locality named Quảng Bị in Northern Vietnam with 7000 inhabitants, 92% female informants said that they would find it difficult if they did not receive support from their parents in taking care of their own children (Đặng Nguyên Anh, 1991: 162). In a recent survey (2001), 74% informants born between 1966 and 1976 - the age group most likely to have small children - said that in last 12 months they did receive support from their parents (husband's parents and/or wife's parents) in childcare in one way or another (Vũ Tuấn Huy (chief author), 2004: 136). Thus, although there is a downward trend, childcare still reflects deeply relations between parents and married children. In substantive chapters I will not focus on childcare because I want to explore relations among household relatives that are wider than relations between grown up married children and their parents, especially when they live in the same roofs.

On health-related matters, formerly in Vietnamese villages there were oriental-style doctors [*thầy lang*] who treated all kinds of illness (Toan Ánh, 1999: 108). In 1950 the infirmary of the commune was established. However, at that time the medicine cabinet was very simple (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 162). In the period from 1961 to 1965, the infirmary was upgraded. In 1971, it was bombed by American planes, which left one dead and three injured after the raid. After that the medicine cabinet was moved to the ancestral worship house of the Phạm patrilineage and the consulting-room was moved to the house of a villager living next to where infirmary once stood (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 204-205). From 1968 to 1990, the infirmary had seven staffs, all females. At present, the commune infirmary has five staffs: a

²³ In October 2007, one USD was approximately to 16,307 VND

general doctor, an oriental medicine specialist, a pharmacist, and two midwives. Besides, each neighbourhood has a collaborator [*cộng tác viên*]. The collaborators have no medical knowledge. Their job was to report the number of pregnant women of each neighbourhood to the infirmary and publicize the needs of hygiene and sanitation, etc. Each receives a monthly allowance of 30,000 VND (1.84 USD).²⁴ The infirmary's main functions are to give preliminary examinations of patients and give them basic medical treatment, and carry out deliveries. In 2006, the infirmary examined and treated 4,112 patients and carried out 52 deliveries²⁵.

13. Summary

This chapter offers an overview of Quỳnh Đôi village and for that matter Quỳnh Đôi commune as well. The reason Quỳnh Đôi was chosen for analyzing kinship relations in the next chapters is that this is a well-known village with significant historical transformations and developments reflecting the economic, political, social and cultural changes in an extreme manner, especially in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period. Quỳnh Đôi has a long, well-recorded history and a long tradition of education with many villagers getting degrees equivalent to bachelor and doctoral degrees in the era of the classic Hán-Chinese education system. This village is also the homeland of several famous 'historic' people including revolutionary leaders. Quỳnh Đôi inhabitants not only bear the full brunt of revolution and war but are also subjected to the socio-economic, cultural and political changes that have transformed northern Vietnamese villages in the past decades. Quỳnh Đôi is a part of Nghệ An province where revolutionary ideals took roots and collectivization policies were implemented with great fervor, depriving kinship - especially patrilineal ties which were considered as vestiges of 'feudalism' - of some of its pre- and post-revolutionary functions. Against this background, a sociological and anthropological study of family and kinship in the Reform era may help elucidate how form, function and meaning of kinship intersect with socio-cultural, economic and political processes during a period of monumental change.

It should be noticed that this research is basically a case study of a single village, and as such does not necessarily reflect situations occurring elsewhere because of the diversity of Vietnamese villages. In addition, Quỳnh Đôi is not a representative village but an 'extreme case', where many important developments in the economic, political, social and cultural domains happened in a more pronounced and hence visible manner. Thus, the changes of kinship relations in this village are more strongly expressed and hence, more visible than that in many other villages. Therefore, the study of this village allows us to understand more deeply and clearly the changes in kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* period in comparison with the socialist transformation and pre-socialist period.

²⁴ In December 2007, one USD was approximately to 16292 VND

²⁵ Hồ Sĩ Khoá, 37 year-old, general doctor, head of the infirmary, interview on 31 December 2006

CHAPTER 5

THE PREPONDERANCE OF PATRILINEAGES BEFORE 1945

*Con người có tổ, có tông
Như cây có cội, như sông có nguồn*

People have ancestors
Trees have roots and rivers have sources
(Folk song)

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I provided a general picture of the research setting - Quỳnh Đôi village in northern Vietnam as the unit of observation. This chapter focuses on a specific aspect of social relations in the village: the patrilineal ties from the beginning of the 20th century to 1945. In order to study the changes of kinship relations in the wake of the *Đổi mới*, one needs to go back and take a look at these relations not only during the socialist transformation period (to see how they were impacted by ideologically inspired collective policies) but also during the decades preceding the August Revolution of 1945 in order to reconstruct the elements underlining the forms, the functions and the roles inherent in traditional kinship relations. In this chapter, the ‘time before 1945’ implies the decades from the beginning of the 20th century up to 1945. According to Trần Từ during those times villages in the northern lowlands still retained features of the traditional society (Trần Từ, 1984: 12-14). This view is shared by Nguyễn Thế Anh (2003: 116-121). Pham Van Bich who also reminds us that in those days the Vietnamese family still kept its traditional characteristics such as its collective community feature, hierarchy, patrilineal family, and patrilocal residence pattern. While it is true that the Vietnamese family underwent some changes under French influence, this occurred mainly in urban areas (Pham Van Bich, 1997: 70-111). Generally speaking this chapter discusses kinship relations from the early part of the 20th century up to 1945, but references will also be made to earlier periods whenever circumstances arise and wherever suitable data are available.

Vietnamese kinship contains both ‘paternal’ features coming from the north (China) and ‘maternal’ features coming from the south (Southeast Asia). As Haines (2006: 6) put it: “Acknowledging for Vietnam even simple temporal and north/south differences influences requires one to say not that ‘Vietnamese kinship is patrilineal’, for example, but that kinship among particular Vietnamese at particular times reflects both patrilineage emphases (generally from China to the north) and bilateral or even matrilineal emphases (generally from the south)”. Luong (1984, 1989) also shows that Vietnamese kinship system consists of a male-oriented (patrilineal) model and a non-male-oriented (bilateral) model. Woodside for his part contends that “the kinship system, whose form (if not always its informal substance) deliberately resembled the Chinese kinship system, was patrilineal” (Woodside, 1976: 95).

In this chapter, I shall show that prior to 1945 the patrilineage was the predominant form of kinship relations. This is the view held by most researchers (Nguyễn Văn Huyền,

2003[1939]; Pham Van Bich, 1997; Woodside, 1976), yet I still want to examine the subject more thoroughly making it the starting point to study what changes in kinship relations have occurred in the wake of the Socialist building era, followed by the *Đổi mới*. Since other researchers also argue that both paternal features and maternal features co-exist to form Vietnamese kinship, the question here is which one predominated over the kinship system before 1945. This chapter argues that in spite of the co-existence of both paternal and maternal features, the patrilineage - a line of descendants through males - was the predominant element of Vietnamese kinship system before 1945. This forms the basis for exploring the changes of kinship relations during the decades of socialist transformation and in the *Đổi mới* era.

In section 2, I will examine the structure, membership and practices of the patrilineage as a real organization. Section 3 shows the legal responsibility of the patrilineage. Section 4 is about the kinship term 'patrilineage' [*họ or dòng họ*] that reflects the predominance of patrilineage. Section 5 examines the role of patrilineages in setting up new villages. Section 6 examines the residential structure in the village before 1945 in which members' houses of each patrilineage usually gathered in a certain area of the village. Section 7, 8 and 9 detect the role of the patrilineage in life cycle rituals, education and economic fields.

2. Patrilineages: Membership and practices

Before explaining why kinship relations on paternal side (in terms of patrilineages) were more important than other kinds of kinship relations - these will be discussed in the next sections - at the outset it is important to examine the existence of patrilineages and how they were organized in the period before 1945. As shown above kinship relations on the father's side and on the mother's side existed parallel. However, only relatives on the father's side make up an entity - the patrilineage. There were no other kinship relation sorts could form an entity like the patrilineage because the patrilineage has patrilineage members, head of patrilineage [*trưởng tộc*], ancestor worship [*Thờ cúng tổ tiên*], patrilineage ancestral worship hall [*từ đường or nhà thờ họ*], genealogy record of patrilineage or patrilineage annals [*gia phả*], and patrilineage graveyard [*mộ mã*].¹

Patrilineage membership

Before 1945, patrilineages were corporate groupings with a formal, exclusive membership that entails both rights and responsibilities. A male belonged to a patrilineage as a full-fledged member with rights and responsibilities whereas a woman despite carrying her father's name was barred from the ranks of her father's patrilineage and after getting married, she was not allowed to become a member of her husband's patrilineage either.

After the birth of a son, the father would bring the good news to his patrilineage. However, the son became a patrilineage member only when his name was recorded in the patrilineage register [*sổ họ*] at a ceremony where a small offering was made to the ancestors. The age at which this occurred depended on the rules of a particular patrilineage and local customs. After becoming a patrilineage member, he had the rights and responsibilities to the patrilineage from ancestor worship to other affairs related to patrilineage. Concerning this matter, an informant recalled:

¹ I often shorten 'patrilineage ancestral worship hall' to 'patrilineage hall'

....Before 1945, women were not admitted to patrilineages and their names were not recorded in their fathers' patrilineage register [sổ họ]. All men were patrilineage members. When a son was born, his father informed his patrilineage. The son was not admitted to his father's patrilineage automatically right after his birth. When the boy reached the age of about seven, his father made a small offering (usually of betel leaves, areca nuts and rice alcohol) to his ancestors on the ancestral worship day and asked the senior members on the patrilineage council to admit the son to the patrilineage and to write his name down in the patrilineage register. By becoming a member, the son had both rights and obligations. The rights included inheriting lineage property while the obligations included contributions to the maintenance of the property of the patrilineage such as its ancestral hall and graveyard bearing the name of the patrilineage. On the ancestors' worship day, all patrilineage members took part in the feast, enjoying the food that had been offered to the ancestors, which consisted of glutinous rice and pork [xôi và thịt lợn]. After the meal, each member received a share of the food to bring home to his family. When I was a boy, I was very happy to attend such a feast at my patrilineage ancestral hall.

(Hoàng Nhật Tâm, 80 years old, interview on 15 January 2006)

As regards the role of women in patrilineages before 1945, they were not allowed into these patrilineal organizations. Before 1945, women did not take part in ancestor worship ceremonies at the patrilineage ancestral halls. They were rarely allowed into these halls because of the 'feudal conception' [*quan niệm phong kiến*]² that women were not pure [*trong sạch*], especially during monthly periods or when they just had sexual intercourse with their husbands.³ It should be noted that although women did not officially have the rights and responsibilities incumbent on male patrilineage members, they often had to take care of the affairs of their husband's family, and indirectly got themselves involved his patrilineage relations. As the saying goes: "A married woman has to carry the burden of her husband's estate [*Lấy chồng gánh vác giang sơn nhà chồng*]. Admittedly, the women's role in patrilineage affairs was rather ambiguous.

Prior to 1945, a woman had a subordinate position in kinship relations. In a way, she had a 'half-membership' in her father's patrilineage before her marriage and a 'half-membership' in her husband's patrilineage after her marriage. Before getting married, a woman maintained relations with her father's kin as well as her mother's kin. She was considered as a part of her father's patrilineage yet she was not a member of that patrilineage. Because the structure of Vietnamese kinship system followed the patrilineal line and the perception of gender inequality that inheres, the position of women in the patrilineage were quite limited as compared to that of men. This inferior position was most apparent in popular sayings and proverbs such as 'women are outside the patrilineages' [*Nữ nhi ngoại tộc*]; or 'one son is something; ten daughters are nothing' [*nhất nam viết hữu, thập nữ viết vô*]. After her marriage, a woman symbolically moved from her own patrilineage to that of her husband – in actual fact she physically moved from her parents' home to the house of her in-laws (Bélanger, 2002; Bryant, 2002; Rydström, 1998) – where as wife and mother she would remain an outsider to her husband's patrilineage and would enter a new socialization to integrate into her husband's family (Pham Van Bich, 1997: 92-99). In principle the married woman became a component of her husband's family (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 133) yet

² Actually, the 'feudal perception' is understood as the perception of women's position in ancestor worship. Before 1945, men carried out rituals in ancestor worship, which took place at patrilineage ancestral halls.

³ From field interviews with several informants such as Hồ Như Hưng (70 years old, living in hamlet 6, interviewed on 14 January 2007) and Phan Thị Đức (65 years old, living in hamlet 3, interviewed on 31 December 2006).

she did not become a full member of her husband's patrilineage. In practice, the woman still kept relations with her natal family and had more relations with her husband's kin (Luong, 1989: 746-747). The woman's position in her husband's kinship network was quite low. As a proverb says: 'different bloods mean cold feelings' [*khác máu tanh lòng*], implying the wife would be kept at a distance by her husband's kin. A married woman would usually be called by her husband's name and her own name was rarely used. The position of the wife in her husband's kinship network was enhanced, especially after she gave birth to a son, thus strengthening the patrilineage of her husband. Her influence became even greater when her children got married (Phạm Quốc Sử, 2000: 15-16). When her sons got married, she became a mother-in-law. With this newly acquired position, she had the right to teach her daughters-in-law (Pham Van Bich, 1997: 95). As Pham Van Bich aptly puts it, "a woman who had got through from a new bride in the patrilineal family to mother-in-law experienced a turning point of power" (Pham Van Bich, 1997: 104). In addition, as a popular proverb goes, 'the wife holds the key to the cash trunk' [*nắm tay hòm chìa khóa*] implying that she was the one who managed the household's budget. In this position, sometimes her opinion did matter in affairs related to her husband's patrilineage, for example when it concerned the size of the family's contribution to the patrilineage, particularly after her husband had passed away (Phạm Quốc Sử, 2000: 16). However, in almost situation in kinship relations where patrilineage plays the pivotal role, women were subordinate to men. This was a consequence of a patriarchal society permeated by Confucian ethics where gender relations were characterized by 'respect for men and disregard for women' [*trọng nam khinh nữ*] and by 'the three submissions' [*tam tòng*]: 'submission to the father before her marriage, submission to the husband during her marriage, submission to the elder son when widowed' (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 125). In general, a man rarely built strong ties with the kin of his wife because of his preoccupation with his own patrilineage. Moreover, a man was often considered as a 'guest' in the eyes of his wife's kin. There were instances when a son-in-law lived with his wife's family because, for example, he was poor, or the parents-in-law themselves had no sons of their own and were willing to offer the son-of-law a roof over his head. In these cases, the son-in-law would be disparagingly regarded as 'a dog sneaking under the cupboard' [*chó chui gầm chạn*], or 'being led by the in-laws by the nose' [*bị nhà vợ dắt mũi*]. That came from the perception that a self-respecting man should not depend on his wife's family for his livelihood, or else he would lose face [*mất sĩ diện*] (Phạm Quốc Sử, 2000: 17).

Since the husband showed little interest in forging close ties with his wife's kin, the wife's social position was bound to be low. Thus, before 1945, women's connections with relatives in their kinship network and exploitation of these relations for their interests were limited because women had no official membership and had low positions in their father's patrilineages and also in their husband's patrilineages. In addition, the low position of women's position also came from the cause that husbands had no strong attachments to kin of their wives.

Patrilineage leadership

Patrilineage authority was vested in the person who headed the patrilineage. In the past, this person was often a powerful figure. He officiated at ceremonies held in honour of the ancestors, solved conflicts among patrilineage members, and found ways to strengthen relations within the patrilineage. He also played an active role in the affairs of the patrilineage members particularly in matters related to life cycle events such as births, funerals, weddings, etc (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 123-124). The patrilineage head is always a man. It is a hereditary function, passing from father to (eldest) son.

Ancestor worships

The essence of ancestor worship stressed the temporal continuity of patrilineages and families, since “the family is just a link in the lineal, generational chain that has to be continued forever...The family is understood and seen in relation with other (previous/next) generations” (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 3). Kinship is understood as a human community stemming from ancestors as long as they could be remembered and worshipped (Đỗ Thái Đồng, 1991: 75; Nguyễn Từ Chi, 1991: 60). Ancestor worship is based on the belief that the soul lives on after the body is dead, and maintains ties with their kin in certain ways (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 247-248; Pham Van Bich, 1999: 220). Since the ancestors’ souls give protection to the living, the descendents must show due respect in worshipping their ancestors (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 248). Another reason for piety is that if not given good care the souls would wander in the other world, without a resting place (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 221). Moreover, ancestor worship is also a way of expressing gratitude to one’s ancestors without whom one could not be born into this world (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 249). According to Confucian ethics, ancestor worship is what distinguishes the behaviour of humans from that of other animals and demonstrates the superiority of humankind (Phạm Văn Bích, 1999: 223). As Woodside puts it: “the traditional Vietnamese family was a little like a modern business corporation: it survived the deaths of its individual members or “shareholders” at any one point in time” (Woodside, 1976: 95). Emphasizing the role of ancestor worship in lineage relations, he pointedly adds that this cult “integrated Vietnamese lineages, those collections of families which were genealogically linked to each other by the male heads of each family to a common ancestor, and which had developed residential proximity an important social ties” (Woodside, 1976: 96). In short, ancestor worship is a fundamental element of Vietnamese family and kinship.

Regarding ancestor worship at patrilineage level, this ritual was usually carried out once a year at the so-called Spring Ancestor worship [*Xuân tế*], and sometimes also on the occasions of lunar New Year [*Tết*] or Winter solstice [*Đông chí*]. Ancestor worship on the latter occasions was carried out at small scale. All the households belonging to the patrilineage participated in this ritual. On that date, all members went to the patrilineage ancestral hall or the sub-patrilineage ancestral hall, or the house of the head of the patrilineage or sub-patrilineage, in case the patrilineage did not have its own patrilineage ancestral hall, to prepare foods for the feasts and other items to be offered to the ancestors. After the ritual was over, everyone enjoyed the feast and each person received a share of the food to bring home. The head of the patrilineage took charge of preparing and worshipping the ancestors (Nguyễn Hồng Phong, 1957: 119).

From information gathered from the field, before 1945, women did not enter the ancestral halls. When worshipping ancestors at patrilineage ancestral halls or sub-patrilineage ancestral halls, women could prepare the items for worship and they could bring the items to the halls, but only at the hall gates and men would bring the items into the halls. If patrilineages did not have patrilineage ancestral halls, patrilineage ancestor worships were taken place at the altars located in the houses of the heads of the patrilineages. Women could go to the houses of patrilineages’ heads but ceremonies were carried out by men.⁴

From the perspective of social capital, ancestor worship was an important occasion for patrilineage members to reinforce their connections. As argued by Đoàn Văn Chúc (1998: 133), the primary function of ancestor worship is reconfirmation of social relations and solidarity. By joining ancestor worship, patrilineage members affirmed that they belonged to a

⁴ Interviews with Hoàng Nhật Tâm, aged 80, on 15 January 2006 and with Phan Hữu Thanh, 79 years old on 16 January 2008

certain network. That created the closure of the social network consisting of people, who participated in the ritual. The closure of social network was a condition for creating and maintaining social capital understood trustworthiness as argued by Coleman (1988: 105-108).

In Quỳnh Đôi, before 1945, patrilineage ancestor worship ceremonies were carried out from the afternoon of 11 January to the end of the morning of 12 January of the lunar calendar. Descendants of patrilineages living outside the village returned to worship their forebears, showing gratitude and asking for blessings. Offerings to ancestors were steamed glutinous rice, meat (usually pork), rice alcohol, incense and other items. The patrilineage budget was used to pay for these offerings. This budget came from the patrilineage rice field or the cult-portion field [*ruộng hương hỏa*] and offertories from descendants. Each patrilineage was allocated a cultivated land area as the cult-portion field of the patrilineage by the village. The area depended on the size of each patrilineage. In 1850 the total Quỳnh Đôi village rice fields had an area of 228 *mẫu* and 5 *sào* (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 48). The public land accounted for about 30 percent of the total land of the village of which there were several kinds: village land, patrilineage land (cult-portion field), land for soldiers, land for study encouragement, and land for the age associations (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 16). Concerning the patrilineage rice fields in the past, a Quỳnh Đôi villager recalled,

In the past, before 1945, the village stipulated that depending on its size, each patrilineage was allocated a certain area of cultivated land as the rice-field set aside for ancestral worship. The big patrilineages may have 5 mẫu or 4 mẫu each; the small patrilineages received 1 mẫu or 2 mẫu per patrilineage; the medium-sized patrilineages received around 3 mẫu each. Each patrilineage assigned one or more members to cultivate these fields. The yields of the fields were returned to the patrilineage for purposes related to ancestral worship. The yields were used to prepare for the feasts that included steamed glutinous rice, meat and other items such as incense, rice alcohol as offerings to the ancestors.

(Hoàng Nhật Tân, 80 years old, interview on 15 January 2006).

Before 1945, the Nguyễn patrilineage had its own rice fields, totalling about 5 mẫu. The fields were cultivated by patrilineage appointed members. The yields from these fields were to cover expenses incurred in ancestor worship rituals, for example on occasions of commemorating an ancestor's death anniversary. During the collectivization period, the land was turned over to the communal agricultural collective cooperative.

(Nguyễn Ngọc An, 78 years old, interview on 30 August 2003).

This only goes to show that in order to carry out ancestor worship, the patrilineage needs an economic base in the form of the rice fields set aside for this purpose. These are the cult-portion fields allocated by the village from its public lands. In some patrilineages, the descendants also donated their own fields to add to the ricefield set aside for ancestor worship. As shown above, the cult-portion fields were the fields the yields of which were reserved for ancestor worship purposes such as buying meat, rice, and other items in order to make feasts offering to ancestors. Therefore, ancestor worships were guaranteed to carry out by not only the spiritual foundation but also the properties of patrilineages – patrilineage rice fields.

Patrilineage ancestral worship halls

Patrilineage ancestral worship halls (patrilineage halls) are the places where the ancestors are worshipped. These are also venues for patrilineage meetings. Normally each patrilineage has an ancestral worship hall, and each sub-lineage has its own ancestral worship hall. However, depending on the situation of each patrilineage, especially economic situation, the ancestral worship hall could be the house of the patrilineage's head (Lê Văn Chường, 1999: 139; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]: 773-776). In Quỳnh Đôi, before 1945, many patrilineages and sub-patrilineages had their ancestral worship halls for a long time. The foundation and history of many patrilineage ancestral worship halls were recorded in the patrilineage's private documents or retained in the memory of patrilineage members. In the case of the Hoàng patrilineage's ancestral worship hall, the current hall was established in 1735 under the Lê dynasty.⁵ From 1735 to 1882, the patrilineage ancestral worship hall was removed and rebuilt five times. The current location of the hall dated back to 1882. In 1885, when French troops and local Catholics raided the village the hall was destroyed. In 1892, it was restored, its grounds covering an area of 7 sào and 8 thước.⁶ During wartime and the collectivization period, the grounds of the hall became part of the agricultural cooperative; the hall itself served as classrooms for the village school and for a time as the storehouse of the agricultural cooperative. In the case of the Dương patrilineage ancestral worship hall, according to the memory of one old member of the patrilineage, the history of the hall is as follows.

The founder of the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi, a man named Dương Thế Thông, chose Quỳnh Đôi to settle in 1494, after the Hồ, the Nguyễn and the Hoàng had established themselves in this village more than 120 years earlier. In 1933, the Dương patrilineage bought a piece of land in hamlet Ao, to build its ancestral hall. In 1934, the hall was built and was inaugurated in 1935. The hall included a 'Thượng điện' (the house where ancestral altars are located) which was connected with a 'Bái đường' (the house where descendants perform rites). After the 1945 August Revolution, the patrilineage's ancestral hall was used as an office for some organ of Quỳnh Lưu district committee. In the 1960s, during the collectivization period, like many other patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi, the Dương decided to sell a part of the hall. The 'Bái đường' was sold to Dương Cảnh Thịnh, a member of the patrilineage.

(Dương Phúc Mãn, 83 years old, interview on 22 July 2006).

The fact that patrilineage ancestral worship halls are periodically built and rebuilt through the ups and downs of history testifies to their importance in the religious sense. The patrilineage ancestral worship hall is the space where patrilineage members gather to honour, venerate and worship their ancestors on special occasions every year. The patrilineage ancestral worship hall in Vietnam resembles its counterpart in China in the sense that it "provides the members with a physical space to locate the physical existence of their ancestors. It allows the individuals to engage in a dialogue and come to terms with the social reality of the past years. It also allows them to understand and "feel" the social experiences of the ancestors. *Zhor-chu* provides the physical location for the present generations' reminiscences and interaction with the events and people of the past" (Kuah, 1999: 110).⁷

⁵ This information came from a text that was to appear on a stone stele to be built at the end of 2006. It was drafted on 16 September 2006 by the current head of the patrilineage, Hoàng Nguyên Ninh.

⁶ One sào is equivalent to 500m², one sào is equivalent to 10 thước.

⁷ Zhor-chu: Lineage ancestral house

Genealogical records

Along with the patrilineage ancestral halls, genealogical records (patrilineage annals) are also important assets of patrilineages. The genealogical records are books written about the histories of patrilineages. They contain a wealth of information including the origins of the patrilineages; dates of birth and dates of death of their members and details on the properties of patrilineages. The moral code of the patrilineage was also laid down in these books (Lê Văn Chương, 1999: 139; Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003[1939]: 773-774; Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 164-168). Faure (1986) notices that in the New Territories (a part of Hong Kong) in China it is possible for patrilineages of the same surname to merge into a single line of descent, a single patrilineage through written genealogy. The written genealogy is a tool for tracing common descent through which it is possible to see the organization of an entire patrilineage. It is given a central position in the organization of the patrilineage (Faure, 1986: 2-3). In the case of Quỳnh Đôi, before 1945 many patrilineages had their written genealogical records. The time when they actually began to keep these records varied from one patrilineage to another. Some of them were dated far back for centuries and contained not only detailed genealogical trees but also vivid descriptions of patrilineal developments.

While studying a number of genealogical records during fieldworks in Quỳnh Đôi I noticed the variations that were apparent among these records from one patrilineage to another. These concern format, the number of pages, the age of these records, the materials chosen and the style of writing. However, they all shared two points in common. The first is that there are two periods of writing, editing, supplementing, and revising: a long period before 1945 and a quite recent period after *Đổi mới*. The second point is about the content. A cursory look at the genealogical record of the Hoàng patrilineage, the history of this genealogical record, which was traced, is as follows:

Before 1945:

- In 1740, the genealogical record was written in Chinese character
- In 1863 and 1864, the record was edited.
- In 1918, the record was supplemented.
- In 1915, 1918 the records was revised.

After 1945:

- In 1987, the record was translated into modern Vietnamese.
- In 1990, the record was supplemented and revised.
- In 1993, the record was supplemented.

The information about writing, editing, updating and revising of the Hoàng's genealogical record says a couple of things. These activities took place from 1740 to 1945, before the 1945 August Revolution, and after 1986 (the starting point of official renovation) the record was edited, supplemented and revised several times. That shows a revival of the patrilineages in the wake of the *Đổi mới*.

About the content of genealogical records, the content of genealogical records is usually about summary history of the patrilineage and its creator, the patrilineage ancestral hall, the written texts about admonishing descendants, and the good examples of the patrilineage.

Before 1945, patrilineages paid much attention to their genealogical records for a number of reasons. First of all, these records help to consolidate the ties among patrilineage members by reminding them of their shared ancestry. Patrilineage trees (these did not include female descendants), stories and anecdotes about common ancestors, the history of the

ancestral hall, etc all contribute to creating a sense of belonging, the blood ties that bring them together made them feel proud of sharing the same their forebears. The admonishing words of the ancestors written down in the genealogical records served as a guiding light for the members to follow, a sort of spiritual “creed” [*cương lĩnh*] of the patrilineage (Trần Từ, 1984: 41).

Patrilineage graveyards

Patrilineage graveyards were also important assets of patrilineages. Usually each patrilineage chose a certain plot of land judged to be well situated in terms of geomancy for burying those who passed away. It is believed that a dead person buried in a well-located place would bring good fortunes for their descendants (Toan Ánh, 1995: 366, 388). Because the patrilineage graveyard forms a central part in the relations of the patrilineage members, it is cared and protected by the whole patrilineage. Regarding this matter, a proverb says: Protect something with care as if you protect your ancestors’ graves [*Giữ như giữ mã tổ*]. Violations of graves were serious crimes in traditional laws. For example, the Hồng Đức code (*Quốc triều hình luật [Vietnam's code of Lê dynasty (1428-1788)]*, 2003) stipulated that punishments for people violating graves would range from exile to execution by the sword [*phải tội chém*], depending on the severity of the violations (*article 32 of chapter on Đạo tặc - Robbers and Thieves*). In the Gia Long code (the code of Nguyễn dynasty), provisions were made to protect graves and to punish those who violated them. People who violated graves were cursed (Toan Ánh, 1995: 391). During my fieldwork, I learned that activities related to patrilineage graveyard had to be approved by the patrilineage. Every year, a few days before the Tết festival, members of the patrilineage would come to clean and decorate ancestral graves. As with genealogical records, there was evidence of large-scale re-building and upgrading of ancestral graves during the Renovation period, often with financial support from overseas relatives. For example, in the case of the Dương patrilineage their graveyard were upgraded and renovated there times in 1989, 1994 and 1998. All this reflected a general revival of the patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* era.

3. Patrilineage and its legal responsibility

Studying the *Quốc triều hình luật* [Vietnam's code of Lê dynasty (1428-1788)], Haines (Haines, 2006: 18) points out that: “one element of kinship that appears very clearly in the code is patrilineality: the recognition of a line of descent through males”. Indeed, in the ‘feudal’ time, the patrilineage had a legal status of its own. From the Hồng Đức code (the code of Lê dynasty) to the Gia Long code (the code of Nguyễn dynasty), patrilineages and patrilineage members were subjects to be regulated by the laws.

In the Lê code (*Quốc triều hình luật [Vietnam's code of Lê dynasty (1428-1788)]*, 2003) the legal status of the patrilineage was stipulated clearly. First, the law protects heads of patrilineages and heads of families and their privileges. For example, in marriage the bridegroom was to bring the betrothal gifts to the house of the head of the patrilineage of the bride to ask for permission in case when the bride’s parents had died (*article 31 of the chapter on marriage and family – Hộ hôn*). Secondly, the sale of the fields set aside for ancestor worship was forbidden. In addition, these fields were to be transferred following the rule of patrilineal inheritance (*article 389, 400 and several other articles of the chapter on assets – Điền sản*). The purpose of this ban was to maintain the resource for ancestor worship - a cornerstone of the continuation of the patrilineage from generation to generation. Thirdly, it should be noticed that of the ten most serious offences in the laws three were related to the

patrilineal domain; these were acts of filial impiety, discord in a patrilineage, and incest within a patrilineage (*article 2 of the chapter on names of regulations – Danh lệ*). Moreover, the codes prescribed serious punishments for those who committed offences against relatives on the paternal side. For example, if a sister-in-law struck a brother of her husband, the punishment for her was the same as in the case she would strike a stranger (*article 20 of the chapter on striking and lawsuit – Đấu tụng*). However, offences within patrilineage membership were considered more serious, for example, when a member struck the head of his own patrilineage, the punishment for the offender was more severe than would be the case with someone outside the patrilineage (*article 14 of the chapter on striking and lawsuit – Đấu tụng*). Denouncing each other among patrilineage members was also considered as an offence (*article 48 of the chapter on striking and lawsuit – Đấu tụng*).

Although the codes did not stipulate the accountability of the patrilineage as a legal entity, the (feudal) state often applied administrative measures against it in serious circumstances such as treason. For example, when someone raised a rebellion, his patrilineage would be implicated in the affair and as a consequence many patrilineage members had to go into hiding or change their surname [*đổi tên họ*] to avoid persecution (Nguyễn Đồng Chi, 1978: 189-190). Trần Đức (1993: 38) points out that the ‘feudal’ state laws paid particular attention to patrilineages and patrilineage heads in regulating patrilineal relations, making them the most important of all kinship relations.

Apart from state-level regulations, village charters and regulations of the patrilineages themselves also stipulated the joint responsibility of the members of a patrilineage. In the case of Quỳnh Đôi, the patrilineages had their regulations in the past. These regulations had an impact on the everyday lives of patrilineage members, particularly focussing on matters such as ancestor worship; financial contributions; obligations, responsibilities and behaviours among kin, etc. For example, on 23 December 1666 the Hồ patrilineage held a meeting at which in the following regulation was laid down:

If any member of the patrilineage shows disrespect to his parents, he will be brought to the ancestral hall, and forced to lie on the ground in front of the altar. There he will be reprimanded for his bad behaviour by the patrilineage elders and will be beaten with a stick from three to five times. Finally, he has to offer apologies to his parents and the patrilineage elders and promises not to repeat the offence in future (quoted in Ninh Viết Giao, 1995:32).

On 20 October 1858, at a meeting of the Văn patrilineage, it was decided that:

If members of the patrilineage quarrel among themselves, or if a family quarrel breaks out between husband and wife, they will be admonished by the patrilineage elders. If these admonishments are ignored they will be beaten with a stick from three to five times. If the offenders still do not repent, they will be expelled from the patrilineage (quoted in Ninh Viết Giao, 1995:32).

Thus, the patrilineages took on the responsibility of ensuring good conduct among their members, meting out admonishments and punishments whenever necessary. The way these were carried out had religious, spiritual and physical overtones. The fact that admonishments and punishments took place at the ancestral halls, in front of the ancestors’ altar underlines the authority of the patrilineage based not only on blood relations among patrilineage members but also on their connection to the ancestors’ souls. The most severe punishment a member could get was expulsion from his patrilineage, which was tantamount to total disgrace.

4. Kinship terms and proverbs on kinship

Linguistically, ‘họ hàng’ in Vietnamese is equivalent to ‘kinship relations’ in English. ‘Họ hàng’ refers to all kinds of kinship relations. However, when mentioning the kinship system the Vietnamese usually use the term ‘họ’ or ‘đồng họ’. ‘Họ’ or ‘đồng họ’ is equivalent to the term ‘patrilineage’. *Họ* is also used as a patronymic such as *họ Nguyễn* or *đồng họ Nguyễn*, *họ Hồ* or *đồng họ Hồ*, *họ Phan* or *đồng họ Phan*. Nguyễn (Hồ, Phan, etc...) is the name of a certain patrilineage. According to Gourou in the lowland of North Vietnam there were 202 patrilineages, in 1930s (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 118). According to Nguyễn Đức Dụ the number of patrilineages in Vietnam was estimated to be about 300 (quoted in Phan Văn Các, 1997: 64).

When mentioning relatives on the father’s side the term *họ nội* (the inner patrilineage or father’s patrilineage) is used. The term *họ ngoại* (the outer patrilineage or mother’s patrilineage) refers to relatives on the mother’s side. Therefore, ‘patrilineage’ is the key unit when referring to relatives on either the father’s side or mother’s side. In the realm of kinship relations, ‘patrilineage’ is the key term.⁸ Moreover, in Vietnamese culture, *nội* (inside) was considered more important than *ngoại* (outside). There were distinctions between the relatives on the mother’s side and those on the father’s side. The first is that for a certain person relatives in father’s side (the patrilineage of this person) were more important than relatives in his/her mother’s side. About that comparison, a proverb says: ‘Priority is given to relatives or matters concerning the father’s patrilineage, rather than to relatives or matters concerning the mother’s patrilineage’ [*thừa nội, chí ngoại*]. In addition, there was a distinction between full siblings, children from the same parents [*anh em cùng cha khác mẹ*] and half siblings - children from the same father but from different mothers [*đồng phụ dị mẫu, cùng cha khác mẹ*] or from the same mother but from different fathers [*đồng mẫu dị phụ, cùng mẹ khác cha*]. Phan Kế Bính argues that half siblings from the same father but from different mothers were considered rather close comparable to siblings from the same parents, whereas siblings from the same mother but from different fathers were considered not as close to each other; disputes often occur among them because they did not belong to the same patrilineage (Phan Kế Bính, 1995: 14).

The importance attached to patrilineage (the lineage to which a certain person is a member) also could be seen in the custom of marriage. On the one hand, marriage customs prohibit people marrying relatives belonging to the same patrilineage (Trần Quốc Vượng, 1997: 76; Luong, 1984: 298). On the other hand, Luong states that in northern Vietnam before World War II, marriages among cross-cousins in different patrilineages were preferred (Luong, 1984: 298). Regarding marriage within a patrilineage, in January 2007 I had a conversation with Hồ Như Hưng, the current head of the Hồ patrilineage council in Quỳnh Đô.⁹ He told me that in the 1970s, there was a couple belonging the Hồ patrilineage married each other. A man of the second branch got married to a woman of the third branch. Counting from the founder of the Hồ patrilineage, the man belongs to the seventeenth generation and the woman belongs to the sixteenth generation. Although they had been separated for over seventeen generations by belonging to different branches of the patrilineage, they were still criticized by fellow villagers. In the past marriages within a patrilineage were prohibited, especially between couples sharing common ancestors within five generations, whereas marriages among cross cousins belonging to different patrilineages were allowed. This goes to show the predominance of the patrilineage over other kinds of kinship relations.

⁸ For a thorough examination of Vietnamese kinship terms see Hy Van Luong (Luong, 1984, , 1989)

⁹ Hồ Như Hưng, 70 years old, president of the Hồ patrilineage council, interview on 14 January 2007

5. The importance of patrilineages in setting up villages

According to Phan Đại Doãn (2001: 171), at least since the Lý dynasty (11th century to 13th century) many villages in northern Vietnam was inhabited by a single patrilineage. Studying Vietnamese villages in the 19th century and the early 20th century, Trần Từ (1984: 43) also points out that people setting up a new village in a new area quite often came from a single patrilineage or from several patrilineages. The solidarity among people sharing a common ancestor following the male line was ensured to face difficulties in the making of their new life when establishing a new village.

In the case of Quỳnh Đôi, according to the afore-mentioned book *Old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi* [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*], the three patrilineage Hồ, Nguyễn and Hoàng - with their founders Hồ Hồng, Nguyễn Thạc and Hoàng Khánh set up Quỳnh Đôi village in 1378 (Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Lĩnh, 2005[1856, 1963]: 35). The ancestors of these patrilineages and many others were believed to have come from China, as recorded in their genealogies. However, there were no solid evidences to back up the information. Genealogical records of many patrilineages wrote that the ancestors of patrilineages came from China. However, that belief depended mainly on legends, not reliable written documents or evidences (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997).

As explained by several old villagers, the three original founding patrilineages Hồ, Hoàng and Nguyễn were given specific names in recognition of their respective services to the village. These names were recorded in the genealogies of the patrilineages and in other village documents in the past. They were also displayed on the gates of patrilineage ancestral halls. The Hồ patrilineage was given the title ‘Hồ Khai Cơ’, meaning that it was the Hồ who took the initiative of setting up the village. In 1314, Hồ Kha passed by this area and decided that his son Hồ Hồng would settle in this area. However, the village was not set up at that time. In 1378, Hồ Hồng invited Hoàng Khánh and Nguyễn Thạc to settle in the village. The Hoàng patrilineage was named Hoàng Lập Cơ, meaning that the Hoàng played a vital role in setting up the village as an administrative unit. At that time Hoàng Khánh - the founder of the Hoàng patrilineage was governor of Diễn Châu province [*Diễn Châu lộ*]. It was Hoàng Khánh who made Quỳnh Đôi an official village of Diễn Châu from an administrative point of view. The Nguyễn was called ‘Nguyễn Triệu Cơ’ because this patrilineage made a lot of effort to build the village at an early state. Since Hoàng Khánh was a mandarin, he had to devote his time to his office. Hồ Hồng was an army officer and he went to battle in the South.¹⁰ Therefore, Nguyễn Thạc – a farmer and his relatives living mainly in the village contributed their efforts to build the village. So the Nguyễn patrilineage was called Nguyễn Triệu Cơ¹¹.

Usually when a household moved to Quỳnh Đôi from other localities, it started setting up a new patrilineage, which began to grow after a few generations. From its founding days to 1857, Quỳnh Đôi had 36 patrilineages whose ancestors came and settled here at different points in time. These were Phan Phạm, Trần, Lê, Trương, Mạc, Hoàng Hồ, Trịnh, Cù, Cao, Ngô, Bùi, Đinh, Văn, Vũ and Phạm, etc. Among these 36 patrilineages, one patrilineage migrated to Thanh Chương district, Nghệ An province. According to the chronicle ‘The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi’ [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*], all households of the members of this patrilineage migrated to Thanh Chương district. However, there was no information about the time of migration, the reason for migration, and the total

¹⁰ According to published materials (Hồ Sĩ Giăng, 1988; Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005), Hồ Hồng born in 1325, went to war against Champa and was killed in the region of Thuận Hóa. The year of his death was not recorded (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 13). The region once belonged to Champa, often referred to as Chiêm Thành in Vietnamese records - a series of princely states occupying the central part of present-day Việt Nam.

¹¹ Phan Hữu Thanh, aged 80, interviewed on 15 January 2007; Hoàng Nhật Tân, aged 80, interviewed on 15 January 2006.

number of households of the patrilineage at that time.¹² From 1857 to 1962, another 12 patrilineages moved to Quỳnh Đôi to live. In 1962, Quỳnh Đôi had a total of 47 patrilineages living together (Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Lĩnh, 2005[1856, 1963]: 365).

It is worth noting that several patrilineages have the same names but were not considered as having the same origins [*đồng tông*]. For example, there were two Hoàng patrilineages having different origins and four Nguyễn patrilineages coming from four different origins (Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Lĩnh, 2005[1856, 1963]: 140-156). The genealogical records of patrilineages usually have a section on their origins. However, claims about ‘origins’ or ‘sources’ of patrilineages were often vague and hard to prove. As explained by old informants, the differences in origins of the patrilineages having the same name may come from the fact that the founders of these patrilineages came to live in Quỳnh Đôi from different places as well as at different times. Today several patrilineages with the same name in Quỳnh Đôi acknowledged they shared common ancestors in the old time.¹³

Not all patrilineages moved to Quỳnh Đôi and settled there forever. For various reasons, some patrilineages moved out of the village. At the present time, Quỳnh Đôi has 43 patrilineages; the most important ones in terms of population size are the Hồ, Nguyễn, Hoàng, Dương, Phan, Phạm, and Cù. The Hồ patrilineage is still biggest, accounting for more than 30 percent of the total village population.¹⁴

The fact that one patrilineage (or some patrilineages) was often credited with having founded a village was nothing unique. There were many instances when a village was inhabited predominantly by one patrilineage (Nguyễn Đồng Chi, 1978: 185; Trần Ngọc Thêm, 2001: 181). In general, the setting up of new villages at least since the 11th century was often attributed to the work of one or several patrilineages while other kinds of kinship relations were not mentioned (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 171). That may be evidence to illustrate the importance of the patrilineage over other sorts of kinship relations before 1945.

6. Patrilineages and the village geographical residential structure

According to ‘The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi’ [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*] (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]), before 1945 the village had four hamlets, namely Thọ Khánh (middle hamlet), Phú Thọ (Pond hamlet), Ngũ Phúc (front hamlet), Trung Thôn (inside hamlet). Regarding the residential pattern within the village, the book also noted that “if ancestors of villagers resided in a particular hamlet, their descendants would have to live there as well”. This indicates that the rule of kinship relations in the form of patrilineages had a direct influence on the village’s residential structure.

The residential pattern within Quỳnh Đôi has changed considerably since 1945. From four hamlets just before 1945, the village has expanded to eight hamlets at the present time. In order to explore the residential pattern of Quỳnh Đôi village just before 1945, in October 2007 I selected specifically four clusters belonging to four old hamlets (Ngũ Phúc, Thọ Khánh, Phú Thọ, Trung Thôn). In each cluster, I picked one household with older residents,

¹² When a household moved to Quỳnh Đôi from other localities, it started setting up a new patrilineage. The number of households of the patrilineage was not large after a few generations. In the village today, there were some patrilineages, in which each patrilineage has less than 10 households.

¹³ Hồ Như Hưng, 70 years old, president of the Hồ patrilineage council, interview on 14 January 2007, Phan Hữu Thanh, aged 80, interviewed on 15 January 2007.

¹⁴ The data depend on surmises of communal cadres.

considering it as the referential point to examine the relations between this household and those surrounding it. I interviewed the oldest people of these households to find out: (1) Which people who lived in each cluster belong to which patrilineages, and (2) What were the relations between the referential household with other households. For this purpose I conducted retrospective interviews with Hồ Đức Vân, 76, hamlet number 4; Phan Tất Tuyền, 71, hamlet number 3; Phạm Mai Khoa, 67, hamlet number 3; Hồ Sĩ Tơ, 71, hamlet number 7.¹⁵ The following are the findings.

The first cluster of households is located in the old Ngũ Phúc hamlet. In this cluster the household of Hồ Đức Mân, who is Hồ Đức Vân's father, is considered as the referential point. The results of couple of relations between Hồ Đức Mân and heads of surrounding households are as follows:

- Total number of households:	16 households
- Total number of couple of relations between Hồ Đức Mân and heads of other households:	15 couple of relations
- Total number of couple of relations Between Hồ Đức Mân and heads of households, who were the same Hồ patrilineage:	9 couple of relations
- Total numbers of couple of relations Between Hồ Đức Mân and heads of households, who were not the same Hồ patrilineage:	6 couple of relations

The second cluster of households belongs to the former Thọ Khánh hamlet. In this cluster the household of Phan Duy Thục, who is Phan Tất Tuyền's father, is considered as the referential point. The results of couple of relations between Phan Duy Thục and heads of surrounding households are as follows:

- Total number of households:	17 households
- Total number of couple of relations between Phan Duy Thục and heads of other households:	16 couple of relations
- Total number of couple of relations between Phan Duy Thục and heads of households, who were the same Phan patrilineage:	9 couple of relations
- Total numbers of couple of relations between Phan Duy Thục and heads of households, who were not the same Phan patrilineage:	7 couple of relations

The third cluster of households belongs to Phú Thọ hamlet. In this cluster the household of Phạm Đình Chử, who is the Phạm Mai Khoa's father, is considered as the referential point. The results of couple of relations between Phạm Đình Chử and heads of surrounding households are as follows:

- Total numbers of households:	13 households
- Total numbers of couple of relations between Phạm Đình Chử and heads of other households:	12 couple of relations

¹⁵ Hồ Đức Vân, 76 years old, hamlet number 4, interviewed on 24 October 2007. Phan Tất Tuyền, 71 years old, hamlet number 3, interviewed on 27 October 2007. Phạm Mai Khoa, 67 years, hamlet number 3, interviewed on 27 October 2007. Hồ Sĩ Tơ, 71 years old, hamlet number 7, interviewed on 25 October 2007.

- Total numbers of couple of relations
Between Phạm Đình Chử and heads of households,
who were the same Phạm patrilineage: 6 couple of relations
- Total numbers of couple of relations
between Phạm Đình Chử and heads of households,
who were not the same Phạm patrilineage: 6 couple of relations

The fourth cluster of households belongs to Trung Thôn hamlet. In this cluster the household of Hồ Sĩ Đông, who is the Hồ Sĩ Tơ's father, is considered as the referential point. The results of couple of relations between Hồ Sĩ Đông and heads of surrounding households are as follows:

- Total number of households: 23 households
- Total number of couple of relations
Between Hồ Sĩ Đông and heads of other households: 22 couple of relations
- Total number of couple of relations
Between Hồ Sĩ Đông and heads of households,
who were the same Hồ patrilineage: 13 couple of relations
- Total number of couple of relations
Between Hồ Sĩ Đông and heads of households,
who were not of the same Hồ patrilineage: 9 couple of relations

Thus, in Quỳnh Đôi before 1945, households belonging to the same patrilineage usually gathered together in clusters within a hamlet. In order to gain insight into the residential structure of the village at that time, I asked Hồ Sĩ Tơ to draw from memory the residential map of his cluster just before 1945. This cluster was called Cổ Bù because it is shaped like the neck of a gourd. The map shows that, households belonging to the same patrilineage not only resided in the same clusters but also next to each other. In short, the residence pattern within the village follows the rule that households of each patrilineage resided in close proximity. This is additional evidence of the importance of patrilineages in village life before 1945.

7. The role of patrilineages in life cycle rituals

Marriage is a fact related to forming and developing kinship systems (Fox 1967). In Vietnamese villages, marriage is not only essential for individuals but also for the community as well, especially the kinship system. In village life before 1945, marriage was the common concern of all relatives (Đoàn Văn Chúc, 1997). An important function of the marriage was to perpetuate the patrilineage (Trần Ngọc Thêm, 2001: 256). Two aspects reflecting deeply the role of the patrilineage in marriage were choosing spouses and organizing wedding ceremony. Before 1945, choosing spouse was the affair of all kin, especially relatives within the patrilineage. Marriage firstly was to ensure the continuation of the patrilineage. Therefore, choosing spouses for the children was not based on the love of young people, as Nguyễn Văn Huyền put it: "Parents chose spouses for their children; the children had to obey their parents' choices. Love was not an important matter. If the children did not want to get married to the ones chosen by their parents, they had only one choice and that was to leave home. In these cases, the children would be considered as ungrateful and their parents might dismiss their right of inheritance" (Nguyễn Văn Huyền, 2003: 567).

From the beginning of the 20th century to 1945 before the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the rites related to marriage can be summarized as follows. When parents wanted to marry their children off, they often looked for a matchmaker. The matchmaker could be a man or a woman. If he or she was a relative of the bride's family or the bridegroom's family, the matching affair could be easier. If all went well, the wedding ceremony was carried out with six rites, which could be reduced in three rites in most cases (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 132). These included 1/Pre-betrothal ceremony (when names and ages of prospective bride and bridegroom were exchanged), 2/Bringing wedding presents to the bride's house, 3/Carrying out the wedding ceremony. When bringing wedding presents to the bride's house, the bridegroom's party included the bridegroom, close relatives and friends led by the head of his patrilineage or a representative of the patrilineage. On the bride's side, close relatives and friends of the bride's family and the head of the patrilineage was also invited to welcome the bridegroom's party. In the wedding ceremony, when the bride went to bridegroom's house, both the bride and the bridegroom had to pay homage to the bridegroom's ancestors in front of the altar in the bridegroom's house. If the ancestor altar was not there, they had to go to the head of patrilineage's house for this purpose. Through these rites, it can be seen that marriage was not a personal thing but rather an affair involving families, relatives, and especially patrilineages. As Đào Duy Anh put it, "Marriage was the collective affair of the patrilineage [*gia tộc*], not the affairs of the children alone" (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 132).

Funerals are also important life cycle events related to family and community networks of social relation (Krowolski, 2003: 115). It reflects the sentiment, morality and social relations between the living and the dead, between the deceased's family and their relatives. The Vietnamese believe that after death the spirits will live on in another world. The souls are always close to the living and affect their relatives (Lê Văn Chưởng, 1999: Phạm Văn Bích, 199: 220). A funeral was not the affair of the family of the deceased alone but also involved relatives - especially those belonging to the deceased's patrilineage, neighbours and friends. Prior to 1945, the organization and rites related to life cycle events such as funerals were elaborate, where the patrilineage played an important role (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; 131-140).

From a social capital perspective, life cycle rituals revealed the reciprocity exchanges between relatives within patrilineages. As presented above, an individual had responsibility for marriages and funerals of relatives in the same patrilineage, and in turn, the individual could expect support from patrilineage members in the future in these matters. In this respect, the hosts of marriages and funerals relied on social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges between relatives in the same patrilineage to carry out their rituals. In addition, the support between relatives in the same patrilineage was also important to build and consolidate social capital understood as reciprocity exchanges between them.

8. The role of patrilineages in education

Vietnam has a long tradition of education. The Hán script (Chinese characters) was introduced in the period of Chinese colonization (111 BC to 938 AD). During this time there were Vietnamese studying in China (Đào Duy Anh 2000[1938]:304). Before the Lý dynasty (1010), education was simple. Under the Ngô (939 AD - 965 AD), Đinh (968 AD – 979 AD) and Early Lê (980 AD - 1009 AD), classes were held in the pagodas (Nguyễn Q Thắng 1993: 26; Đào Duy Anh 2000[1938]: 304). The state took a more active role in education under the Lý dynasty (1010-1225) when the teaching and examination system were extended and developed. In 1070, a 'Temple of Literature' [*Văn Miếu*] was built to worship Confucius. In

1076, the state established an Imperial College [*Quốc Tử Giám* - literally School for the Sons of the Nation], considered as the first university of Vietnam.¹⁶ During the reign of Lý Nhân Tông, the first national examination was held to select officials to serve in the state's administration. Since then a new social stratum of Confucian literati emerged who formed the core of the civil service: the mandarin (Nguyễn Q Thắng 1993:26; Đào Duy Anh 2000[1938]:305). Through the Trần (1225-1400), the Hồ (1400-1407), the Lê (1428-1527) and the Tây Sơn (1778-1802), despite its ups and downs the education and training system was standardized and diplomas were defined. Gradually, educational officials were appointed at various levels, from the capital down to the provinces and districts [*lộ, phủ, châu*]. Besides the state schools, private classes were held in the remote villages (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 306-308; Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993: 26-40). The Nguyễn, Vietnam's last dynasty (1802-1945), refined and upgraded the education and examination system inherited from previous dynasties to select officials for the state's administration. A system of state schools from the capital down to the provinces and districts was established. Private schools were set up at the village level to teach young boys the basics of a Confucian education (Nguyễn Q Thắng 1993:40-45; Đào Duy Anh 2000[1938]:308-309).

Under the Nguyễn dynasty the public schools were controlled by the Ministry of Rites and later by the Ministry of Education (Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993: 53-57).¹⁷ Private schools were very popular in the villages. Wealthy families often invited teachers - who were themselves candidates at local examinations [*khóa sinh*] - to their houses to teach their sons. The teachers might stay with the family during their teaching period, and other families in the area might send their sons here to study (Phan Ngọc, 1998: 250-251). There were no differences between public schools and private schools in terms of teaching methods and textbooks. The only distinction was that whereas teachers of public schools received salaries from the state, private teachers earned their living from received and schoolboy families supported private school teachers. All students could take part in examinations at various levels regardless of whether they were students without any discrimination between public school learners and private school learners (Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993:58). In the following, we will take a glimpse of education in Quỳnh Đôi before 1945.

Education and examinations in Quỳnh Đôi can be traced back to 1449 when a villager named Hồ Ước Lễ got a doctoral degree (Hồ Sĩ Giăng 1998: 60). From that time up to 1919 when the last examination in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script was held, over a period of 470 years, Quỳnh Đôi distinguished itself with rich crops of successful candidates at regional and national examinations as presented in section 9, Chapter 4.

Traditionally Quỳnh Đôi village attached much importance to education matters. This was made explicit in the village charter and further enhanced by the activities of patrilineages and of the Association of Literati [*Hội tư văn*] established in 1600. Although it was not an administrative organ, it played a significant role in drafting the village charter, and was an important force in the village life, especially in education affairs (Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003). The old village charter existed from 1660 and kept on being revised up to 1856, with adjustments, additions to suit changing times (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]). It contained a number of provisions aimed at encouraging learning. The following are some highlights:

¹⁶ The class structure in the 'feudal' time included 'Sĩ' (students/scholars) 'Nông' (farmers), 'Công' (craftsmen), 'Thương' (traders), where the 'Sĩ' was most respected in the social ladder (Toan Ánh, 1999: 93-94). In the old days the main goal of earning a degree in the Confucian exam system is to become a mandarin, the ultimate goal of the student/scholar class (Phan Ngọc, 1998: 256-257).

¹⁷ Before the Nguyễn dynasty, the Ministry of Rites was responsible for education (Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993:54).

- Since 1826, the village would honour those villagers who were recipients of licentiate [cử nhân] or doctorate degrees with a welcoming procession (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 71, 113-114).
- Since 1768 on 16 January every year, the village held a trial examination for all students of the village. Those who got excellent marks would be exempted from corvée duty for twelve months, those with good marks would be exempted for six months, and those who got moderately good marks would be exempted for three months (Ibid: 100,132).
- The village set aside an area of agricultural lands for students and scholars. In 1774, the area was ten mẫu (Ibid: 78).

The role of patrilineages in education was also considerable, as Hồ Sĩ Quy (a 78-year old informant, interviewed on 29 August 2003) told me:

In the feudal time, several patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi set aside some rice-fields and used their yields to finance the education of its young members such as the Hồ, the Nguyễn, the Hoàng, and the Phan, etc. In the years when the state organized the first-degree examination at provincial level, several patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi organized trial examinations for students belonging to their patrilineage. Those who got good marks would receive awards from the patrilineages, usually consisting of steamed glutinous rice and boiled meat. If the students were from poor families, the patrilineages would build thatched huts for them to start out on their own. Members who got a Tú tài (baccalaureate) or a Cử nhân (licentiate) would receive from his patrilineage a Câu đối (parallel sentences written on a pair of vermilion lacquered and gilded wood panels). Those who got a doctoral degree would receive a Bức Trướng (laudatory word written on a curtain).

Thus, education was facilitated in Quỳnh Đôi by a number of factors. First Confucian literati and students were held in high esteem as reflected in the honours and privileges bestowed on successful candidates of regional and national examinations. This no doubt gave strong incentives to young villagers to take up learning. Second, patrilineages and the village officials had the means to fund the education of promising but poor students by way of the so called “lamp-book fields” reserved for educational purposes. Patrilineages sometimes built thatched cottages to accommodate worthy but poor learners. One way of helping learners to brush up their knowledge and hone their skills so as to improve their chances at the official examinations was to hold trial examinations annually. These were also occasions for fellow-learners among the patrilineages to compete with each other.

Quỳnh Đôi was not alone in favouring the class of literati and Confucian learners.¹⁸ Concerning this matter Trần Đình Hượu (1996: 318) states that many privileges were intended for students in order to encourage them in learning such as allocation agricultural land for the learners or exemption the learners from corvée. Phan Ngọc also points out that building cottages for successful candidates learners who got diplomas was very popular in villages. Moreover, the special welcome people, who got diplomas, returning home to pay thanks to ancestors after achieving academic honours was reflected in several fairly tales,

¹⁸ In the Confucian traditions of China and Vietnam, the encouragement of learning was the tasks of both the village and the patrilineage. In his article ‘*The structure of kinship Groups in Fukien*’ (written in Chinese) Liu points out that patrilineage land in Fukien fell into two categories: ‘book-lamp-fields’ and ‘sacrifice-fields’. The benefit from ‘book-lamp-fields’ was used to encourage learners of the patrilineages in learning (quoted in Freedman 1970: 13).

classical dramas and traditional operas of Vietnam. This was considered as a images printed deeply on mind inner feeling of Vietnamese (Phan Ngọc, 1998: 269-270).

From a social capital perspective, the material and immaterial support that the patrilineage offered to Confucian students within its ranks is a kind of reciprocity exchanges. The patrilineage provided privileges and resources, expecting that these would be returned some time in the future, mostly in prestige - and power - that the learners would bring to the entire patrilineage after they obtained a good degree at the regional or national examinations, which opened the way to a mandarin career. As a proverb says: 'When a man becomes a mandarin, the whole patrilineage can rely on him' [*Một người làm quan, cả họ được nhờ*]. 'Rely' here can mean the prestige that extends to other members, but also favours of various kinds that may be asked. Villagers who became mandarins often contributed agricultural land or made other donations to their villages and patrilineages. For example, mandarin Phạm Đình Toái (licentiated in 1842) offered the village a wooden communal hall. Mandarin Hồ Trọng Định (licentiated in 1857) often offered money to relatives and villagers in need. Mandarin Hồ Trọng Toàn (licentiated in 1828) offered the village agricultural land (4 *mẫu*) and money (400 quan - currency at that time) in 1843, and offered money to his patrilineage to build and repair his patrilineage ancestral worship hall (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 248, 277, 294, 296).

If we consider the village as the relevant social unit, the reciprocity exchanges above could be labeled bridging social capital. By providing support to their students in their patrilineage, the villagers expected and in practice received returns (such as land, money, prestige, power, and even reputation) if these students became mandarins working somewhere outside the village. Thus, the villagers 'invested' in the study of their relatives in the expectation to get returns from beyond the village boundary because the mandarins usually did not hold office in their own province.¹⁹ Those returns improved life of the mandarins' patrilineages economically and non-economically. In practice, many patrilineages became '*cư tộc*' or '*vọng tộc*' (rich and/or prestige, powerful, and even famous patrilineages) thanks to material or immaterial returns from the members who were mandarins (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997: 82). In addition, as presented above, the villagers not only supported the students of their own patrilineages but also other students of the village through village-wide measures such as providing village agricultural lands for them. When the students became mandarins working outside the village they not only brought the returns back to their patrilineages but also to their village. For instance, mandarin Phạm Đình Toái offered the village of Quỳnh Đôi a wooden communal hall, mandarin Hồ Trọng Toàn offered the village agricultural land. In fact, the returns from these mandarins were important for improving the status of their villages economically and/or non-economically (Nguyễn Nghĩa Nguyên, 1997: 301). Although the returns were offered to both mandarins' patrilineages and villages, the priority was often given to patrilineages in line with the proverb 'When a man becomes a mandarin, the whole patrilineage can rely on him' [*Một người làm quan, cả họ được nhờ*].²⁰ From the standpoint of individual students, the returns from the mandarins working somewhere outside the village created good conditions for the students living in the village (primarily for students belonging to mandarins' patrilineages but also for other students of the village) to get ahead by making progress in their studies and passing examinations, eventually becoming

¹⁹ In the 'feudal' dynasties, mandarins were banned from holding office in their provinces (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 178).

²⁰ On the one hand, the mandarins often brought returns back to their village as a whole. On the other hand, with their status, prestige and power the mandarins along with their relatives commonly came forward in defense of their patrilineage and obstructed other patrilineages in the village [*chèn ép các họ khác*]. That fact was mentioned in the chronicle 'The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi' [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*] (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]: 335-339). Other researchers such as Vũ Ngọc Khánh in the paper 'Vietnamese lineages from source to fate' [*Dòng họ Việt Nam từ nguồn gốc đến vận mệnh*] also mention this situation (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997: 82-83).

mandarins. In practice, many patrilineages had several generations with mandarins in which the ‘*lộc*’ (perquisite, ‘gift’ or benefits) brought back by the mandarins of previous generations were useful for their later relatives to become successful students (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997: 82).

In 1858, the French began to invade Vietnam, but it took another 40 years for them to establish their control over the whole country (Nguyễn Đăng Tiến et al., 1996: 176). In establishing their rule over the new colony, the French tried to reshape the local education system to suit their needs that included the formation of local cadres to carry out the policies of the colonial regime (Nguyễn Đăng Tiến et al., 1996: 185). The process of transformation of the educational system under French colonial rule went through two major periods. The first was between 1858 and 1916, characterized by the establishment of a Franco-Vietnamese system alongside the existing ‘feudal’ system. The second was from 1917 to 1929, during which the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script (the Confucian education system) was abolished, and a new educational system based on ‘*quốc ngữ*’ - Romanised Vietnamese script was established. From 1930 to 1945 the educational system underwent a number of changes characterized by an institutionalization of primary education, a completion of secondary education, and an expansion of tertiary education (Phan Trọng Báu, 1994).

Along with these changes, the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script gradually lost its status and influence. After occupying Southern Vietnam (Nam Kỳ) in 1867, the French abolished all examinations of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script in this region. A new system following the French model was established to replace the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script. In northern Vietnam (Bắc Kỳ) all examinations of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script were abolished in 1915. This was followed in Central Vietnam (Trung Kỳ) in 1918 (Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993: 149-150). The 15th of May of 1919 was the turning point of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script in Vietnam when the last doctoral examination was held in the capital of Huế. This was decided a year earlier by a royal edict dated from 28 December 1918, in which King Khải Định declared that the examination of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script in 1919 would be the last one (Nguyễn Q Thắng, 1993: 297). Meanwhile the colonial regime encouraged the indigenous population to read and write in the Romanised version of Vietnamese language called *quốc ngữ*, along with the French language which it tried to spread among the masses (Nguyễn Đăng Tiến et al., 1996).²¹

If in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script the patrilineage played an important role as shown earlier, then in the new system this role was fast fading. With the changes taking place under the colonial regime since the end of the 19th century, the old system of education and examination lost its prestige, as expressed in these verses:

*Việc học rồi ra cảnh vắng teo
Đứng lên, ngồi xuống, lại nằm khèo*²²

The scene of learning will soon become utterly desolate
You stand up, you sit down or just lay back idly, what else?

Under the new education system, the village and patrilineages were no longer promoters of education at the grassroots’ level. The patrilineage’s organization and operation

²¹ In the 16th century, the Western evangelists came to Vietnam to preach Christianity and used the Latin alphabet to transcribe the Vietnamese. In 1651, Alexandre Rhodes published An Nam-Portuguese and Latin Dictionary. Step by step, *quốc ngữ* become the Vietnamese official language in the 20th century (Lê Văn Chường, 1999: 227).

²² Quoted in Hoàng Nhật Tân (2005: 41).

underpinned by Confucian ideology supported Confucian learners as a way to ensure its continuation. The collapse of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script (the old Confucian education and examinations) together with the establishment of a new colonial education system led to the end of the role of patrilineages in education affairs. Two informants who followed French education under the colonial time confirmed that situation. I had several conversations with Phan Hữu Thanh.²³ Born in 1927, he went to school under the new system from 1937 to 1945. At that time, Quỳnh Lưu had only one French-Vietnamese school located at Cầu Giát, the district town. Not many pupils attended the school at that time, the annual enrolment was about 30 pupils. School expenses were low. Patrilineages and relatives did not give support to pupils. According to Nguyễn Đăng Tiến et al, the number of children attending school at that time was low because their parents did not want their children to be subjected to French influence (Nguyễn Đăng Tiến et al., 1996: 190-195). This information was confirmed by Hồ Sĩ Quy.²⁴ Born in 1922, he went to school under the French colonial education system in 1930. After 1945, he worked as a teacher and retired in 1980. From 1965 to 1970 he was chief of education department of Quỳnh Lưu district [*Trưởng phòng Giáo dục*]. A few years back, he was put in charge of the education encouragement fund of the Hồ patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* era. Commenting on the ups and downs of patrilineage role in educational matters, he said: “With the advent of the colonial education system, the role of patrilineages in educational encouragement disappeared naturally. This special attention to education was revived only recently among the patrilineages”.

The reason for the demise of this function can be explained by the link between the patrilineage and the centuries-old classical education system in Hán-Chinese script, which was replaced by the colonial educational system in the early 20th century. As patrilineages are intricately related to Confucianism (Trần Đình Hượu, 1996: 309-356) when the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script was abolished, there was no reason for them to encourage their members to follow the new education system of the colonial regime. This led to the redundancy of the education function of patrilineages, which “disappeared naturally”, to use my informant’s words.

In brief, patrilineages played important roles in educational matters. Patrilineages provided economic incentives, with promises of spiritual and ceremonial rewards to learners who succeeded in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script. The social capital in the patrilineage, which formed the basis of this function, became irrelevant with the implementation of the new education system by the French colonial regime.

9. The economic role of patrilineages

The economic role of patrilineage was apparent in several aspects. As an entity, the patrilineage gave support to individual households through patrilineage lands. The second aspect was the mutual support among patrilineage’s households. When a household needed labour or money, other households would provide them.

The yields from patrilineage lands were used to cover expenses for ancestor worship and other common activities (Trịnh Thị Quang, 1984: 48-49; Lê Văn Chuông, 1999: 139). In some villages, patrilineages allocated a part of their agricultural lands to male members such as in Lý Trai village, Diễn Châu district - a neighbouring district of Quỳnh Lưu (Nguyễn Đồng Chi, 1978: 196). In Quỳnh Đôi before 1945, the support that the patrilineage gave to its member households in everyday life was made possible by its common budget through

²³ On 16 January 2008, Phan Hữu Thanh told me about his school experience during the colonial times.

²⁴ I had conversations with Hồ Sĩ Quy on 17 January 2008.

managing its rice fields. Patrilineage rice fields came from lands donated by wealthy members - some of them mandarins, and from public lands allocated by the village authorities. Patrilineage members who were poor were allowed to cultivate these fields and return part of the yields to the patrilineage budget. The rest they could keep as compensation for their labour. It was a way to help fellow members, particularly the poor ones, to cope with their economic difficulties.

Central in the patrilineage network was the budget through which various economic functions were carried out to serve the common spiritual and social goals. As an informant explained to me quite clearly:

Before the August revolution, all patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi had their own budgets. The sizes of these budgets varied. Those patrilineages having mandarins or high degree holders often had big budgets. These budgets were derived from two main sources: rice-fields allocated by the village and those donated by patrilineage members, especially rich landholders or mandarins. These fields were cultivated by the head of patrilineage himself or by some other patrilineage members. Usually poor patrilineage members were assigned to cultivate the fields as a way to supplement their incomes. Some of the yields from the fields were given back to the patrilineage and made up its budget. This budget was spent on matters related to ancestor worship and was lent to needy members at very low interest rates.

(Hoàng Nhật Tâm, 80 years old, interviewed on 15 January 2006)

This highlights the socio-economic function of the patrilineage in the support it gave to its members through managing its budget mainly funded by patrilineage rice-fields. Rich members and those having high social status are duty-bound to make appropriate contributions (in this case lands) to the patrilineage's budget through which assistance was given to poor members for improving their standards of living. It should be noted the cultivation of these lands and money lending at low rates were strictly limited to members of the patrilineage. Outsiders were excluded from these practices. Thus besides its religious function, the patrilineage also played an important role in dealing with economic difficulties of its members. In matters related to social welfare, the patrilineage is a more trusted institution than the village administration. As a proverb says, 'a relative nine generations apart is better than a stranger' [*họ chín đời còn hơn người dưng*], or "blood is thicker than water" [*máu chảy, ruột mềm*]. In short, the patrilineage having its own rice-fields and budget was an organization with real economic clout that put it at the forefront of all kinship relations.

At the everyday level, the role of the patrilineage manifested itself through the interaction among its members in labour exchange and financial support. For example if a poor peasant could not pay his taxes, kinsmen had to be borne the responsibility (Popkin, 1979: 146). When a household had problems related to labour, money or means of production, the household could ask for help from representatives of the patrilineage or from individual members of the patrilineage (Nguyễn Đức Truyền, 1999: 4). This fit into the general picture where the family and extended family were units in agricultural production before collective farming took place (Kerkvliet, 1995: 404). Nguyễn Đồng Chi (1978: 196) comments that economic foundation was a reason to underpin patrilineages.

From a social capital perspective, the patrilineage helped its members and these in turn helped each other in the form of reciprocity exchanges in matters related to labour, production resources and money lending. Reciprocity exchanges also occurred when a (rich) member gave his land to their patrilineage. In this case, the receiver was the patrilineage, or more precisely, its (poor) members who were given land to cultivate for extra income or could borrow money from the patrilineage budget funded by the patrilineage rice-fields. The giver's

inputs were his rice-fields donated to their patrilineage. In return, as the benefactor he would earn the respect and gratitude from fellow members, and should he die without a male heir, the patrilineage would use the yields from these fields to worship him in his after-life world.²⁵ From the recipient's perspective, his inputs were the labour for cultivating the patrilineage rice-fields. The returns he got were the income from cultivating these fields and the right to borrow money from the patrilineage budget. In comparison with the mutual assistance practised by member households mentioned earlier, reciprocity exchange here worked through the patrilineage acting as an intermediary between members who were givers and those who were recipients.

Through the reciprocity exchanges, the poor members of the patrilineage could cultivate patrilineage land and borrow money from the patrilineage budget in order to cope with their economic difficulty. In addition, social capital between patrilineage members was also important for exchanging labour, exchanging means of production, and financial supports individually between them. We distinguished bonding social capital as being helpful in getting by from bridging social capital as helpful in getting ahead. This would characterize the social capital between relatives in the same patrilineage as bonding, as it was good for poor members of the patrilineage to get by in terms of dealing with economic difficulty or solving difficulty in production.

Another important aspect showing the preponderance of patrilineage over other kinship relations was the way of organizing secondary employment at the grassroots. Gourou mentions that in Northern Vietnam, peasants often earned their living not only as farmers but also as craftsmen, particularly during the period between the seasonal harvests (Gourou, 2003[1936]: 406). Craft was considered as subsidiary activities of agriculture that provided part-time employment for villagers (Scott, 1976: 61-62). A particular feature of the craft industry in Northern Vietnam was its family-based character. A whole family ran a workshop in which all workers were relatives. The head of the workshop was also the head of the family, and the relations were family relations (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 68). Besides the home-based industry, cottage industries had some forms of craftsmen's groupings such as woodwork guild or brickwork guild. Those guilds usually looked for work outside their own village. Each guild had a head who often worked as an ordinary member of the guild and received a "salary" proportional to the guild's income. In some guilds, the head obtained work contracts and hired workers to work for him (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 68; Gourou, 2003[1936]: 464).

In Quỳnh Đôi before 1945, the cottage industries such as weaving, incense production, woodwork, and rice vermicelli making, provided secondary jobs to many villagers (Hồ Phi Hội et al., 2005[1856, 1963]; Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1988). Through interviews with informants in Quỳnh Đôi I found out that in the past several patrilineages specialized in a particular line of cottage industry.²⁶ For example, the Nguyễn and the Trương practised woodwork, the Lê followed incense production, and the Cù produced vermicelli. Not only member households in the same patrilineage followed the same line of cottage industry, but they also kept the 'trade secrets' within their own patrilineage. This was because villagers engaged in a particular line of cottage industry did not want to reveal the secrets of their professional skills to people outside their patrilineage. For example, in Ninh Hiệp commune, Gia Lâm district, just outside Hà Nội, in the past the knowledge of making traditional medicine was kept well within certain patrilineages (Dương Duy Bằng, 2002: 558-560). Phan Đại Doãn also points

²⁵ This practice is called 'ruộng hậu' (after death rice-fields) (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 180).

²⁶ Lê Xuân Hoán, 68 and retired, living in neighbourhood number 3, interviewed on 30 August 2003; and Hoàng Bá Ngọc, 60, living in neighbourhood number 5, interviewed on 28 July 2006. On 28 July 2006, Hoàng Bá Ngọc, told me that he had learnt woodwork from his father Hoàng Bá Trí, who himself had learnt the skills from his uncle.

out that in many localities, the tradition of continuing a specific occupation within a patrilineage was quite common, such as the cases of the Lê in Thanh Hóa province, specializing in the bronze craft; the Nguyễn in Nam Định province, producers of dyes, etc (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 161). At stake was the technical know-how kept well within the patrilineage from generation to generation [*Bí quyết gia truyền*]. Only male members of the patrilineage and daughters in law could learn the secrets of these skills. Daughters within the patrilineage were not allowed to learn these skills for the fear that after their marriage they might pass on these skills to others outside the patrilineage. This implied that a married woman was considered to belong to her husband's patrilineage rather than her father's patrilineage. However, as mentioned above (in the section about patrilineage membership, rights and responsibilities of patrilineage member and women's position), when joining her husband's family, she was not a full-fledged member of the patrilineage because she was considered to be dependent on her husband and son(s) in a formal sense.

Here social capital had a role to play in the form of enforceable trust with regard to the cottage industry in the village at the time. Depending on enforceable trust, patrilineages protected their specific professional know-how that was handed down among relatives in the same patrilineage. It was the core element that perpetuated the cottage industry at the grassroots level, based on mutual trust among the patrilineage members. As such, there was little scope for people outside the patrilineage to share in trade secrets. If we distinguish between bonding and bridging social capital depending on the patrilineage boundary, the enforceable trust between relatives in the same patrilineage can be labelled bonding social capital. That enforceable trust was the foundation for relatives in the same patrilineage to protect their trade secrets by handing down the trade secrets only between relatives in the same patrilineage. The protection of trade secrets within Vietnamese cottage industries at the time is consistent with the perception of Woollock and Narayan who regard such trade secrets as bonding social capital (2000: 233) when they used examples to argue that bonding social capital was vital for important protection in the economic domain. For many cottage industries, lack of access to the relevant trade secrets meant exclusion from that occupation. By keeping their trade secrets within their patrilineage, the craftsmen often protected their occupation from outsiders' competition. That explained why in many villages, each patrilineage followed one cottage industry and other villagers outside the patrilineage could not work in the same occupation (Dương Duy Bằng, 2002: 558-560; Phan Đại Doãn, 2001: 161). Thus, enforceable trust between relatives in the same patrilineage was the foundation for protecting trade secrets within their patrilineage and was crucial for the continuity of this patrilineage-based cottage industry. In other words, depending on bonding social capital in terms of enforceable trust between the relatives in the same patrilineage, the relatives could get by understood as maintaining their cottage industry as inherited from previous generations within their patrilineage.

10. Summary

The Vietnamese kinship system contained both maternal and paternal features, containing elements of Chinese and Southeast Asian cultures. However, long periods under Chinese with strong Confucian influence brought patrilineage to the fore in kinship relations.

Patrilineages existed as a formal organization, which was lacking in other kinship relations. Each patrilineage had its membership, a head of patrilineage, an ancestral hall, genealogical records and a patrilineage graveyard. Women's status was subordinate since they were not considered as members in their father's patrilineage or their husband's patrilineage. They did not keep close relations with their natal kin after marriage. Moreover, they had to re-

socialize in order to integrate into their husband's families and patrilineages. Their positions improved only when they gave birth to sons and especially when their children got married. At any rate women's position in kinship network was dependent on their husbands and their sons who were patrilineage members. In addition, husbands often did not keep close contact with their wives' natal kin, weakening further the women's social position.

The predominant position of the patrilineage was also underlined by its moral and legal responsibilities. Both state codes and patrilineage regulations defined the functions of the patrilineage as a legal entity and a moral guardian. The state codes held the patrilineage accountable for the behaviour of its members whereas the patrilineage itself assumed the responsibility in educating its members, especially moral education.

The Vietnamese term *họ* or *dòng họ* (patrilineage) reflects the predominance of the patrilineage over other kinship relations. *Họ* is the key unit when referring to kinship on either the father's side or mother's side. Moreover, popular sayings and proverbs, give priority to relatives or affairs of the father's patrilineage, and not to relatives on the mother's side or affairs of relatives on the mother's side. In addition, the importance attached to the patrilineage can also be seen in the custom of marriage, which prohibits people from marrying their relatives in the same patrilineage, whereas marriages among cross cousins in different patrilineages were allowed.

Patrilineages also played an important role in the process of setting up new villages in the past. It was often the joint efforts of several patrilineages as in the case of Quỳnh Đôi. Even today, some villages still bear the names of the important patrilineages closely related to their histories. In addition, the importance in the past of patrilineages in choosing a place to settle could be seen through the fact that all households of the members of a patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi migrated together to Thanh Chương district, Nghệ An province.

That the patrilineage formed the focal point of Vietnamese kinship system before 1945 can further be seen in the patrilocal character in the way households were located in the past. Usually patrilineage members built their houses in close proximity, setting up particular residential areas within a village.

Finally, the predominant position of the patrilineage manifested itself through its roles in ancestor worship, life cycle rituals, economic and educational activities. Mutual assistance and solidarity were evident in marriages and funerals. Patrilineages played a key role in supporting their members in education matters through financial incentives and social honours. Assistance was lent to individual households through the patrilineage budget in case of need and through supports between patrilineage members. The mutual trust of patrilineage members was vital in the production of cottage industry at the village level.

The role of the patrilineage in ritual matters and in economic and education activities could be interpreted in terms of social capital, expressed under the form of reciprocity exchanges as evidenced in organizing funerals and marriages. Reciprocity exchanges also played a role in mutual help among members by sharing labour, material and financial resources in agricultural and handicraft production. Social capital in terms of enforceable trust was vital in protecting trade secrets within the same patrilineage. Last but not least, social capital understood as reciprocity exchanges played a pivotal role in encouraging education in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script.

There were meaningful analytical distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital. Based on the patrilineage boundary, the bonding social capital between relatives in the same patrilineage was important for the people involved to get by. That was illustrated by the fact that the reciprocity exchanges between patrilineage members were important for them to cope with economic difficulties like difficulties in production. In addition, the enforceable trust within the patrilineage was crucial for villagers to protect their trade secrets, which were the foundation for the inter-generational transfer of the cottage industry as viable economic

practice. If we consider the village as relevant unit, the material and immaterial support from villagers for students belonging to the same patrilineage and also other students of the village in expectation of returns from the students after they had become mandarins, can be considered bridging social capital. This bridging social capital was important for students to make progress in their studies, pass examinations, and become mandarins themselves. This bridging social capital helped villagers to improve economically and non-economically.

CHAPTER 6

KINSHIP RELATIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

*Với mo cơm, quả cà và tấm lòng cộng sản
Chúng ta sẽ xoay trời, đổi đất, sắp xếp lại giang sơn*
(Nguyễn Hữu Đợi - Bí thư huyện ủy Quỳnh Lưu những năm 1960 và 1970)

With just rice balls, pickled eggplants and a communist heart,
We shall turn heaven and earth upside down and change our country
(Nguyễn Hữu Đợi - Secretary of Quỳnh Lưu district Party Committee in the 1960s and 1970s)¹

1. Introduction

Before discussing kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* era in the following chapters, in this chapter, I will examine these relations in terms of patrilineages during the socialist transformation period. This period was supposed to start in 1945 when independence was declared from the French to 1986 when reforms were officially carried out.

During the socialist transformation period, patrilineages were subjected to the influence of state policies on culture, education and economy. Shortly after the 1945 August Revolution, the policy on culture was carried out, aiming at building a new, socialist culture although its full implementation only took place in late 1954 (Malarney, 2002: 52). The new education policy started also in 1945 at the first meeting of the new government on 3 September 1945. On 25 November 1945 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam gave the instructions on 'Resistance and National Construction' [*Kháng chiến kiến quốc*], in which there was the instruction on education (Nguyễn Quang Kính et al., 2005: 27-28).² On the economic front, the land reform began in 1945 starting with rent and interest reduction, common land redistribution, and confiscation of lands owned by French 'imperialists' and local 'traitors'. A significant milestone in agrarian reform was the Land Reform Law, which was passed by the National Assembly on 4 December 1953. A full-scale campaign of land reform was undertaken in 1954 -1956 (Houtart & Lemercinier, 1984: 9-20). After the land reform, collectivization with the establishment of cooperatives began in the late 1950s in northern Vietnam (Houtart & Lemercinier, 1984: 23; Kerkvliet, 2005: 50).

It could be said that in this period, socialism in Vietnam was built along the guidelines of three revolutions (Quang Truong 1986: 55; Woodside 1970: 708; Malarney 2002: 60): a production revolution dealing with production relations or mode of production to eliminate capitalist exploitation by creating a system of socialist ownership; the scientific and technical revolution to create a modern industrial base to lend support to large-scale agricultural production; and cultural, ideological revolution to transform people to 'socialist men'.

¹ Hồ Trọng Thỏa, former head of the agricultural cooperative during the socialist transformation period, interview on 14 January 2007

² From 1951 until late 1976 the Communist Party of Vietnam was called the Workers' Party [*Đảng Lao động Việt Nam*]

In the scope of the cultural and ideological revolution, subjects such as ancestor worship [*thờ cúng tổ tiên*], patrilineage worship/ancestral hall [*từ đường*], genealogical record or patrilineage annals [*gia phả, tộc phả*] were considered as part of superstitions and ‘feudal’ culture that needed to be rejected or simplified. In addition, in the socialist culture, rituals related to marriages and funerals were considered as remnants of ‘feudal’ society and had to be transformed to build the ‘New life’. In addition, people were exhorted to switch their loyalties and obligations away from their own parochial interests to the Party, the revolution and the collective. That means people should focus on the war efforts and collective activities, and stay away from kin-related activities such as ancestor worship. The simplifications of ancestor worship and life cycle rituals regarding marriage and death reduced considerably the opportunity for local residents to maintain and reinforce social capital, as will be shown in sections 2 and 3.

Along with building up a socialist culture, in order to create ‘socialist men’ the Party and the state were to establish a socialist education system which was totally subsidized and run by the state at all levels. As a result, during the socialist transformation period, patrilineages were deprived of the important roles they once held in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script (the Confucian education system) by virtue of the social capital inherent in them. This will be discussed in section 4.

In the revolution of production relations in agriculture, the Communist regime carried out a two-phase reform: a land reform followed by collectivization. I will show that this reform had a far-reaching impact on kinship relations in general and patrilineages in particular in the northern Vietnamese countryside. The land reform led to the breakdown of the emotional bonds among patrilineage members, accompanied by a dramatic reduction of social capital inherent in patrilineages. As collectivization was implemented, transforming family farming into collective farming, patrilineages lost their function in terms of economic cooperation thanks to social capital inherent in patrilineage that was prevalent before 1945. These subjects will be discussed in sections 5 and 6.

2. Patrilineage: Membership and practices in the socialist transformation period

In the previous chapter I showed that before 1945 each patrilineage existed as a separate organization with its membership, head of patrilineage, ancestor worship, patrilineage (worship/ancestral) hall, genealogical record or patrilineage annals, patrilineage graveyard, and patrilineage rice-fields. In this section I will discuss what happened to these elements under the socialist transformation period.³

³There were significant differences between patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi village in the past as well as at the present time. The first difference relates to an era when patrilineages settled in the village. As highlighted in section 3 of chapter 4, patrilineages consisting of the Hồ, the Nguyễn, and the Hoàng were the founders of the village. Other patrilineages made their home in this village later. The second difference relates to the population size of patrilineages. In the past and at the present time as well, while patrilineages such as the Hồ, the Nguyễn, etc have many members, patrilineages including the Bùi, the Đinh, etc have only a few members. For more information on this matter see section 5 of chapter 5. The third difference concerns educational achievement of patrilineages in terms of degrees achieved by patrilineage members. For instance, according to Hoàng Nhật Tân (2005), among 18 villagers getting doctoral degree or equivalent doctoral degree in examinations in Hán-Chinese script, there were 8 people belonging to the Hồ patrilineage, 3 people of the Hoàng patrilineage, and 2 people of the Dương patrilineage. In the period from the end of examinations in Hán-Chinese script up to 2005, the village had 26 villagers achieving doctoral degree. Among them representations indicated; 9 people were from the Hồ, 4 from the Dương and 2 from the Hoàng patrilineage. For more information concerning this matter, see section 9

The revolutionary task of building a new culture aimed at eliminating all cultural elements considered to be connected with the old regimes and exploiting classes. With this perception after seizing power in August 1945 the Vietnamese Communists tried to create a new culture - the so-called socialist culture for Vietnam (Malarney, 2002: 52). Actually, this had already begun in the 1940s but full implementation took place only after the Điện Biên Phủ victory in 1954. In order to build the socialist culture, a ‘cultural and ideological revolution’ [*cách mạng văn hoá và tư tưởng*] was launched (Malarney, 2002: 58). A host of new jargons was invented to accommodate this new cultural environment such as ‘new culture’ [*văn hóa mới*], ‘mass culture’ [*văn hóa quần chúng*], and ‘socialist culture’ [*văn hóa xã hội chủ nghĩa*]. In the eyes of the leadership the socialist culture was characterized as ‘progressive’ [*tiến bộ*] or [*tiên tiến*] contrasting with the ‘old culture’, which was regarded as backwards [*lạc hậu*] and feudal [*phong kiến*] (Bộ Văn Hóa, 1977). It was with this vision in the wake of the 1945 August Revolution that the campaign of building the New life [*Đời sống mới*] was launched. On 3 April 1946, the ‘Central Committee for Propagation of the New Life’ [*Ban Trung ương Vận động Đời sống mới*] was founded (Malarney, 2002: 61). In order to gain popular acceptance of the “New Life”, propaganda campaigns were carried out, based on tactics such as ‘persuasion’ [*thuyết phục*], ‘mobilization’ [*phát động*], ‘agitation’ [*vận động*] and ‘education’ [*giáo dục*] all aiming at the mass. The ideal way to communicate this all-important message was clarifying the virtues of the new regime and denouncing the shortcomings of the old (Malarney, 2002: 68).

Apart from the advent of the socialist culture, wartime conditions also played an important role in the demise of patrilineages. The campaign of building the ‘New life’ just after August revolution emphasized that: “People should work hard; be prepared to make material sacrifices to help the nation... learn how to participate in communal endeavours and eliminate practices devoted to only family and kin...” (quoted in Malarney, 2002: 61). Therefore, ancestor worship rituals, patrilineage halls, genealogical records, and patrilineage rice-fields in the socialist transformation period were no longer relevant since the interests of patrilineages in terms of partial interests [*cục bộ*] went against the interests of the collective [*lợi ích của họ hàng đi ngược lại với lợi ích tập thể*].

Patrilineage membership

In the socialist transformation period, there were no changes of patrilineage membership. Individual males still remained a member of his own patrilineage. According to Hoàng Nhật Tâm, (80 years old, interviewed on 15 January 2006), if before 1945 a father would inform his patrilineage of the birth of his son with a small offering to the ancestors, this ritual was not practised in the socialist transformation period.

Patrilineage leadership

During the socialist transformation period, the position of patrilineage head still existed. According to Hồ Như Hồng (70 years olds, living in hamlet number 6, interviewed on 14 January 2007), if the heads of the patrilineage still stayed in Quỳnh Đôi (if they did not join

of chapter 4. The fourth difference is about positions (in the recessive governments and/or the Communist Party) acquired by individuals. For instance, in the ‘feudal’ era as well as in the colonial period, the Hồ, the Nguyễn, the Dương, the Hoàng, and the Phan were patrilineages having many mandarins or people working for governments. From the August Revolution in 1945 to the present time, 4 villagers have been present or former members of the Central Committee of the Party, in which there were 3 people of the Hồ patrilineage and one person of the Hoàng patrilineage (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005). For more information related to this point, see section 1 of chapter 4 and section 4 of chapter 6.

the war efforts or work for the state in other localities), the head of patrilineage together with some elderly members still practised ancestor worship with very low-key rituals, mainly burning incense on special occasions. At that time ancestor worship was considered as a form of superstition, so the rituals were kept at a minimum to avoid public criticism. The same informant told me that striking drums - one of most important feature of ancestor worshipping rituals was totally banned by the commune authority. From his research on a northern Vietnamese village, Malarney showed that during the socialist transformation period the heads of patrilineages still continued to surreptitiously worship ancestors (Malarney, 2002: 47). I will examine in detail patrilineage ancestor worship during the socialist transformation period in the following section. It is worth mentioning that patrilineage councils ceased to exist in the socialist transformation period.

Ancestor worship

Ancestor worship during the socialist transformation period was simplified because of two factors: the perception of building a new culture and the war efforts. One of the salient features in the process of building this new culture was the rejection of superstitions. This perception came from the official doctrine of the socialist revolution that championed atheism. 'Feudal' culture and ideology had been predicated upon a complex of 'superstitions'. As Malarney (2002: 80) puts it: "the revolution practice instituted a radical program of secularization that took the form of a 'policy against superstition' [*Chính sách chống mê tín dị đoan*]".

Ancestor worship was considered by the authorities as a kind of superstition. It is based on the conception of lineage as a community that stems from a remote ancestor. The lineage extended through the present into future; it is more than a group of individuals, but a continuing entity carrying on from generation to generation (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 219-220). Regarding ancestor worship under the socialist era, Pham Van Bich explains:

Since 1945 though, government policies have been introduced to discourage the practice of ancestor worship. On the one hand, the land collectivization programme deprives families of ancestral cult funds, i.e., land for incense and fire. On the other hand, the government issued numerous directives against idealism and superstition... In fact, the communists promote atheism and materialism as the official ideology. For a long time they strictly criticized those members of the Party who practiced ancestor worship. Campaigns against idealism and superstition were launched continuously in the name of national salvation and wartime economy, as well as the so called socialist reconstruction after the American war" (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 223).

It can be said that an effort to reject superstitions including ancestor worship actually did considerable damage to the kinship worship system. This situation can be seen clearly in Quỳnh Đôi. Through the narratives of elderly informants, it is apparent that during the collective period ancestor worship was reduced significantly. On ancestor worship days, only some old people went to the patrilineage ancestral halls to burn incenses for ancestors. Patrilineage rituals related to ancestor worship during this period were drastically simplified.

From the August revolution until Đổi mới, during wartime and ten years after the end of the American war, people did not attach much importance to ancestor worship... The ideology of the Revolution which considered worship of the dead was superstition, changed the popular conception of spiritual life [quan niệm về tâm linh]. Therefore,

ancestor worship was neglected [bỏ khoáng đi]. In Quỳnh Đôi, many households did not have altars in their houses. That was the transformation of spiritual life of people after the Revolution. Villagers did not go to temples or pagodas. That was the extreme side of the Revolution... Many years after the war, the fight against superstition was also intensified. Therefore, ancestor worship was ignored.

(Hoàng Nhật Tâm, 80 years old, interview on 15 January 2006).

It is quite clear that from the August Revolution up to *Đổi mới*, there were profound changes in the spiritual life of villagers. The ideology of socialism had a strong impact on the conception of the mass regarding ancestor worship, which was neglected or at best simplified in terms of rituals and participation. Patrilineages were seen in a negative light because they stood for the interest of kinship groups and not for the interest of whole society or collective socialist institutions (Nguyen Van Chinh, 2000: 86). Studying the situation in the Red River Delta Pham Van Bich also points out that since rituals and ceremonies, which served to strengthen the group solidarity and facilitate communication between the living and dead members of the patrilineage, were considered as superstitious and wasteful and therefore had to be simplified (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 223). However, as illustrated by the interview, ancestor worship did not totally disappear. Some elderly males still kept the rituals in the simplest way, such as burning incense and offering wine for their ancestors on their death anniversary.

Another factor leading to simplification of ancestor worship is warfare. In Quỳnh Đôi, during the war against the Americans, kinship interests and patrilineages' rituals were virtually ignored because the war efforts were the major preoccupation of all villagers. During the war years, almost all human power was mobilized for the resistance. In the two wars against the French and the American, the total number of villagers who fought or served directly in the battlefields was 2519. Among them 1668 villagers (among them 78 females) were soldiers. Quỳnh Đôi contributed 11,000 tons of food [*lượng thực*], 600,000 tons of foodstuff [*thực phẩm*], 245 millions VND and 2,700,000 labour working days for the war efforts (Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi, 1995). According to Hoàng Nhật Tân (2005: 193), the number of Quỳnh Đôi villagers who served in the army over the war years from 1965 to 1975 was as follows:

Year	Number of soldiers
1965	75
1966	47
1967	42
1968	72
1969	42
1970	46
1971	54
1972	56
1973	24
1974	(no information)
1975	39

Apart from those engaged in fighting or serving directly on the battlefields, many villagers also joined the militia and guerilla units in the commune. In the 1960s, the number of militias and guerillas reached a peak of 412 people (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 190). In the two wars against the French and the Americans, 181 Quỳnh Đôi villagers were recorded as martyrs [*liệt sĩ*] (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 284-290). The main thrust of popular efforts during these years was to support the war and mass-organization works. As a witness recalled:

Since the time of August revolution, people focussed on the Resistance wars and mass organization works. The young joined the army or attended national salvation youth organization. All young people went away and only the old stayed in the village... During these decades, all the villagers concentrated on the war efforts and social collective movements such as building agricultural collectives. The villager's life was overwhelmed by these activities. While the young people went to the war-front, other villagers shouldered the responsibilities for agricultural production and other war-related tasks. In this context, patrilineage rituals were ignored. Before 1945, it was common to see more than a hundred members of a patrilineage attending a ceremony and sharing meals at the ancestor worship house. During the war years, only the old people went to the house of worship to burn incense in honour of their ancestors and drank together without sharing a meal. For many years, the ancestor cult was not practiced or kept at a minimum level. Through 30 years of the resistance wars ancestor worship almost fell into oblivion. Ten years after the Saigon victory in 1975, the government intensified its policies against superstition which led to a further decline of patrilineage rituals.

(Hoàng Nhật Tâm, 80 years old, interview on 15 January 2006)

Thus, patrilineage ancestor worship was ignored because people had to focus on the war and collective affairs. That was one factor leading to the simplification of ancestor worship. In addition, the weakening of ancestor worship was caused by the passing of patrilineage agricultural land to the co-operatives. As presented in Chapter 5, before 1945 each patrilineage had its rice-fields, whose yields from the fields were used to pay for expenses related to ancestor worship. With the setting up of cooperatives, all patrilineage agricultural lands were taken over by these co-operatives. Thus, this economic foundation for ancestor worship was abolished. That additional reason for simplifications of ancestor worship happened.

As presented in Chapter 5, ancestor worship is a fundamental element of Vietnamese kinship relations. From a social capital perspective, besides moral and religious meanings, ancestor worship also produces 'by-products' in terms of confirming the connections among relatives participating in ancestor worship, thus producing a 'closure of the social network'. The 'closure of social networks' creates and maintains social capital such as trustworthiness between the involved people (Coleman, 1988: 105-108). Therefore, during the socialist transformation period, the simplifications of ancestor worship led to the decrease of social capital among patrilineage members.

Patrilineage hall

During the socialist transformation period, patrilineage ancestral halls were considered as remnants of the old regime because these were the very symbols of superstition – in this case ancestor worship - that ran counter to the official ideology of atheism and materialism (Pham Van Bich, 1999: 223). Since patrilineage ancestral halls also provided a meeting space for their members where kin relations were reinforced, their presence was an anathema to the interests of other collective institutions and people's organizations. This was in line with Kim Phong's book *What is the New life* (1946: 24-25) in which he advised people to "learn how to participate in communal endeavours and eliminate practices devoted to only family and kin" (quoted in Malarney, 2002: 61-62). According to local informants, during this period patrilineage halls were sold partly or some parts of the halls were 'borrowed' by the local authorities to use as classrooms, cooperative stores, or administrative offices. As an old informant recalled:

The Dương patrilineage hall was used as the office for some organs of Quỳnh Lưu's district. In the 1960s, during the collectivization period along with many other patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi, the Dương decided to sell a part of their ancestral hall. The Bái đường (the cult part) of the hall was sold to Dương Cảnh Thịnh, a member of the Dương patrilineage.

(Dương Phúc Mận, 83 years old, living in hamlet number 3, interview on 22 July 2006).

In Quỳnh Đôi patrilineage ancestral halls became classrooms or cooperative stores. A number of patrilineage ancestral halls were sold partly or totally. Malarney in his study of a commune in Northern Vietnam also showed that patrilineage halls were forced to close or converted into houses for patrilineage members (Malarney, 2002: 47). In many localities, the worship area in patrilineage halls was reduced so that the cooperatives could use them as granaries or classrooms [*bàn thờ trong nhà thờ được giảm bớt để Hợp tác xã mượn làm kho thóc hay mở các lớp học*] (Nguyễn Nghĩa Nguyên, 1997: 159).

Genealogical records

Before, 1945 Quỳnh Đôi patrilineages kept their written genealogical records or patrilineage annals [*gia phả, tộc phả*]. As presented in Chapter 5, before 1945 patrilineage annals were constantly updated with new information, edited and revised carefully. This practice was ignored during the socialist transformation period. For example in the case of the Hoàng patrilineage nothing was done to their annals during this period. Genealogical records suffered the same fate as the patrilineage halls, since kin-related interests were not compatible with those of collective institutions and people's organizations. This was in line with the aim of building a 'New Life' in transforming 'individualism' [*Chủ nghĩa cá nhân*] to 'collectivism' [*Chủ nghĩa tập thể*]; people were to be imbued with a 'collective spirit' [*tinh thần tập thể*] and 'individualism' was to be denounced (Malarney, 2002: 60; Quang Trường, 1987: 72-73). This called for the creation of the so-called socialist family (Hà Huy Giáp, 1973: 33-44). The situation was comparable to the situation in China where the state was determined to destroy the ideology of the old family system that might be harmful to the new political organization of the state (Wolf, 1984: 214).

Patrilineage graveyard

In Quỳnh Đôi, a momentous event occurred relating to patrilineage graveyards during the socialist transformation period. Graveyards were removed and gathered together. According to Hồ Như Hưng (70 years old, living in hamlet number 6, interviewed on 14 January 2007), before 1967, the tombs in Quỳnh Đôi were scattered among rice-fields. In 1967 the commune authorities requested that patrilineage tombs should be removed and the remains to be re-buried on the premises of the patrilineage halls so that more land would be available for cultivation. Many remains were re-buried in the courtyard [*sân*] of the Hồ patrilineage hall. Hồ Như Hưng pointed out that the request of the commune authority aimed at transforming the precinct of patrilineage halls into patrilineage cemetery in order to erode the patrilineage hall function as a place for ancestor worship [*muốn xóa bỏ nơi cúng tế là các nhà thờ*].

Patrilineage rice-fields

As presented in Chapter 5, before 1945, each patrilineage had its own rice-fields. The yields from these fields were used for ancestor worship such as preparing items in order to make feasts offering to ancestors. Patrilineage rice-fields were also used as an economic supports towards poor patrilineage member households. During the socialist transformation period, all patrilineage rice-fields came under the management of agricultural cooperatives.

Before 1945, the Nguyễn patrilineage had its own rice fields totalling 5 mẫu. These fields were cultivated by some patrilineage members. The yields from the fields were used to buy items for worship on the ancestor's death anniversaries. During the collectivization period, these fields became part of the communal agricultural collective cooperative.

(Nguyễn Ngọc An, 78 years old, interview on 30 August 2003).

During the collectivization period patrilineage rice-fields were confiscated and transferred to agricultural collective cooperatives (Trịnh Thị Quang, 1984: 47-48; Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 76). Depriving a patrilineage of its rice-fields was one way to erode the cult of ancestor among the rural population, since this was considered as a form of superstition working against the cause of building socialism.⁴

3. Simplifications of life cycle rituals

Simplifications of rituals related to marriages

One aspect of building socialist culture is simplifying rituals that were considered as vestiges of the old culture, including rituals related to marriages and weddings. The campaign of building the 'New life' exhorted the people to "reduce expenditures for weddings, funerals, and temple and mausoleum construction, and devote the savings to communal benefit" (quoted in Malarney, 2002: 61). The simplification of rituals related to marriages was carried out as part of the movement of implementing the "New life" [*phong trào thực hiện đời sống mới*] (Khuất Thu Hồng, 1996: 90). In practice, marriages and weddings during the collective period changed profoundly compared to the situation before 1945. They were described as 'simple' and 'sketchy' [*Đơn giản và sơ lược*] (Lê Ngọc Văn, Mai Văn Hai, Trần Đại Nghĩa,

⁴ Regardless whether they were big or small, rich or poor, well-known or not well-known, all patrilineages were treated the same way regarding patrilineage rice fields, patrilineage graveyards, patrilineage halls, patrilineage ancestor worship. However, there were some differences between relations of individuals in rich or well-known patrilineages and relations of individuals in poor or not well-known patrilineages. First, people in the patrilineages with many mandarins or landlords may not acknowledge they belong to those patrilineages when they were outside of the village. Mandarins and landlords were often considered to be tainted by feudalism and colonialism, which is what the Revolution wanted to overthrow. Thus, the individuals' futures, especially their political lives may be harmed if they were viewed as relatives of the mandarins and/or landlords. Vũ Ngọc Khánh also showed the phenomenon in his work (1997: 83-84). Second, during the land reform, the relations between relatives in the patrilineages having members denounced as landlords were much worse than the relations between relatives in the patrilineages without landlords. When the land reform was carried out, there were many cases in which people denounced their relatives in the same patrilineage because the relatives were considered landlords. The tensions between the relatives in those patrilineages lasted for a long time. For more information I refer to the section on the land reform and the damage to the emotional bonds of patrilineage members.

& Đặng Bích Thủy, 2000: 51). The story of Dương Văn Gia and Cù Thị Ngân is a case in point.

The case study of Dương Văn Gia and Cù Thị Ngân

Dương Văn Gia was born in 1954 and his wife Cù Thị Ngân was born in 1958. Their wedding was held on 26 December 1977 following ‘new way of life’ [nếp sống mới] together with five other weddings at the hall of the commune under the auspices of the commune committee. These six weddings were officiated in three sessions, each session involving two couples.⁵ The vice president of the commune committee took charge of organizing these weddings while the commune youth union provided entertainment. Each couple contributed a small sum of money for buying candies, cigarettes and for decorating the communal hall where the weddings took place. Each couple could invite a maximum of 20 people including relatives, friends, neighbours, etc. Elderly guests enjoyed betel leaves and areca nuts while the young smoked cigarettes and ate candies. The couple took home what remained of the candies and cigarettes. Three days before the wedding, the couple registered their marriage at the office of the commune committee. A month before the wedding the couple had to report their marital status to the hamlet Youth Union branch of which they were members.

Gia and Ngân fell in love during the time they worked together in sorting out water hyacinth [Bèo hoa dâu] for fertilizing the agricultural fields. They began dating three years before their wedding. At that time, Ngân’s mother prevented her from dating Gia since she wanted her daughter to marry an army officer or a cadre [cán bộ] working for the state. She did not want her to marry a peasant farmer like Gia. Ngân’s father was a cadre and thought that his daughter should be free to choose her husband. Gradually Gia and Ngân eventually succeeded in persuading Ngân’s mother to agree to their wedding plan. In April 1977, representatives of Gia’s family went to Ngân’s family, bringing gifts of betel and areca and a bottle of rice wine. They were treated to simple tea. Eight months later, their wedding was organized at the communal hall from 9 am to 10 am. After the ceremony, the bride was welcomed to the groom’s home. In weddings before 1945, banquets and feasts were commonplace. However at the time when Gia and Ngân were married, these were banned in the name of thrift and the fight against wastefulness [tiết kiệm, chống lãng phí] in the framework of the movement on building new culture. Despite all this, Gia’s family secretly slaughtered a dog to prepare a meal for members of the bride’s party. As Gia recalled:

As we slaughtered the dog we were deeply worried, especially when we saw some commune cadres passing by our gate. If they found out my wife and I would be denounced at the meeting of the hamlet Youth Union branch and my family would be fined by the commune committee

(Dương Văn Gia, born in 1954, hamlet number 3, interview on 25 October 2007)

Thus, during the collective period, in the heat of building the “new (socialist) culture”, rituals related to weddings were simplified. Traditional rituals were abolished and while the role of patrilineages in wedding ceremonies still existed, it was much reduced. Relatives only joined the wedding ceremonies but were not involved in the organizational aspects. Although the influence of relatives on choosing spouses still persisted, this decreased considerably. As in the case of Ngân and Gia above, Ngân’s mother still prevented her from dating Gia, but the intervention proved ineffective. The number of relatives of the bride and the groom at the wedding was very limited. The commune committee and the commune Youth Union played a major role in organizing the wedding ceremony.

⁵ Malarney also showed the phenomenon of series of ‘collective wedding’ ceremonies [cưới tập thể] in the period of socialist transformation through studying in a commune in the Red River Delta (Malarney, 2002: 150).

Not only in Quỳnh Đôi but also elsewhere in the lowlands of northern Vietnam ritual simplification and expense reduction in marriage occurred in the period of socialist transformation (Khuất Thu Hồng, 1996; Lê Ngọc Văn et al., 2000; Luong, 1993). In addition, organizations such as Communist Party cells, Women's Union branches, Youth Union branches, state organs, commune authorities and collective cooperatives where the bride and bridegroom worked or lived, played significant roles in organizing wedding ceremonies. Together with the bride and the groom's families they helped arrange wedding ceremonies for the couple at public places such as the meeting-hall of the commune or state organs. During this period, sometimes wedding ceremonies were held for more than one couple at the same place and at the same time (Lê Ngọc Văn et al., 2000: 38-49). The local Youth Organization took charge of entertainment (Luong, 1993: 285). In matters related to marriage, organizations such as the Communist Party cell, the local branches of the Women's Union and the Youth Union played an important role. Young people who were cadres would need approval from state organs and social organizations in choosing their spouses. Young people who were not state employees, whether living in urban areas or in the countryside had to report to their Communist Party cells or local Youth Union branches when they began a relationship with a partner. Those who were state employees, especially cadres, had to submit a résumé of their future spouses to their organizations or organs. They could get married after receiving approval from their respective organs and political organizations (Lê Ngọc Văn et al, 2000: 47-48). In short, during the socialist transformation period, marriages in Northern lowland of Vietnam changed profoundly in terms of ritual simplification and expense reduction. An important point of departure was that before 1945 the marriage was considered as an affair of the patrilineage, whereas from 1945 to *Đổi mới*, political organizations, state organs and commune authorities played significant roles in marriages.

Simplifications of rituals related to funerals

With the motto "Building New Ways" [*nếp sống mới*] shortly after the 1945 August Revolution, rituals related to funeral were the objects of simplification. People cast off many cultural norms, values and etiquettes considered to be a part of the 'feudal' system. Reforms in the socialist era were aimed at making these rites simple [*đơn giản*], eliminating all 'feudal' elements while emphasizing on thrift [*tiết kiệm*], and educational effects [*giáo dục*] on participants (Malarney, 2002: 110). In practice, rituals related to funerals were simplified (Luong, 1993: 282) as the role of organizing funerals was transferred from patrilineages to social and political collective organizations. This case below illustrates more in detail the simplification of funeral rites and the loss of patrilineage in this affair.

A funeral in the collective period: the case of Cù Hữu Chí

On 27 December 2007, I had an interview with Hoàng Thị Quân, a retired teacher who was born in 1944, now living in hamlet number 6. She told me what happened in the funeral of her father-in-law, Cù Hữu Chí. According to Mrs Quân, Cù Hữu Chí was born in 1905. His wife, Hồ Thị Tam, was born in 1909. They had three children. The first is Cù Thị Hình, a daughter born in 1935. She is a peasant farmer, and married to a villager and has eight children. Mrs Quân is married to the elder son Cù Ngọc Trung, born in 1942, now a war veteran. They have one daughter and two sons. The younger son of Cù Hữu Chí and Hồ Thị Tam is Cù Tuấn Ngộ, born in 1944, now retired. His wife, Hoàng Thị Hồng was born in 1945, now a retired teacher. They have three children, two sons and one daughter. The houses of Cù Ngọc Trung and Cù Tuấn Ngộ are located in hamlet number 6. Cù Hữu Chí died on 4 April 1982. Hồ Thị Tam died on 25 April 1987. In 1980s, they lived with their second daughter-in-law, Hoàng

Thị Hồng, and her children. When Cù Hữu Chi died, his sons were away on business. They returned to pay worship their father after the death day one week. Cù Hữu Chi suffered from chronic liver disease. He died at 2 o'clock in the morning. As Hoàng Thị Quân recalled:

At 11 am on the 5th of April he was laid in a coffin. At 4 pm on that day he was buried in the commune graveyard. The coffin was donated by the agricultural cooperative. His grave was prepared by several close relatives. The production brigade, of which he was a member, played the main role in organizing the funeral. The head of the brigade delivered the funeral oration. The Youth Communist Union branch took charge of making wreaths and carrying the coffin. The Women's Union branch also played a part in organizing the funeral, especially in receiving guests. The head of the production brigade found somebody in the cooperative who could play clarinet and drum to accompany the funeral procession.

(Hoàng Thị Quân, born in 1944, hamlet number 6 interview on 27 December 2007)

Thus, during the collective period, production brigades of the agricultural cooperative and mass organizations played important roles in organizing funerals. The agricultural cooperative donated coffins to the dead. The production brigade, the Youth Communist Union branch and the Women's Union branch - three important organizations at the neighbourhood level - were mainly involved in organizing funerals. The tasks of delivering funeral orations, making wreaths, carrying coffins and receiving guest were assumed by collective organizations. Close relatives also had a role to play in organizing funerals, particularly in preparing the grave for the dead. However, in comparison with the time before 1945 the function of patrilineages was reduced considerably in organizing funerals. This situation occurred elsewhere as well. Malarney pointed out that the state tried to neutralize the role of family and kinship members by making funeral rites a proxy of the state and its ideology through taking important roles in funerals such as providing pallbearers and having its cadres to deliver orations (Malarney, 2002: 110).

From a social capital perspective, the simplifications of life cycle's rituals led to the decrease of social capital inherent in patrilineages during the socialist transformation period. Regarding rituals related to marriages and funerals, as presented in Chapter 5, before 1945 social capital between patrilineage members was the foundation for the hosts to carry these rituals. In addition, through these rituals social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges was created and maintained. In the socialist transformation period, the simplifying of these rituals and the subsequent diminished role of the patrilineages led to a decrease of social capital inherent in them.

4. Education policies and the loss of patrilineage's functions in education

After the August Revolution of 1945, the first significant policy of Revolutionary power on education was to launch the mass literacy campaign. On 3 September 1945, at the first meeting of the government, President Hồ Chí Minh pointed out that famine, foreign aggression and illiteracy were impending enemies of the Vietnamese nation. On 8 September 1945, the government issued three decrees related to education. Decree No 17 dealt with the setting up of the Anti-Illiteracy Department, Decree. No 19 stipulated that within 6 months each village had to organize classes with at least 30 learners. Decree No. 20 stipulated that learning Vietnamese was compulsory and free of charge, all people aged 8 and over had to

read and write Vietnamese within one year (Nguyễn Quang Kính et al., 2005: 27). In the new education system, all men and women have the same rights to education. On 25 November 1945, the Central Committee of the Communist Party instructed on educational and cultural affairs:⁶

On the cultural front, (we must) organize popular education, resolutely eliminate illiteracy, set up universities and secondary schools, reform education in a new spirit, suppress learning by rote, promote a culture for national salvation, build up a new culture based on science, the public mass and the people (Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, 2000: 28).

In Quỳnh Đôi, just after August Revolution, many illiteracy eradication classes took place in the evening and early afternoon at the communal hall and ancestor worship houses. Villagers young and old attended these classes. In May 1946, 50% the population of Quỳnh Đôi was literate in comparison with 10% before 1945 (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 32). In October 1945, the Quỳnh Đôi primary school was set up. In 1947, the Tân Dân secondary school set up by the Dân Chủ (Democratic) party situated in Vinh – the provincial town of Nghệ An, was moved to Quỳnh Đôi. In 1948, the school was moved to Quỳnh Bá commune. In 1959 and 1960 the secondary school of Quỳnh Đôi was built. Four communal halls of four neighbourhoods, the Quỳnh Thiên pagoda, the village deity's temple and the village literature temple were pulled down so that the materials from these to build the school (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 73-74; Phan Hữu Thịnh, 2003: 15-16).

From the August Revolution in 1945 to the *Đổi mới* in 1986, Vietnam underwent three reforms in education with the purpose to change the previous colonial education to a national, socialist-oriented education. The first education reform began in October 1945 with the establishment of an education council to implement education reform (Nguyễn Q Thắng 1993:310). However the war against French broke out in September 1945 in the South and in December 1945 in the North, so that only in July 1950 the Cabinet council could pass the project of education reform and implement it systematically (Nguyễn Quang Kính et al., 2005: 32). The purpose of the first education reform was to remove the old colonial education system and establish a new system for an independent Vietnam, based on the principle “of the people, by the people and for the people”. The education system included the school education, popular education for adults, technical and professional education and higher education. The school education comprised three levels: level I (four years), level II (three years) and level III (2 years). The popular education for adult consisted of three levels: level I (four months) to eradicate illiteracy, level II (four months) equivalent to the third grade, and level II (eight months) equivalent to the fifth grade of elementary school education. The system of technical and professional education and higher education included vocational/professional training and tertiary education (Nguyễn Quang Kính et al., 2005: 32-33).

The second education reform started in 1956. At the national congress of school education in March 1956, an education reform project was approved. This second reform was to extend the first reform with some changes into the newly liberated provinces/regions of Vietnam after Northern Vietnam was completely liberated from the French in 1954. The school education system was adjusted from nine years in the previous system to ten years in which level III would cover three years instead of two years previously (Nguyễn Quang Kính et al., 2005: 45).

⁶ From 1951 until late 1976 the Communist Party of Vietnam was called the Workers' Party of Vietnam [*Đảng Lao động Việt Nam*]

The third education reform began in 1979 with the resolution No.14-NQ/TW of the Politburo of the Party's Central Committee on education reform. The reform was to create a unified education system in the whole country, in the North as well as in the South, after unification in 1975. The reform aimed at restructuring the education system, changing its content and teaching method (Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, 2005: 21-25). The new education system comprised of nursery education, school education, vocational/professional training, tertiary education, continuing education and in-service training. The levels of school education are primary education (five years) lower secondary education (four years) and upper secondary education (three years) (Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, 2005:26-39).

Looking back at education developments from 1945 to 1986 two significant features stood out. Defined as a socialist oriented education system, its aims were to serve the resistance wars and to back up the centrally planned economy. The state undertook the major role in education not only through its public schools but also through socio-political organizations such as the party, the youth union, the women's union, etc. Individual education successes were no longer attributed to the role of families and relatives (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997:83-84). Secondly, education was subsidized by the state, which considered education as its own affair. Along with the reduction of kinship relations, the role of patrilineages in encouraging learning among the young almost disappeared. This can be seen in the following case studies.

The case of Văn Thị Hương

Văn Thị Hương was born in 1934. Before 1945 she attended French-Vietnamese school. In 1955 she completed elementary grade of French-Vietnamese education that was equivalent to the 4th grade of primary school at present time. With the August Revolution in 1945, her study was interrupted. In 1947 she resumed her schooling and graduated from a secondary school in 1953. In 1954 she attended a 4-month primary education teacher's course [sơ cấp sư phạm trong bốn tháng]. After that she became a primary school teacher until 1960. From 1961 to 1963 she attended a secondary education teacher's college [học trung cấp sư phạm]. From 1963 to 1965 she was a teacher at Quỳnh Đôi secondary school and from 1965 to 1968 she became headmistress of Quỳnh Hậu secondary school. Quỳnh Hậu is a neighbouring commune of Quỳnh Đôi. From 1968 to 1986, she was headmistress of Quỳnh Đôi secondary school. Two months per year from 1968 to 1972, she attended the Teacher's College [đại học sư phạm]. On 12 December 1986 she retired from teaching. At present time, she gets a pension of 1,560,000 VND (96.11 USD) per month.⁷

In 1954 Văn Thị Hương got married to Hồ Sĩ Tám who was a high-school teacher. He was born in 1935, one year younger than his wife. Now his pension is 2,300,000 VND (141.70 USD) per month. They have four children, two daughters and two sons, born in 1959, 1961, 1965 and 1970. She told me about the education situation before the Đổi mới:

At that time, in the evening, two or three times per week, the teachers of our school were divided into small groups to visit the homes of our pupils in order to check how they were doing at home. At the gate if we saw children were doing their homework we would move on to other houses; otherwise we would come in to tell the parents to remind their children of their homework, etc. At that time the salary for teachers was very low but we were very enthusiastic about teaching. If a teacher saw a pupil getting a problem he/she would visit the parent to sort it out. Nowadays teachers do not visit pupils' homes any more. Instead the parents will be asked to come to the school to discuss the problem. I do not remember exactly during most of those days, parents did

⁷ In January 2008, 1 USD was approximately to 16,231 VND

not have to pay school fees or any fees for their children. All were subsidized. Pupils did not have to study from many textbooks. Our school has a library where pupils could borrow textbooks and return them at the end of the school-year. The practice of buying textbooks was very rare. The expenditure for children to attend school at that time was insignificant. Education was subsidized by the state. Parents did not receive support from relatives or others to finance their children's education. The only thing they had to provide was food. My salary and that of my husband at that time were very low but we could afford to send our four children to school.

(Văn Thị Hương, born in 1934, hamlet number 2, interview on 17 January 2008)

Thus during the socialist transformation period education was subsidized. Pupils could borrow textbooks from their school libraries. There was no financial pressure on the pupils' parents. As illustrated in the case of Văn Thị Hương, despite their low salaries she and her husband could afford to send their four children to school without outside support. In the case of Phạm Phương Tu below, he also stressed the subsidized education in the socialist transformation period.

From a gender perspective, women had equal chances compared to men regarding education. As shown above, Văn Thị Hương was able to follow her education at various levels finally got a university degree. She became a teacher and served as headmistress of Quỳnh Đôi secondary school for a long time. One important feature of education in the socialist transformation period was the equality of educational opportunity for both men and women, not only in theory but also in practice. The free education helped children to follow education, both male and female, regardless their family economies.

The case of Phạm Phương Tu

Phạm Phương Tu was born in 1943. From 1950 to 1953 he followed primary school. In 1954 when land reform was carried out, his father was labelled as a 'landlord' and was put in prison, so his study was interrupted. In 1956, corrective measures to the land reform were implemented and his father was no longer classified as a landlord and consequently was released. Tu resumed his schooling. In 1960 he graduated from secondary school. In 1961, he left high school when he was attending the 8th grade of high-school. In 1962 he attended the secondary school teacher's college [trung học sư phạm]. After that he worked as a secondary school teacher and retired in 2004. He recalls the educational situation before the Đổi mới as follows:

In the subsidized period, schooling was not costly. At that time pupils did not have to pay school fees and could borrow textbooks from the school library. The number of textbooks at that time was limited. Of course, libraries did not provide all kinds of textbooks for pupils to borrow. Some parents bought textbooks for their children but at that time textbooks were very cheap. The value of a textbook was equivalent to a kilogram of rice. Parents did not worry about education expenses for their children. Nowadays, each school has a library but the libraries do not lend textbooks to everybody. Those who could borrow them are pupils whose parents are veterans wounded in the war or revolutionary martyrs. Now libraries still can lend out story-books. At present, pupils also have to take extra lessons [học thêm]. On average, a secondary school pupil has to pay around 4,000 VND (0.24 USD) per lesson.⁸ That situation did not happen in the subsidized period.

(Phạm Phương Tu, born 1943, hamlet number 4, interviewed on 16 January 2008)

⁸ In January 2008, 1 USD was approximately to 16,231 VND

In the socialist transformation period, education was subsidized. Parents did not have to pay tuition fee or any other fees. Pupils could borrow textbooks from school libraries. Therefore there were no financial burdens to parents who send their children to school. This situation contrasted with the education situation in the *Đổi mới* era, when pupils have to buy textbooks and have to pay many extra fees, for example fee for extra lessons, etc.

Under the socialist regime, patrilineages obviously had no functions in the educational domain since this had been taken over exclusively by the state. In addition, the simplifications of patrilineage's rituals led to the fact that patrilineage spiritual study encouragement measures also disappeared. In short, patrilineages lost their functions in education.

Although, in the socialist transformation period, patrilineages did not give mental and material support to learners, kinship relations were important for children's education in another way.⁹ That could be seen by the fact that many children of revolutionary cadres had privileged access to schools and colleges and subsequently rose to high positions in State and Party. For example, the Hồ patrilineage had revolutionary leaders such as Hồ Tùng Mậu and Hồ Việt Thắng. Based on the political credentials of these Communist cadres, several members of the Hồ patrilineage (namely the offspring of these revolutionary cadres) had good opportunities to attend school during the socialist transformation period. Some were sent to study overseas and then acquired high positions in state institutions. For instance, among the descendants of these revolutionaries of the Hồ patrilineage, there is one current member of the Politburo of the Communist Party, two former members of the Party Central Committee and two army generals (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005).

These career opportunities can be analysed from a social capital perspective, understood in terms of reciprocity exchanges. The revolutionary cadres, with their political credentials, provided good conditions for their offspring in both education and career advancement, expecting that there would be returns some time in the future for them, for their relatives, or even for their village. In practice, several people (who had good conditions for attending school in the socialist transformation period and then rose to a high social position) brought returns in terms of prestige as well as power and even materials benefits to their relatives living in the village and even to the whole village. For example, in 2005, army general Hồ Sĩ Hậu (born in 1946, a member of the Hồ patrilineage, and a descendant of revolutionary cadres) spent his money to hire people in order to draw a map of Quỳnh Đôi village before 1945. One copy of the map was offered to his patrilineage (the Hồ patrilineage) and another copy was offered to the Commune People's Committee.¹⁰ In another example, in 2007 a delegation of company leaders of explored investment opportunities in Nghệ An province, introduced by a high ranking cadre (born in 1947, a member of the Hồ patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi and descendant of revolutionary cadres). On this trip, they also visited Quỳnh Đôi village with that cadre. After this visit, three company leaders in the delegation offered

⁹ As presented in section 8 of chapter 5, in the Hán-Chinese education system, mental support or encouragement towards students were reflected in the way in which patrilineages treated students, successful candidates of regional and national examinations, with honours and privileges, such as organizing welcoming processions and offering *Câu đối* (parallel sentences written on a pair of vermilion lacquered and gilded wood panels) or *Bức trướng* (laudatory word written on a curtain) to successful candidates, or holding trial examinations for students. These measures gave strong incentives to villagers to take up learning.

¹⁰ The copies of the map were hung on walls of the Hồ patrilineage hall and the office of the Commune People's Committee. The village relics such as the old patrilineage halls, village literature temple [*Nhà Thánh* or *Văn Miếu* devoted to the cult of Confucius and other Confucian icons], etc., were illustrated on the map. According to Phan Hữu Thanh (born in 1927, interviewed on 16 January 2008) villagers benefited from the map in terms of learning and then priding themselves on their village in the past. Phan Hữu Thanh contributed to draw the map by showing the positions of the relics from his memory to draw the map.

3,9 billions VND (240,280.94 USD) to the commune in order to upgrade the commune secondary school.¹¹ The school was upgraded in early 2008 and inaugurated in late 2008.¹² Thus, villagers (who grew up and attended school in the socialist transformation period, thanks to the political credentials of their relatives) acquired high social positions and then brought returns in terms of prestige, power and materials benefits to their relatives and their village.

It can be said that the role of kinship relations in children's education in the neo-Confucian education system during the pre-socialist period (as presented in Chapter 5) continued in the socialist transformation period, but in another form. In the neo-Confucian education system, patrilineages provided privileges and resources, expecting that there would be returns some time in the future. The returns would be prestige, power and various other things that beneficiary students could bring to their patrilineage after obtaining a good degree and becoming mandarins. During the socialist transformation education system, patrilineages as such ceased to play their prominent role in education but kin relations remained important as education opportunities depended on the political credentials of the parents and other close relatives. Revolutionary cadres capitalized on their political credentials by providing good educational and career conditions for their children. In both historical settings, villagers (who had good conditions for attending school and then got high social positions, thanks to their patrilineage support in the former period, or to their relatives' political credentials in the later period) brought returns in terms of prestige, power and materials benefits to their relatives living in the village - and sometimes even to the whole village. In other words, the role of kinship relations in children's education never ceased during the two periods, albeit in different forms; and social capital, understood as reciprocity exchanges, was at work in both settings.

5. Land reform and the damage to the emotional bonds of patrilineage members

The land reform started in 1945, which "began against the background of disastrous, socially demoralizing famine of 1944-1945, which killed between 400,000 and 2,000,000 Vietnamese peasant" (Woodside, 1970: 706). This program aimed at eliminating landlordism and placed the land in the hand of peasants, paving the way for cooperative production in agriculture (Moise, 1976: 70). The program also was designed to destroy the political power of old class of landlords (Bredo, 1970: 747). The land reform underwent two stages: the first stage during the resistance against the French (1945-1953) and the second stage after independence was achieved in the North (1954-1956).

In the first round of land reform from 1945 to just before 1953 the land reform policy was aimed at reducing rent and interest, redistributing common land, and confiscating the lands of the so-called "imperialists and traitors" or Frenchmen and Vietnamese who served under the French (Houtart & Lemerminier, 1984: 9-11; Quang Truong, 1987: 31-32; Moise, 1976: 71). The Land Reform Law passed by the National Assembly on 4 December 1953 was a milestone in land reform program. The purpose of this law was "to abolish the regime of land appropriation by the French colonists and wipe out the feudal regime of land ownership

¹¹ In January 2008, 1 USD was approximately to 16,231 VND

¹² Information came from (1) Hồ Đắc Thi, born in 1970, the Commune People's Committee cadre in charge of culture affair, and (2) Phan Hữu Thanh, born in 1927; interviewed on 16 January 2008. I also re-checked and updated the information with the two informants on 15 and 16 April 2009.

by the landlord class in order to set up a regime of land ownership by peasants, give strong impetus to agricultural production and pave the way for industrial and commercial development, improve the peasants' living condition" (quoted in Quang Truong, 1987: 32). The Land Law divided the rural population into five categories.

1. Big landowner [*địa chủ*]: the rural bourgeois who does not work on his land but lives on land rent and usury.¹³
2. Rich peasant [*phú nông*]: who tills his land himself and disposes of a surplus by employed labour.
3. Middle peasant [*trung nông*]: forming together with the rich peasant the rural petty-bourgeois, who lives solely by tilling his land without exploitation others. This category also includes peasants who own no land but rent their entire holding from a big landlord.
4. Poor peasant [*bần nông*]: who owns too little land to meet his needs and has to rent additional land from others or hire himself as a farmhand.
5. Landless peasant [*cố nông*]: essentially constituting the rural proletariat, who owns nothing at all, neither land nor farm implements, and who must sell his labour to keep alive (quoted in Quang Truong, 1987: 33).

According to the Law, all lands, farm implements and draft animal belonging to the colonists, as well as landlords [*địa chủ*] and village notables who had committed 'crimes' were to be confiscated or requisitioned without compensation. An exception was made for those who had participated in the Resistance. They were compensated with special bonds (Quang Truong, 1987: 32). Concerning land confiscation, Houtart and Lemercinier (1984: 20) elaborate: "Land confiscation without compensation and land requisition without compensation had the same effect on the economic plane, but not on the political. Land confiscation often made the landlord an object of public scorn and was meant to be politically a punitive measure".

The classification of the rural population was very important in the Land Reform. This categorisation was a basis for land redistribution among peasants. The classification in combination with the alleged conduct of big landowners were also the basis for differential treatments towards them (Vickerman, 1986: 83-85). Therefore, *địa chủ* were divided into different groups comprising of "land owning traitors", "landowners who lived mainly on rents", and "landowners who took part in the resistance" (Houtart & Lemercinier, 1984: 13-14).

After the restoration of peace to Vietnam in 1954, a full scale campaign of land reform was undertaken to mobilize the rural masses to achieve both rent reduction and land redistribution. In each village, a team of specially trained cadres was sent to live, eat and work together with peasants in order to supervise the campaign at the grass roots. The cadres of the teams tried to convince the peasants that they were poor not because of their fate but because of the oppression and exploitation of landlords who could be defeated if they would unite and fight. Once a peasant realised this idea they would try to convince other peasants to join forces. Thus, the function of cadres in the rent reduction and land reform was to awaken the 'political consciousness' of the peasantry in order to fight against the upper class (Houtart & Lemercinier, 1984: 15; Moise, 1976: 71-72).

¹³ The terms '*địa chủ*' is translated into English as 'landlords' or 'big landowner'.

The class struggle was considered as one of the key issues of the Land Reform.¹⁴ The guideline for class struggle was “to destroy the landlord class, to neutralise rich peasants, to unite closely with middle peasants”. Later, the policy “to neutralise rich peasants” was changed into “to ally with rich peasants” (Nguyen Ngoc Luu, 1987: 329). However, there were mistakes made in the distinction between enemy landowners and patriotic landowners or nationalist landowners; between the big landowners, rich peasants and the middle peasants. The legitimate interests of many middle peasants were harmed. Many rich peasants were classified as big landowners. The number of big landowners was exaggerated. That led to the situation that besides big landowners, middle peasants and rich peasants were also attacked despite their support for the resistance and the fact that their children were taking part in the movement (Houtart & Lemercurier, 1984: 15-17).

The achievement of land reform was total abolishment of landlordism, improvement of the living standard of the peasants and increase of agricultural production (Quang Truong 1987: 32-35). However, there were ‘shortcomings’ in the land reform. These shortcomings were acknowledged by the leaders of the Communist party themselves (Kerkvliet & Selden, 1998: 40), which included exaggerated figures of land areas owned by the so-called landlords. Since it was estimated that 5% of the rural population were landlords so, around 5% of rural population were placed in the category of landlords. Thus many people, who were arbitrarily classified as landlords, actually belonged to other classes. Those who were classified as landlords were treated with excessive severity (Moise, 1983: 205-210). Actually, the dark side of land reform was the heavy human cost. While land reform was considered necessary, some aspects of the methods used were criticized; the errors were acknowledged by the Party, leading to an adjustment and rectification campaign (Quang Truong 1987: 36-38; Moise 1976: 83). The extreme way in which these measures were carried out was summarized as follows:

The fact is that the standards for determining the class category of peasant were so complex and poorly defined that cadres (mostly new recruits) were unable to use them. Therefore, when a ‘blank check’ was given to the rural poor to lead the campaign, the emotional attacks and public denunciations [*đấu tố*] at the People’s courts [*Tòa án nhân dân*] caused many unnecessary innocent victims. Many rich and middle peasants were mistakenly classified as landlords and treated with more severity than should have been the case (Quang Truong 1987: 36)

In Quỳnh Đôi, the struggle for reducing the rent began in February 1954. This rent reduction campaign was different from the one during the 1948-1949 period when local Communists and local cadres mobilized landlords to reduce rent by 25% voluntarily. However, this time rent reduction did not went smoothly. In 1954, a group of cadres was sent to Quỳnh Đôi to mobilize the peasants in demanding absolute rent reduction. In this process, peasants were ‘asked about their destitute situation, mobilized to show their vindictive hatred for the landlords’ [*thăm nghèo hỏi khổ, phát động căm thù địa chủ*]. In Quỳnh Đôi, landlords had to reduce rent by 25% and returned the rent they had received from 1947 to 1954 (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 163-164).

¹⁴ During the land reform in Quỳnh Đôi, alongside the total abolishment of landlordism, poor and poorest peasants became key cadres in the local Party and Government apparatus. That was argued by Hồ Sĩ Giảng (1993: 54) in his work on Quỳnh Đôi in this period. Kleinen through studying in Lang To village (the Red river delta) also discussed the establishment of this new order in the land reform in which old village elite based on landed property lost their economic as well as political position. At the same time, poor and poorest peasants seized exiting communal hierarchies (Kleinen, 1999: 104-105).

The land reform began in Quỳnh Đôi in 1955, after rent reduction was carried out. As in the rent reduction campaign, a group of cadres was sent to Quỳnh Đôi to conduct the land reform movement. This means the local Communist Party and local authorities had no part in its direction. The members of the group had been trained to be vigilant over the conspiracy of landlords and their related elements. The group also was instructed to identify a number of landlords ranging from 3% to 5% of the village population. It turned out that the figure of 'landlords' in Quỳnh Đôi exceeded over the real number (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 169). In Quỳnh Đôi, average land per capital was low; however as many as 55 people were classified as big landowners. Even some people without land also were labelled as big landowners. Two former chairmen of Quỳnh Đôi committee were imprisoned for having been accused to be big landowners. After the "rectification of errors" campaign, the number of landowners of Quỳnh Đôi was reduced to 13. However, some believed the true number was even lower. Two main errors committed in the land reform campaign in Quỳnh Đôi were the erroneous classification of landlords and the exaggeration of kinship relation to landlords (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 55-56). About land reform in Quỳnh Đôi, witness reveals:

In 1955, after the Điện Biên Phủ victory, a group of land reform cadres was sent to Quỳnh Đôi. No matter how high your position is in your patrilineage, if you were classified as a landlord or labelled as a landlord, you would be denounced in public by the landless and even by your own children or relatives. The public denunciations took place in a well-known place of the village. Most villagers attended the denunciations. At each denunciation, the landless appointed a presidium. The landless brought out the landlords (or labelled as landlords). The landlords were forced to kneel in front of the presidium and the villagers. Then, poor peasants rushed out to denounce the landlords. The poor peasants told of the landlords past atrocities such as beating, scolding they had suffered. In many cases, the poor peasants often exaggerated the abuses committed by landlords. Depending on the crime levels, landlords were punished by having their land and property confiscated, being imprisoned, or even sentenced to death. The land reform cadre group spread the words that villagers should not give support to or make contact with the landlords or work as their henchmen. Anyone remotely related with them might lose their economic and political rights interests. Therefore, nobody dared to contact the landlords. This led to the situation in which the landlords suffered both public denunciation and physical isolation. An old teacher, a friend of my father, was labelled as a landlord. He was close to dying of hunger. He was saved by the kindness of a neighbour who secretly stuck some sweet potatoes on his bamboo fence. The consequences of the land reform campaign were ten dead, people who were landlords or and labelled as such. Three committed suicide, several died of hunger and others died in prison. One person, my father-in-law, was shot. In the campaign of rectification after land reform, my father-in-law was reclassified as a middle-peasant, not a landlord. During the land reform period, I was the head of the Propaganda and Training Section of the Central Land Reform Committee. One day, I was invited to attend an exhibition about the crimes of landlords, held in Bích Câu street, Hanoi. In the exhibition, there was a picture about my father-in-law, denounced as a criminal landlord in Quỳnh Đôi. Since there were many pictures and objects on display, I did not take any notice of the picture of my father-in-law. Some friends of my wife saw it and told my wife about it. My wife reproached me for a long time afterwards. Actually I could not intervene in this matter anyway. In this circumstance, nobody could intervene for anyone, even though they were relatives.

(Hoàng Nhật Tân, 80 years old, interviewed on 15 January 2006)

The story from a person who was both an indirect victim and a high level cadre of the Central Land Reform Committee, shows that during the land reform in Quỳnh Đôi, the public denunciation of landowners spread far and wide. An atmosphere of fear covered the whole village. Those families classified as big landowners or related to big landowners were surrounded and were not allowed to work. The supremacy of the cadre group was so great that villagers were afraid of being seen as related to landlords or being labelled as landlords. Moreover, during the denunciations against landlords, while many villagers told their real predicaments but there were those who exaggerated their stories because of personal resentment or under the instigation of the cadres. Out of fear, villagers cut off their relations with any one who were called landlords. The situation led to personal tragedies in families and among relatives. Concerning the situation in Quỳnh Đôi at that time, Hồ Sĩ Giàng mentioned that members of the same family denounced each other. There were cases when children denounced their parents, nephews denounced their uncles, nieces denounced their aunts, and relatives denounced one another, etc (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 55-56).

The tragedies related to the land reform also occurred elsewhere in northern Vietnam (Kleinen, 1999; Luong, 1992). The situation was so tense that as a Party member later revealed that “brothers from the same family no longer dare to visit each other and people do not dare to greet each other when they meet in the street” (Fall 1963: 156). In his 2006 novel, the well-known author Tô Hoài - himself a land reform cadre at that time - provides a vivid picture of the land reform campaign in a commune in Thanh Hóa province (Tô Hoài, 2006). The traumatic experience about kinship relations during the land reform can be seen more in the following story of a so-called brutal landlord’s son in Sơn Dương village of Phú Thọ province.

On the trial day, under pressure from the land reform cadres, my close relatives and even my wife denounced my father and addressed him with the pronouns *mày* and *tao*.¹⁵ He was subsequently imprisoned. In this entire episode, the physical loss meant relatively little in comparison to the emotional trauma and the damage to the social fabric. After my wife passed away, in my absence, my children moved her tomb away from my father’s because of the bitterness in their relationship after her public denunciation and her indirect rejection of their kinship tie by the terms of address used during the trial. Even nowadays, I still do not feel comfortable in the presence of the relatives who denounced my father and addressed him with the terms *mày* and *tao* on that trial day more than three decades ago. It is still embarrassing for us to interact (Luong, 1992: 189).

It can be said that the land reform program was aimed at the landlord class; actually many people were labelled as landlords although they themselves were not the landlords in the true sense of the word. At that time, class-consciousness was more important than family ties. Political considerations related to land reform affected the emotional bonds [*quan hệ tình cảm*] among patrilineage members and other, relatives, far and near. In the old days, well-known patrilineages distinguished themselves with high ranking mandarins and successful laureates of state examinations. During the land reform period, these patrilineages were targets of persecution. Some people were so afraid that they dared not admit that they were related to well-known relatives, because patrilineages were considered to be symbols of feudalism and colonialism (Vũ Ngọc Khánh, 1997: 83). As a consequence, there was much distrust among relatives, including patrilineage members. Needless to say such transactions as

¹⁵ In the Vietnamese kinship setting, it is very rare to use the pronouns *mày* (thou) and *tao* (I/me).

normally might occur following the principle of reciprocity exchanges did not happen. In other words, there was a serious reduction of social capital in patrilineages.¹⁶

6. Cooperatives and the loss of patrilineage's functions in the economic domain

The second phase of socialist construction was collectivization which took place between 1958 and 1961 in Northern Vietnam when the country was divided into two parts. The Communist leadership believed that collective farming played the central role in building socialism (Kerkvliet, 2005: 1). In fact, collectivization was “an initiative pressed from above by Party leaders” (Kerkvliet & Selden, 1998: 40). In the framework of the collectivization movement, a systematic program was carried out with the establishment of cooperatives [*hợp tác xã*]. This was part of a centrally planned economy where “cooperatives, procurement and state pricing were considered essential for a socialist economy, the cornerstone of which was seen to be the replacement of ‘the market’ by ‘the plan’ as the central mechanism of national economic integration” (White, 1985: 97).

The process of building cooperatives underwent three stages. The first step of the establishment of cooperatives was the setting up of labour exchange teams or mutual aid teams [*tổ đổi công*], which was essential for building up low-level cooperatives and later high-level cooperatives. Each team might involve just a few of households or an entire neighbourhood, and its operation might last just a harvesting season or the whole year. In mutual aid teams the peasants still kept their own agricultural tools and profits from their lands but helped each other during agricultural production (Quang Truong, 1987: 56; Vickerman, 1986: 126). To a certain extent, the mutual aid teams were a reminder of the cooperation among farmers in agricultural production in the past. The difference here was that the teams were organized by the Party and its cadres. These were formed in the early years of the resistance against the French in order to ensure agricultural production along with the efforts of mobilizing peasants to join the army. Although the land reform delayed the expansion of the mutual aid teams, the formation of these teams was speeded up after its completion (Quang Truong, 1987: 56; Nguyen Ngoc Luu, 1987: 394-396; Vickerman, 1986: 126-127). In 1958 at the height of their expansion, over 65 percent of peasant families were on these teams. The population in mountainous areas and upper-middle class families were outside of the teams (Vickerman, 1986: 130). In the period from 1955 to 1957 these labour exchange teams had two main functions. The first was to solve immediate problems in agricultural production such as “water conservancy”, “lack of labour and draft power”, and “shortage of farm implements”. The second function was to prepare for building up cooperatives in following years (Nguyen Ngoc Luu, 1987: 398). Therefore, the labour

¹⁶ The land reform was aimed at the abolishment of landlordism, improvement of the living standard of the peasants and at the increase of agricultural production (Quang Truong, 1987: 32-35). However, several aspects of land reform were criticized because of its shortcomings. Recognizing the mistakes in the implementation of the reform, the Party acknowledged the errors and had its self-criticism. After that the adjustment and rectification campaign was launched (Kleinen, 1999: 102; Quang Truong, 1986: 36-38; Houtart and Lemercinier, 1984: 17-18; Moise, 1976: 83). In Quỳnh Đôi, the rectification was carried out in late 1956 and early 1957. Many people who were wrongly labelled as landlords had their family background [*thành phần gia đình*] restored. The cadres, party members and others who were wrongly convicted in the land reform had their former posts and honours returned to them (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 172-173). In 1956, in the time of the land reform, riots broke out in Quỳnh Lưu district. There were different versions of describing the events as well as explaining the causes behind the events. However, a link existed between the events and the shortcomings of the land reform. For more information on these events see Moise (1983: 258-260) and Fall (1963: 156-158).

exchange teams were considered as ‘the sprouts’ [*mầm mống*] of socialism’ serving as the basis for the second step of collectivization (Quang Truong, 1987: 57; Woodside, 1970: 707).

The second step of the process instituted the low-level agricultural production cooperatives or semi-socialist cooperatives. The low-level cooperatives were started in 1958, after the completion of the land reform (Quang Truong, 1987: 57). The general purpose of cooperatives was to transform from individual production basis (the small producer) in which households were production units into collective production basis in which collectives were production units. Small producers were considered as obstacles to the broadening of agricultural production in the framework of the “three revolutions”. These obstacles were scattered production, small quantity of products, and peasant only doing little more than the supply of their own needs (Woodside, 1970: 708). In the perception of the leadership cooperatives not only prevented the changes to capitalism (quoted in Kerkvliet, 1995: 401), but were also considered as a means to mobilize resources for the war against the United States and the Southern regime (Kerkvliet, 1995: 401). Cooperatives were production organizations which were had two significant characteristics: “collective ownership” and “collective planning”. First, members of cooperatives pooled their land and their tools to work together and received proportionally the share of final product depending on their contribution of labour. Second, in each cooperative the production followed the plans of collective management through an Executive Committee. In the stage of low-scale cooperatives, not all agricultural tools and land were collectively owned (Quang Truong, 1987: 57-58).

The third stage of agricultural collectivization was to build high-level agricultural production cooperatives or fully socialist cooperatives. In order to transform themselves into high-level cooperatives, low-level cooperatives needed to achieve “stabilised, higher production” along with “improved management”. The justification for the requirements was that these conditions ensured the “source of income and security” for peasants when their lands and agricultural tools became property of the collectives. Moreover, the transformation into high-level cooperatives also depended on consolidating low-level cooperatives through improved management (Nguyen Ngoc Luu, 1987: 404). High-level cooperatives owned all means of production (land, draft animals, farm tools). Members of cooperatives received the products depending on their labour contribution (Quang Truong, 1987: 58). These “cooperatives became larger (in numbers of households, numbers of aggregated neighbourhoods and villages, and area of land) and more complicated (work divided into numerous discrete steps, workers often specialising in separate tasks)” (quoted in Kerkvliet, 1995: 402).¹⁷ The cooperatives basically comprised of production brigades. In turn, a group of members formed a production brigade. A production brigade was often formed from a hamlet (neighbourhood). Production brigades were in charge of “allotting and recording work points”. The income of cooperatives after deducting “production costs”, “taxes to the State”, and “welfare funds” contributed to all members depending on their “work days” and “work points” (Vickerman, 1986: 160-163). Besides income received from the cooperative, households were permitted to hold a small plot of land that did not exceed 5 percent of whole cultivable land of the village. Households could farm, raise domestic animals and plant garden vegetables to supplement their income. That was called supplementary family income [*Kinh tế phụ gia đình*] (Quang Truong, 1987: 58). The cooperative program basically achieved its goal by 1969. At that time, “some 94.6% of all peasant households, and 92.5% of all cultivated land were collectivized into 22,360 agricultural production cooperatives; of these, 79.4% were high-level cooperatives comprising 92% of the peasant households” (Quang

¹⁷ From the work “*Sau 30 Năm Hợp Tác Hóa Nông Nghiệp: Đời Sống Nông Dân và Vấn Đề Quản Lý Đất Nông Nghiệp Hiện Nay*” (After Thirty Years of Agricultural Cooperativization: Peasant Living Conditions and Agricultural Production Management Problems at Presents). In Nguyễn Lục, ed., *Thực Trạng Kinh Tế Xã Hội Việt Nam Giai Đoạn 1986-1990*. Hà Nội: Tạp Chí Thống Kê, 27-60.

Truong, 1987: 58). Before that time, in 1960, around 90.0% of farming households joined cooperatives (Kerkvliet, 2005: 78).

In Quỳnh Đôi, the process of collectivization developed during several stages. In 1949 - 1950, groups of exchange labour among households were established. Members of such groups helped each other in harvesting, planting, ploughing and irrigating. From 1951 to 1952, the groups of exchange labour became teams of production. Each team consisted of a number of households that combined their land, tools and cattle for agricultural production; and each household was allowed to keep the fruits of its labour for itself. In 1958, farmers were persuaded to join the cooperatives; there were four low-scale cooperatives established in Quỳnh Đôi commune. In late 1960, four low scale cooperatives were merged to become two larger cooperatives comprising 80% of peasants. In 1962, these two were merged into one cooperative (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 174-175; Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 60). According to Hoàng Nhật Tân the efforts for building collective in Quỳnh Đôi at that time was carried out with vigour, backed by a propaganda led by the local Communist Party chapter and the commune's administration. Landless peasants, poor peasants and low middle peasants ardently joined collectives while many upper middle peasants hesitated to join them. There were households which joined collectives then withdrew from them (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 175).

Concerning the nature of the mutual aid team, Nguyen Ngoc Luu argues that these teams reflected the old spirit of mutual assistance, marking the first stage of the collectivization movement. For centuries in Vietnamese society, agricultural production depended on various forms of rural cooperation. These forms came from the demands of peasants in order to solve the problems involved in rice production cycle. The foundations for the cooperation were "informal", "voluntary" through peasant experiences. The cooperation was considered not in terms of economics or legality, but in terms of peasant morality (Nguyen Ngoc Luu, 1987: 394-395). Thanks to the old spirit of mutual assistance, this stage of building cooperatives was the 'golden stage', which was prevalent in the north during the early 1960s when they were small, mainly among extended families and close neighbours" (quoted in Kerkvliet 1995: 402).¹⁸ It can be said that this feature of cooperation was close to the tradition of mutual support based on networks of kinship relations as Nguyễn Hồng Phong argues (Nguyễn Hồng Phong, 1978: 498) which in turn draws upon the reservoir of social capital inherent in the relationships among the villagers, especially among kin-related households of the same patrilineage as shown in Chapter 5. The social capital can be seen in the form of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust. A household helped another with the expectation that in the future it would receive more or less similar supports from the partner. Between them reciprocity exchanges going along with enforceable trust both ensured this transaction.

In contrast to the formation of mutual aid teams, the peasants did not want to build high level cooperative. For example in Quỳnh Đôi, Hồ Sĩ Giàng remarked that in 1962 when the high-level cooperative was built (high-level cooperatives were formed by merging several low-level cooperatives together), the situation was tense. Several members of the high-level cooperative members submitted their applications to withdraw from it (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 61). This was in line with the Kerkvliet's contention that peasants disliked the cooperative when it became larger. The reason was that "the collective farming undermined the family and extended family as production and social unit (Kerkvliet 1995: 402). In the high-scale cooperative, works were more complicated, divided into numerous discrete steps, members of cooperative often specializing in separate tasks (quoted in Kerkvliet 1995: 402). This

¹⁸ From the work "*Sau 30 Năm Hợp Tác Hóa Nông Nghiệp: Đời Sống Nông Dân và Vấn Đề Quản Lý Đất Nông Nghiệp Hiện Nay*" (After Thirty Years of Agricultural Cooperativization: Peasant Living Conditions and Agricultural Production Management Problems at Presents). In Nguyễn Lục, ed., *Thực Trạng Kinh Tế Xã Hội Việt Nam Giai Đoạn 1986-1990*. Hà Nội: Tạp Chí Thống Kê, 27-60.

organization of work was alien to the conventional way of farming in which the Vietnamese village economy was characterized by mutual support with the household as a basic production unit (Nguyễn Hồng Phong, 1978: 480). In high-scale cooperatives, “people from different families and neighbourhoods were required to work together in teams and production brigades”. This cuts across kinship networks with which people used to feel more comfortable (Kerkvliet 1995: 402). Another important reason why peasants did not like the high-scale cooperatives was that as cooperative members they did not trust each other (Kerkvliet, 2005: 87-90). As presented in Chapter 5, before 1945, patrilineages had important functions in the economic domain in terms of cooperation and support among patrilineage households thanks to social capital in patrilineages. In the period of socialist transformation, these functions were made redundant by the high-scale cooperative. Working as members of these cooperative peasants no longer had to rely on the cooperation or support of patrilineage households in agricultural production. In other words, there was no foundation for the existence of patrilineage’s functions in high-scale cooperative mechanism.

From a gender perspective, the cooperative provided equal chances for both men and women to participate in collective farming. Both men and women became cooperative members. They worked for the cooperatives and received cooperative marks for their work [*công điểm*]. According to an informant named Hồ Sĩ Bình, at harvesting time, each cooperative mark was equivalent for work that a collective member received, he/she would receive 0.8 kg of rice or 1.0 kg of rice or 1.2 kg of rice [*thóc*] depending on the rice-field productivity each year.¹⁹ It is worth noticing that women also had the same rights as men in receiving the so called “five percent agricultural land” [*Đất năm phần trăm*]. According to Hồ Sĩ Bình, both men and women were entitled to this five percent agricultural land. A share was 50m². Kerkvliet pointed out the role of the National Women’s Association in stressing gender equality in collectivization (Kerkvliet, 2005: 75). Jacob argued that the collective provided some advantages for women. For example, the marks for work women received from the cooperative were more visible than the work points allotted to peasant households. That also gave them public status (Jacobs, 2008: 23).

Along with building agricultural production, the credit cooperative was established. During the socialist transformation period, credit cooperatives [*hợp tác xã tín dụng*] were set up in each commune. The credit cooperatives virtually replaced the rotation credit associations in the past. During this period, the commune authorities visited each household to urge people to put their savings in the credit cooperative (Diệp Đình Hoa, 1994: 217). In Quỳnh Đôi, along with building the agricultural collective cooperative, a collective credit cooperative and a marketing cooperative [*hợp tác xã mua bán*] were set up in 1960 (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005:176-177). The function of the marketing cooperative was to provide agricultural and basic consumer products for the people. The marketing cooperative also acted as an authorized agent for state-run companies in purchasing agricultural products (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1993: 61-62; Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005:175-176). The function of the collective credit cooperative was to encourage peasants to contribute money to the agricultural cooperative. Later when the agricultural cooperative was dismantled, the credit cooperative continued to provide loans for households. However, in 1990 the credit cooperative was dissolved because its operation was deemed inefficient (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005:176). A former chairman of the credit cooperative recalled:

In the socialist transformation period, there were no rotating credit associations. There was a credit collective cooperative [hợp tác xã tín dụng] in Quỳnh Đôi. The credit collective cooperative was established in 1959. The credit cooperative had a

¹⁹Hồ Sĩ Bình, 55, hamlet number 6, interviewed on 25 December 2007

chairman [chủ nhiệm], an accountant [kê toán] and a cashier [thủ quỹ]. Besides, there was an audit board [ban kiểm soát] consisting of three people. The audit board was appointed by the commune committee. At the first stage, this cooperative operated as an agent for the state bank. There were no commercial banks at that time. Later, the cooperative assumed the functions of a credit organization. The cooperative was dissolved in the Đổi mới era. I worked as chairman of the cooperative for ten years, beginning in 1981.

(Dương Cảnh Tiên, born in 1958, hamlet number 3, interviewed on 16 January 2008)

The rotating credit association, a popular financial instrument in the pre-1945 era, ceased to exist in the socialist transformation period. Instead, the credit collective cooperative was established as a result of the state's economic policy. The national economy had two basic components: state-run economy and collective economy. At the grass roots level, besides the agricultural cooperatives, each commune had some kind of small industry and handicrafts [*nghề tiểu thủ công nghiệp*] cooperatives. All craft guilds were reorganized as small industry and handicraft cooperatives (Dương Duy Bằng, 2002:563). During that time in Quỳnh Đôi, traditional cottage industry guilds were transformed into collective cooperatives and collective professional teams. Quỳnh Đôi had two collective pig breeding farms, a collective professional team producing limes, tiles, and bricks, a collective professional team of bricklayers, a collective professional team of woodworkers, and a collective cooperative of textile. The management board of the agricultural collective cooperative called Đại Tiến ran these teams and the textile cooperative. The operation of the teams and the cooperative followed the collective regime. For example, the textile collective cooperative was operated as follow: it received materials from Quỳnh Lưu state-run trade, giving back the product to state-run trade, and then receiving wage and coupons to buy rice at state-run food store (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005:201). Concerning the small industry and handicraft sector during the socialist transformation period, a witness recalled:

I have worked as a carpenter since 1967. During the collective period, the agricultural cooperative had some of professional teams [đội ngành nghề]. At that time, besides the production brigade [đội sản xuất], the agricultural cooperative had some professional teams. A vice-chairperson of the cooperative was in charge of the professional teams. I remember that there were a woodworkers' team, a bricklayers' team, a lime-kiln and brick-kiln team, a transport team and a weaver's team. The woodworkers' team had 18 members. The teams were assigned to build houses for villagers and other public works such as hospitals, schools, and storehouses. At that time, if villagers needed to build or repair their houses they could register with the agricultural cooperative. The cooperative would assign the teams to carry out these tasks. The villager would pay the cooperative for the work done. The cooperative awarded cooperative marks for work for the teams. A working day was counted as a cooperative mark for work. When the crops came, the members of the teams would receive grain from the cooperative depending on their cooperative marks for work and the productivity of wet-rice fields of the cooperative. For example, if the productivity of wet-rice fields of the cooperative was high, each member could receive 1.2 kilograms of grain per cooperative mark for work; if this productivity was low, each member could receive only 0.8 kilograms of grain per cooperative mark for work. When agricultural cooperatives were dismantled, the professional groups ceased their activities.

(Hoàng Bá Ngọc, 60-year-old, neighbourhood number 5, interviewed on 28 July 2006)

The information above shows that during the collectivization period, small industry and handicrafts were organized into professional teams, which operated within the agricultural collective cooperative. Members of the collective cooperative who had specific skills were assigned to the teams. During the collectivization period, the professional teams undertook the tasks related to building or repairing houses and furniture for households through the management of the cooperative. Members of professional teams worked for the cooperative to receive cooperative marks for work. In this scheme, social capital inherent in patrilineages that guided the cottage industry guilds before 1945 no longer existed in the professional teams. In the socialist transformation period, professional teams working under collective mechanism were made up of people from different hamlets and different patrilineages. It was no longer necessary to protect professional secrets as in the past. Social capital that had been a cornerstone of patrilineages had no place in the professional teams in the socialist transformation period.

From a gender perspective, the formation of professional teams also presented some advantages for women. Besides having the right to become members of professional teams just as men had, women could become leaders of professional teams or cooperatives. For example, in 1956 a weaver's team was established in Quỳnh Đôi. From 1956 to 1960 there were three leaders of the team, two of them were women. In the 1960s, the professional weavers team became a cooperative, all three leaders of this cooperative were women (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005: 176, 182).

In short, in the socialist transformation period, agricultural production, credit lending, and the small industry and handicraft sector fell under the collective mechanism. In the final analysis, all villagers were members of the agricultural cooperative. The agricultural cooperative assigned specific tasks to each member by sending him/her to work in production brigades or professional teams. Under this regime patrilineages did not have any functions in the economic domain. That contrasted with the situation of the village economy before 1945 when patrilineages played an important role.

One should note here that even in the socialist transformation period, the household still had its socio-economic role in cultivating the 'five percent' agricultural land along with other activities. From the information collected from the field I found out that during this period parents and their married children helped each other in cultivating this 'five percent' agricultural land, in breeding pigs and poultry and in childcare.²⁰ This 'five percent' agricultural land was allocated to all members of the agricultural cooperative who could work on it after they had done their cooperative duties. About breeding, households could breed pigs and poultry but cattle raising was not allowed because cattle was considered as a valuable agricultural tool which was to be owned and raised exclusively by the cooperative. Each household were provided with breeding pigs and mash [*cám*] for pigs by the agricultural cooperative. Households grew vegetables to breed their pigs. When the pigs became big enough, the cooperative would collect them and depending on their weight, the household would receive cooperative marks for work. When the crops came, the households would receive a quantity of rice according to the marks they were allotted. Thus, alongside the main stream cooperative economy, a household economy existed albeit on a smaller scale. Older people beyond working age usually spent their time in cultivating this 'five percent land' and breeding pigs and poultry. That provided the ground for relatives, especially close ones, to cooperate in breeding and cultivating. In addition, older parents usually helped their married children in matters of childcare. At that time, the operation of kindergartens was subsidized by

²⁰ I had information on this matter through an interview on 25 December 2007 with Cù Chính Quang, 60 years old, living in hamlet number 2.

the agricultural cooperative. Kindergarten teachers would get cooperative marks of work depending on the time they spent on their job. Young children were provided free food at the kindergarten. Their parents did not have to pay childcare fees. Grandparents would come and to collect their grandchildren while the parents were still at work. The role of individual households in the socialist transformation period “remained significant in village’s life, not merely as a unit of consumption and socialization but also in private production” (Kerkvliet & Selden, 1998: 43). It can be said that the existence of a household economy however small in the socialist transformation period was a significant factor that helped boost the development of household economy in the *Đổi mới* setting. I will examine kinship relations in the economic sphere in the context of the *Đổi mới* in a later chapter.

7. Summary

During the period of socialist transformation patrilineages in Northern Vietnam underwent profound changes. This period began in 1945 when independence from French was achieved to the mid 1980s when reforms program were carried out. During this period, there were changes in the patrilineage as an organization, especially the simplifications of ancestor worship rituals. Life cycle rituals were simplified and patrilineage’s role in the spiritual sphere decreased significantly. The patrilineages also lost many functions in the economic and educational domains. The emotional bonds of patrilineage members were severely damaged.

In the scope of cultural and ideological revolution, a new, socialist culture was to replace the old culture. Accordingly the state carried out a series of campaigns aimed at cultural transformations, which affected the patrilineage as an organization, and struck at its spiritual core: the ancestor worship - considered to be a form of superstition. Life cycle rituals were regarded as containing many ‘feudal’ cultural elements, and were to be simplified if not eliminated altogether. Consequently the role of patrilineages in life cycle rituals was reduced drastically. The simplifications of ancestor worship and life cycle rituals were also influenced by the wartime hardships which diverted people’s attention from kin-related concerns. Under these circumstances, the chances of maintaining social capital in patrilineages were greatly diminished.

In the educational field, since the state assumed all responsibilities for the people’s education at all levels and subsidized it, the important functions of patrilineages in education which existed in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script thanks to social capital inherent in patrilineages, became redundant in the socialist transformation period. However, during the socialist transformation period the role of kinship relations in children’s education did not stop because the political credentials of the revolutionary cadres were crucial for their children to attend school and then to get high positions in the state. In other words, social capital, understood as reciprocity exchanges, was also at work when these people brought their returns to their relatives and their villages.

In the revolution of production relations in the agricultural sphere, the land reform and the collectivization movement accompanied by bitter class struggle permeated every aspect of society, causing severe damage to kin-related bonds, and relations among patrilineage members. The cooperative-based with its new production methods cut across kinship line and broke down the old mutual kinship cooperation in the economic sphere in which patrilineages had no role to play. That contrasted with the situation before 1945 when patrilineages had important functions in agricultural production as well as in small industry and handicrafts, depending on their social capital.

CHAPTER 7

BUILDING AND MAINTAINING SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE RITUALS IN THE *Đổi mới* ERA

Một giọt máu đào hơn ao nước lã

Blood is thicker than water
(Proverb)

1. Introduction

In Northern Vietnamese villages, there are many communal religious and cultural activities that generally concern family and kinship relations (see Lê Trung Vũ et al. 1992). The most important event is the Tết festival, which marks the new Lunar Year. On this occasion, people worship their ancestors and visit their relatives and friends. After the Tết festival, in February and March each village usually organizes its own festivals centered around local temples, pagodas and the communal hall, in which the most important event is the procession and worship of the tutelary god of the village - its spiritual protector. Prior to 1945, in village deity processions and worship, the age-group associations [*giáp*] were in charge of these offerings. Moreover, many rituals take place according to the cycle of lunar year such as the grave-visiting festival, the Double Five festival, the Mid-autumn Festival, the Buddhist festival in memory of all souls, and rituals related to ancestor worship, marriages and funerals. Among these activities, the last three are the rituals that deeply reflect family and kinship relations (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 129). Accordingly, these rituals are chosen to examine kinship relations.

In this chapter, I shall examine the ways in which villagers after the *Đổi mới* create and maintain social capital through ancestor worship, marriages and funerals. As discussed in the previous chapters, these cultural and religious practices were subjects of state control during the socialist transformation period when most rituals related to ancestor worship, marriages, weddings, and funerals were considered remnants of the old regime working against the purpose of building a new socialist society. Therefore, they were to be radically simplified in order to meet the aims of building a socialist culture. In addition, warfare from 1945 to 1975 coupled with the high socialism after the country's unification at the end of the American War (or the Vietnam War, as the Americans call it) to prior to the *Đổi mới* in 1986, restricted these rituals.

Comparatively, the rituals related to ancestor worship, marriages, and funerals have intensified in the context of the *Đổi mới*. These phenomena have been studied rather intensively by a number of researchers (Kleinen, 1999; Krowolski, 2003a; Lê Ngọc Văn et al., 2000; Luong, 1993; Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; Malarney, 2002). Others also mentioned the popular practice of supplementing and compiling of patrilineage annals,

repairing and building patrilineage ancestral halls and cemeteries in the wake of the *Đổi mới* (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; Nguyễn Nghĩa Nguyên, 1997b; Phạm Hồng Việt, 1997). In his study of Sơn Dương village in Vĩnh Phú province in northern Vietnam just after the beginning of the *Đổi mới*, Luong noticed that “the patrilineal organization has been revitalized with the restoration of ancestral tombs and the one remaining ancestral hall, as well as with gatherings on ancestors’ death anniversaries” (Luong, 1993: 275).¹

There were reasons leading to the intensifications and changes of these rituals. Kleinen through a study in Lang To village, Hà Tây province, in Northern Vietnam pointed out that in the *Đổi mới* era life cycle rituals were carried out with more rites performed than in the previous period.² This was due to a weakening of the Party ideology over culture and the loss of coercive power of the Party regulations led to the ‘revival’ of these rituals (Kleinen, 1999: 171-185). Lê Ngọc Văn et al. through a study in Hanoi provided a sample of opinions, attitudes and behaviours of social groups toward marriage ceremonies. The expansion of wedding feasts in recent years was seen as occasions for people to get economic benefits through receiving gifts in cash offered to the wedding hosts by their guests. In addition, many people wanted to brag about their wealth and their social status by staging big wedding ceremonies (Lê Ngọc Văn et al., 2000: 110-111). Malarney in his study about the changes of culture and rituals at Thịnh Liệt commune, Thanh Trì district, near Hanoi showed the influence of the Vietnamese state on ritual and cultural life. Many issues were discussed in the book, in which Malarney argued that the relaxation of government interferences led to the expansion of feasts in funerals and weddings. The expanding feasts and elaborating ceremonies were also the ways to express the host’s status (Malarney, 2002: 125-127, 163-167). Mai Văn Hai described the numbers of guests attending wedding ceremonies in Đào Xá village, (An Bình commune, Nam Sách district, Hải Dương province) and Tứ Kỳ village, (Hoàng Liệt commune, Thanh Trì district, Hanoi) Northern Vietnam. He commented that numbers of guests and feasts of wedding ceremonies indicated the social status of the host. The more guests and feasts the host had, the more social status he received (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 133). Luong demonstrated the intensification of rituals in two North Vietnamese communes Hoài Thị and Sơn Dương of Hà Bắc and Vĩnh Phú province through examining various rituals related to weddings, funerals, ancestors’ death anniversaries, and rites at the pagodas, etc.³ He argued,

The growing economic surplus and the movement away from collectivized agriculture toward household production in a multisector economy gave rituals both within and beyond the kinship domain a big push...the Vietnamese state became more concerned with economic development and political stability than with socialist ideological transformation and, therefore, relaxed its control over local rituals (Luong, 1993: 259).

Broadly speaking, in this chapter, I will examine the changes related to the patrilineage in terms of membership, leadership, annals and records, ancestral halls and cemeteries, the improvement of women’s position with regard to the gender barrier within the patrilineage membership in the context of the *Đổi mới*. In addition, from a social capital perspective, I will show that people were able to create and maintain social capital through diverse activities such as compiling and updating patrilineage annals as well as building and restoring patrilineage ancestral halls and cemeteries. Another focal point is to examine the (re-)creation and maintenance of social capital via ancestor worship and life cycle rituals in the *Đổi mới*

¹ In 1996, Vĩnh Phú was divided into Vĩnh Phúc province and Phú Thọ province

² Hà Tây province merged with Hanoi in 2008.

³ In 1996, Hà Bắc province was divided into Bắc Ninh province and Bắc Giang province. In 1996, Vĩnh Phú was divided into Vĩnh Phúc province and Phú Thọ province.

era. I will show that the intensification of the rituals related to ancestor worship, marriage and funerals do not necessarily constitute a return to the past, but rather occur with new features. These are evident through the improvement of women's position in ancestor worship, the changes that were incurred to patrilineages as seen in the blurring membership and flexible boundary, and most above all the increasing importance of ego-centred kin networks vis-a-vis patrilineages. In my view, the intensification of these rituals helps generate and maintain social capital in kinship networks. From a social capital perspective based on reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, I will show that ancestor worship, marriages and funerals help generate social capital among relatives as 'by-products' of these rituals. It is worth mentioning that these by-products are created and maintained not only in patrilineages but also in ego-based kin networks. In addition, other relations involving friends, neighbours, and people from the same associations will also be examined in the processes of making the social capital in comparison with kinship relations.

The next section will deal with the changes related to the patrilineage with regard to membership, leaderships, records/annals, ancestral halls and cemeteries. Section 3 will look at the intensification of ancestor worship and its effects in generating social capital among kinship relations. Section 4 concerns the generation and maintenance of social capital in supporting relatives in organization of wedding ceremonies. Section 5 examines the creation and retention of social capital in funerals and how the intensification of funeral-related rituals may enhance social capital.

2. Changes related to patrilineage membership and practices in the *Đôi mới* setting

Patrilineage membership

Today, male membership of a certain patrilineage remains very much as in the past, as presented in Chapters 5 and 6. A member's name is usually recorded on a patrilineage ledger/list. As presented in Chapter 5, prior to 1945 a male child became a patrilineage member when a small offering was made to the ancestors at the patrilineage hall and his name was written down in a ledger. Today although the old rituals have been simplified, many patrilineages still have those activities. During fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I often heard villagers use the word '*đinh*' to indicate patrilineage members. They would say, for instance, this patrilineage had 100 *đinh* or that patrilineage had 70 *đinh*.⁴ Thus, from the old days to the present, male membership remains the cornerstone of a patrilineage and the name of each male is duly recorded in a ledger. However, in comparison with the pre-1945 era, there is a considerable loosening of the patrilineage structure. For example, today women can become patrilineage members if they wish. In fact, women can become patrilineage council members, even if they are formally not patrilineage members. Another point worth mentioning is that there is no strict distinction between patrilineage members *per se* and non-patrilineage members such as patrilineage daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law in making

⁴ '*Đinh*' is a term indicating patrilineage male members. This term is homonymous with '*đinh*' or '*dân đình*' - a term indicating registered, able-bodied males aged from 18 years old to 49 years old living in a village - often used during the 'feudal' and colonial times for taxation, corvée purposes (Đào Duy Anh, 2000[1938]: 147)

contributions to and receiving benefits from patrilineages as in the past.⁵ With these developments, it can be said that there has been a blurring in the composition of patrilineage membership and a flexible structure to accommodate the new social-economic conditions of the *Đổi mới* era.

In the *Đổi mới* setting, women can become patrilineage members. In an interview with Hồ Như Hưng on 14 January 2007 I learned that several daughters of the Hồ patrilineage have registered to become official patrilineage members.⁶ These are elderly people, married but having no sons. The reason they want to become members is that they wish to be worshipped at the patrilineage hall after they die. Although cases like these are not common, they reflect the changes in patrilineage membership and women's position within patrilineages. In his study in the Red River Delta, Luong reported that "If a family has no son and the son-in-law moves in with his wife's parents upon marriage, the matrilineal grandchildren are also allowed to join the patrilineage. No change in surname is necessary, because all the original inhabitants have the same surname of Nguyen" (Luong, 1993: 274).

While doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I also witnessed a relaxation of the rules related to patrilineage membership obligations in the *Đổi mới* era. Before 1945, all members of patrilineages were obliged to contribute money or labour for holding annual rituals and maintaining patrilineage's properties such as ancestral halls and cemeteries. During the socialist transformation period, these activities were simplified, ignored and consequently there were no labour or financial requirements on the part of patrilineage members. In the *Đổi mới* setting, the revival of patrilineage activities was accompanied by a flexible approach regarding these requirements. For example, since 2003 Hồ patrilineage's members were not obligated to contribute money to the patrilineage's fund. The sources of funding came from the voluntary offerings of all relatives, either the patrilineage members or non-members of the patrilineage. The relatives could offer money to the fund at any time. Usually during the *Xuân tế* (Spring Rites), patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage would go back to Quỳnh Đôi to worship ancestors and donate money to the fund. For example, in 2003 the patrilineage received 11,000,000 VND (681.00 USD) in donations from patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members.⁷ Hồ Thị Kim, a patrilineage's daughter living in Hồ Chí Minh city offered 1,000,000 VND (61.90 USD), and Hồ Hoàng Minh, an overseas Vietnamese, donated 1,600 USD (25,843,200 VND) to the patrilineage fund.⁸

Thus, the contributions did not follow the strict regulations that existed before 1945. Today, these are made on a voluntary basis, coming from both patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage. This new approach has intensified intra-patrilineage activities without necessitating a return to the past with strict rules, which required all members make a contribution whenever their patrilineages needed funds for works such as repairing patrilineage halls and maintaining cemeteries, etc. All this helped bring a 'new look' to the patrilineage as a social institution in the 21st century, with flexible rules regarding membership and a liberalizing approach to the gender dividing line.

It should be mentioned that voluntary contribution may entail personal responsibility because of intangible or unofficial pressures from others because if one contributes to the patrilineage funds, others may feel that they have to do the same although there have no official compulsory regulations forcing them to do that. However, in practice, the patrilineage

⁵ With regard to relatives within the patrilineage such as daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law I will often refer to them as 'non-members of the patrilineage'.

⁶ Aged 70, who served as chairperson of the Hồ patrilineage council

⁷ In December 2003, 1 USD was approximately to 16,152 VND

⁸ Information from proceedings of Hồ patrilineage and through an interview with Hồ Như Hưng on 14 January 2007

funds have mainly come from well-to-do people living outside Quỳnh Đôi, as shown in the case of the Hồ patrilineage above. Informants such as Hồ Như Hưng, chairperson of the Hồ patrilineage council, Hoàng Nguyên Nhung, head of Hoàng patrilineage and Cù Tuấn Ngo, chairperson of Cù patrilineage council confirmed that the funds of their respective patrilineages have been in the main contributed by well-to-do relatives living outside Quỳnh Đôi. The financial records of various patrilineages, which I was allowed to look at, confirmed this point. Because the contributors settled in other localities, they seldom meet their relatives in Quỳnh Đôi village, so the intangible or unofficial pressures from relatives living in the village are not the main motivation behind their contribution to the patrilineage funds.

Patrilineage leadership

The heads of patrilineages are always men. However, there have been changes with regard to the patrilineage council [*Ban cán sự dòng họ* or *Hội đồng gia tộc*]. In Quỳnh Đôi before 1945, each patrilineage had a patrilineage council. During the socialist transformation period, this council did not exist in reality. Today, in Quỳnh Đôi each patrilineage has a council, which is elected at a meeting of its members. Each council has about ten people, depending on the size of the patrilineage, and operates on behalf of the patrilineage members in managing all related activities. A council usually has four sections: a rituals section, a history section, a building section and an education section. The rituals section deals with activities related to annual ancestral worship events. The history section assumes the tasks of collecting materials on the patrilineage's history and contacting other patrilineages bearing the same name elsewhere in the country in identifying kinship relations. Those activities help to update patrilineage annals and/or to compile books on the patrilineage. The building section focuses on maintaining and repairing patrilineage's halls and cemeteries. The education section is in charge of promoting children's education.

In the old days before 1945, council members were exclusively men. Since women were not members of the patrilineage their presence on the council was ruled out. However, this situation has changed. For example, in 2006 the Hồ patrilineage council had 12 members three of them were women. The Hồ patrilineage had five sub-patrilineages or patrilineage's branches. Each sub-patrilineage had a representative in the patrilineage council. These women were widows of the heads of three Hồ sub-patrilineages [*trung chi họ Hồ*]. They replaced their late husbands and became the representatives of their husband's sub-patrilineages on the council. This is a deviation from the old traditions, when a head of a sub-patrilineage died, his oldest son would succeed him. If the head of a sub-patrilineage had only daughters, then his brother would take over this role. At first, there was some opposition but the view favouring these women prevailed and they were appointed to the council.⁹ In sum, in the *Đổi mới* setting women could become of patrilineage council. That illustrated the significant change in patrilineage's organization hand in hand with the reorganization of women's position in patrilineage's affairs.

⁹ Hồ Như Hưng, 70 years old, chairperson of Hồ patrilineage council, interviewed on 14 January 2007; Hoàng Thị Thoa, 65 years old, member of Hồ patrilineage's council, interviewed on 31 December 2006; Phan Thị Đức, 65 years old, member of Hồ patrilineage's council, interviewed on 31 December 2006.

Patrilineage annals

In the *Đổi mới* setting, the tasks of supplementing, compiling, editing, revising patrilineage annals or genealogical records [*gia phả* or *tộc phả*] and publishing books about patrilineages' histories have interested many people and many patrilineages. There has been a rising interest in Vietnamese genealogies among academics.¹⁰ Our survey in Quỳnh Đôi in 2000 indicated that out of 300 informants, 289 informants (96.3%) said that these tasks should be carried out. Although these were opinions reflecting more or less current social trends the data reflected the phenomenon that many villagers were concerned with patrilineage annals. In practice, many patrilineages did those activities that will be presented below.

During my fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi I observed that patrilineage councils usually took charge of these tasks. For example, the Nguyễn patrilineage council held a meeting on 12 July 2002. An important item on the agenda was the patrilineage annals, and a council member was entrusted with the job of revising and updating them. The council also decided that when the work was done, a meeting would be held for all members to come and examine the new manuscript (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2002).

But the Nguyễn patrilineage was not alone in carrying out these activities. Other patrilineages were also busy brushing up their records and histories. Some even published them in book form. In 1995 the Hồ put out a book entitled 'The Hồ patrilineage in the Vietnamese nation' [*Họ Hồ trong cộng đồng dân tộc Việt Nam*] covering the origins, traditions, and histories of the Hồ patrilineage (Hồ Sĩ Giàng, 1995). In 2000, the Dương published a book called 'Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi' [*Họ Dương Quỳnh Đôi*] (Dương Phúc Mãn, Dương Chấn Hưng, & Dương Văn Thiệu, 2000). The book introduces the founder and describes the development of the Dương patrilineage. The process of writing this book (Dương Phúc Mãn et al., 2000), occurred as described below:

1986: Revising, supplementing, recopying Dương patrilineage annals.

1989: Writing Dương patrilineage directory.

1990: Dương Ngọc Võ and Dương Văn Thiệu, acting as the representative of the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi, went to the Lạc Đạo commune, Mỹ Văn district, Hưng Yên province in order to re-establish the relations with the Dương patrilineages in these two places. This led to supplementing the Dương patrilineage annals in Quỳnh Đôi and preparing for a meeting of Dương patrilineages from various localities in Northern Vietnam.

1991: Dương Văn Thiệu and Dương Ngọc Kỳ representing the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi, went to Cẩm Sơn, Cẩm Mỹ and Cẩm Duệ communes, Cẩm Xuyên district, Hà Tĩnh province to verify the relations between the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi and the Dương patrilineage in Hà Tĩnh.

1992: A meeting attended by 29 Dương patrilineage representatives from 12 provinces in Northern Vietnam was held, during which a liaison committee was set up. The

¹⁰ There has been a research program on Vietnamese genealogies carried out by the Vietnamese Centre for Vietnamese and Intercultural Studies (now the Institute of Vietnamese studies and Development sciences since 2004, Vietnam national University, Hanoi) in collaboration with the École française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi), the University of Paris VII, France and the University of Alberta, Canada. These concerns the genealogies of various lineages such as the Lò Cẩm, the Nguyễn, the Vũ, etc (Cầm Trọng & Kashinaga Masao - collector, 2003; Nguyễn Văn Nguyên - translator and annotator, 2003a, , 2003b; Nguyễn Văn Nguyên - translator and annotator & Chu Thị Hiền - collector, 2004; Vũ Thế Khôi - translator and annotator & Nguyễn Văn Nguyên - reviser, 2004).

meeting proposed a number of publications relating to the annals and history of various Dương patrilineages

1996: After Xuân Tể (Spring Rites) ancestor worship, the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi decided to prepare and publish a book on the annals and history of Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi.

1996: Dương Chấn Hưng and Dương Danh Dũng, representing the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi, visited the Dương patrilineages in Long Thành commune, Yên Thành district and Diễn Liên commune, Diễn Châu district, (Nghệ An province) to collect more information on the Dương patrilineage annals and history.

2000: Completion of a book combining the Dương patrilineage annals and the history of Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi. This book concerns the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi with additional information on ancestors of the Dương patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi in relation to Dương patrilineages in other localities.

Thus, in the space of 14 years since the *Đổi mới*, the Dương patrilineage undertook a series of activities to collect information on the annals of related patrilineages elsewhere in order to write a book combining information patrilineage annals and patrilineage history. These activities were not limited to Quỳnh Đôi, but also extended to other areas in Northern Vietnam. Many other patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi were engaged in similar activities. Elsewhere in the country, the phenomenon of re-writing, improving, supplementing or translating patrilineage annals from Chinese into Vietnamese and publishing books on patrilineages have interested many individual people and patrilineages alike (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; Nguyễn Nghĩa Nguyên, 1997b; Phạm Hồng Việt, 1997; Phan Đại Doãn, 2001).

It can be seen that the work related to patrilineage annals provided opportunities for maintaining and expanding social capital through frequent contacts and direct meetings among patrilineage members, far and near, as illustrated in the case of the Dương above. All this was facilitated by better communications and social mobility in the wake of the *Đổi mới*. In her study of ancestor cult in the Red River Delta, Kate Jellema observed that representatives of various branches from different localities gathered at a village in an effort to reincorporate a prominent local lineage organization (Jellema, 2007). Patrilineage annals have an important function in determining who *belongs* to the network of a certain patrilineage. In addition, the endeavours to supplement, compile, edit, and revise patrilineage annals created, confirmed and maintained connections among patrilineage members. Those connections form the foundation for enhancing social capital in terms of reciprocity exchange and enforceable trust between patrilineage members.

Patrilineage halls

Activities related to patrilineage annals are often accompanied by efforts to embellish, rebuild or upgrade patrilineage halls. Doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi from 2000 to 2008, I witnessed this phenomenon at first-hand. For example, in the case of the Dương patrilineage hall, according to Dương Phúc Mão, (83 years old, living in hamlet number 3, interviewed on 22 July 2006) in 1933, the patrilineage bought a plot of land at Ao hamlet to build its patrilineage hall. The hall had a *thượng điện* (the part of the hall where ancestor altars were set up) which had two wings and a *bái đường* (the part where people stand to worship). This hall was inaugurated in 1935. In the 1960s, the *bái đường* was sold to Dương Cảnh Thịnh, a

patrilineage member.¹¹ In the socialist transformation period, the hall sometimes was used as classrooms. In 1987, the *thượng điện* of the hall was repaired. In 1992, the patrilineage rebuilt the *bái đường* of the hall. In 1997, repairs related to this hall were carried out that included building a wall around the hall, repairing the two wings of the *thượng điện*, reinforcing the foundation of the hall [*nền nhà thờ*], repairing the courtyard and erecting a gate. In 2003, the work to upgrade the *bái đường* was carried out.

From 1987 to 2003, the Dương patrilineage hall underwent repairs and modifications four times. This was not uncommon in the commune, since other patrilineages have done likewise. For example from 1986 to 2000, the Cù patrilineage repaired and renovated its patrilineage hall four times. From 1992 to 2000, the Phan patrilineage undertook similar tasks three times. A survey conducted in Quỳnh Đôi in 2000 showed that 291 out of 300 respondents (97.0%) said that the embellishing and/or repairing or rebuilding patrilineage halls needed to be done. As observed earlier, these data may reflect popular opinions of what is considered to be socially desirable. In actual fact, a number of patrilineage did carry out several times embellishing and repairing their patrilineage halls.

As for patrilineage halls in the *Đổi mới* era there are two significant developments. First, the state through its Ministry of Culture has issued certificates of recognition to a number of patrilineage halls around the country as historical/cultural sites [*Bằng công nhận di tích lịch sử/văn hóa*]. In Quỳnh Đôi, three patrilineage halls have been recognized as historical and/or cultural sites [*di tích lịch sử/ văn hóa*]. In 1992, the Hồ patrilineage received its certificate, followed by the Nguyễn and the Hoàng in 1998 and 1999 respectively. In a study on religious life in a village in the Red River Delta, Jellema observed that the state officially recognized the Thạc patrilineage hall as a historical/cultural monument (Jellema, 2007: 484-485). The current official attention to these halls contrasts starkly with the situation in the collectivization period, when patrilineage halls were destroyed, sold, deserted or used for secular purposes such as classrooms or stores of agricultural cooperatives. An official recognition of patrilineage halls implies a recognition of the ancestor cult carried out within these halls as well as a recognition of patrilineages that practise this cult. In bestowing these honours on such the authorities not only recognize the cultural significance of the buildings, but also assert its political roles in religious and cultural domains, as Salemink points out. These certificates of recognition thus can be seen as modern-day successors of the imperial seals of recognition [*sắc phong*] once issued by the Ministry of Rites of past dynasties to a number of temples (Salemink, 2007: 580-582).

Since the *Đổi mới* people have migrated to urban areas, industrial zones, or even went abroad. Many of them became wealthy enough to make sizable donations to their patrilineage halls. Hồ Như Hưng, chairperson of Hồ patrilineage council (interviewed on 14 January 2007), told me that the money spent on the patrilineage hall mainly came from well-to-do relatives, both patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members. Up to January 2007, the person who donated the most significant sum to the Hồ patrilineage hall and ancestor graves was the owner of a well-known company in Vietnam called Mai Linh. This man gave approximately 200 million VND (12,102 USD) in several instalments.¹² There is no question that mainly thanks to contributions of well-to-do relatives, the repair, maintenance, and embellishment of patrilineage halls in the context of the *Đổi mới* is carried out.

¹¹ During the socialist transformation period, in villages houses still were private properties of households. Villagers could buy the houses of others and sell their houses. Only the houses of so-called 'traitorous, reactionary landlords, cruel, burly landlords' [*địa chủ Việt gian, phản động, cường hào gian ác*] were confiscated during the land reform, according to the law on land reform, article 3 (Quốc hội Nước Việt Nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa, 1953).

¹² In January 2007, 1 USD was equal to approximately 16,526 VND

Patrilineage graveyards

Attention paid to patrilineage halls was accompanied by efforts to maintain and upgrade patrilineage graveyards. The results of our survey in Quỳnh Đôi conducted in 2000 showed that 289 informants out of 300 (96.4%) said that these tasks were necessary. In actual fact they were carried out by many patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi and elsewhere throughout the country. For example, in her recent study of a village in Northern Vietnam, Jellema also highlights the importance of taking care of ancestor's tombs in spiritual life of the local inhabitants (Jellema, 2007: 475-477).

In Quỳnh Đôi, in the late 1980s the commune authorities granted each patrilineage a plot of land to build its own cemetery. After ancestral graves had been moved to the new sites, works were undertaken to embellish and repair many times. In my interview with Hoàng Nguyên Nhung, head of the Hoàng patrilineage, 10 January 2006, listed the times of rebuilding, embellishing and repairing the Hoàng cemetery from 1986 to 2005 as follows:

- 1/From 25 March 1998 to 2 September 1998: building the new patrilineage cemetery
- 2/From 10 November 1990 to 5 December 1990: building the wall surrounding the cemetery
- 3/From 12 November 1992 to 18 November 1992: building two pillars of the cemetery gate
- 4/From 15 November 1993 to 25 November 1993: building two sub cemetery gates [cửa tò vò or cổng phụ]
- 5/From 1 January 1994 to 6 January 1994: building a perron staircase [*tam cấp*] in front of the cemetery gate
- 6/From 10 December 1994 to 23 December 1994: building the main path within the cemetery, repairing the left and the right walls of the cemetery, building a stone stele [*bia đá*] at the cemetery
- 7/From 24 December 1996 to 7 January 1997: replacing stone incense-burner [*lư hương đá*] at the cemetery
- 8/From 28 December 2003 to 12 January 2004: building additional brick paths within the cemetery

Thus, from 1998 to 2005 the Hoàng patrilineage rebuilt, repaired and embellished its cemetery eight times. Regarding financial contributions, Hoàng Nguyên Nhung told me that when the patrilineage first built its new cemetery in 1998 all patrilineage members contributed an equal sum of 150 VND (0.01 USD) according to the decision of the patrilineage. The total contribution was 372,330 VND (30.2 USD) which was equivalent to 1,064 kg of rice at that time.¹³ At other times, work done on the cemetery was financed by voluntary donations by both patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage such as daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, many of them living outside Quỳnh Đôi. Mr Nhung said that when relatives become prosperous, they are grateful to their ancestors whom they believed have supported them and their donations were seen as a way to express the feeling “when you drink the water, you should remember its source” [*uống nước nhớ nguồn*].

Similar activities occurred elsewhere in the commune. Cù Tuấn Ngọ, 64 years old, chairperson of Cù patrilineage's council (interview on 14 January 2007) told me that in December 2006, the branch number 5 [*tiểu chi 5*] of Cù sub-patrilineage number 2 [*trung chi 2*] repaired 31 ancestral tombs. The sum of money contributed by non-members of the patrilineage was 3.850.000 VND (232.0 USD). The contributions of patrilineage members

¹³ In January 1998, 1 USD was approximately to 12,293 VND.

was 5.220.000 VND (315, 8 USD).¹⁴ The number of non-members of the patrilineage contributors is broken as follows:

Patrilineage daughters:	12
Patrilineage daughters-in-law:	3
Patrilineage sons-in-law:	5
Other kin ¹⁵ :	2

The traditional criteria requiring that each member of a patrilineage has to be a male, duly registered in a ledger, with clear cut obligations - particularly contributions to the common fund - are no longer strictly adhered to patrilineages these days. Contributions nowadays come from both patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage. The example above shows that the money given by various types of non-members of the patrilineage compares favourably with contributions made by patrilineage members. There has been a relaxation in rules on obligations of patrilineage members, accompanied by a flexible approach to accommodates more participation of ‘unofficial’ members particularly women such as daughters, daughters in-law, etc.

But patrilineage members still have to bear the brunt of the burden when there is not enough contribution from non-members. For example, Hoàng Nguyễn Nhung, head of the Hoàng patrilineage told me (interviewed on 10 January 2006) that in 2006 when the money raised to repair the patrilineage hall in 2006 was insufficient, patrilineage members were asked to make up the deficit.¹⁶

From a social capital perspective, through offering money to their patrilineages, members and non-members alike maintain and reinforce connections among themselves. These connections are based on the transactions of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges. In contributing money to the patrilineages they expect in return to receive recognition and honour from members and non-members living inside as well as outside the commune. These come in the form of getting their names together with their donations recorded in the patrilineage ledger or posted on boards hanging in patrilineage halls (see picture below); through announcements at patrilineage meetings and reported to the ancestors on worship days. Certificates of contribution are sometimes issued to donors as a token of appreciation contributors would like to receive. Moreover, the contributors trust that the patrilineage as collectivity would repay. Therefore, through offering money and receiving the honour and approval, contributors created and maintained social capital with relatives in terms of patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage, both inside and outside the village.

¹⁴ In December 2006, 1 USD was approximately to 16,592 VND.

¹⁵ Matri-grandfather is members of Cù patrilineage’s council.

¹⁶ When I was conducting fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi in January 2006, the Hoàng patrilineage was repairing its patrilineage hall.



(The Cù patrilineage was repairing and embellishing its cemetery in December 2006)¹⁷

3. Building and maintaining social capital through patrilineage ancestor worship

Ancestor worship in Vietnam can be examined at four different levels: family (household), patrilineage, village and nation. At each level, the space for worship, the time of worship, the ancestors offered worship, the ancestor worship orations, and the officiating chiefs [*chủ lễ cúng*] are specified. At the household level, the subjects to worship are the family ancestors - usually parents of the husband, and sometimes his grandparents of the husband. Each household usually has an altar located at a central position of the house. Ancestors, who precede one's grandparents, are worshipped in patrilineage or sub-patrilineage halls. At village level, the subjects of worship are quite varied. They can be the village deity, national heroes, or the founder of a profession practiced by the villagers. At the national level, the Hùng Kings are considered to be the forebears of the people.¹⁸ Their temple is located in Phú Thọ province. In many localities, there are Hùng Kings distance worship temples [*đền thờ vọng*]. For a detailed more information on the system of Vietnamese ancestor worship see Trần Đăng Sinh (2002). This study focuses specifically on patrilineage ancestor worship, which, for convenience's sake, will be henceforth referred to as 'ancestor worship'.

¹⁷ All pictures in this dissertation were taken by Nguyễn Tuấn Anh.

¹⁸ In the *Đổi mới* era, the Party and the government emphasized the importance of Hùng Kings as the nation's founder and proclaimed the death anniversary of the Hùng Kings as a national holiday. A lot of money was spent on renovating the Hùng Kings site. For more information see for example Malarney (2007).



(A board listing contributions from patrilineage members as well as non-patrilineage members and announcing the timetable of 2006 spring ancestral rites at the Hoàng patrilineage hall, from 11 to 12 January 2006 Lunar calendar)

In this section, I will examine the intensification of ancestor worship and analyze the way in which social capital is generated and enhanced. Doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi from 2000 to 2008 what has been most striking to me is the intensification of ancestor worship. Today patrilineages worship their ancestors on four major occasions. The most important event is *Xuân tế* (Spring Rites) which takes place on the 11th and the 12th of January (lunar year). On these days all ancestors of the patrilineage are worshipped. Besides *Xuân tế*, each patrilineage has a day per year to worship the person who founded the patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi. Those days commemorate the death anniversary of the founder. For example the Hồ patrilineage worship their founder on the 1st of March and the Nguyễn patrilineage worship theirs on the 2nd of April. In addition, patrilineages also worship their ancestors during the *Tết* festival and on the National Independence Day. However on these occasions the ceremonies in patrilineage worship halls are relatively low-keyed. During the *Tết* festival people mostly worship their close ancestors in family circles. The following is an account of the spring ancestor worship of the Hồ patrilineage.

Every year in Quỳnh Đôi, the *Xuân tế* of the Hồ patrilineage takes place from the afternoon of 11 January to the afternoon of 12 January, Lunar year. The organizing board, including members of the patrilineage council, takes charge of carrying out these activities. The program proceeds as follows:

- On 11 January, 2:00 pm: relatives including members and non-members such as patrilineage daughters, patrilineage daughters-in-law, patrilineage sons-in-law burn incense at the patrilineage cemetery. With this ritual, ancestors are invited to return to the patrilineage worship hall to receive worship from their kin.
- On 11 January, 3:00 pm: Relatives (members and non-members) perform the *Túc Yết* ritual at the patrilineage hall. This ritual signifies that members and non-members are preparing to make offerings to their ancestors.
- On 11 January, 8:00 pm: The general meeting takes place at the patrilineage hall. The council reports on the achievements and main activities of the patrilineage to all relatives (patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members). Thereafter those present discuss patrilineage business and express their opinions.

- On 12 January, 0:00 am: The ritual of praying to ancestors for peace, good fortune, health, wealth, etc, to all relatives (patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members) is performed.
- On 12 January, 8:00 am: At the patrilineage hall, all relatives (patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members) burn incense to their ancestors.
- On 12 January, 9:00 am: At the patrilineage hall, the main sacrifice is carried out. The offerings to ancestors include incense, wine, betel leaves and areca nuts, fruits, confectionery, and votive papers. In this ritual, the head of the patrilineage and the Rites committee [Ban hành lễ] performs rituals in honour of the ancestors in the presence of all relatives.
- On 12 January, 11:00 am: The spring rites end. All relatives, patrilineage members and non-patrilineage members, receive items of offerings to take home [*Thụ lộc*].¹⁹



(Performing ancestor worship in 2006 spring ancestor worship at the Cù patrilineage hall, on 12 January 2006, Lunar year)

Since the *Đổi mới* every year more and more relatives who live outside Quỳnh Đôi would go back the commune to attend the *Xuân tế*. Moreover many kin living in different cities and provinces often return in groups to worship their ancestors. During spring 2006 alone thousands of people returned to Quỳnh Đôi to worship their ancestors.

In a survey conducted in the year 2000, 288 out of 300 respondents (96.0%) said that ancestor worship is a desirable thing, indicating that most people attach great importance to ancestor worship. These opinions are backed up by ancestral rites such as *Xuân tế* and other related activities in the *Đổi mới* era. This is comparable to the situation in China when overt ancestor worship was prohibited before the 1978 reforms. Since then there have been revivals of ancestor worship and other related rituals (Kuah, 1999: 109).

In the *Đổi mới* setting, ancestor worship was no longer considered a kind of superstition that needed to be curtailed. Jellema argued that nowadays both in official and academic circles ancestor worship is considered as a 'national tradition' and ancestor worship practices even received public encouragement (Jellema, 2007: 486). In Quỳnh Đôi itself every year, between the 24th and the 26th of December of the lunar year, patrilineage representatives are invited to the office of the People's Commune Committee where the local authorities would inform them the amount of money that the committee will give each patrilineage to carry out the *Xuân tế* ritual. My informants explained to me that this was a way in which the

¹⁹ Personal observations from Hồ patrilineage spring ancestor worship ceremony on 11 and 12 January 2006 (Lunar calendar)

committee wishes to make amends for past actions because during the collectivization period all patrilineage lands (the yields of which were used for ancestors worship) were turned into cooperative lands.²⁰ Each patrilineage receives a certain amount of money depending on the areas of lands they had in the past. In 2003, Hồ patrilineage received 70,000 VND (4.30 USD) from the committee.²¹ Although the money itself is insignificant, it illustrates how the local authorities go out of their way to encourage ancestor worship practices as part of the state policy.

Ancestor worship carries several meanings in both spiritual and worldly aspects of life. The results of the survey in 2000 help illuminate the perception of the role of ancestors as follows:

	Count	Percent
Ancestors support their offsprings in economic activities:	99	33.0
Ancestors support their offsprings in sickness:	138	46.0
Ancestors support their offsprings when they meet difficulties in life:	124	41.3
Ancestors bolster confidence of their offsprings:	247	82.3

Thus, ancestor worship embeds several meanings, reflecting the relationship between the living and the dead; and is a way for the living to ask for the support from their ancestors. As indicated by the results of the survey above many people believed that ancestors have a spiritual power that could help them in their daily life. Studying ancestor worship in Đình Bảng village, Northern Vietnam, Jellema reported that villagers believe in the spiritual power of their ancestors, who are “efficacious, able to answer prayers” (Jellema, 2007: 488). Ancestor worship is not only an occasion for the living to ask for the support of their ancestors but also a time to show their gratitude. As Phan Ngọc puts it, “As a Vietnamese, each person has to look after his/her parents when they are alive, worship and protect their graves after they die. These activities affirm that a person is a member of a family, of a patrilineage” (Phan Ngọc, 1998: 103). Jellema regards ancestor worship as a way of “recognizing and remembering the moral debt [*biết ơn, nhớ ơn*] owed to ancestors” (Jellema, 2007: 473).



(The Hoàng patrilineage meeting at its patrilineage hall at the end of the 2006 spring ancestor worship)

²⁰ Information from proceedings of Hồ patrilineage as well as from Hồ Sĩ Quý, a 78 year-old, member of the Hồ patrilineage council, interviewed on 29 October 2003.

²¹ In January 2003, 1 USD was approximately to 16,009 VND.

Apart from bearing religious and moral significance, ancestor worship provides an opportunity to create and maintain social capital among relatives. It offers a venue for relatives to gather together to discuss more mundane business (Luong, 1993: 276). In Quỳnh Đôi patrilineage meetings always take place during the Spring rites [*xuân tế*] (see picture above) where not only patrilineage members but also daughters, daughters-in-laws and sons-in-laws of the patrilineage inside and outside the village also attend. At these meetings, often held just before or after the formal ancestor worship rituals, relatives of the patrilineage would meet together to discuss matters of mutual interest. For example on 12 January (lunar year, 1996), Dương Văn Gia, 52 years old, living in hamlet number 3 and several relatives held a meeting to prepare for the Spring ancestor worship of the Dương patrilineage.²² Besides this main subject, they also discussed ways to help each other to build houses and develop household economies [*kinh tế hộ gia đình*]. This resulted in the formation of a credit association. Other relatives, who are not official members of the patrilineage such as sons-in-law of the patrilineage, were called upon to join the association.²³ The case of Dương Văn Gia's credit association illustrates how social capital is generated and maintained through ancestor worship. As Jellema aptly points out:

It should be noted that quite apart from questions of supernatural efficacy or status and merit, villagers praise the social benefits of ancestor worship, speaking in glowing terms of the chances participation gives them to make connections, develop friendships, share stories, and work together on projects (Jellema, 2007: 491).

As shown above, each individual can make connections with other relatives (both members and non-members, both inside and outside the village) through the channel of ancestor worship. That leads to creating ego-based networks involving certain kind of kinship relations. Here ancestor worship has an important function in determining who *belongs* to a particular network, a commonality shared by relatives within a lineage including formal members and non-members such as sons-in-law, daughters, daughters-in-law, etc. This in turn helps create and maintain social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges as 'by-products' of ancestor worship. In other words, by determining who *belongs* to a particular network, ancestor worship has an important function in terms of making the closure of social networks – a condition for creating and maintaining social capital as argued by Coleman (1988: 105-108). Indeed, the results of our survey in 2003 indicated that 269 respondents out of 300 (89.7%) think that ancestor worship is an opportunity to consolidate kinship relations. As Đoàn Văn Chúc points out, each ancestor worship day represents an occasion for members to meet together, show solidarity, and demonstrate group values. Conflicts among members can be resolved, frictions attenuated, past behaviours forgiven and forgotten. Therefore, the primary social function of ancestor worship is reconfirmation of social relations and solidarity (Đoàn Văn Chúc, 1998: 133).

From a gender perspective, there was a change in the role of women in ancestor worship. Before 1945, ancestor worship was conducted by the patrilineage's males. An ancestor worship ceremony board often comprised of three men, a master of ceremony [*chủ tế*], and two assistants [*bồi tế* and *đọc văn*] - one in charge of offering incense, alcohol and flowers offerings [*dâng hương, dâng rượu*] and another was in charge of reading worship oration [*đọc văn tế*]. About ten years ago, the Hồ patrilineage began to appoint women to take charge of offering incense, alcohol and flowers in ancestor worship rituals. At first, this function went to a patrilineage daughter-in-law, Văn Thị Hương. She was succeeded by Hồ

²² Interview on 25 July 2006.

²³ I will analyze this case study in detail in the chapter on kinship relations and rotating credit associations. Establishment and operation of this kind of association depend on social capital in the form of enforceable trust.

Thị Đóa, a married daughter of the patrilineage. The women who are chosen to play this role have to be virtuous [*đức hạnh*] in order to show respect for the ancestors. Văn Thị Hương and Hồ Thị Đóa both were secondary school teachers at the commune, and considered to be virtuous and well respected by fellow villagers; their teaching experience enabled them to carry out their role confidently in public. Initially only married women took on this function because young unmarried women were often too shy to perform such a ceremonial duty in front of many people. However, after some years, young women began to feel more confident, and were happy to take up the role when asked. In recent years, young, single daughters of the patrilineage have taken on this role.

My informants told me that in the old days, women were not allowed to take on ceremonial duties because according to 'feudal notions' [*quan niệm phong kiến*] women are not pure [*trong sạch*], especially during menstruation or when they just have sexual intercourse. With the passage of time, this conception is no longer taken seriously and nowadays women could participate in the ancestor worship ceremony together with men. The fact is that serving on the worship ceremony board is an honour for men and women alike.²⁴ Through the change in the ancestor worship ceremony one can perceive a change in social attitude regarding the position of women, which has become more egalitarian. All this illustrates the evolution of patrilineages in contemporary society, with the relaxation of outdated regulations that discriminate against women. The evolution also means that ancestor worship as a channel for building and maintaining social capital is no longer restricted to a male-dominated patrilineage membership but also extended to other relatives such as daughters and daughters-in-law.

4. Creating and retaining social capital through marriage

In this section, I will examine the creation and retaining of social capital through organizing weddings. Before doing that let us take a quick look at the role of relatives in choosing one's spouse. In the *Đôi mới*, to a certain extent, relatives still express their opinions when someone is in the process of choosing a spouse. In a survey with 300 Quỳnh Đôi villagers in 2000, I gave the question: '*If a relative in your patrilineage chooses a spouse but you think that choice is not right, what will you do?*' The result is as follows: 73 (24.3%) informants chose the answer 'Offer a suggestion to the relative' and 173 informants (57.7%) selected the answer 'Offer a suggestion to both the relative and his or her parent'. In another survey in December 2006 and January 2007 with 300 Quỳnh Đôi villagers, I gave the question: '*When a member of your family prepares a wedding, whom do they seek advice?*' Many informants said that when a person going to get married the person will receive advice from several types of relatives. For example, 157 informants (52.3%) chose the answer 'mother's kin'. 161 informants (53.7%) picked the answer 'father's kin'. Whereas, there were 17 informants (5.7%) opted for the answer 'friends' and 8 informants (2.7%) selected the answer 'neighbours'.

Malarney through a study in a commune in Northern Vietnam showed that from 1980 to the present time only 1.82 % of marriages were arranged marriages.²⁵ The arranged or forced marriages were described as 'the parents say where and the children sit there' [*bố mẹ*

²⁴ Hồ Như Hưng, 70 years old, the chairperson of Hồ patrilineage's council, interview on 14 January 2007. Phan Thị Đức, 65 years old, a daughter in-law of Hồ patrilineage as well as a member of Hồ patrilineage's council, interviewed on 31 December 2006.

²⁵ Malarney did not mention the certain point of 'the present time'. However, Malarney's research was conducted from 1990 to 1998.

đặt dâu con ngồi đầy] (Malarney, 2002: 151-152). Khuất Thu Hồng argued that in the *Đổi mới* period, individuals played key roles in choosing people to get married and made final decisions in marriage matters. However, close relatives, especially the parents also express their opinions and play important roles in the process from choosing spouses to organizing weddings (Khuất Thu Hồng, 1996: 100-109). In the following, I will examine kinship relations in comparison with other relations such as friends, neighbours through organization of wedding ceremonies.

While doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I observed that nowadays when a household prepares a wedding, close relatives are invited to discuss the matter. The first step is setting up an organizing group. This group comprises four or five close relatives, each is charged with a specific task: drawing up a list of invited guests; making the necessary preparations for the wedding feast and the ceremony, going to the bride's house to fix a date for the wedding and to discuss the various details pertaining to the wedding requirements. Wedding ceremonies and feasts usually take up two days. The first day and the morning of the second day are to offer feasts for kin, neighbours and friends. The time between 10 am to 12 pm of the second day is reserved for 'picking up the bride's procession' [*đón dâu*]. In the afternoon of second day, feasts are served for representatives of the bride's and the groom's families. In organizing a wedding, relatives assist the family hosts in extending invitations to guests, preparing meals, setting up wedding halls [*rạp đám cưới*] for seating guests, etc. In the following section, I will examine the organization of a wedding ceremony.

The case of Cù Ngọc Trung's household

I have enjoyed a long and fruitful relationship with Cù Ngọc Trung's household in neighbourhood number 6 of Quỳnh Đôi commune. Each time I return to collect data I always stay with his family. Cù Ngọc Trung was born in 1942, his wife Hoàng Thị Quân, was two years younger. Their oldest son, Cù Tuấn Linh, was born in 1973. Linh and his wife are workers in Đắk Lắk province; they had two children of their own. The second daughter of Cù Ngọc Trung and Hoàng Thị Quân is Cù Thị Na, born in 1976. She was married to a fellow villager native and lives at neighbourhood number 7. Both are farmers, having two children. The youngest son of Cù Ngọc Trung and Hoàng Thị Quân is Cù Tuấn Ánh, born in 1980. Cù Tuấn Ánh and his wife are high school teachers in Đắk Nông province. In interview on 1 January 2003, Cù Ngọc Trung told me about the wedding of his daughter:

My wife and I organized the wedding ceremony for our daughter in 1999. The ceremony was held in our house. The Wedding feast was served on 70 tables or trays [mâm cỗ]. Each table seated six guests. Three days before the wedding, invitations were sent out. The list was prepared several days before the ceremony. One of my younger brothers and two older brothers of my wife helped us to prepare the list. We had to consider the list of guests carefully because it would cause a big problem if we left out some relatives. These relatives would blame us for not attaching much importance to kinship relations. A nephew (son of an uncle - mother's brother) helped us to prepare the wedding feast. He led a group of relatives preparing the food and serving the guests. At the wedding ceremony, my younger brother received guests who are relatives of mine. Two older brothers of my wife received relatives on my wife's side. My wife and I also took part in receiving our guests. Our children took care of their own guests. At that time, a guest offered us 20,000 VND (1.40 USD), as a gift to share our happiness.²⁶ Today, guests attending wedding ceremonies would offer their

²⁶ In January 1999, 1 USD was equal to approximately 13,888 VND

hosts from 25,000 VND (1.50 USD) to 30,000 VND (1.80 USD)²⁷. However, the amount of cash also depends on the relation between the hosts and their guests. Usually relatives offered more money than neighbours, friends or people from the same associations. With relatives, helping each other in weddings implies the maintenance of good relations between the hosts and the guests. If you don't help your relatives in wedding affairs, it will in the future it is difficult for him or her to receive the help, the cooperation, and the trust from the hosts not only in marriage and wedding affairs but also in other affairs

Unquestionably, relatives have important roles in the organization of the wedding ceremony. The support is manifested at every step of the weddings from making a guest list to preparing wedding feasts and receiving guests. Without support from relatives, it is difficult for households to organize wedding ceremonies because the big number of guests and the meals to be served. As shown in Cù Ngọc Trung's case, a feast involving 70 tables (or trays) serving more than 400 guests poses a big problem to resolve since there are no catering services in a remote commune like Quỳnh Đôi.²⁸ Without help from relatives and friends, it would be an impossible task.

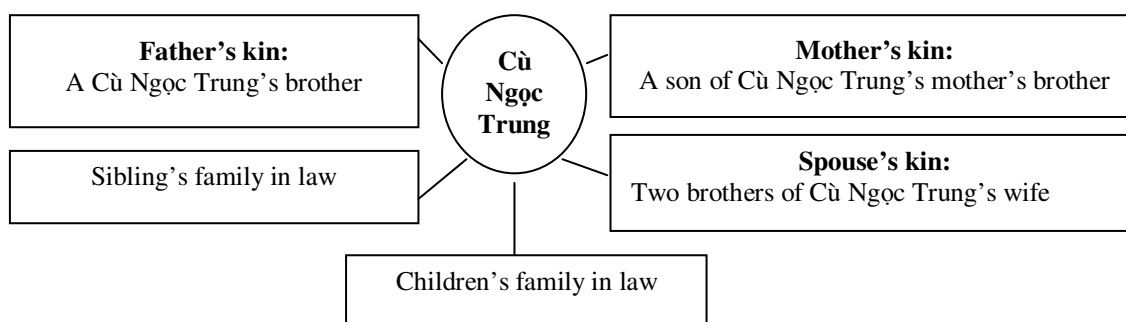
Regarding wedding in the *Đổi mới* era, researchers often mentioned the social relations between the hosts and their guests that are reflected through the wedding feasts. The number of food trays is considered "an indication of importance and connections" (Kleinen, 1999: 176). Malarney also reported one wedding feast in 1993 with 130 trays serving 780 guests. Usually a wedding feast had from 45 to 50 trays (Malarney, 2002: 166). Malarney argued that wedding feast and the number of guests indicated the sentimental relations between the hosts and their guests. "A large number of guests increases the sentimental element and indicates to others that the family has many sentimental relations...A large feast shows the family's esteem and that it lives with sentiment...many families invite widely to show their good qualities and increase the wedding's celebratory nature" (Malarney, 2002: 165). Similarly, Luong also noted the increase of wedding banquet size in the *Đổi mới* period, for example the number of guests might reach as many as 600 people (Luong, 1993: 278). Regarding rituals and feasting - including wedding feasts - in rural areas of Northern Vietnam Luong keenly observed that, "rituals and the reciprocal feasting system reinforced social relations in an agricultural community with constant natural threats to subsistence and with fewer subsistence guarantees and less assistance from the state" (Luong, 1993: 259). From a social capital perspective, it can be said that wedding feasts are one way to build social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges through reinforcing social relations between the hosts and their guests.

In the Cù Ngọc Trung's case, we can see several types of kinship relations which he relies on to organize his daughter's wedding. Among those who played major roles in organizing this event, we can sketch the relations between Cù Ngọc Trung and his relatives in the following diagram.

²⁷ In January 2003, 1 USD was equal to approximately 16,009 VND

²⁸ In urban areas, the hosts can order wedding feast from restaurants, hotels or catering services.

Figure 12: The ego-based kin network of Cù Ngọc Trung in organizing wedding ceremony



From this diagram, we can see that there are a relative belonging to his father's kin, a relative belonging to his mother's kin, and two relatives from his wife's kin. The support Trung receives comes not only from his father's kin but also from his mother's kin and his spouse's kin as well. In other words, kinship relations here should not be seen from a strictly patrilineage viewpoint but rather should focus on the ego-centred kin network in which Cù Ngọc Trung is the ego. From a social capital perspective, these relatives give support to not only to express their sentiments, but consciously or unconsciously, also out of a desire to strengthen connections with the host, Cù Ngọc Trung. As a result, social capital are created, maintained and reinforced between the host and those who give him support. From the help they give to Cù Ngọc Trung at his daughter's wedding, they expect to receive similar treatment in future based on the principles of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges.

Besides kin-based support in organizing weddings, there are other relations that should be looked at such as those with friends, neighbours and people from the same mass organizations. In a survey conducted in December 2006 and January 2007 involving 300 respondents, we asked the following question: “*What were your responses when families of the following people organized wedding ceremonies?*” The results were as follows:

Table 3: Help relatives in organizing wedding ceremonies

No	Way of supports	Unit of measurement	Offering money	Offering items	Supporting labours
	Types of relations				
1	Mother's kin	Count	283	39	195
		Percent	94,3	13,0	65,0
2	Father's kin	Count	282	41	188
		Percent	94,0	13,7	62,7
3	Spouse's kin	Count	263	30	149
		Percent	87,7	10,0	49,7
4	Sibling's family in-law	Count	224	4	52
		Percent	74,7	1,3	17,3
5	Children's family in-law	Count	171	1	21
		Percent	57,0	0,3	7,0
6	Friends	Count	285	4	57
		Percent	95,0	1,3	19,0
7	Neighbours	Count	292	1	52
		Percent	97,3	0,3	17,3
8	People from the same mass organization	Count	199	1	17
		Percent	66,3	0,3	5,7

Thus, besides offering labour in organizing weddings, relatives also give financial support in cash gifts. Wedding guests usually offer cash. Moreover, as illustrated in the case of Cù Ngọc Trung above, there is a distinction between the presents offered by relatives and those of neighbours and friends: The presents of relatives usually carry more financial value

than those from neighbours and friends.

As shown from the data above, these days not many guests offered household items as presents. This is in contrast with the socialist transformation period, when most guests would offer household goods to the hosts and the newly weds.²⁹ That reflected the situation in the collective period when items (usually household good) were hard to get. Now, in the reform setting, when goods are abundant, most guests offer money. Most of the gifts given as items are offered by close relatives - mother's kin, father's kin, and spouse's kin, in addition to their cash gifts.

Labour in organizing weddings involves such tasks as inviting and receiving guests, preparing the feast and decorating the wedding hall. These tasks are carried out by relatives belonging to mother's kin, father's kin and spouse's kin. Nearly 20% percent of respondents, who said that they offered labour to the hosts, are siblings' family in-law, friends, and neighbours. Only 5.7% of respondents who said that they provided help for people who belong to the same mass organization. Meanwhile, 7.0% said they helped their children's family in-law in this way. The data indicate that father's kin, mother's kin and spouse's kin are the main sources of kinship relations from which people can rely on in organizing weddings.

From a social capital perspective, the labour and financial contribution to a relative's wedding reflects two important points. The first is that, as illustrated in the case of Cù Ngọc Trung, the host employs the resource inherent in kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin network in order to organize the wedding for his daughter. The financial and labour contributions Trung receives are drawn from the resource inherent in the social capital he shares with his relatives. In other words, pro-social consequences of social capital can be seen here in terms of "mutual support" (Putnam, 2000: 22) and "source of family support" (Portes, 1998: 9). The second point is the endeavour to consolidate the "connections" among relatives. In other words, social capital as "connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam 2000: 19) is created and maintained through these contributions. When a guest contributes his /her labour and/or money to the host of a wedding, s/he may expect something in return of the same sort from the host following "the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness" without any formal agreement. Moreover, in this case s/he does not expect the returns from the host immediately but some time in the future when the need arises. In other words, this is a way of investing in the common pool of social capital shared among relatives where unwritten rules were strictly observed by all concerned. As Cù Ngọc Trung told me: *"If you don't help your relatives at their weddings, you will lose their trust, and in the future it will be difficult for you to receive their help, and cooperation not only in wedding matters but in other matters as well"*. Therefore, it can be said that social capital in kinship relations built around ego-based kin networks is the resource villagers mostly rely on to organize weddings for family members. In addition, mutual support among relatives is a way to invest in social capital, a cornerstone of kinship relations.

In providing support to the wedding host, relatives including father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, sibling's family in-law and children's family in-law create an ego-based network built around the host. While the main purpose is to express relatives' sentiments to the host, consciously or unconsciously these activities reinforce the connections between the host and his kin as supporters. These connections bear the features of reciprocity exchanges in the sense that those who offer support to the host at this time expect to be repaid in similar manner sometime later, knowing there exist an unwritten code of enforceable trust between them.

²⁹ For more information on this matter see Lê Ngọc Văn et al (2000)

5. Generating and keeping social capital in organizing funeral

In this section, I will study the generation and maintenance of social capital in organizing funerals through analyzing the relations between funeral hosts and their guests. Attention will be paid to the custom of giving gifts and money of prestation at funerals. Personally, I have attended several funerals in my home village (Bắc Sơn village, Bắc Thành commune, Yên Thành district, Nghệ An province) and observed a funeral in Quỳnh Đôi on 25 October 2007. That was a funeral of Hồ Thị Ba, a resident of hamlet number 4. She died at the age of 79. Hồ Thị Ba was the mother of Nguyễn Danh Quảng, born in 1957, who was the host organizing her funeral. I observed the funeral but did not interview the host at that time because it is not proper to talk about matters such as money of prestation offered by attending guests. I will present in detail the types of funeral guests and their money of prestation through a case study of Cù Thị Nhân's funeral below.

Funeral ceremonies are held at the deceased's house.³⁰ Relatives play important roles in organizing funerals. When a person dies an organizing group consisting of three or four relatives is established to take charge of the funeral. A person is put in charge of preparing materials for the funeral, another is responsible for the funeral rites, and a third takes care of receiving guests. The head of the group assigned concrete tasks to relatives and neighbours such as digging the grave, making funeral marquee in the yard of the deceased's house, etc.

I observed more than once that in funeral organizations, both patrilineage representatives and hamlet officials are involved. At the burial ceremony, the hamlet head gives a funeral oration summing up the life of the deceased, the good things s/he did when living and expresses sorrows at his/her passing away. According to Nguyễn Ngọc An (78 years old, living in hamlet number 3, interviewed on 30 August 2003), the patrilineage representatives and patrilineage head made ceremonial offerings of the total sum of 70,000 VND (4.3 USD), in addition to incense, and wine at a funeral.³¹ The patrilineage together with the hamlet authorities organized the funeral procession in which the patrilineage provides a set of five funeral flags and a set of drums. The patrilineage assigned its members to hold the flags and beat the drums. The hamlet itself provides its own set of funeral flags and a set of drums with its own people holding the flags and beating the drums. During the procession, the group of hamlet representatives with its flags and drums went first; followed by the group of the representatives of the patrilineage together with its own flags and drums. Next comes the coffin put in a wooden hearse pushed by pallbearers [*người hộ tang*]. Family members walk alongside the hearse, followed by relatives, neighbours and friends. The patrilineage organizes funerals not only for male members but also for females of patrilineage as well as daughters-in-law.

At present both hamlet officials and the patrilineage play important roles in funeral organization. As discussed earlier, prior to 1945, funerals were mainly affairs of the patrilineage and kin. During the socialist transformation period, the role of village officials and cadres was dominant in funerals. Today, both the patrilineage and village authorities share responsibilities in these matters. This implies that state control on funeral ceremonies which began in the 'socialist' period still exists. The revival of patrilineage's role in funeral has become more prominent in the *Đổi mới* era, however.

Besides the role the kinship relations in terms of patrilineage representation in funeral organization, each individual has the responsibility to support the deceased's family. As a

³⁰ For more information on a description of funeral in the North Vietnamese countryside please see Kleinen (1999) (1999), Marlaney (1996; 2002).

³¹ In August 2003, 1 USD was equal to approximately 16,081 VND.

relative lies on his/her deathbed, close kin keep watch nearby. At the news of a person's death, all relatives and neighbours immediately go to the deceased's house to pay their respects to the dead, comfort the deceased's family and help organize the funeral. Moreover, the responsibility of relatives can be seen in the financial support they lend to the deceased's family. Our survey conducted in December 2006 and January 2007 with 300 Quỳnh Đôi villagers shows that the support in cash and labour, and condolences given by people attending funerals can be broken down as follows:

Table 4: Support relatives in funerals

No	The way of support Types of relations	Unit of measurement	Offering money	Offering items	Supporting labours	Only offering condolences at deceased's house
1	Mother's kin	Count	294	162	192	4
		Percent	98.0	54.0	64.0	1.3
2	Father's kin	Count	293	159	182	4
		Percent	97.7	53.0	60.7	1.3
3	Spouse's kin	Count	264	133	140	3
		Percent	88.0	44.3	46.7	1.0
4	Sibling's family in law	Count	225	91	55	10
		Percent	75.0	30.3	18.3	3.3
5	Children's family in law	Count	171	70	18	8
		Percent	57.0	23.3	6.0	2.7
6	Friends	Count	283	146	69	3
		Percent	94.3	48.7	23.0	1.0
7	Neighbours	Count	291	148	85	3
		Percent	97.0	49.3	28.3	1.0
8	People from the same mass organization	Count	193	92	20	8
		Percent	64.3	30.7	6.7	2.7

Thus, patrilineages are not the only player in organizing funerals. As shown above, relatives such as father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, sibling's family in law, children's family in law, and friends, neighbours, people from the same mass organizations also offer money and labour to the deceased's families. The data show a very small minority who gives condolences to the hosts, without any tangible support. Father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, and friends and neighbours besides giving condolence to deceased's house, they also supported money to the deceased's house. According to Nguyễn Ngọc An (78 years old, hamlet number 3, interviewed on 30 August 2003), on average, there are about one hundred and fifty people offering money, and/or items, and/or volunteering their labour at a funeral. However, there is a difference between the money offered by friends/ neighbours and relatives. Friends and neighbours often offer 10,000 VND (0.6 USD) each whereas relatives, especially those within four generations, offer much more, from 100,000 VND (6.2 USD) to 500,000 VND (31.0 USD) after the three-day rite (a rite that is held three days after the funeral ceremony has taken place).^{32,33} All this money is to help the deceased's family in organizing the funeral and the funeral repast of the three-day rite. Those who have offered money and/or items and/or labour are invited to attend this repast. Most of them usually decline the invitation in order to reduce expenses for the host. However, close relatives mostly attend the three-day sacrifice. In the following case, I will analyze the types of guests and the

³² For example if a person organizes a funeral for his/her father, the relatives within four generations here include grandfather's siblings and children of grandfather's siblings, father's siblings and children of father's siblings, siblings and children of this person and his/her siblings.

³³ In August 2003, 1 USD was equal to approximately 16,081 VND

offers of prestation money at a funeral.

The case of Cù Thị Nhân's funeral

On 14 January 2007, I went to Hồ Sĩ To's house to interview him about the funeral of his mother, Cù Thị Nhân, who had died on 16 December 2006 at the age of 93. Just after the funeral the host recorded the names of all people offering money and the amount they offer at the funeral in a ledger (see picture below).³⁴ The purpose of this is to return the kindness when these people have funerals themselves or other affairs. From the ledger in which Hồ Sĩ To made the list of people offering money and the amount of money they offered at the funeral of Cù Thị Nhân, I gathered the following data.

Table 5: Money offered at the funeral of Cù Thị Nhân

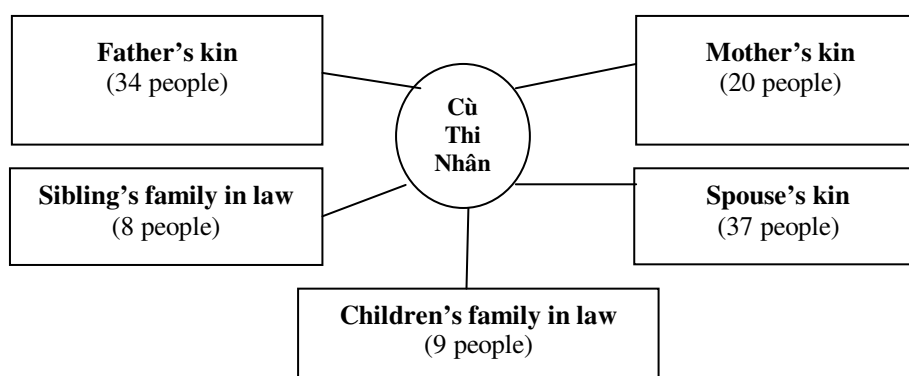
No	Amount of money	VND	USD ³⁵
1	The total amount of money	7,075,000	426.4
2	The biggest amount offered by one person	200,000	12.0
3	The smallest amount offered by one person	10,000	0.6

Table 6: People offering money at the funeral of Cù Thị Nhân

No	Types of relations	Number
1	Total number of people offering money	162
2	Father's kin	34
3	Mother's kin	20
4	Husband's kin	37
5	Sibling's family in laws	8
6	Children's family in laws	9
7	Friends of children	11
8	Neighbours	35
9	Representatives of communal authority and associations	4
10	Friends of grandchildren	5

The case study shows ten kinds of relations in Cù Thị Nhân's funeral in which there are five kinds of kinship relations. If Cù Thị Nhân is regarded as the ego in her kinship network, this network of people offering money to the host can be visible as follows.

Figure 13: The ego-based kin network in Cù Thị Nhân's funeral



³⁴ Malarney also observed this practice in a village in Northern Vietnam (Malarney, 2002: 132).

³⁵ In December 2006, 1 USD was equal to approximately 16,592 VND

The case of Cù Thị Nhân's funeral illustrates how kinship networks and non-kin relations including friends of children, friends of grandchildren, neighbours, and associations operate in offering comfort and money to the deceased's family. The data above show that about 50% of father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, friends and neighbours offer items to the deceased's family. Some 30% of sibling's families in-law, children's families in-laws, and people from the same mass organization also offered items to the deceased's family. Usually, the items are incense, wine, wreaths, laudatory writings, etc. As regard labour, 64.0% of mother's kin, 60.7% of father kin, 46.7% of spouse's kin lend labour in support of the deceased's family. 18.3% of siblings' families in-law, 23.0% of friends and 28.3% of neighbours also provide labour to the deceased's household. Only 6.0% of children's families in-law and 6.7% of people from the same organizations offer some kind of support. From these data, we can divide the relations into three groups based on the importance of their support to the deceased's family. The most important group was father's kin, mother's kin and spouse's kin. The second group was sibling's families in-law, friends and neighbours. The third group was children's families in-law and people from the same organizations. Therefore, in comparison with other sorts of relations, kinship relations based on patrilineages as well as built on ego-centred kin networks play important roles in providing labour in organizing funerals in the context of the *Đổi mới*. That creates ego-based kin networks where the funeral hosts are egos. It should be noticed that people offer comfort and money as well as provide labour support to the deceased's household to express their sentiments to the deceased and the deceased's family. Nevertheless, they do not build and maintain social capital with the deceased. For example, in the case of Cù Thị Nhân above, the people build and maintain social capital with her son Hồ Sĩ Tư – the host of her funeral.

Date	No.	Date	No.
Thái + Bao Phụng Nẫu cháu	20.000 đ	Trương L	30.000 đ
Vũ Hồng Phan	20.000	Trần Hùng, Sơn Chung	60.000
Nguyễn Xuân	20.000	Chanh - Bình	20.000
Chanh - Bình	30.000	Ngô Bô' Dai	20.000
Trương Q. Minh	10.000	Hương Lâm	50.000
Chân Nguyễn Bành	10.000	Hưng Bành	50.000
Bình - Bình	20.000	Khánh Trúc Quên	30.000
Phan Cao Bân	30.000	Chân Bình Bành	50.000
Chân Xuân Diên	20.000	Hải Chân Hòa Lương	30.000
Chân Hùng, Cáp, Long, Quên	120.000	Nguyễn Đức Vinh	20.000
Vũ Xuân Dương	10.000	Bát Boan	50.000
Khô + Nhật	20.000	Châu Linh	50.000
Vũ Hồng Bình Hào	20.000	Còn Hưng Bành	50.000
Khô + Tấn	20.000	Dô Văn Cường	20.000
Lưu Xuân (gã gỏi Bì Phụng)	30.000	Chân Nhung (Cố tin)	20.000
Hương Xuân Phụng KTX	20.000	Nguyễn Bành Bô'	60.000
Sông + Bô'	20.000	Cây thờ lạy Cđ K2	200.000
Thái Nam + Xuân	50.000	Chân Bành + Ngô	20.000
Tham Hòa Khuyên	50.000	Chân Phụng Chên	30.000
Phong Đào Lân (T3)	30.000	Trần Phụng + Xuân Dung	100.000
Đặng Trọng	20.000	Chân Hoa Sơn	20.000
Chân Cò Bình Việt	50.000	Chân Xuân Nhỏ	10.000
Còn Bà Hào	20.000	Chân Bành hậu cần	20.000
Trần Bỉnh Bành Xuân	100.000	Chân Lan Nga	50.000
Khô B. L. L.	20.000	Còn Mai Hồng	50.000
Hồng Xuân	20.000	Chân Huyền Hoa	20.000
Ngân	10.000	Chân Kiên Hương	20.000
Hoa + Hào	20.000	Trung tâm dạy nghề	100.000
	800.000	Chung Hải xe	20.000
	AM T. 11/11		1.210.000 đ

(A page of the ledger recording the names of Cù Thị Nhân funeral guests and the amounts of their prestation money)

In giving their support, relatives wish first and foremost to express their sentiments of solidarity to the host. Besides, consciously or unconsciously those people generate 'by-

products' in terms of connections between the hosts and the relatives in terms of supporters. As a result, social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges between the hosts and the relatives is created and maintained. The mechanism of generating and maintaining social capital operates the same way as it does in weddings: the host of a funeral and his/her relatives forms an ego-based kin network in which the host is the ego. In this network, the host is indebted to his/her relatives. In the future, these relatives become the hosts in the networks like that, and they receive returns from their relatives following reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust among them.

Studying funerals in a commune in the Red River Delta, Malarney (2002: 127-134) also showed the interplay of relations between hosts and guests at funerals highlighted by the offering of prestation gifts on such occasions. The guests express their sentiments to the hosts but also create debts between them. These debts are called 'moral debts' not merely 'debts' in the ordinary sense that become a part of the enduring relationship between hosts and their guests. Concerning this matter Malarney puts it:

To not keep that relationship alive means that the family has committed a major moral transgression, the failure to repay a moral debt. This requirement to repay places significant moral pressure on people, pressure that increases with the intimacy of the relationship (Malarney, 2002: 132).

Although these relations are established between the host and neighbours, friends, etc., "the primary axis is always based on kinship, either affinal or consanguineal" (Malarney, 2002: 131). It should be mentioned that the terms "affinal or consanguineal" are used to indicate relatives attending funerals but Malarney did not elaborate in detail the specific types of relatives involved. However, the data collected from Quỳnh Đôi above show that besides paying respects to the deceased and offering comfort to the deceased's family, relatives of different types also offer the host money, items and/or labour in organizing the funeral. Thus, kinship, "affinal or consanguineal" as Malarney argues, could be seen as the ego-based kin network built around the host and involving several types of relatives, which forms a strong spiritual and financial foundation in the family's life cycle.

If a comparison is to be made one could see the differences between the way in which social capital is created and maintained through ancestor worship and through marriage and funerals. In the case of ancestor worship, it is a channel for relatives, both patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage such as daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law to gather and to reconfirm their connections and reinforce their solidarity. Ancestor worship provides opportunities for creating the closure of kin networks – a good condition for generating and maintaining social capital among relatives. In the cases of marriages and funerals, the mechanism of creating and maintaining social capital is different: the hosts receive labour, items, money and expressions of sentiments from the guests. Those could be seen as material or non-material "gifts" transacted from givers (the guests) to receivers (the hosts). Therefore, receivers are indebted to the givers, and are expected to repay these debts in the future. These transactions go around, creating and maintaining reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust in a constant flow of social capital.

6. Summary

There are three main points in this chapter. The first is that there have been changes related to patrilineages in the context of the *Đổi mới* in comparison with the socialist transformation period. In more ways than one, the patrilineage in terms of membership and boundary became

blurred. For instance, women could become members of a patrilineage, or could even sit on its council. Strict regulations regarding contributions to the patrilineage have been relaxed so that all relatives, no matter whether they are formal members or not, could participate in related tasks. From a gender standpoint, the position of women within the patrilineage has improved markedly since the *Đổi mới*. The phenomena of supplementing, elaborating, re-writing patrilineage annals, together with works carried out in rebuilding, repairing and upgrading patrilineage halls and cemeteries lead to the creation and maintenance of social capital among members and non-members such as daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law.

Secondly, since the *Đổi mới*, there has been an intensification of rituals related to ancestor worship. However, this does not constitute a return to the past; rather one notices substantial changes in these rituals. We witness an improvement of women's position that goes hand in hand with changes of patrilineages that enable women to participate more actively in ancestor worship. Apart from its religious and moral significance, ancestor worship is the occasion to generate social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchange among relatives, not only patrilineage members but also non-members of the patrilineage such as daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law, etc, not only between relatives in the same village but also between villagers and their relatives outside the village. Ancestor worship not only provides a medium for relatives to re-confirm the "connections" that bind them together, but also allows each individual to consolidate his/her ego-based network that produces actual or potential resources in terms of social capital.

Thirdly, in the domain of marriages and funerals kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin networks play an important role. On these events, relatives not only express their sentiments but also lend support to the host in money and labour, which are considered as 'gifts'. That leads to the enforcement of mutual 'social glues' and ensures cooperation among relatives. In other words, relatives support each other in life cycle's events with the knowledge that they would be given similar support when the occasions arise. In funerals and weddings the host uses social capital inherent in kinship and other relations; whereas relatives, friends, neighbours, etc. use these occasions to express their 'connection' in building and maintaining social capital with the host in ego-based kin networks.

One more thing should be mentioned is that in matters of weddings and funerals social capital created in ego-based kin networks is much more important compared to social capital deriving from other kinds of relations such as friends, neighbour, etc. While both kin and non-kin express their sentiments to the host as well as offer money, items and/or labour, however, kinship relations are more important than non-kin relations, as shown by both qualitative and quantitative data.

CHAPTER 8

KINSHIP RELATIONS IN THE DOMAIN OF CHILDREN'S EDUCATION IN THE *Đổi mới* ERA

*Sáng khoai, trưa khoai, tối khoai, khoai ba bữa
Cha đỗ, con đỗ, cháu đỗ, đỗ cả nhà*

Three meals of sweet potatoes morning, noon and night
Produce a family of laureates: father, son and grandson¹

1. Introduction

Social capital has an important role in the creation of human capital. As Putnam points out, social capital brings about many positive effects including better education (Putnam, 2000). In the same vein, Coleman asserts that education as human capital of “the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual” is closely linked with social capital. By applying the notion of social capital to explore the relation between the attainment of human capital of children and social capital in family and community, Coleman considers “the strength of the relations between parents and child as a measure of the social capital available to the child from the parents” (Coleman, 1988: 10). This social capital resides “in the community consisting of the social relationships that exist among parents, in the closure exhibited by this structure of relations, and in the parents’ relations with the institutions of the community” – which in turn is useful for building up children’s human capital (Coleman, 1988: 13). This is in line with the view according to which social capital creates a convenient milieu for children’s education, where financial capital and human capital of parents can be easily converted into good educational results (Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1997: 1356).

From a social capital perspective based on reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, in this chapter I will analyse the linkage between kinship relations and children’s education through patrilineage non-economic encouragement measures, patrilineage encouragement funds, and the exchange of textbooks among relatives’ children of school age. This perspective is linked closely with the perception of Portes on social capital (Portes, 1998). From this standpoint, I also wish to show that social capital in kinship relations, is not only restricted to the confines of patrilineages but also extends to circles of relatives who do not share the same patrilineal ancestors, in creating favourable conditions for children’s education. Attention will be paid to the changes that blur the gender lines in patrilineage-related activities along with an improvement of women’s position.

The next section of this chapter covers the policy of ‘socialization’ as a key point in the education domain. The financial burden as a consequence of this policy will be discussed in section 3. Section 4 deals with the Commune Study Encouragement Association - a state organ designed to implement the ‘socialization of education’ policy at the commune level. In sections 5, 6 and 7, I shall examine kinship relations and children’s education through non-

¹ Quoted in Phan Hữu Thịnh (2003: 33)

financial encouragement measures of patrilineages, Patrilineage Encouragement Funds, and the exchange of textbooks among school children of related households.

2. The ‘socialization’ of education - a key education policy since the *Đổi mới*

The year 1986 has been officially considered as the starting point of the *Đổi mới* in Vietnam, which marks the shift from a state subsidized and centrally planned economy to a market oriented economy under state management. The radical changes introduced by the *Đổi mới* have made strong impacts on all aspects of Vietnamese society – including education. An important departure in the policies *Đổi mới* is the ‘socialization’ of education.² ‘Socialization’ is the concept officially adopted in the Eighth Communist Party of Vietnam Congress (Bùi Gia Thịnh et al. 1999:7). The concept ‘socialization’ is directly translated from ‘*Xã hội hóa*’ in Vietnamese. The term ‘*Xã hội hóa*’ in Vietnamese has a wider meaning in comparison with the term ‘socialization’ in English (Nguyễn Lộc 2006:4). ‘Socialization’ is the guiding policy not only in the education sector but also in other social domains. This point is enunciated at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam:

All issues of social policies are solved following the spirit of socialization. While the State plays the key role, it simultaneously mobilizes all individuals, businesses, social organizations, foreigners and international organizations to join in the efforts to solve social problems (quoted in Bùi Gia Thịnh et al. 1999:7).

An important milestone in implementing the ‘socialization’ of education is the setting up of the Vietnam Study Encouragement Society on 2 October 1996. On 15 October 1999, the Prime Minister issued a directive on setting up Study Encouragement Associations at the local level. On 24 September 1999, the Politburo of the Party Central Committee issued a directive aimed at emphasizing the guiding role of the Party in the activities of the Vietnam Study Encouragement Society. The directive stressed that “education is the task of the society as a whole” [*Giáo dục là sự nghiệp của toàn xã hội*]. The directive urged all individuals, organizations in promoting the cause of education and building study encouragement funds (Bộ Chính trị, 1999). On 28 December 2001, through the decision No. 201/2001/QĐ the Prime Minister approved of *Educational Development Strategies for 2001-2010* (Thủ tướng Chính phủ, 2001) with emphasis on speeding up the ‘socialization’ of education.

The Communist Party guidelines on ‘socialization’ of education were translated into Education Laws that were promulgated in 1998 (Quốc hội Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 1998) and in 2005 (Quốc hội Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 2005). Article 12 in Education Law in 2005 (article 11 in Education Law in 1998) stipulates that the state and the whole population, organizations, families and citizens share the responsibility of promoting the cause of education. Article 105 of the 2005 Education Law (originally article 92 of the 1998 Education Law)) stipulates that pupils or their families have to pay enrolment and tuition fees. Article 13 of the 2005 Education Law (article 12 of the 1998 Education Law) urges all Vietnamese organizations, individuals, and foreign organizations and individuals to

² Recently in the Vietnamese media there was a debate about the translation of the Vietnamese phrase ‘*Xã hội hóa giáo dục*’ into English. One opinion suggested that the phrase ‘Social participation in the cause of education’ would be better to interpret the phrase ‘*Xã hội hoá giáo dục*’ (Bùi Trọng Liễu, 2007; Nguyễn Lộc, 2007).

invest in education. The existence of private schools is confirmed (article 48 of the 2005 Education Law in 2005; article 44 of the 1998 Education Law).

Thus, ‘socialization’ of education is a significant development in the *Đổi mới* era. The policy is opposed to the old state subsidy system [*chế độ bao cấp*] that prevailed before the *Đổi mới*, when education was officially free of charge and there were no private schools.³ At that time, in practice, parents probably had to pay ‘extra-expenses’ for their children as a way of exaction. However, as presented in the section 4 of Chapter 5, the information gathered from my interviews with Văn Thị Hương (born in 1934, hamlet number 2, interviewed on 17 January 2008) and Phạm Phương Tu (born 1943, hamlet number 4 interview on 16 January 2008) indicated there was no such practice in Quỳnh Đôi. However if such exaction existed, it was quite rare at that time, especially in rural areas. However this might happen in cities, especially in the few years just before the *Đổi mới*. Today, the establishment of private schools is encouraged by the state and pupils of both private and public schools have to pay tuition fees.⁴ Besides, households are to bear other extra expenses in order to send their children to school. And school fees have been rising every year and 2008 was no exception (Việt Anh, 2007). It seems rather ironical but ‘socialization’ of education in the age of the *Đổi mới* means nothing but outright ‘privatization’, shifting the financial burden to individual households. As Vũ Quang Việt points out, in educational matters the government has minimized the responsibility of the state and maximised the contributions of the population through ‘socialization’, a misnomer (Vũ Quang Việt, 2007). In the next section, through data collected from the field together with information available elsewhere, I will show that ‘socialization’, in practice, has been imposing heavy individual contributions to education. After that I will examine study encouragement funds on communal and patrilineage levels to alleviate the costs of education on the part of pupils’ households.

3. ‘Socialization’ of education and financial burden to the households of pupils

The new policy on ‘socialization’ of education has created a financial burden on pupils and their households.⁵ Expenditures on education in Vietnam recently account for a sizable portion of GDP and GNP. For example in 2005 this accounts for 8.3% of GDP. It is worth noticing that 40% of these expenditures come from pupils and their families (Vũ Quang Việt, 2006). According to a 2004 World Bank report, in Vietnam household expenditures accounted for 44.0% of total public and private spending on primary education, whereas in Thailand this figure was 14%, and in the Philippines it was 30% (Kattan & Burnett, 2004: 14). Since 2003 a project to increase tuition fees was initiated by Vietnam Ministry of Education and Training. However in the face of adverse reactions from the public the plan was shelved after a few years in preparation (Mai Minh, 2007; TBTC 115, 2005). In late

³ A few years just after the August Revolution in 1945, there were still schools that were considered as ‘private schools’ [*dân lập or tư thục*] in Nghệ An province. Some school existed before 1945 and re-opened after 1945. District authorities also mobilized some individuals to establish the new so-called ‘private school’. The schools were called ‘private school’ but pupils did not have to pay tuition fees. In the years just after the 1945 Revolution and during the resistance against French, residents contributed material facilities and also provided teachers to the schools. Many classes were held at patrilineage halls and communal halls (Sở Giáo dục và Đào tạo Nghệ An, 1995: 12).

⁴ Pupils of public primary schools do not have to pay school fee but have to pay several types of expenses. See the information below.

⁵ In Vietnam, households assume all children’s living expenses

2007, the Ministry decided to receive more opinions from the public contributing to the project (Kiều Oanh, 2007).

In Quỳnh Đôi financial contributions of households to their children's education are very high in comparison to their incomes. On 24 October 2007, I conducted an interview with Nguyễn Thị Ninh, born in 1973 and living in hamlet number 6. She and her husband have two children, one attending primary school (2nd grade) one following secondary school (8th grade). She listed the expenses incurred in sending their children to primary and secondary schools in 2007 as follows:⁶

Table 7: Expenses for a child of Nguyễn Thị Ninh attending primary school

No	Items	VND	USD
1	Buying supplementary teaching aids	50,000	3.06
2	Maintaining school and learning equipment (table and chair)	70,000	4.29
3	Body insurance [<i>Bảo hiểm thân thể</i>] ⁷	20,000	1.22
4	Medical insurance	60,000	3.67
5	Parents' association fund	9,000	0.55
6	Extra classes	297,000	18.21
7	Depreciation of class room tools	4,000	0.24
8	Youth pioneer union fund	9,000	0.55
9	The electricity	5,000	0.30
10	School uniforms	29,000	1.77
11	Text books	100,000	6.13
12	Notebooks	32,000	1.96
13	Total expenses	685,000	42.00

Table 8: Expenses for a child of Nguyễn Thị Ninh attending secondary school

No	Items	VND	USD
1	Maintaining school and learning equipment	80,000	4.90
2	Tuition fee	135,000	8.27
3	Body insurance	25,000	1.53
4	Medical insurance	60,000	3.67
5	Fund of parents' association	15,000	0.91
6	Fund of youth pioneer union	9,000	0.55
7	School Fund	5,000	0.30
8	The electricity	5,000	0.30
9	Fee for bicycle parking	25,000	1.53
10	Fee for trial examination	5,000	0.30
11	Extra classes	150,000	9.19
12	Text books	Borrow from a relative	
13	Notebooks	50,000	3.06
14	Total expenses	564,000	34.58

The data above shows that households have to pay numerous kinds of expenses related to children's education in the *Đổi mới* period, when the state ceased to subsidize the education system as in the socialist transformation period. There were 12 kinds of fees for primary school, and 13 kinds for secondary school. There were several weird items such as: 'charge for electricity for fans and light bulbs used in classrooms [*Tiền điện dùng cho quạt, bóng đèn trong lớp học*], or 'depreciation cost of tools used in classrooms such as water basins, table-

⁶ In October 2007, 1 USD was approximately to 16,309 VND

⁷ This is a type of insurance providing financial support in the event the policyholder is ill or injured.

cloths', etc. [*Tiền khấu hao đồ dùng trong lớp học như chậu, khăn trải bàn*]. Buying body insurance and medical insurance for schoolchildren were officially voluntary, but in practice on behalf of the insurance companies, the school sold body insurance and medical insurance to schoolchildren and receive commissions from these companies. Against this background, buying insurances seemed a lot less voluntary since parents did not like to go against the wish of their children's school. However, complaints about selling body and medical insurances to schoolchildren were reported in newspapers (Lương Nga, 2004). There were reports of schools that "forced" their pupils to buy medical insurance (H.A, 2008). According to a survey in late 2007, in places like Trà Vinh, An Giang, Vĩnh Long, Đắc Lắc and Hồ Chí Minh city, most household expenditures on children's education were not spent on tuition fees but on other contributions related to schooling. For example, in Hồ Chí Minh city there were officially 14 kinds of contributions. A member of the survey team reported that he could count up to 42 different kinds of contribution (Trần Hữu Quang, 2008). Studying in Yên Bái province, Dang Bich Thuy explored a lot of contributions related to schooling such as the pupil parent association fund, the school construction fund, electricity use in class, school protection and cleaning, etc (Dang Bich Thuy, 2008: 169-171). Through studying in the provinces of Yên Bái, Thừa Thiên Huế and Tiền Giang, Dang Thi Hoa stressed that tuition fees and other expenses such as school buildings, buying textbooks were a financial burden for most rural households (Dang Thi Hoa, 2008: 147-149).

It is worth noticing that extra classes have been a big problem for parents and children alike (Dang Bich Thuy, 2008: 167). In practice, from cities to villages nowadays, teachers only give cursory lessons during regular classes, creating a situation in which pupils did not learn enough to meet the required scholastic standards. This led to a demand for extra private classes beyond the school hours (Lê Quang Dũng, 2005), causing a heavy financial burden to individual households. As shown above, Nguyễn Thị Ninh's household had to pay 297,000 VND (18.21 USD) for extra classes for the child following primary school, and 150,000 VND (9.19 USD) for the child following secondary school in 2007. The money for extra classes is the biggest expense item in comparison with other contributions on the list. There were two kind of extra classes. The first was those organized by the school itself. As Nguyễn Thị Ninh told me, at the beginning of the school year, parents are invited to a meeting with the school management. At the meeting, the school informs them about the expenses they will have to pay for their children, the planned extra classes, and the expenses thereof. Pupils are free to take up these extra class options. Although these extra classes are not compulsory, many parents still send their children to these classes because they are afraid that their children would fall behind in the learning process. Moreover, parents do not wish teachers to have a negative attitude toward their children for not attending these classes, given the fact that the teachers themselves also organize tutoring classes at their own home, especially for pupils in the 11th and 12th grades who are preparing to take the university entrance examination. According to Phan Thị Lân, (born in 1967, living in hamlet number 6, a mother of a 11th grade pupil; interviewed on 27 December 2007) during the summer vacation of 2007, her daughter together with 14 other pupils attended extra classes at their teacher's houses three times a week. The fee was 5000 VND (0.30 USD) per class.⁸

The problem of extra classes occurred not only in Quỳnh Đôi but was a widespread phenomenon nationwide. This problematic was raised by members of the National Assembly at the meetings of this institution (VietNamNet, 2004). According to a survey involving 2,384

⁸ Teachers' salaries and corruption in education are burning issues in present-day Vietnam. In this thesis, I focus on the expenditure of pupils' households on education as a cause of a financial burden on pupils and their households. The financial burden is related to extra classes, which become necessary because teachers refuse to teach adequately during regular school hours and are therefore often interpreted as a form of extortion of parents and hence as corruption. But the debate around corruption is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

schoolchildren from the 4th grade to the 12th grade in Hồ Chí Minh city and reported on the official Vietnamnet website on 19 July 2004, 44.2% of the respondents said that what they learn from extra classes in fact overlaps with what they have already learnt during regular classes. The survey also reported that 90.0% school parents sent their children to extra classes. One of reasons given to the existence of these extra classes is to increase incomes for teachers as their salaries are very low (VietNamNet, 2004). A survey in late 2007 showed that on average, household expenditure on education for a pupil per year was 525,000 VND (32.19 USD) in Trà Vinh province; 499,000 VND (30.59 USD) in An Giang province; 736,000 VND (45.12 USD) in Vĩnh Long province; 1,320,000 VND (80.93 USD) in Đắc Lắc province and 2,840,000 VND (171.13 USD) in Hồ Chí Minh city, which was the highest (Trần Hữu Quang, 2008). Comparing these data with the information provided by Nguyễn Thị Ninh above, we can see that her household educational expenditure for each of her children falls in between the average spent on education for a pupil in Trà Vinh province and Vĩnh Long province.

In order to gain insight into the financial burden on the average household income, I will make a comparison between the case of Nguyễn Thị Ninh's household and the average expenditure on education for one of her children in 2007. The total income of her household comes from two sources: agricultural production as the primary source and cottage industries as secondary. About the income from agricultural production, her household had two *sào* of paddy field which yielded 1.2 ton of rice in 2007.⁹ At the rate of around 2000 VND (0.12 USD) per kilo, they earned 2,400,000 VND (147.15 USD) from agricultural production in 2007. The costs of seedlings, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, irrigation and field protection services was around 500,000 VND (30.65 USD) per *sào*. Thus, the income from agricultural production in 2007 was 2,400,000 VND (147.15 USD) minus (500,000 VND (30.65 USD) multiplied with 2(2 *sào*)) makes 1,400,000 VND (85.84 USD). In addition, Nguyễn Thị Ninh could earn around 350,000 VND (21.46 USD) per month from secondary jobs. Her husband could earn the same amount from secondary jobs. Thus, in 2007, her household got 8,400,000 (505.0 USD) from secondary jobs. Combining the incomes from agricultural production and from secondary jobs, the total income of her household was 8,400,000 (505.05 USD) added to 1,400,000 VND (85.84 USD) making 9,800,000 VND (600.89 USD). Her household had 4 people, thus, the total income per person a year was 9,800,000 VND (600.89 USD) divided by 4 makes 2,450,000 VND (150.22 USD). And the total income per person of her household a month was 2,450,000 VND (150.22 USD) divided by 12 makes 204,166 VND (12.51 USD).

In the year 2007, the expenditure for her children was 1,249,000 VND (76.58 USD): 685,000 VND (42.00 USD) for the first child plus 564,000 VND (34.58 USD) for the second child. Thus, on average, for each child going to school, her household had to pay as follows: 1,249,000 VND (76.58 USD) divided by 2 makes 624,500 VND (38.29 USD). If comparing the average expenditure on education of one her child with the average income of one her household member, we can see that the average expenditure on education accounted for 39.23% of the average income [2,450,000 VND (150.22 USD) divided by 624,500 VND (38.29 USD) multiplied with 100].

According to the computations of Vũ Quang Việt, an United Nations statistical expert (Vũ Quang Việt, 2007), in terms of monthly income the population of North Central region (Nghệ An province belongs to this region) could be divided into five groups in which the first group constitutes 20% of the population having the lowest income and the fifth group makes up 20% of the population having highest income, as follows:

⁹ In practice, as in many other households, Nguyễn Thị Ninh's household did not sell all its rice in one go. Her household usually kept some their rice for home consumption during the year. They sell some of their rice for their household's expenditure in need. However, for a comparison between the average income of a member of Nguyễn Thị Ninh's household and the average expenditure on education for one her child in 2007, I converted the total amount of her household rice into money.

Table 9: The income per month per person in 2006 in the North Central region of Vietnam

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5
156,000 VND (9.56 USD)	249,000 VND (15.26 USD)	341,000 VND (20.90 USD)	481,000 VND (24.49 USD)	931,000 VND (57.08 USD) ¹⁰

(Source: *Vũ Quang Việt, 2007*)

In comparing these data with the income of Nguyễn Thị Ninh, we can see that the average income of a member of her household falls between group 1 and group 2. If a household belongs to group 1 (the poorest) and has two schoolchildren like Nguyễn Thị Ninh, it would need the income of about eight months of a person to pay for their children school expenses; 156,000 VND (9.58 USD) compare with 1,249,000 VND (76.58 USD). It should be mentioned that these expenditures on education do not include items such as food and clothing for children to attend school.

Other information also shows that in general, tuition fees for tertiary education in Vietnam (around 200 USD/student/year) account for 30.7% of the average income (650 USD/person/year) of the population (Lê Minh Tiến, 2007). According to Phương Ngọc Thạch, the financial contribution from pupils' households to primary education was 44.5%. Secondary education received 51.5% from pupils' households.¹¹ The correlative figure to vocational education was 62.1% (TBTC 115, 2005). A survey in 2002 showed that 44.1% of teenagers never attended school because their families could not pay for it (TBTC 115, 2005). In August 2005 at a government-sponsored conference aimed at speeding up socialization of education, there were many opinions warning that this may lead to the situation where pupils might not be able to continue their schooling because their families simply could not afford it (TBTC 115, 2005). An organizer of the survey conducted in late 2007 in the provinces of Trà Vinh, An Giang, Vĩnh Long, Đắc Lắc and Hồ Chí Minh city, reported that 56% of parents thought that education expenditure for their children was "heavy", among whom 38% thought "quite heavy" and 18% "too heavy" (Trần Hữu Quang, 2008).

The consequences of heavy education expenditure on households could be seen in the data published in March 2008 by the Ministry of Education and Training (Bộ Giáo dục và Đào tạo, 2008) which show the number of school dropouts from primary schools to high schools in recent years as follows: 2003-2004: 841,916 pupils; 2004-2005: 854,185 pupils; 2005-2006: 869,222 pupils; 2006-2007: 400,771 pupils; the first semester of 2007-2008: 119,194 pupils.¹² According to the Ministry of Education and Training, one of main reasons

¹⁰ Converting from VND to USD following the exchange rate in October 2007 (1 USD was approximately equivalent to 16,309 VND)

¹¹ Phương Ngọc Thạch, Vice president of Hồ Chí Minh city Economic and Management Association [*Phó Chủ tịch Hội Khoa học Kinh tế và Quản lý thành phố Hồ Chí Minh*] - information on the website of the Finance Ministry on 26 September in 2005 (TBTC 115, 2005).

¹² According to an official explanation of the Ministry of Education and Training (Bộ Giáo dục và Đào tạo, 2008) in March 2008, the decrease of the number of pupils dropping out of school was a result of a movement [*phong trào*] carried out in 2006 that aimed at fighting against negativity and overcoming the 'disease of mediocrity' in education [*Chống tiêu cực và khắc phục bệnh thành tích trong giáo dục*] (Thủ tướng Chính phủ, 2006). There was evidence to show that more pupils dropped out of school than the data the Ministry of Education and Training reported. For example, only in Khánh Hòa province, in the first semester of 2007-2008 school year, more than 14,000 pupils dropped out of school, but the reported data were only 1,034 pupils (Tổ Quốc, 2008). In May 2008, the Ministry of Education and Training reported again on the number of pupils dropping out of school in the first semester of 2007-2008 school year. The new data gave 147,005 pupils (the old data were 119,194 pupils). The Ministry explained that the reasons for changing the data were the mistakes of calculations and the increase of new pupils dropping out of school (Vĩnh Hà, 2008). Concerning this matter, at a meeting in May 2009, many members of the National Assembly criticised the inaccuracy of data reported by many institutions (Hoàng Phương, 2009).

was lack of financial means for households to continue sending their children to school, especially poor households (Hồng Hạc, 2008; Kim Dung, 2008). The fact that many children dropped out of school because their families could not afford them was also confirmed by studies in the provinces of Yên Bái, Thừa Thiên Huế and Tiền Giang (Dang Thi Hoa, 2008).

To alleviate the education costs on household budgets, at local level a number of measures have been taken by the local authority through its Commune Study Encouragement Association Fund and by the patrilineages through their Study Encouragement Fund.

4. Commune Study Encouragement Association: a top-down plan of the State

Before study encouragement became a part of the village charter, this subject had been discussed among the local authorities. According to Hoàng Nguyên Nhung, former deputy head of Quỳnh Đôi Study Encouragement Association, (interviewed on 26 July 2006), matters related to study encouragement in the village could be traced back to 20 October 1995 when a Study Encouragement Section [*Ban khuyến học*] was established. The section formed part of Quỳnh Đôi Commune People's Committee and was directed by the Party Committee Secretary. The reason for setting up the section was to enhance the quality of education, which was falling at the time. The most glaring evidence of the deteriorating situation was that there was only one successful candidate at the university entrance exam in 1995. In 1998, the Study Encouragement Section was strengthened and a member of the Commune People's Committee, who was in charge of culture affairs, took over the job of section head.

On 17 January 2002, the Quỳnh Lưu District People's Committee issued the directive Number 49/2002 QĐ-UB on the establishment of the Quỳnh Lưu District Study Encouragement Association (Ủy ban Nhân dân huyện Quỳnh Lưu, 2002). In this directive, the District Committee also suggested that Commune Committees and the Committee of Quỳnh Lưu town should establish similar organizations in the communes and the town. Implementing the district's directive, on 2 August 2002, the Quỳnh Đôi Commune People's Committee issued directive number 16/2002/QĐ-UB on setting up the local Study Encouragement Association. According to the directive, the executive board of the Study Encouragement Association would have fifteen people, in which the Chairman of Quỳnh Đôi Fatherland Front would assume the post of Chairman of the Association (Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2002b). On 12 August 2002, at its first meeting, the Quỳnh Đôi Study Encouragement Association passed its operational regulations, according to which each neighbourhood was to set up a branch of the Association.¹³

This Commune Study Encouragement Association bears the characteristics of an administrative organ operating under the guise of a voluntary association. The Association was set up by a resolution of the Commune People's Committee and most personnel of the association were members of the Commune People's Committee or the Party Committee. This kind of association is common-place in Vietnam, serving as an instrument for the party and its administrative organs to galvanize popular support for their programs and policies. In this case the Association's aim is to carry out the policy of socialization of education. The term "mobilizational corporatism" is used to call this phenomenon (Kerkvliet, 2005:34).

The declared aims of the Education Encouragement Association are to help children in their study, to collect money for a Study Encouragement Fund to reward children getting

¹³ Hoàng Nguyên Nhung, former deputy head of Quỳnh Đôi Study Encouragement Association, interviewed on 26 July 2006

good results in studying and help poor children, and to organize Study Encouragement Association Branches in neighbourhoods (Hội khuyến học xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2006). However, in actual fact the Association carries out two main functions. The first is to run the Study Encouragement Fund. The fund receives cash contributions from households within Quỳnh Đôi as well as villagers living elsewhere. The total fund raised in last seven years up to 2006 was 153,731,900 VND (9264.30 USD).¹⁴ The fund is used to reward pupils who passed university entrance exams or won prizes at Olympiad competitions on school subjects; good pupils from poor households, and lastly teachers of the Quỳnh Đôi primary school and secondary school, who taught many good pupils (Hội khuyến học xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2006). The amount given to individual pupils depends on the availability of the fund each year, and the level of success of the pupils themselves. For example, in 2003, pupils from poor families with good school results was rewarded 100.000 VND (6.19 USD) each from the fund (Hội khuyến học xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2003).¹⁵ The second function of the Association was to hold the award ceremony for outstanding pupils and teachers before the start of the new school year.¹⁶

It is quite clear that these “top-down” activities do not generate popular enthusiasm the state has hoped for. The operation of the association is limited in scope because it lacks support from villagers at the neighbourhood level. One should remember that the Commune Study Encouragement Fund is directed by the Commune Party Committee and the People’s Commune Committee, the same organs which regulate extra school expenses that put a heavy financial burden on the villagers. The consequence is that few villagers support the association and its activities. In the following section, I will examine study encouragement based on social capital inherent in kinship relations.

5. Study encouragement through non-financial measures of patrilineages

Study encouragement, commending and rewarding achievers in educational and scientific fields are regulated in Quỳnh Đôi’s new village charter as well as spelled out in various patrilineage documents. In 2002, the village cultural charter [*Quy ước văn hóa làng*] was issued, containing three articles related to study encouragement and commendation for educational and scientific achievements.¹⁷ Article 29 states that “...each patrilineage should have specific regulations on commending and encouraging people who got educational achievements...” Article 30 stipulates that “...families with children at educational age have the responsibility to create conditions for them to complete secondary school...” Article 31 says that it is important “...to encourage all organizations, patrilineages, families and individuals in applying study encouragement methods to develop talents in studying, teaching and learning. People who receive prizes at national Olympiads on school subjects, pass university entrance examinations, and succeed at the university final examinations are to be

¹⁴ In December 2006, 1 USD was approximately to 16,594 VND

¹⁵ In December 2003, 1 USD was approximately to 16,152 VND

¹⁶ Hoàng Nguyễn Ninh, former deputy head of Quỳnh Đôi Study Encouragement Association, interviewed on 26 July 2006

¹⁷ In section 5 ‘Traditional and modern village charter’ of chapter 4, I described in detail the Quỳnh Đôi’s traditional village charter written from 1638 to 1855 and its modern version issued in 2002. I should be recalled that after 1945 the traditional village charter was no longer valid and this situation lasted until 2002 when a ‘modern’ village charter was drawn up and took effect. Although the content of the new village chapter is different from that of the traditional village charter, education is given a prominent place comparable to past practice.

commended, rewarded with their names duly recorded in the village's golden book" (Hội đồng Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi: 2002).

For their part, patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi have their own regulations on study encouragement with commendations and rewards that go with it. The regulations differ from patrilineage to patrilineage. Some patrilineages have reached agreements on study encouragement through meetings and these were recorded in their proceedings [*Sổ ghi biên bản họp họ*]; others formally incorporated study encouragement in their regulations [*Tộc ước, Quy ước dòng họ*]. For the Nguyễn patrilineage, its regulations [*Tộc ước*] stipulate that its Patrilineage's Council – elected every five years - would have four sections, one of which is responsible for study encouragement. Under the guidance of the council, the Study Encouragement Section sets up a network of patrilineage branches, families and schools to encourage children's education. The patrilineage considers their duty to commend and reward educational and scientific achievements of relatives, and reports these achievements to the ancestors on occasions of ancestor worship. Lastly, the patrilineage supports children of poor relatives so that they could go on with their study (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ: 2004).



(Schoolchildren passing university entrance examination in 2004 were honoured at the Hồ patrilineage hall)

Patrilineages also monitor children who do not perform well at school through neglect or laziness and try to get them back on the right track. On 27 October 2007, I had an interview with Nguyễn Danh Hùng, 76 years old, living in hamlet number 5, head of the Study Encouragement Section of the Nguyễn patrilineage. I was also able to examine the records of the activities relating to the patrilineage's study encouragement (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ: 2000-2007). The Study Encouragement Section of the Nguyễn patrilineage council was set up on 1 September 2000. At the beginning, it had a section head and two members. In early 2002, it was expanded to include a head, a deputy head and seven members representing seven patrilineage branches. The section was divided into three sub-sections, each having specific functions. The first sub-section monitors the school performance and behaviour of pupils through meetings with schoolteachers as well as with pupils and their parents. Pupils who are lazy or ill-behaved will be singled out and reprimanded. The second sub section follows the achievements of excellent pupils to commend and reward them accordingly; it

also seeks to identify pupils in households having difficulties and find ways to support them. Those high achievers will be commended and rewarded at solemn occasions such as the spring ancestral rite [*xuân tế*]. The third sub-section is responsible for raising money and managing Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund.

From a gender perspective men and women, patrilineage members as well as non-members of the patrilineage are eligible to serve in the study encouragement section of the patrilineage council. In 2007, the Nguyễn patrilineage did not have women on its council like other patrilineages. For example, the Study Encouragement Section of the Phan-Phạm patrilineage comprises five persons; Phạm Trung Dung and Lê Thị Bích living in Hanoi, Phạm Phương Tu, Phạm Quang Lô and Phạm Mai Kha living in Quỳnh Đôi village. Lê Thị Bích is a daughter-in-law of Phan-Phạm patrilineage, married to Phạm Đình Tấn, a Phan-Phạm patrilineage member.¹⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 7, the Hồ patrilineage's council had twelve members, three of which were women. In the past, women were not allowed to sit in the patrilineage's council. Now all this has changed since the *Đổi mới*.¹⁹

The second non-financial way to encourage children in their studying is to give formal recognition to high achievers by registering their names in the patrilineage annals [*Quyển sử họ*] or in the 'golden book of the patrilineage traditions' [*Sổ vàng truyền thống dòng họ*]. The criteria of educational achievement differ from patrilineage to patrilineage. The general practice is to pick out pupils who win prizes at Olympiads on school subjects or pass university entrance examinations, and those (getting good educational results) from poor families. For instance, Article 21 of the Nguyễn patrilineage charters stipulates: "the setting up of the 'golden book' about the patrilineage's traditions" to record the names of pupils with high scholastic achievements" (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2004). It also registers the names of recipients of degrees in higher education or who have won prizes in science competition. For example, the Dương patrilineage has published a book in which there was a chapter on 'Laureates of the Dương patrilineage in the era of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script' [*Khoa bảng họ Dương thời chữ Hán*] and a chapter on "Educational achievements of Dương patrilineage after the 1945 August Revolution" [*Học vấn họ Dương sau cách mạng tháng Tám năm 1945*]. In the latter chapter, the names of seventy-one people among whom twenty-three females were listed along with their academic degrees from bachelor to doctoral levels (Dương Phúc Mãn et al., 2000). The high number of females listed here is an indication of the improved women's position in education matters within and outside the patrilineage.

The third non-financial measure to encourage children in studying is through the rituals of reward and commendation for educational achievements of pupils at patrilineage halls. Each patrilineage chooses one occasion of ancestor worship to carry out this event. For example, the Hồ patrilineage holds this ceremony on 2 September every year - the nation's Independence Day. The Nguyễn patrilineage holds this event in the evening of the 11th of the first month of the lunar calendar to coincide with the Spring Ancestral rite. On such occasions, the names of all honoured children are posted on a board placed in front of the ancestors' altar in the patrilineage hall. Then the achievements of individual meritorious pupils are reported to the ancestors. Thereafter certificates of merit and gifts – often copy books and cash prizes - are handed out, followed by a photo session to mark the occasion before the names of the chosen are written down in the patrilineage's annals or its 'golden book'. Finally, a council representative holds a speech praising the pupils' successes that set

¹⁸ According to Phạm Mai Kha, a member of Phan-Phạm patrilineage's council, the explanation for the name Phan-Phạm is as follows. In the past, the family name of the founder of the Phan-Phạm patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi was Phan. However, a person of Phạm patrilineage adopted him and gave him his family name Phạm. Later, the descendants of this creator took on the family name of Phan-Phạm.

¹⁹ Hồ Như Hưng, 70 years old, chairman of the Hồ patrilineage's council, interviewed on 14 January 2007.

shining examples for other young relatives in the patrilineage to follow. In commending worthy schoolchildren the council makes no distinction between boys and girls, or whether they are children of (male) members of the patrilineage [*con cháu nội*], or of patrilineage's daughters [*con cháu ngoại*]. Relatives who receive master's or doctor's degrees and those who win prizes in sciences are also cited for educational achievement. Those living far from Quỳnh Đôi can send copies of their diplomas to the patrilineage council so that their achievements could be reported to the ancestors on auspicious occasions; in return the council will send them patrilineage certificates of merit. In some instances copies of the diplomas are hung on the walls of patrilineage halls.²⁰ Apart from schoolchildren and new university degree holders, households with high achievers in education are also singled out for special praise. For example, between 2000 and 2005, the Nguyễn patrilineage praised five such households on the occasion of its spring ancestral rite.²¹

The foregoing non-financial education encouragement schemes show that patrilineage boundary and membership have blurred along with the enhanced role of women and their increasing participation in patrilineage affairs in the *Đổi mới* era as compared with the period preceding the August revolution of 1945 as discussed in Chapter 5. Nowadays as can be seen in the cases of the Hồ and the Phan-Phạm, women - both daughters and daughters-in-law of patrilineages could become members of patrilineage councils and serve in Study Encouragement Sections. In addition, schoolchildren, regardless of gender and no matter whether they descend from sons or daughters of the patrilineage, are treated equally in commendations and rewards. The improvement of women's position in patrilineage activities reflects general trends towards gender equality and individualization, away from the male-dominated scene of the pre-1945 period (as presented in Chapter 5). This represents the importance of ego-based kin networks that function alongside the patrilineage organization. I will deal with this matter more deeply in the next section when discussing Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds.

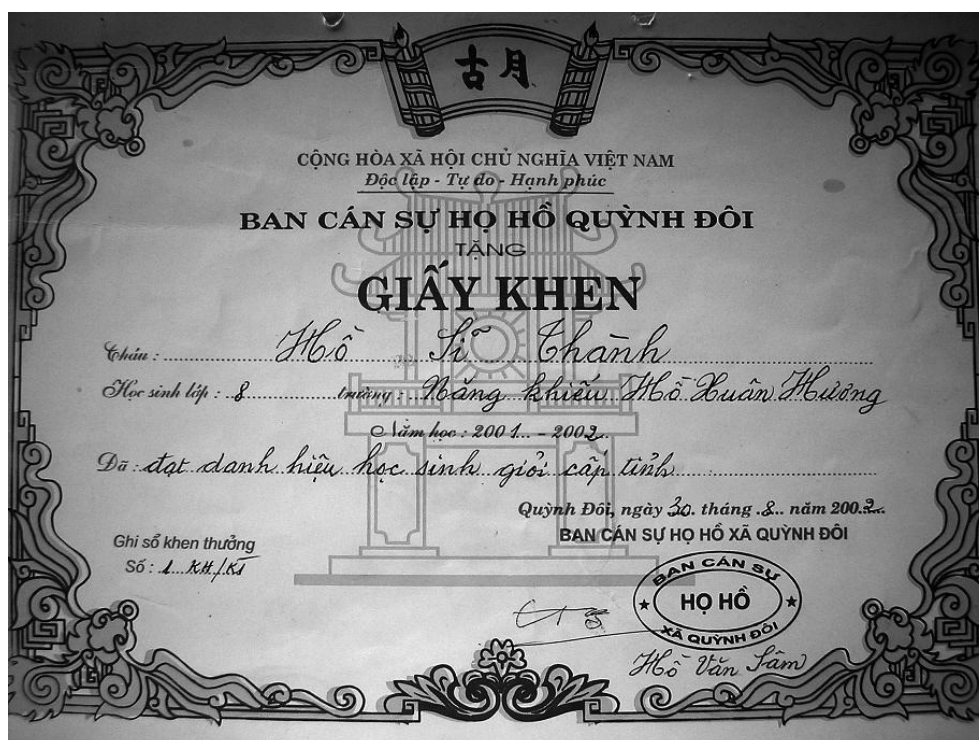
From a social capital perspective, it can be seen that reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust lie at the foundation of these non-economic study encouragement measures which underline the interplay between receivers (school pupils) and givers (the patrilineage as a whole and/or individuals directly involved such as members of the Patrilineage Encouragement Section). From the receivers' standpoint, what they give back to their patrilineages are their scholastic achievements which enhance the patrilineage's social prestige. What they receive are patrilineage certificates of merit (a picture of the certificate of merit is shown below) and all the honours bestowed on them such as commendations during ancestral rites and having their names recorded in the 'golden books'. Those are moral rewards which are highly cherished by the pupils themselves. I myself witnessed how happy and proud they were when receiving the certificates of merit at the patrilineage hall (as shown in the photo above). These certificates are carefully framed and proudly displayed in the children's homes, a source of pride for their parents obviously. As Nguyễn Đình Chú puts it: "It is hard to say that the rituals of offering awards for meritorious schoolchildren at the patrilineage hall are less useful than the rituals organized by the school" (Nguyễn Đình Chú, 1997: 117). In these instances, social capital is channelled via reciprocity exchanges: what these pupils offer to the patrilineage are their scholastic achievements thereby enhancing its collective prestige; what they receive from the patrilineage are the honours given out in various ways as presented above.

The givers of these non-financial rewards are the patrilineage and individuals who serve in the Study Encouragement Section. What they expect and trust to receive in return are also approvals and honours from other people including patrilineage members and non-

²⁰ Observations on 2 September 2003 and in the evening of the 11 of the first month (Lunar year) 2006

²¹ Information gathered from the notebook on study encouragement activities of the Nguyễn patrilineage

members. Those honours and approvals materialize in the form of certificates of approval and compliments given at the patrilineage meetings on ancestors worship day. Thus, the patrilineage acts as guarantor of the return in terms of the approval and compliments. For example, on 8 February 2006 (Lunar calendar: the 11th of the first month), on the ancestors worship day of the Nguyễn patrilineage, a ritual was held to report to the ancestors the achievements of schoolchildren and the contributions of individuals in educational activities. At this ritual, an individual named Nguyễn Danh Tuyên, who had rendered many services for the patrilineage encouragement activities, was specifically praised and his good deeds were reported to the ancestors (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ: 2006).²² Thus, from the receivers as individuals and givers as individuals, we see that the mechanism of non-economic study encouragement of patrilineages depended on the social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust.²³



(Patrilineage Certificate of merit offered to a pupil)

As presented in Chapter 2, Putnam, Woolcock and Narayan argue that bonding social capital is good for individuals to ‘get by’ while bridging social capital is crucial to ‘get ahead’. In addition, according to Putnam (2000: 23), the distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital are flexible and depend on the dimensions examined. There are

²² The local authority also commends and rewards individuals who devote themselves to patrilineage study encouragement activities.

²³ On a local level, authorities commend and reward patrilineages actively contributing to study encouragement activities. In 2005 representatives of 44 patrilineages from the communes of Quỳnh Lưu district, including Quỳnh Đôi, were invited to meet with the district leadership and were awarded with certificates of merits (Kiều Ngọc Bát, 2006). The Nguyễn in Quỳnh Đôi was among these patrilineages (Hội khuyến học xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2006). The phenomenon of commending and rewarding patrilineages and individuals in education matters also occurs elsewhere around the country, for example in Ninh Kiều district, Cần Thơ city (Huỳnh Hải, 2008), in Thăng Bình district, Quảng Nam province (Huỳnh Định, 2008), etc. A national congress in Hanoi in October 2007 commended and rewarded 72 patrilineages which had made a significant contribution to educational encouragement activities (Hồng Hạnh, 2007).

dimensions along which we can distinguish between bonding and bridging social capital. Regarding study encouragement through non-financial measures, if we focus on the patrilineage boundary, then bonding social capital would be confined to the patrilineage membership, while bridging social capital would refer to the kin network beyond the patrilineage. Bridging social capital in terms of social capital between relatives in different patrilineages was crucial for women in the *Đổi mới* period to improve their social position, in comparison to the pre-socialist and socialist transformation periods. As presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, in the pre-socialist and socialist transformation periods the women had no chance to become members of the patrilineage council. In contrast, in the *Đổi mới* period they could be elected to the Study Encouragement Section of the patrilineage council, on the basis of the relationship with relatives in their husbands' patrilineages. This can be seen as bridging social capital between relatives in different patrilineages, which was important for the women in the *Đổi mới* era to get ahead in terms of improving their position in their husbands' patrilineages.

6. Study encouragement through Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds

One important phenomenon reflects the link between kinship relations and children's education is the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund [*quỹ khuyến học dòng họ*]. In Quỳnh Đôi, the process of setting up Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund began in 2000 pioneered by the Nguyễn patrilineage. From 2000 to 2006, twenty five other patrilineages in the commune followed this example (Hội khuyến học xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2006).²⁴ The Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds come from the contributions of relatives -both members and non-members of the patrilineage. The phenomenon of raising fund to support schoolchildren has been widespread in many places. Some patrilineages have large Study Encouragement Funds. For example, in Thăng Bình district, Quảng Nam province, in the last five years the Võ patrilineage raised 270,000,000 VND (16,572.55 USD) to support more than 1000 schoolchildren (Huỳnh Định, 2008).²⁵

The results of our own survey in 2000 showed that the majority of villagers supported the setting up Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds, although there was no indication whether they would actually contribute money to these funds. 46.7% of respondents said that setting up these funds was very necessary, 49.0% said it was necessary. Only 4% thought this was not necessary and 0.3% had other opinions. It can be said that in order to examine kinship relation related to the funds, we should examine two aspects: Who contribute money to the fund and who receive money from the funds.

Individual contributions to the funds

Fund raising among members and non-members is an important feature of the Patrilineage's Study Encouragement Section. For example, each year the Study Encouragement Section of the Nguyễn patrilineage sends out an appeal to all relatives males and females living within and outside Quỳnh Đôi to contribute to the fund. There is no fixed amount required, and contributions are voluntary.²⁶ This means there has been a loosening up of patrilineage

²⁴ In December 2006, 1 USD was approximately to 16,592 VND

²⁵ In December 2007, 1 USD was approximately to 16, 292 VND

²⁶ In the old days, if a patrilineage needed money to carry out its affairs, patrilineage members (all males) had to contribute their shares which were equally divided among them regardless age, earnings, occupation and social status.

regulations that no longer enforce compulsory contributions from male members. The letter sent out in 2005 also informs relatives that from September 2000 to January 2005, the total sum of money raised for the fund was 5,430,000 VND (342.19 USD) (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2005).²⁷

Scrutinizing the list of people contributing to the Study Encouragement Fund of the Nguyễn patrilineage (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2000-2007), shortly after the fund was set up in September 2000, we had the categories of donors, as follows.

Table 10: Contributing to the Nguyễn patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund in 2000

No	Categories of donors	Number
1	Number of donors	144
2	Number of donors who are patrilineage members ²⁸	91
3	Number of donors who are non-members of the patrilineage	53
4	Numbers of donor who are patrilineage daughters	23
5	Number of donors who are patrilineage sons-in-law:	11
6	Number of donors who are patrilineage daughters- in-law	14
7	Number of donors who are patrilineage outer-relatives ²⁹	5

The data show that a considerable number of donors were non-members of the patrilineage. The donors fell into four categories: patrilineage daughters, sons in-law of the patrilineage, daughters in-law of patrilineage and patrilineage's outer-relatives whose grandfathers of their mothers are Nguyễn patrilineage's members. The situation is clearly illustrated in a report on the activities of the Study Encouragement Section, dated on 25 December 2005 (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2000-2007), in which four people were particularly praised for their contributions to the fund - one of these was a non- member of patrilineage:

...In recent years, members and non-members of the patrilineage have taken a special interest in children's education. Among these four people have contributed 300,000 VND (18.77 USD) each to the fund: Nguyễn Như Hóa, Nguyễn Thị Châm, Nguyễn Quốc Tuấn, Nguyễn An Khu. Nguyễn Như Hóa lives in Quỳnh Đôi, a member of patrilineage-branch number 5.³⁰ Nguyễn Thị Châm lives in Hanoi, a daughter of patrilineage-branch number 4. Nguyễn Quốc Tuấn lives in Hanoi, a member of patrilineage-branch number 4. Nguyễn An Khu currently lives in Germany, a member of the patrilineage-branch number 5.

Both the Study Encouragement Section and the donors consider contributions to the fund as voluntary. This is confirmed by patrilineage documents such as the 'Report on the

²⁷ In January 2005, 1 USD was approximately to 15,868 VND

²⁸ Today members of a patrilineage are all males just like before 1945. The names of patrilineage members are on the patrilineage member list/ledger. Patrilineage daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law (patrilineage sons-in-law are members of their fathers' patrilineages) and their children are not considered as patrilineage members. However there are exceptions, as explained in section 2 of chapter 7, there was the phenomenon that patrilineage daughters could become patrilineage members if they requested. Some women did that. Those were women having no son and they would like to be worshiped at their father's patrilineage hall when they die. That phenomenon happened at a patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi. I did not witness this phenomenon at other patrilineages in Quỳnh Đôi. Concerning this matter, as presented in section 2 of chapter 6, Luong reported the phenomenon that matrilineal grandchildren were allowed to join the patrilineage (Luong, 1993: 274). I would like to say that those are new and so far are rare phenomena, but reflect the changes of patrilineages.

²⁹ Grandfathers of their mothers are Nguyễn patrilineage's members

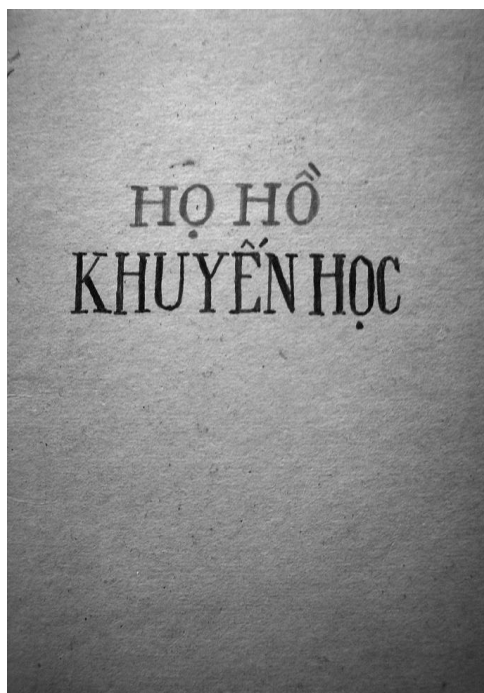
³⁰ In December 2005, 1 USD was approximately to 15,982 VND

results of study encouragement activities' [Báo cáo kết quả công tác khuyến học] of the Nguyễn Patrilineage Council (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2007). Of course, there is always social pressure exerted on potential donors from their patrilineage environment. However, in general contributions are voluntary depending on the economic conditions of each individual. The evidence is that many contributions come from people living outside Quỳnh Đôi village, even from abroad as in the case of Nguyễn An Khu.

CHÂN THÀNH GHI ƠN

Con cháu : Ông Nguyễn Như H. Văn
 Đời : 17 Chi : 5
 Địa chỉ : 14, Xã Quỳnh Đôi, Quỳnh Lưu, Nghệ An
 Đã cung tiền tổ tiên trong dịp :
 Lý do : Ủng hộ quỹ khuyến học 300.000 (Ba trăm nghìn)
 Ngày 15 tháng 10 năm 2002
 TM. Hội đồng gia tộc
 Nguyễn Văn H. Văn
 HỌNG GIA TỘC
 HỌ NGUYỄN TRIỆU CƠ
 XÃ QUỲNH ĐÔI

(A certificate of recognition awarded to a contributor by the patrilineage council)



(The cover and a page of the ledger listing the names of donors and the amounts contributed to patrilineage study encouragement fund)

Beneficiaries from the funds

Concerning people receiving money from the fund, while doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi I noticed three important aspects. The first is that patrilineages award money to schoolchildren who have good results at school and help poor households who have children attending school. For example, in the case of the Nguyễn patrilineage (Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2000-2007), the criteria to reward money from the study encouragement fund is set as follows:

1. Certificates of merit [Giấy khen của họ] and 15,000 VND (0.91 USD)³¹ to pupils (whose fathers are patrilineage members or whose mothers are patrilineage daughters – con cháu nội hoặc con cháu ngoại), who win prizes at district level competitions on school subjects.
2. Certificates of merit and 20,000 VND (1.22 USD) to pupils who win prizes at provincial and higher- level Olympiads on school subjects.
3. Certificates of merit and 20,000 VND (1.22 USD) to pupils and students who pass university entrance examinations or graduate from universities.
4. Certificates of merit and 20,000 VND (1.22 USD) to pupils and students who pass junior college entrance examinations or who graduate from junior colleges.
5. Support poor households having pupils who get good school results with 50,000 VND (3.06 USD).

From the record of the study encouragement section from 2000 to 2005, the patrilineage helped three poor households whose children received good school results with 50,000 VND (3.06 USD) each. The number of pupils received the patrilineage rewards were as follows:

Table 11: Number of pupils received the Nguyễn patrilineage rewards from 1999 to 2005

School years	Numbers of pupils and students	The achievements	The prize money	
			VND	USD
1999-2000	28	Bag prizes at district level	360,000	24.72 ³²
2000-2001	34	Olympiads on school	410,000	25.98 ³³
2001-2002	41	subjects, pass university and	690,000	43.09 ³⁴
2002-2003	53	college entrance examinations	870,000	53.86 ³⁵
2003-2004	63	and graduate from	999,000	63.30 ³⁶
2004-2005	29	universities and colleges	480,000	30.03 ³⁷

(Source: Hội đồng Gia tộc họ Nguyễn Triệu Cơ, 2000-2007)

Another important aspect is the way the fund is used for educational encouragement: both males and females are treated on an equal basis. This is a far-cry from the ‘feudal’ time when females did not have the right to follow education let alone take part in the examinations. At the spring ancestral rite in 2006 performed by the Cù patrilineage, I was able to read the information posted on the notice board hung in its patrilineage hall. Among the

³¹ In October 2007, 1 USD was approximately to 16,309 VND

³² In December 2000, 1 USD was approximately to 14,559 VND

³³ In December 2001, 1 USD was approximately to 15,779 VND

³⁴ In December 2002, 1 USD was approximately to 16,011 VND

³⁵ In December 2003, 1 USD was approximately to 16,152 VND

³⁶ In December 2004, 1 USD was approximately to 15,780 VND

³⁷ In December 2005, 1 USD was approximately to 15,982 VND

five pupils who passed the university entrance exams and singled out for commendations and rewards, two were females. This gender equality could be observed in other patrilineages when I returned to Quỳnh Đôi in October 2007 to look further into the gender questions related to patrilineage-sponsored education encouragement. For example, in the school year of 2005-2006, the Phan patrilineage rewarded 31 pupils for their achievements with 1.190.000 VND (71.72 USD).³⁸ Among these, 17 were schoolgirls.³⁹ In the same period the Nguyễn patrilineage commended and rewarded 39 pupils, 17 of whom were females, with a sum of 1.184.000 (71.35 USD).⁴⁰

The third aspect related to receiving money from the funds is that both school children whose fathers are patrilineage members [*con cháu nội*] and those whose mothers are patrilineage daughters [*con cháu ngoại*] are eligible to be monitored, commended and rewarded for their achievements.⁴¹ Most patrilineages came to an agreement to treat both *con cháu nội* and *con cháu ngoại* on an equal basis at the time when the patrilineages began their study encouragement activities. However, not all patrilineages were unanimous on this point at the beginning. For example, at a meeting of the Nguyễn patrilineage in 2004, some people voiced the view that the patrilineage should exclude *con cháu ngoại* from education encouragement schemes. Others argued that *con cháu ngoại* could receive patrilineage certificates of merit but not prize money. In the end, it was agreed that there should be no discrimination against *con cháu ngoại* in education matters. Other patrilineages follow the same line such as the case of the Hồ, Cù, Phan, etc. For example, the regulations about Study Encouragement Fund of Phan-Phạm patrilineage stipulates that the patrilineage commends and rewards all *con cháu nội* and *con cháu ngoại* with high achievements in education and these include sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law and their children. This means that pupils could be eligible for commendation/reward from more than one patrilineage. Moreover the patrilineage also commends and rewards those who receive master and doctoral degrees, or who win prizes in sciences. This is also the line taken up by other patrilineages such as the Hồ. Thus, patrilineage membership boundary blurred because relatives in terms of non-members of the patrilineage could receive interests in the field of Patrilineage Study Encouragement as patrilineage members. The case study below illustrates more that phenomenon.

The case of Nguyễn Bá Ky's household

I interviewed Nguyễn Bá Ky, living in hamlet number 3, on 26 December 2007. Nguyễn Bá Ky born in 1956 and his wife, Hồ Thị Dinh, born in 1957, have four children. The first son, Nguyễn Bá Cường, born in 1985, graduated in mechanics from a vocational school. The second son, Nguyễn Bá Duân, born in 1987, graduated from high school. The third son, Nguyễn Bá Du, born in 1990, was an 11th grade pupil of a high school. The fourth son, Nguyễn Thành Cung, was born in 1991. He was following the 10th grade of a high school. The mother of Nguyễn Bá Ky, 88 years old, lives with Nguyễn Bá Ky's household.

*Nguyễn Bá Ky's household has 5 sào of agricultural lands. These were the field portions of Nguyễn Bá Ky, his wife, his mother, and two of his children – Nguyễn Bá Cường and Nguyễn Bá Duân. The last two sons Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung did not receive their field portions because they were born beyond family planning criteria [*sinh để**

³⁸ In December 2006, 1 USD was approximately to 16,592 VND

³⁹ Phan Tất Tuyền, 71 years old, hamlet number 3, interview on 27 October 2007, and also information from the summarizing report on study encouragement affair of Phan patrilineage

⁴⁰ Nguyễn Danh Hùng, 76 years old, hamlet number 5, interviewed on 27 October 2007 and also information from the summarizing report on study encouragement affair of the Nguyễn patrilineage

⁴¹ As presented above, in the past and even today, '*con cháu ngoại*' children whose mothers are patrilineage daughters are not considered to be the patrilineage members. Their names are not on the membership list/ledger. However, as shown here, *con cháu ngoại* were treated as *con cháu nội* children of (male) patrilineage members.

vượt kế hoạch]. Each sào of agricultural land of Nguyễn Bá Ky's household produces 450 kg of paddy per year. Besides its agricultural land, Nguyễn Bá Ky's household has a small vegetable garden, the produce thereof is just enough for their own consumption. There are no secondary jobs. Besides growing wet-rice, Nguyễn Bá Ky catches small fish, shellfish and field crabs in the commune fields to feed his family and sometimes sells some of these on the market. Nguyễn Bá Ky's household is ranked as poor because their income per capital per month is less than 200.000 VND (12.27 USD).⁴²

Nguyễn Bá Ky's brother is Nguyễn Bá Di. Nguyễn Bá Di was born in 1960 and worked as a tax official in Đắk Lắk province in the Central Highlands. He died some years ago. His wife Võ Thị Hình born in 1965 still works as a civil servant in Đắk Lắk province. They have two children. In 2007, the first and second sons of Nguyễn Bá Ky - Nguyễn Bá Cường and Nguyễn Bá Duân got manual jobs in Đắk Lắk thanks to the help of Võ Thị Hình. In 2007 Nguyễn Bá Cường sent 1,000,000 VND (61.37 USD) and Nguyễn Bá Duân sent 500,000 VND (30.68 USD) to their parents in order to support their brothers Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung in their education. Võ Thị Hình also sent small sums of money back to her brother in law Nguyễn Bá Ky in order to share the cost of ancestors worship and support his two sons still at home Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung.

Both Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung did well in school. Two years ago Nguyễn Bá Du won the first prize at a physics competition at district level. For many years, Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung were good students and received encouragement study prizes from the Nguyễn patrilineage of their father and the Hồ patrilineage of their mother. In 2007, the two brothers received 50,000 VND (3.06 USD) each from these two patrilineages, thus bringing the total prize money they received from the two patrilineages to 200,000 VND (12.27 USD).⁴³

As can be seen, there has been a considerable change in the study encouragement affairs of patrilineages. If in the era of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script, only patrilineage members were eligible to receive encouragement and rewards, in the reform era, the gender divider has become blurred to the effect that not only children whose fathers are patrilineage members [*con cháu nội*] but also children whose mothers are daughters of patrilineage [*con cháu ngoại*] could receive both non-financial (often mental) and material encouragement in educational matters. In the case of the children of Nguyễn Bá Ky, financial supports come from both their father's patrilineage and mother's patrilineage.

When I returned to Quỳnh Đôi in October 2007, I observed that is a common practice in most patrilineages. For example, in the school year of 2005-2006, the Phan patrilineage honoured 31 pupils with awards and cash prizes for their achievements, 10 of them are

⁴² In December 2007, 1 USD was approximately to 16,292 VND

⁴³ For the school year 2007, the expenditure on education of each of Nguyễn Bá Ky's sons is as follows:

1. Tuition fee:	315.000 VND (19.33 USD) per year
2. Medical insurance:	60,000 VND (3.68 USD) per year
3. Body insurance:	30,000 VND (1.84 USD) per year
4. Communist Youth Union fund:	27,000 VND (1.65 USD) per year
5. Communist Youth Union fee:	18,000 VND (1.10 USD) per year
6. School Maintenance:	160,000 VND (9.82 USD) per year
7. Class fund:	10.000 VND (0.61 USD) per year
8. Extra classes:	324,000 VND (19.88 USD) per year
9. Bicycle parking fee:	31.500 VND (1.93 USD) per year
10. Parents association fund:	40.000 VND (2.45 USD) per year
11. Notebook:	100,000 VND (6.13 USD) per year
12. Textbooks:	183.000 VND (11.23 USD) per year
13. Uniform:	110,000 VND (6.75 USD) per year
Total:	1,408,500 VND (86.45USD) per year

children whose mothers are daughters of the patrilineage [*con cháu ngoại*].⁴⁴ In the same period the Nguyễn patrilineage rewarded 39 pupils, 26 *con cháu nội* and 13 *con cháu ngoại*.⁴⁵ Treating *con cháu ngoại* and *con cháu nội* on an equal basis in matters regarding study encouragement receive the consent from the vast majority of villagers. In the survey conducted in December 2006 and January 2007, 89% of the informants (267 people) shared this view whereas 11% of informants (33 people) expressed the view that only *con cháu nội* should be eligible for study encouragement measures.

From the lists of donors and recipients, one can see there has been a considerable blurring of the patrilineage's boundary and membership as compared with the period before the August 1945 revolution. Donors to and recipients from the education fund are no longer exclusively patrilineage members but also include other non-members of the patrilineage such as daughters, daughters-in-law, sons-in-law and their children. Contributions are voluntary, based on good will and personal economic circumstances.

Thus, in the *Đổi mới* era the patrilineage boundary has become more flexible depending on the subjects at hand. The range of contributors to the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund is extended to non-members of the patrilineage whereas recipients from the fund are extended to *con cháu ngoại*- children whose mothers are patrilineage daughters. One should bear in mind that from the past up to the present time, patrilineage daughters, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law are not considered as patrilineage members (patrilineage sons-in-law are members of their fathers' patrilineages) and consequently their names are not on the patrilineage membership list/ledger. There are instances when a patrilineage daughter who has no sons requests to become a patrilineage member in order to be worshipped at the patrilineage hall after her death (see section 2 of Chapter 7). But these are rare exceptions, and a son is still regarded as member of a certain patrilineage. While a daughter always bears the family name of her father's patrilineage but she is not considered as a member of her father's patrilineage or her husband patrilineage after she marries.

Viewed from the perspective of someone receiving money from the patrilineage encouragement fund in relation to donors to the fund and the people who run these patrilineage encouragement activities, we can see that an ego-based kin network (centred around the receiver) is at work here rather than the patrilineage system itself. In fact the receiver is able to get money not only from their father's patrilineage but also from his/her mother's patrilineage. In addition, contributors to the fund not only come from the ranks of patrilineage members but also include non-members of the patrilineage such as patrilineage daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law. Under these circumstances it can be said that patrilineages serve as institutional/organizational vehicles for wider kin-based activities which are less membership-based and more network-oriented.

Social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust is thus created and channelled through the motivations and actions of both donors and receivers concerning the fund. The receivers' motivations are to get money to pursue their education; their repayments are in the form of the expected excellent results that will make the donors – from within and outside the patrilineage – feel mighty proud either individually or as a group. As for the donors, in giving money to the fund they expect and trust to receive returns not only from individual receivers (a sense of gratitude) but also from the collectivity as a whole (patrilineage members and non-members of the patrilineage). These are expressed by awards of honour such as certificates of recognition, and citations read out at the patrilineage hall on

⁴⁴ Phan Tấn Tuyền, 71 years old, hamlet number 3, interview on 27 October 2007, and also information from the summarizing report on study encouragement affair of Phan patrilineage

⁴⁵ Nguyễn Danh Hùng, 76 years old, hamlet number 5, interviewed on 27 October 2007; also information from the summary report on study encouragement of the Nguyễn patrilineage

ancestors worship day in the presence of relatives, far and near. Contributions are duly acknowledged and recorded in a patrilineage book.

Items such as oration text praising people contributing to the patrilineage study encouragement fund, patrilineage certificate of recognition and the ledger listing the names of contributors are shown below as sources of references. From what I observed, contributors often highly appreciate the awards of honour they received. These are framed and hung on the wall with pride. I also saw the ledger recording the names of contributors was kept with great care by the patrilineal council.

Activities around patrilineal education fund bring to mind the question of approval and status rather than direct repayment, as Portes remarks when discussing social capital related to offering and receiving a scholarship within an ethnic community: "...a member of an ethnic group may endow a scholarship for young co-ethnic students, thereby expecting not repayment from recipients but rather approval and status in the collectivity. The students' social capital is not contingent on direct knowledge of their benefactors, but on membership in the same group" (Portes, 1998: 9). In short, regarding the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund, social capital is the foundation for actions of both donors, who contribute money to the fund and receivers, who receive money from it.

From a gender perspective, the data on people contributing money to the fund and those on the receiving end show the enhanced position of women in educational matters. Women nowadays make up an important part of the donors' list, and girls are treated as equal as boys in receiving financial support from the patrilineage education encouragement fund.

At the local level study encouragement activities are handled by the Study Encouragement Association under the Commune's People Committee and the Study Encouragement Sections of various patrilineages. The former task is to implement the state policy whereas the latter focus on the education of pupils related to the patrilineages and operates within kinship networks based on social capital in kinship relations.

About the patrilineal education funds, the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital could be seen from the village dimension. If the relevant boundary would be the village boundary, the reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust between relatives within the village can be labelled bonding social capital, whereas reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust between villagers and their relatives outside the village can be named bridging social capital. Both bonding and bridging social capital were the basis for contributing to the patrilineage education funds. However, bridging social capital was the main foundation for the contributions. Data from fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi showed that both villagers and their relatives outside Quỳnh Đôi contributed money to these funds, but the major part of these funds often came from the relatives outside Quỳnh Đôi. This fact is brought out clearly in the case of the Phan patrilineage.

On 27 October 2007, Phan Tất Tuyền, the head of the Phan patrilineage in Quỳnh Đôi, provided me with written materials of the patrilineage related to the patrilineal education fund of the patrilineage in Hanoi (some pictures of these materials are below). These materials show that most money of the Phan patrilineal education fund was contributed by relatives living outside Quỳnh Đôi. The Phan patrilineage had a Study Encouragement Section in Hanoi. Every year this section raised funds to encourage pupils of the patrilineage. For example, in the school year 2005-2006, 28 pupils of the patrilineage living in Quỳnh Đôi received encouragement money totalling 1,190,000 VND (71.72 USD).⁴⁶ In addition, as shown above, in the case of the Nguyễn patrilineage in 2005, four people were particularly praised for their contributions to the fund. Among them, only one person lived in Quỳnh Đôi, two people were in Hanoi and one person resided in Germany. Therefore, bridging social

⁴⁶ In December 2006, 1 USD was approximately to 16,592 VND

capital understood as enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges between villagers and their relatives outside the village was the main foundation for the patrilineal education funds. As presented above, the pupils involved depended on this - mainly bridging - social capital, to receive money from these funds. With those resources, the pupils and their families expected to get ahead in terms of advancement through education (getting good school results or winning prizes at Olympiads on school subjects or passing junior college entrance examinations). Thus, it can be said that bridging social capital between villagers and their relatives outside the village was important for the pupils to get ahead.

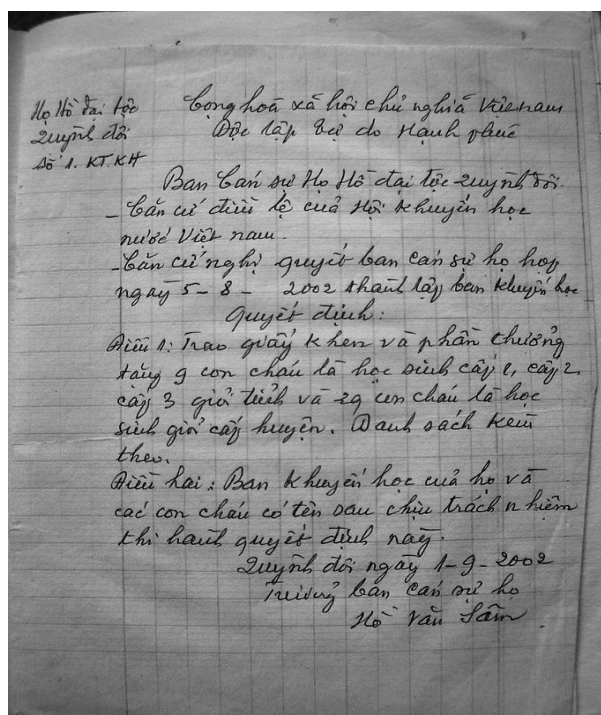
As presented above, pupils could receive encouragement study prizes from their patrilineages as well as from the patrilineages where their mothers were patrilineage daughters. The case of Nguyễn Bá Ky's household above was an example. Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung, sons of Nguyễn Bá Ky, received encouragement study prizes from the Nguyễn patrilineage of their father. They also received encouragement study prizes from the Hồ patrilineage of their mother. In 2007, for example, they received 200,000 VND (12.27 USD) from the two patrilineages, with each receiving 50,000 VND (3.06 USD) from each patrilineage. Their household was very poor, so the money (from the two patrilineages) together was good for them to get ahead in terms of educational advancement (in reality, they performed well in school, especially Nguyễn Bá Du who won the first prize at a physics competition at the district level) as well as expectation to get ahead in terms of entering university in the future. In other words, regardless whether they received money from their father's patrilineage (the Nguyễn patrilineage) or their mother's patrilineage (the Hồ patrilineage) encouragement funds, this money helped Nguyễn Bá Du and Nguyễn Thành Cung to get ahead. If analysed in terms of social capital, we can observe how membership in both paternal and maternal patrilineages' education encouragement funds helped Nguyễn Bá Ky's children to access support from relatives outside the village. In other words, both patrilineages' education funds bridged geographic distance with far away relatives outside the village to offer opportunities to get ahead through education, and hence can be interpreted in terms of bridging social capital.

There was continuity and change in the role of kinship relations in children's education in three periods: the pre-socialist, the socialist transformation, and the *Đổi mới* periods. As presented in Chapter 5, in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script in the pre-socialist period, students in Quỳnh Đôi benefited from privileges and resources provided by their patrilineages and/or their village when they were pursuing education. After obtaining higher education and becoming mandarins, the mandarins brought benefits to their patrilineages as well as to their village, mostly in terms of prestige and power, and sometimes of material benefits such as rice-fields. As presented in Chapter 6, in the socialist education system patrilineages did not play important roles, but revolutionary cadres could convert their political credentials into education opportunities for their children and close relatives, thus providing good conditions for their younger generations to attend school and then get high positions. Turning to the education system in the *Đổi mới* period as presented above, the patrilineage again emerged to perform a role in children's education through Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds and activities of Patrilineage Study Encouragement Sections. As shown above, many successful villagers (especially people living outside the village) contributed their money and services to Patrilineage Study Encouragement Funds and Sections to encourage the children of their relatives to attend school in order to get ahead.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ In the education encouragement domain of the patrilineage, benefits of part membership have not disappeared, but the benefits have been extended to non-members of the patrilineage. Above, I had a long discussion about the way in which pupils who were patrilineage members [*con cháu nội*] and pupils whose mothers were daughters of the patrilineage [*con cháu ngoại*] benefited from the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund and the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Section. I have discussed continuity and change with regard to

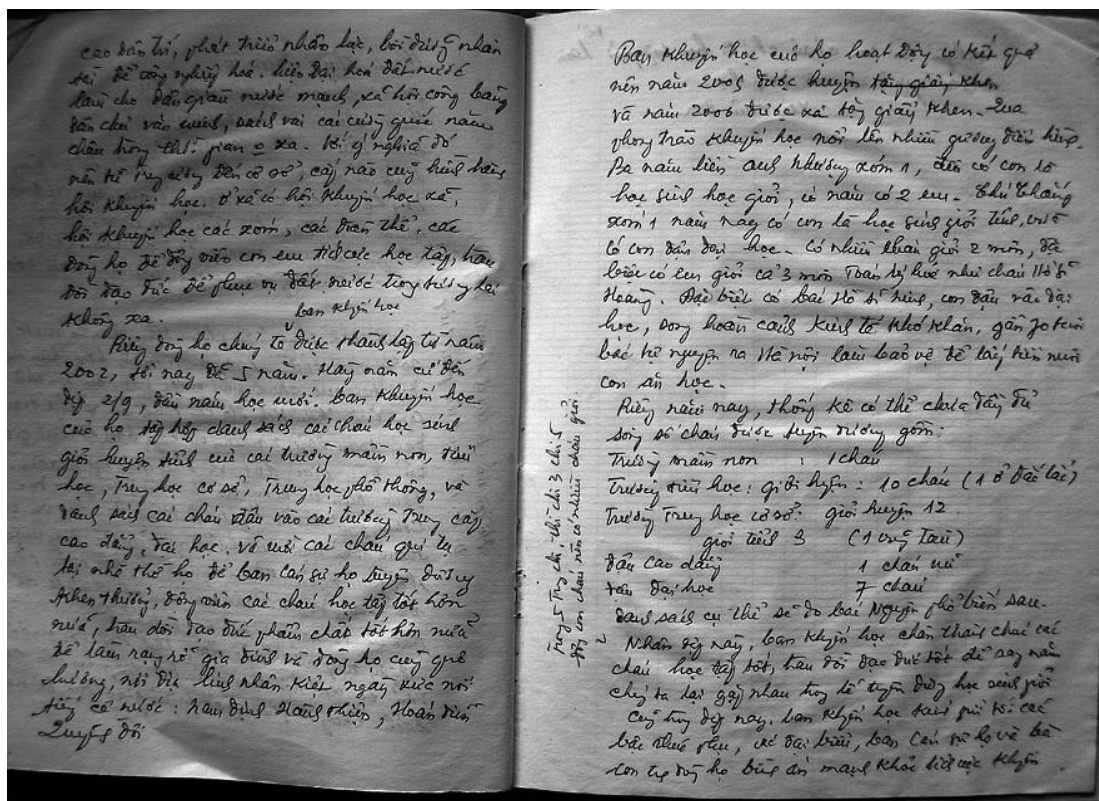
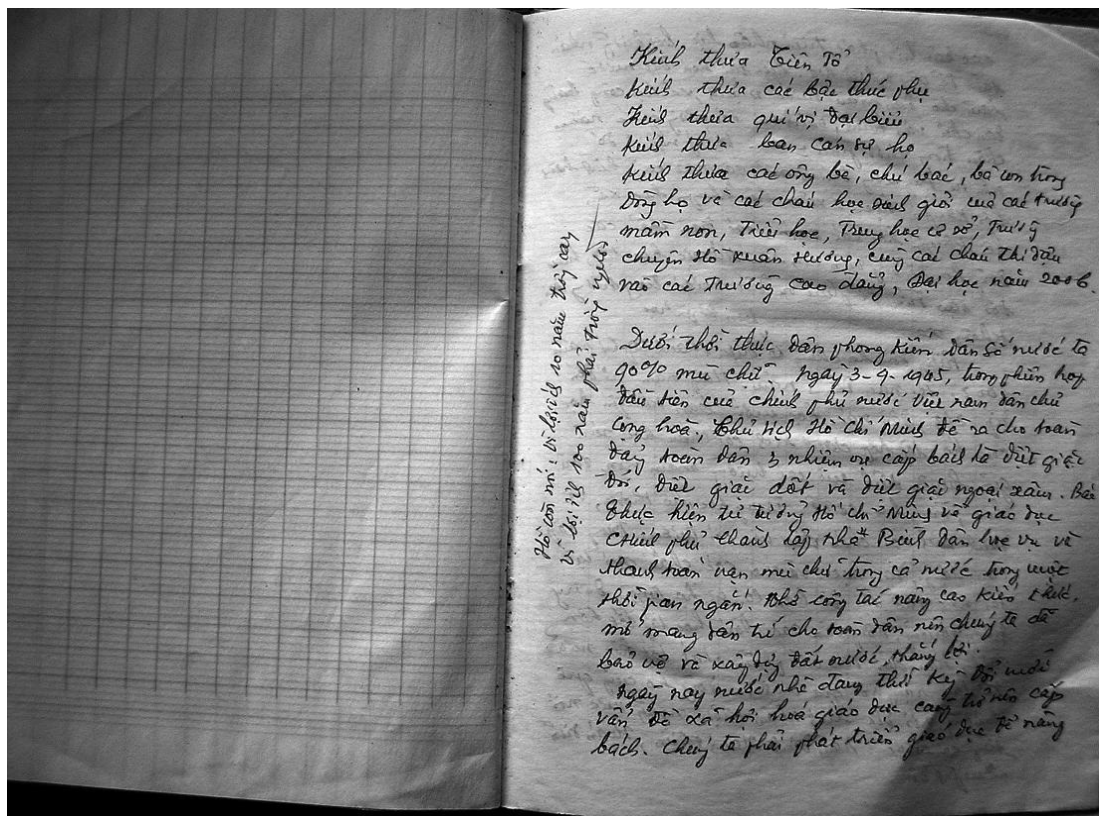
The continuity and changes in the role of kinship relations in children's education in the three periods could be seen clearly in the case of the Hồ patrilineage. As shown in Chapter 5, in the neo-Confucian education system before the socialist period, the students received privileges and resources from patrilineages and/or their village to pursue education and become mandarins, and then many 'feudal' mandarins, including mandarins belonging to the Hồ patrilineage, brought immaterial and material returns to their patrilineages and their village. As presented in Chapter 6, during the socialist transformation period, several members of the Hồ patrilineage (who benefited from privileged school access and rose to high social positions, thanks to the political credentials of their close relatives) brought back prestige, power and material benefits to their relatives and their village. During the *Đổi mới* period, the Hồ patrilineage offered both mental and material support for pupils to attend school. For example, in the year 2002, 46 pupils received study encouragement prizes from the Hồ patrilineage (please see the picture below of a decision of the Hồ patrilineage about commending and rewarding pupils in 2002). That was the continuity and the changes in the role of kinship relations in children's education.

The continuity in the role of kinship relations in children's education was emphasized by two informants (Phan Cự Nhân, 81 years old, interviewed on 3 April 2009; and Phan Hữu Tĩnh, 61 years old, interviewed on 4 April 2009, in Hanoi) who have been members of the Phan patrilineage encouragement section in Hanoi. Phan Cự Nhân told me that their contribution was one way to continue the traditional inclination for learning in their village and patrilineage. According to Phan Hữu Tĩnh, students who benefited from the funds in the *Đổi mới* period have been in school or university and some have just become university graduates. So far, these beneficiaries have not yet been able to contribute to the fund themselves. However, in the future, when these people become successful and prosperous, they could contribute their money and services to the funds. This would be the 'natural' way to 'pay' their 'debt'.



(A decision of the Hồ patrilineage about commending and rewarding pupils in 2002)

patrilineage membership, patrilineage leadership, patrilineage annals, patrilineage halls, patrilineage rituals and patrilineage graveyards, in section 2 of chapter 7.



(Text of the oration at the ceremony praising good pupils and patrilineage encouragement fund contributors)

7. Sharing textbooks among school children relatives

At present in Quỳnh Đôi, school libraries do not have textbooks for pupils to borrow therefore households have to buy them for their children. The expenditure on textbooks accounts for a great deal of school costs. For example, in October 2007, I calculated the expenditure on textbooks for the children of Nguyễn Thị Ninh's household. The costs of textbooks for her daughter attending the 2nd grade of primary school was around 100,000 VND (6.13 USD), and for her son attending the 8th grade of secondary school was more than 200,000 VND (12.26 USD).⁴⁸ The costs of textbooks of Hồ Thị Hằng, aged 18, following the 12th grade of high school was around 600,000 VND (The money spent on textbooks differs from pupil to pupil since better-off households usually buy more books for their children than poor households).⁴⁹ That accounted for about one-third of the total expenditure on education. Facing the high costs of buying textbooks, related households resort to exchanging or sharing textbooks among children of related households as can be seen in the following case.

The case of Nguyễn Thị Trân's household

I interviewed Nguyễn Thị Trân at her home on 27 December 2007. Nguyễn Thị Trân, born in 1965 and her husband, Phan Anh Tu, born the same year, were married in 1988. Nguyễn Thị Trân graduated from high school and Phan Anh Tu graduated from secondary school. They are farmers living at hamlet number 2. The couple has three children, one son and two daughters. The son, Phan Anh Tung, born in 1989, graduated from high school several months ago. He took the university entrance examination but failed. In 2007, he prepared himself to take the exam again. The daughters Phan Thị Minh and Phan Thị Ngọc were born

⁴⁸ On 24 October 2007, I calculated the prices of textbooks of Nguyễn Thị Ninh's son in hamlet number 6. He is in the 8th grade of secondary education. The prices of the textbooks are as follows (the exchange rate in October 2007: 1 USD was approximately to 16,309 VND):

1. Geography:	9,000 VND (0.55 USD)
2. Philology volume 1:	4,000 VND (0.24 USD)
3. Philology volume 2:	8,000 VND (0.49 USD)
4. 100 examples of Philology texts:	17,000 VND (1.04 USD)
5. Philology Exercise:	5,000 VND (0.30 USD)
6. Basic knowledge on Philology:	25,000 VND (1.53 USD)
7. Mathematics volume 1:	6,000 VND (0.36 USD)
8. Mathematics volume 2:	5,200 VND (0.31 USD)
9. Mathematics exercise volume 1:	5,200 VND (0.31 USD)
10. Mathematic exercise volume 2:	6,200 VND (0.38 USD)
11. Advanced mathematics exercise:	30,800 VND (1.88 USD)
12. Citizenship education:	2,600 VND (0.15 USD)
13. History:	7,300 VND (0.44 USD)
14. Biology:	12,000 VND (0.73 USD)
15. Advanced biology:	11,000 VND (0.67 USD)
16. Physics:	4,900 VND (0.30 USD)
17. Physic exercises:	1,800 VND (0.11 USD)
18. Technology:	11,500 VND (0.07 USD)
19. Chemistry:	7,300 VND (0.44 USD)
20. Chemistry exercises:	5,700 VND (0.34 USD)
21. English:	9,400 VND (0.57 USD)
22. English supplementary exercises:	17,500 VND (1.07 USD)
23. English exercises:	4,000 VND (0.24 USD)
24. Philology exercises:	4,500 VND (0.27 USD)
25. Music and art:	9,000 VND (0.55 USD)
Total:	229,900 VND (14.09 USD)

⁴⁹ Hồ Thị Hằng, 18 years old, following the 12th grade of high school education, hamlet number 6, interviewed on 24 October 2007

in 1992 and 1995. Minh attends the 10th grade of a high school whereas Ngọc sits at the 7th grade of a secondary school.

Nguyễn Thị Trân has a brother named Nguyễn Hồng La, born in 1958 and living in hamlet number 1. Nguyễn Hồng La has two sons Nguyễn Hồng Quảng and Nguyễn Hồng Cúc. Both have passed university entrance examinations and are now students. The second son Nguyễn Hồng Cúc sat in a grade higher than Phan Anh Tung. As it happened, from the 1st grade of primary school up to the 12th grade of high school, at the end of each school year Nguyễn Hồng Cúc gave his textbooks to his cousin Phan Anh Tung.

Nguyễn Thị Trân also has a sister named Nguyễn Thị Tranh. Nguyễn Thị Tranh was married and lives in Đồng Nai province in southern Vietnam. She has three children Bùi Thị Thủy, Bùi Quang Hanh, and Bùi Ngọc Hạnh. Bùi Thị Thủy, 23, is getting married and also lives in Đồng Nai province. Bùi Quang Hanh, 19, sat in the same grade as Phan Anh Tung. He passed the latest entrance examination and became a university student. Thereafter he offered his textbooks specializing in entrance examination preparations to Phan Anh Tung. These were very expensive books. Phan Anh Tung took them when he visited his aunt's family several months ago when Bùi Quang Hanh just entered university. Thus in 2007 Phan Anh Tung had more study materials to be better prepared for the coming university entrance examination. Bùi Ngọc Hạnh - the third daughter of Nguyễn Thị Trân's sister was in the 11th grade of high school. At the end of each school year, her textbooks were sent to Phan Thị Minh - the second daughter of Nguyễn Thị Trân. Phan Thị Minh could not use the textbooks of her brother Phan Anh Tung because pupils sitting in the grade just below Phan Anh Tung's grade had to use a new series of textbooks called "reformed books". As for her third daughter Phan Thị Ngọc, Nguyễn Thị Trân and her husband did not have to buy any books because Ngọc could use the textbooks of her sister - Phan Thị Minh. This saved them quite a lot of money.

The above case illustrates the phenomenon of exchanging textbooks among children of related families. This is an effective way to reduce financial burden to households having school children, especially poor households. As can be seen in the case above, patrilineages play no role in these family-related transactions. Gender-based considerations have no part either, and both schoolboys and schoolgirls can benefit from this book exchange scheme from close relatives on their father's as well as mother's side. The case of Nguyễn Thị Ninh below shows how this scheme helps reduce a considerable part of household expenditure on children's education:

I have two children, a daughter following the 2nd grade of primary education, and a son following the 8th grade of secondary education. Each year, I only have to buy textbooks and notebooks for my daughter. For my son, I only have to buy notebooks for him. For textbooks, he could borrow from a daughter of my sister who's in the 9th grade. At the end of the school year my son gives the books back because my sister has a son and he needs them. In this village, lending and borrowing textbooks among relatives is widespread. Usually textbooks are exchanged, circulated among children of two or more related households as a way to help each other. Sometimes textbooks are circulated among children of neighbouring households but this occurs rather rarely because people tend to help their relatives first. Sometimes related families with children attending the same grade would share the costs of buying the same textbooks. That helps to reduce the expenditure on children's education.

(Nguyễn Thị Ninh, 34 years old, hamlet number 6, interviewed on 24 October 2007)

Thus, the exchange of textbooks among children of related households helps create kinship networks where patrilineages play no part.⁵⁰ The exchange takes place among relatives who need textbooks and those who have them. Relatives can be from the same patrilineage as well as from different patrilineages. From a social capital perspective, it can be said that social capital in terms of reciprocity exchange lies at the foundation of the transaction. One giver offers his/her textbooks to other relatives. In turn he/she may receive textbooks from siblings of these relatives or from other relatives who have the textbooks that he/she needs. There are two kinds of transactions. The first is that the first child of household A may give his/her textbooks to the first child of household B. In turn, the second child of household B may give his/her textbooks to the second child of household A. That transaction depends on social capital in terms of *direct* reciprocity exchange between children of the two households. Moreover, a child of a household may receive textbooks from children of other relatives' households. As in the case of Nguyễn Thị Trân's household above, her son received textbooks from the children of her own brother and sister. That creates an ego-based kin network in exchanging textbooks in which Nguyễn Thị Trân's son is the ego.

The second mode of transaction does not involve *direct* but rather *indirect* reciprocity. It works as follows: for example A may give his/her textbooks to B, in the future A may expect to receive the books he needs from a brother or a sister of B, or from other relatives who is not in B's household. In the case of Nguyễn Thị Trân's household above, Nguyễn Thị Trân's children received textbooks from the children of her sister Nguyễn Thị Tranh and her brother Nguyễn Hồng La. The children of Nguyễn Thị Tranh may not receive textbooks from children of Nguyễn Thị Trân but, maybe, from the children of Nguyễn Hồng La. Thus transaction occurs among relatives who have textbooks and who need textbooks. From a pupil's perspective, he/she may offer textbooks and receive textbooks within a wider circle of kin, without expectation of *direct* reciprocity. That creates an ego-based kin network thanks to social capital in terms of (indirect) reciprocity exchange among relatives.

In terms of bonding and bridging social capital, if we focus on the patrilineage dimension, we can consider the relations between Nguyễn Thị Trân's children and children of Nguyễn Thị Trân's sister and brother as bridging social capital. These kin relations bridged between relatives in different patrilineages (Nguyễn Thị Trân's children and the children of Nguyễn Thị Trân's siblings belonged to different patrilineages). With this bridging social capital, Nguyễn Thị Trân's children received textbooks from children of her siblings. With these textbooks, Nguyễn Thị Trân's children improved their studies, by which Nguyễn Thị Trân's son graduated from high school and prepared to take the university entrance examination. That reflected the way in which Nguyễn Thị Trân's children, members of a poor household, did get ahead in terms of advanced education. This is even more obvious if we consider the fact that a lot of children gave up school because their poor households could not afford them textbooks (Trần Huế, 2008). Therefore, social capital between relatives in different patrilineages was important for the pupils to get ahead understood as educational advancement.

If we distinguish between bonding and bridging social capital focusing on the village dimension, we can label the relation between Nguyễn Thị Trân's son and a son of her sister in Đồng Nai province as bridging social capital. In this case, the bridging social capital was in

⁵⁰ One more example: on 24 October 2007, I interviewed Phan Thị Diệu, 18 years old, living in hamlet number 3 of Quỳnh Đôi commune. She followed the 12th grade of high school. Her father is Phan Đình Hiền. Her mother is Hoàng Thị Huyền. Her father belongs to the Phan patrilineage. Her matril-grandfather belongs to the Hoàng patrilineage. In September 2007, both the Hoàng patrilineage and the Phan patrilineage rewarded her for her good results for the 2005-2006 school year. The sum of money she received from two patrilineages was 60.000 VND (3.67 USD). For her classes she borrowed textbooks from a daughter of her mother's sister, who sat at a grade higher than her. She would return the books to her cousin at the end of school years.

the relation between the villager and his relative beyond the village boundary. As presented above, this bridging social capital with the relative outside the village was important for Nguyễn Thị Trân's son to receive textbooks in order to improve his education and get ahead. In short, the two possible distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital illustrated that bridging social capital in kinship relations beyond the patrilineage and even beyond the village was important for the pupils to get ahead in terms of educational advancement.

8. Summary

In this chapter I have examined kinship relations in children's education, from a social capital point of view in the context of the *Đổi mới*. Social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust plays an important role in generating human capital through encouraging children to follow education particularly at a time when the state policy on 'socialization' - in fact nothing but pure privatization - of education has caused financial hardship to individual households. Facing this situation a number of social forces outside the state system came into play in supporting school pupils and their households in need.

State measures at the commune level, as shown in the case of Quỳnh Đôi, are carried out to support education through the Commune Study Encouragement Fund. These measures are directed by the Commune Party Committee and carried out by the Commune People's Committee. These are 'top-down' policies implemented through administrative directives at the local level. Study encouragement in the private sphere relies on social capital in kinship relations. That could be seen via patrilineage financial and non-financial study encouragement measures and exchanging textbooks among children of related households from different patrilineages.

There are several useful distinctions between bonding and bridging social capital. From the patrilineage dimension, bridging social capital, understood as social capital between women and their relatives in their husbands' patrilineages, was important for these women to become members of the Study Encouragement Section of the patrilineage council. In comparison, in the pre-socialist and socialist transformation periods women had no chance to become members of the patrilineage council. Thus, in the *Đổi mới* period, bridging social capital was crucial for the women to get ahead in terms of improving their social status in their husbands' patrilineages, compared with women in previous eras. The distinction between bonding and bridging social capital based on the patrilineage boundary is also meaningful to illustrate that bridging social capital between relatives in different patrilineages was important for pupils to exchange textbooks. That was good for the pupils to get ahead, understood in terms of educational advancement.

The distinction between bonding and bridging social capital focusing on the village dimension was also useful. As presented above, the bridging social capital between the villagers and their relatives outside the village was the main foundation for contributing money to and receiving money from the patrilineage education funds. By receiving money from the funds, the pupils did get ahead or expected to get ahead understood in terms of educational advancement (getting good school results, winning prizes at Olympiads on school subjects, or passing junior college entrance examinations). Students could receive money from Study Encouragement Funds of their patrilineages or the patrilineages where their mothers were daughters. Regardless whether the Study Encouragement Funds belonged to paternal or maternal patrilineages, bridging social capital between villagers and their relatives outside the village was the basis for raising the money allowing children to study and thus creating the possibility to get ahead. In addition, bridging social capital between the villagers

and their relatives outside the village was also valuable for pupils to get ahead in terms of educational advancement through receiving textbooks.

The role of kinship relations in children's education in the pre-socialist period continued with changes in the socialist transformation and the *Đổi mới* periods. In the pre-socialist period, in the classical education system in the Hán-Chinese script, the patrilineage provided support to students, and when the students became mandarins they brought material and immaterial benefits to their patrilineage and their village. In the socialist transformation period, many villagers benefited from political credentials of their relatives and co-villagers to have access to good education and high social positions. In turn, they brought prestige, power and even material benefits to their relatives and as well as the village. In the *Đổi mới* period, through Patrilineage Encouragement Funds and Sections, relatives provided support to children in education, expecting returns some time in the future. Therefore, there was both continuity and change in the role of kinship relations in children's education through the periods.

It is worth mentioning that gender-based considerations are no longer relevant in patrilineage-related education encouragement activities. The Patrilineage Encouragement Section is staffed by both men and women, and donors are free to contribute regardless of their gender or official status in the patrilineage membership. The same goes for recipients of the fund: nowadays both children of patrilineage's sons and daughters are eligible for rewards - both financial and non-financial - for their school achievements. All this reflects the blurring boundary of modern-day patrilineage together with the improvement of women's position in the domain of children's education. In a way it can be said that patrilineages have provided institutional and organizational conduits for facilitating these wider kin-based practices, forming ego-based networks that extend beyond 'traditional' male-dominated patrilineage membership. In addition, the exchange of textbooks among children of related families thanks to inherent social capital based on reciprocity.

All this is a far cry from study encouragement schemes under the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script, when only males were eligible to study and receive support from the patrilineages. To some extent, kinship relations have intensified in the education domain in the *Đổi mới* era, but do not represent a simple return to the patrilineages in the old days. From the relations between receivers and givers as individuals through various encouragement measures as well as textbook exchange among children of related households, emerge ego-based kin networks in which the egos are receivers.

CHAPTER 9

KINSHIP RELATIONS IN THE ECONOMIC DOMAIN IN THE *Đổi mới* ERA

Đủ bỏ vào họ, khó nhờ vào họ

Give the kin when you have enough,
Rely on the kin when you are in need

Give to the rotation credit association when you have enough,
Rely on the rotation credit association when you are in need¹
(Local saying)

1. Introduction

This chapter is about kinship relations in the economic domain in the *Đổi mới* era. As shown in the previous chapters, prior to the collectivization movement, households in the countryside were production units; peasants worked in private cottage industry groups and joined rotating credit associations. With the collectivization movement spearheaded by the emergence of agricultural cooperatives, small industry and handicraft professional teams and cooperatives as well as credit cooperatives, households were no longer production units. Private cottage industry groups and rotating credit associations went out of existence. In the *Đổi mới* period, households re-emerged as production units (Kerkvliet, 2005; Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; Nguyễn Đức Truyền, 1999; Tô Duy Hợp et al., 2000). Peasants ran private cottage industries (Dương Duy Bằng, 2002; Gironde, 2002; Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000; Tô Duy Hợp et al., 2000), and formed rotating credit associations (Mai Văn Hai & Fontenelle, 2002; Nguyễn Đức Truyền, 1999).

In the *Đổi mới* era, the importance of household economy [*kinh tế hộ gia đình*] was confirmed even though earlier on, “beginning in 1981, decision making authority and control over physical assets were gradually transferred from the cooperative to households” (Sikor & O Rourke, 1996: 609). In the framework of household economy, households have not only focused on agricultural production but also have been involved in many types of employment. By being hired or through self-employment, members of households have taken up jobs in industrial production, construction, handicraft, trade, small industry or the service industry. These jobs could be short or long term and the working sites could be in rural or urban areas (Vu Tuan Anh, Tran Thi Van Anh, & McGee, 2000). Actually, in the collectivization period, the household economy did not disappear totally because households still earned extra income through the so-called ‘five percent land’ allocated by the cooperative (Trương Lai, 2002: 486). However, in the *Đổi mới* period, the household-based economy “has become a vigorous form of organization for producing farm goods and traditional home crafts, in exchanging commodities, and in providing services” (Vu Tuan Anh et al., 2000). When analysing the

¹ *Hợp* also means ‘Rotating credit association’. This local saying has a double meaning.

household economy, Nguyễn Đức Truyền remarks that because of requirement of seasonal work in agricultural production, households need support from kin and neighbours (Nguyễn Đức Truyền, 2002: 4). Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn through their studies in Đào Xá village (Nam Sách district, Hải Dương province), and Tứ Kỳ village (Thanh Trì district, Hanoi) point out that in the transformation from collectives to the household economy, not all households could muster enough labour, capital, working tools and working experiences. In these situations, villagers looked for help from their relatives (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 93-94).

By applying social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust, I will explore kinship relations in three important economic sub-domains namely agricultural production, cottage industry production, and rotating credit associations, where ego-based kin network plays an important role. In section 2, I will show that social capital in kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin networks was instrumental in transferring agricultural land and exchanging labour among households. In section 3, I will show the way in which villagers organized and operated cottage industry groups and workshops in fields such as bricklaying, woodwork, and incense production. In these groups and workshops, kinship relation plays important roles especially when it comes to handling occupational knowledge and professional skills that preferably are to be kept among relatives. Close cooperation based on family ties is a feature of these groups and workshops. In section 4, I shall examine kinship relations in rotating credit associations and will show that the enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges between the members play a vital role in setting up and running these associations.

2. Kinship relations and agricultural production

Kinship relations in exchanging agricultural land

The land law was promulgated in 1993 confirming the rights of the citizens to use and purchase agricultural land (Quốc hội Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 1993). On 27 September 1993 the Government issued decree number 64-CP on the redistribution of agricultural lands to peasant households (Chính phủ Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 1993). In 1995, Quỳnh Đôi commune completed the distribution of lands to individual households. Land was distributed as follows: each household would receive several small plots of land some of which would be rich soil lands while others are of low quality; lands close to residential areas together with lands located far from them. The advantage of this distribution was that all households would feel being treated in an equal manner in receiving agricultural lands. The disadvantage of this distribution was that the lands distributed to individual households were too fragmented for good agricultural production.² The situation of using agricultural lands in Quỳnh Đôi at that time was as follows:³

² Nguyễn Văn Có, land official of Quỳnh Đôi Commune People's Committee, interviewed on 29 August 2003.

³ Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi (2001c): Đề án chuyển đổi đất từ nhiều thửa nhỏ thành thửa lớn để thâm canh chuyển đổi cơ cấu kinh tế để thực hiện công nghiệp hoá hiện đại hoá nông thôn [Project of transforming small plots of lands into larger plots of lands in order to change the economic structure for carrying out industrialization and modernization in rural areas]

Total people receiving agricultural lands:	4,448 people
Total households receiving agricultural lands:	1,230 households
Total plots of agricultural lands:	7,545 plots
Highest number of plots of land held by a household:	14 plots
Lowest number of plots of land held by a household:	1 plot
Average number of plots of land per household:	6 plots
Surface area of the smallest plot of land:	34 m ²
Surface area of largest plot of land:	1,000 m ²

According to General Directorate of Land Survey [*Tổng cục Địa chính*], the process of allocating land in accordance with decree number 64/CP of the Government issued on 29 July 1993, revealed many shortcomings, such as loss of arable land and the extra time spent to cultivate the scattered plots of land (*Tổng cục Địa chính*, 1997:1-4). Therefore, in 1997 the General Directorate of Land Survey organized a conference on land reallocation to solve the problem of fragmentation of agricultural plots. Thereafter, reallocating agricultural land to reduce the number of plots owned by a household was encouraged.

In Quỳnh Đôi, agricultural land reallocation officially was implemented in pursuance of directives, resolutions, plans, and projects from the provincial level to district and commune levels. Reallocation was implemented through the “Project of transforming small plots of lands into larger plots of lands in order to change the economic structure for carrying out industrialization and modernization of rural areas” (Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2001c).

The process of transforming lands lasted four months, from August to November 2001. The rules for reallocating were that each household was to retain the same area of land as before, while the number of plots should not exceed three plots, three locations and three land ranks. Each plot had a minimum area of 350m² and a maximum area of 2500m², while an area of 6500m² was allocated for the combined plots. The steps of the gathering and reallocating were as follows: First, all farmland of all households of the eight hamlets were put together and classified into categories from first rank location to second rank location and third rank location. After that, planning for transportation and irrigation of the rice fields was carried out. Second, each hamlet was assigned the areas of farmland depending on numbers of households and areas reallocated. Households in each hamlet held meetings and divided the households of each hamlet into groups. Each group consisted of households with the same land area. For example, all households in which each household kept 350m² belonged to one group, households each keeping 1,350m² belonged to another group, etc. The third step was for each hamlet to assign land locations to groups depending on the area of each group. Then, households in these groups discussed among themselves and drew lots [*bắt thăm*] to choose their land plots (Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi, 2001c). After agricultural lands have been transformed, the situation of using agricultural land in Quỳnh Đôi was as follows:⁴

Total people receiving agricultural land:	4,448 people
Total households receiving agricultural land:	1,230 households
Total plots of agricultural land:	3,329 plots
The biggest number of plots of land per household:	4 plots
The smallest number plots of land per household:	1 plot
The average number of plots of land per household:	2.74 plots per household
Area of the smallest plot of land:	350 m ²
Area of the largest plot of land:	2,500 m ²

⁴ Ủy ban Nhân dân xã Quỳnh Đôi (2001a): Báo cáo kết quả chuyển đổi ruộng đất xã Quỳnh Đôi [Report on results of transforming agricultural lands in Quỳnh Đôi commune].

In the process of reallocating lands, to facilitate cultivation and suiting individual household's capability, there were two additional alternatives. First, if a number of households wanted to receive the lands in the fields far from the village' residential areas, the households could form a group to receive large plots without having to draw lots by combining their areas of land together. Second, after drawing lots a household could exchange land from one field for land of another household in a different field. The exchange depended on arrangements made among households, which was to be attested by commune officials. These mechanisms allowed for receiving land together when reallocating occurred and renting land after reallocation, especially among relatives.

The information from the commune land official showed that many households wanted to exchange land from one location to another because they wanted their plots to be near their houses or near the plots of their relatives to facilitate agricultural production. If they had lands near their houses, they could save time and labour in production. If their lands were near the lands of their relatives, they could pool their resources together. In practice, exchanging lands after drawing lots was limited because the areas allocated to households were fixed according to field locations when the groups received their lands. Therefore, many households often discussed with each other before land was reallocated.⁵ In the case study below, I will examine this phenomenon.

The case of Hồ Quang Kha's household

I had an interview with Hồ Quang Kha on 27 July 2006. In 2006, Hồ Quang Kha was then 69 years old, living in hamlet number 3. His wife, Phan Thị Xinh, was a year older. They had three sons and one daughter, all of them were married. Hồ Quang Kha and Phan Thị Xinh lived under the same roof with the household of their youngest son but they keep their income and their meals separately.

In 2001 when the commune re-allocated agricultural lands to villagers, Hồ Quang Kha's household together with the households of his eldest son Hồ Quang Mạnh and youngest son Hồ Quang Chí received lands at the same location. At that time, a villager born before 1 January 1992 was to receive one sào.⁶ The lands were called rice-field portion or rice-field share [ruộng suất]. With three households together, they received a total of 9.0 sào in the Cầu Âm field. His third son Hồ Quang Chính and his daughter Hồ Thị Học did not want to receive agricultural land together with them because their houses were located in different hamlets.

In 2001, the households of Hồ Quang Kha and his two sons also received extra lands from two related households, those of Nguyễn Thị Định and Bùi Phớt through verbal agreements. Hồ Quang Kha's mother is a younger sister of the maternal grandmother of Nguyễn Thị Định's husband. Bùi Phớt's mother is a niece of Hồ Quang Kha's father. The households of Hồ Quang Kha and his two sons received 4.4 sào from Nguyễn Thị Định's household and 2.0 sào from Bùi Phớt's household. In 2001, when the hamlet allocated agricultural lands, an agreement was reached with local authorities to receive lands at the same site. Now these three households cultivate a plot with a combined area of 15.4 sào, a sizable piece of land conducive to efficient production. The plot of land was in the Cầu Âm field, far from the village residential areas. The three households cultivated the land together but they collected yields from the land separately. Hồ Quang Kha and his wife only received yields from 2.0 sào. The remaining yields were divided between his two sons' households.

⁵ Nguyễn Văn Công, land official of Quỳnh Đôi Commune People's Committee, interviewed on 29 August 2003.

⁶ In Northern Central Vietnam, one sào = 500 square meters. In the Red River Delta, one sào = 360 square meters.

The 60-year-old Nguyễn Thị Định's household had 6.0 sào. Her husband died some years ago and her five children migrated to Southern Vietnam to earn their living. She lived in Quỳnh Đôi alone and being quite old, she could not cultivate all the land; thus, she kept only 1.6 sào to cultivate and transferred 4.4 sào to Hồ Quang Kha and his children. However, in her certificate of land user all 6.0 sào still officially belonged to her and her children. Hồ Quang Kha only used the land to cultivate through a verbal agreement. Every year the households of Hồ Quang Kha and his children paid her 105 kilograms of paddy [lúa] per sào for using the land. Nguyễn Thị Định paid for all services related to using the land such as irrigation and field-protection. She continued to cultivate 1.6 sào on her own as Hồ Quang Kha helped her in ploughing and harvesting. Her main tasks were to transplant rice seedlings and tend her field.

Ten years ago, Bùi Phớt's household migrated permanently to Đồng Nai province. At that time, Bùi Phớt owed a debt of 800,000 VND (48.16 USD) to the Quỳnh Đôi agricultural cooperative.⁷ This debt to the cooperative dated back to a contract with the agricultural cooperative before 1986. In 2001, when reallocating of agricultural lands took place, Hồ Quang Kha paid the debt for Bùi Phớt's household and received the land to cultivate for himself.

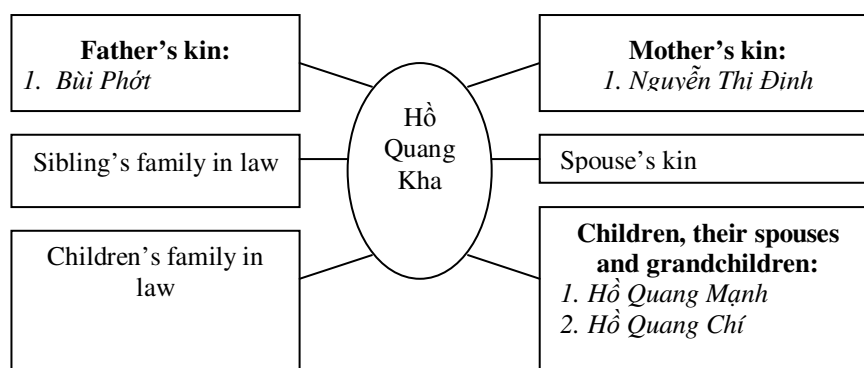
The case of Hồ Quang Kha illustrates a number of important points concerning kinship relations. First, there were two main reasons why many households did not continue to cultivate their lands and rented them to others. The first was that these households for certain reasons (like old age) were unable to cultivate their lands so they had to transfer them to other households. The second was that migration caused a shortage of labourers in many households. Indeed migration had an impact on the transfer of agricultural land. As shown in Chapter 3, in 2005 Quỳnh Đôi village had 1,939 people in working age of which 258 (approximately 13% of total working population) migrated to work in other localities, mainly in the cities and industrial zones.⁸ To find out more about this, on 28 July 2006, I visited Hoàng Tân Dân who was head of hamlet number 2. Dân kept the land register book of the hamlet [*Sổ theo dõi ruộng đất của xóm trưởng*] to monitor the use of agricultural land in his hamlet. A scrutiny of the register showed that out of a total of 160 households in this hamlet, 34 households rented their agricultural lands or a part of them to other households. According to Hoàng Tân Dân, many households transferred their land to other households because members of their own households had migrated to other localities. Thus, migration was a main factor leading to the transfer of land among households.

It is interesting to note in the case of Hồ Quang Kha above that a kinship network was at work in the process of receiving and renting land. If Hồ Quang Kha was the central person in the network, then we can see several types of kinship relations at work here. One person was on the side of his father's kin. Two were on the side of his children. One person was on the side of his mother's kin. Thus, the relatives in Hồ Quang Kha's network came from several types of kinship relations, creating an ego-based kin network as follows.

⁷ In July 2006, one USD was approximately to 16,616 VND

⁸ A sociological survey in the Red River Delta in 1997 showed that 16.78% of husbands in households usually went to places far away to work (Trương Lai, 2002: 494).

Figure 14: The ego-based kin network of Hồ Quang Kha in exchanging agricultural land



This kinship network that involved receiving and transferring agricultural land covered five households. The significant point here is that the cooperation among these households did not require any legal obligations but merely was based on verbal agreements. Thus, the foundation for these transactions was enforceable trust among the households themselves. In addition, these transactions, thanks to reciprocity exchanges, benefited everyone in the network. On their own Hồ Quang Kha and his wife received only 2.0 *sào*. However, by combining their lands with those of their two sons and together with eventual land transfers, the whole family's cultivation area increased to 15.4 *sào*. It means that their annual revenue increased several times. Meanwhile, other people also benefited. For Nguyễn Thị Định, after her husband's death and her children's departure for work elsewhere, on account of her old age she was unable to cultivate her total land and had to transfer part of her land in exchange for paddy crops. Hồ Quang Kha and his children also helped her in cultivating the part of land that she kept. For Bùi Phót, who was in debt and sought employment elsewhere, he had his debt paid off by Hồ Quang Kha who in return received the land owned by Bùi Phót. Thus, social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges helped the partners involved to secure their own interests.

In the case of Hồ Quang Kha, it is useful to distinguish between bonding and bridging social capital depending on the patrilineage dimension. With this distinction, enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges within the patrilineage is labelled bonding social capital, whereas enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges between people and their relatives outside their patrilineage is understood as bridging social capital. Both bonding and bridging social capital were useful for Hồ Quang Kha to secure benefits. Bonding social capital was good for Hồ Quang Kha and his children to get by, whereas bridging social capital was crucial for them to get ahead. As presented above, on the one hand, bonding social capital was the foundation for Hồ Quang Kha and his children to receive agricultural land together at the same place. By receiving land at the same site, they saved time when going to their land or helping each other in harvesting or transplanting. It means that bonding social capital was important for them to get by in terms of dealing with difficulties in cultivation. On the other hand, bridging social capital between Hồ Quang Kha and relatives outside his patrilineage was important for him and his children to get ahead. Bridging social capital between Hồ Quang Kha and his relatives on his mother's side (Nguyễn Thị Định) and his father's side (Bùi Phót, who was a relative on Hồ Quang Kha father's side but not in his patrilineage) was crucial for him to receive an additional 6.4 *sào* of agricultural land. With this additional land, the annual revenue of Hồ Quang Kha and his children's households increased several times (as showed above each villager was officially allocated only one *sào* of agricultural land from the commune). In other words, the bridging social capital here was important for Hồ Quang Kha and his children to get ahead in terms of increasing their profits through getting additional agricultural land.

From the case study above, we can also see that although land allocation revealed the importance of kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin networks, it did not curtail individual options in agricultural production. The three households (Hò Quang Kha, Hò Quang Mạnh, and Hò Quang Chí) cultivated the land together but each household collected the yields from its share separately. Moreover, there was no big deal when two children of Hò Quang Kha, the third son (Hò Quang Chính) and the daughter (Hò Thị Học), did not want to receive agricultural land together with their father, Hò Quang Kha, and their siblings. The cooperation here was voluntary and based on mutual benefits via social capital inherent in ego-based kin network, and was not subject to the rules of patrilineage of former times.

Besides receiving land as a group and renting out land among households during the land reallocation, households also received agricultural lands together at the time of land reallocation and rented land afterwards. Hò Thị Soa's household was an example. On 27 July 2006, I interviewed Hò Thị Soa, 38 years old, living in hamlet number 7. She was married to Hoàng Văn Đông, aged 42. Hò Thị Soa's household had 4.0 *sào* of land. When agricultural lands were reallocated, her household rented 4.0 *sào* from Nguyễn Thị Thù's household, living in hamlet number 2. After that, Hò Thị Soa's household rented an additional 2.0 *sào* from Vũ Văn Nga's household, living in hamlet number 7, through verbal agreements. These people were all related to one another. Nguyễn Thị Thù was Hò Thị Soa's maternal aunt. Vũ Văn Nga's father was a brother of the paternal grandmother of Hò Thị Soa's husband. Nguyễn Thị Thù rented the land to Hò Thị Soa's household because her husband had died and her children were living in Vinh city and in Gia Lai province; there was no labour left to carry out agricultural work. Vũ Văn Nga's household rented his household land to Hò Thị Soa's household because he and his wife were old (they were in their seventies) and their children all lived in Vinh city and in Hanoi. In using their lands, Hò Thị Soa's household paid them 125 kilograms of rice per *sào* each year. While Hò Quang Kha's land transactions occurred during the land allocation, the land transactions of Hò Thị Soa's households with her relatives occurred at the time of land allocation and after that.

The survey that I conducted in December 2006 and January 2007 involving 300 informants showed that kinship relations played an important role in renting out land, and there were several types of relatives involved in the phenomenon. 123 Informants (41% of all informants) said that their households rented agricultural land from other households or from the Commune People's Committee. Among them, 13 rented farmlands from the Commune People's Committee. There were 150 transactions that involved renting land from other households (103 cases involving related households and 47 cases involving friends, neighbours and/or people from the same association). All in all land renting from related households accounted for 68.6% of the total transactions among households. Four of the five types of kinship relations played a role in renting land. Only children's family in-laws were not mentioned. Father's kin was mentioned most often (39 transactions), followed by mother's kin and spouse's kin (34 transactions and 23 transactions respectively). While relationships between people in the same association were mentioned in only 4 transactions, friend and neighbour connections were mentioned in 16 and 27 cases respectively.

In their study of two villages in the Red River Delta, Northern Vietnam, Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn also noted that villagers received agricultural lands together as groups when agricultural lands were allocated to households in 1993. However, these authors did not compare kinship relations with other social relations such as friends and neighbours, nor did they distinguish kinship relations based on patrilineage from ego-based kin networks (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 79-82).

The survey in December 2006 and January 2007 also showed that the renting of land was usually arranged through verbal agreements, especially among relatives. Among the 103 transactions among related households, only one was non-verbal transaction. Among 47

transactions among friends, neighbours and/or people from the same association, 10 transactions (accounting for 21.2%) were written agreements signed by both sides, or through notarized contracts. Thus, land transactions among related households occurred mainly through verbal agreements, while about one-fifth of transactions among friends, neighbours, and/or people from the same association required some sort of guarantees. All this highlights the high level of social capital in the form of enforceable trust among relatives, in comparison with relations with friends, neighbours, and/or people from the same social association.

From a gender perspective, in the cases of Hồ Quang Kha and Hồ Thị Soa, while Hồ Quang Kha cooperated with relatives from both his father's kin and mother's kin, Hồ Thị Soa cooperated with relatives from her mother's kin and her husband's kin. Thus, women's position was enhanced through the way in which the land transactions among households occurred with kin on the mother's side and kin of the wife's side.

Exchanging labour in agricultural production

In agricultural production in lowland and midland areas of Northern Vietnam, labour is an important factor next to land. In the *Đổi mới* period, household production replaced the collective farming, which led to the re-emergence of mutual support among households. This is a vital part in the wet rice production process (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn (2000:93), especially at harvesting time. The following case study was an example.

The case of Hoàng Thị Hoa's household

I interviewed Hoàng Thị Hoa on 26 October 2007. She was born in 1977. Her husband, Nguyễn Bá Trang, was born in 1975. They lived in hamlet number 1. In 2007, they had one child and Hoàng Thị Hoa was pregnant. Both husband and the wife had finished primary school. They were allocated 2.0 sào of agricultural land. Each year the yields from their field were about one ton of paddy. In 2007, the price of one ton of paddy was 3,000,000 VND (183.97 USD).⁹ Nguyễn Bá Trang often went to Hồ Chí Minh city to work. He would leave Quỳnh Đôi village for Hồ Chí Minh City at the beginning of each lunar year and return at the end of the lunar year to celebrate the Tết (lunar New Year) festival with his family. On average, each year he brought back about 10,000,000 VND (613.23 USD) for his household. Hoàng Thị Hoa stayed at home with two jobs, growing wet-rice in her 2.0 sào, and making girdle cake [bánh mướt], which she sold at Nôi market in Quỳnh Đôi village. This brought her from 10,000 VND (0.61 USD) to 20,000 VND (1.22 USD) a day. Since her husband was away, Hoàng Thị Hoa needed farm hands to help her in agricultural production during the harvest and sowing seasons. In sowing times, a brother-in-law helped her with ploughing and raking and two of her sisters helped with transplanting rice seedlings. The buffalo used for ploughing and raking belonged to the brother in law. At harvest times, these two sisters helped her with harvesting. In return, Hoàng Thị Hoa helped her sisters and her brother in law with similar tasks when the needs arose.

When I asked her about agricultural production, she told me that if households needed labourers at harvesting and sowing-times they had two choices. The first was to hire labourers within or outside the village. The cost for ploughing and raking a sào of agricultural land was 40,000 VND (2.45 USD) without meals, and for harvesting was 20,000 VND (1.22 USD), plus lunch. When hiring labourers for harvesting, employers usually invited them for a lunch because the labourers had to transport paddy from the field to employer's

⁹ In October 2007, one USD was equal to approximately 16,307 VND

houses around midday. The second choice was to exchange labour among neighbours or relatives. Exchange of labour among neighbours occurred only rarely, the reason was that this sort of exchange is not based on equal labour. For example a person of 50 is less productive than a young man of 30, and the older person would feel that his or her labour was not equivalent to the labour of the younger person and vice versa. However, exchanging labour among relatives happened frequently because within kinship relations people did not count thriftily [công xá không tính căn cơ]. The fact that among relatives this person was a disadvantage to others was acceptable because they thought that relatives had to help each other in life.

From the above, it can be seen that labour exchange among households plays an important role in agricultural production to make up for labour shortage due to migration of able-bodied males who move to cities or industrial zones to work. In the case of Hoàng Thị Hoa, since her husband Nguyễn Bá Trang went to work in the South, she had to rely on labour exchange with relatives for agricultural production. Once again, migration has an impact on labour exchange and land transfer. The widespread phenomenon of exchanging labour among households was illustrated in our survey in December 2006 and January 2007 involving 300 Quỳnh Đôi villagers, which showed that 180 of these (60% of the informants) said that their households exchanged labour with other households in the last two farming seasons. More specifically, the relations among households exchanging labour were as follows.

Table 12: Relations among households exchanging labour in agricultural production

No	Types of relations	Count	Percent
1	Mother's kin	80	44.4
2	Father's kin	76	42.2
3	Spouse's kin	79	43.9
4	Siblings of family in law	21	17.7
5	Children of family in law	9	5.0
6	People from the same associations	4	2.2
7	Friends	27	15.0
8	Neighbours	23	12.8
9	Others	19	10.6

From these data, it can be seen that kinship relations involving five kinds of kin played a predominant role in exchanging labour. Friends and neighbours also had their roles in the process of exchanging labour in agricultural production. In addition, relations between people from the same association still had limited roles in exchanging labour.

We notice in the case of Hoàng Thị Hoa's household, relatives on the husband's as well as on the wife's side were involved in labour exchange. Hoàng Thị Hoa exchanged labour with a sibling of her family in law and with her own siblings. In fact, households were able to cooperate with several types of relatives in exchanging labour. Therefore, in the scheme of labour exchange in agricultural production, the people involved created an ego-based kin network, in which the ego was the person asking for labour exchange.

The third significant point from the case of Hoàng Thị Hoa and the quantitative data is that peasants had several types of relationships to opt for when they needed labour in agricultural production, but most often, they preferred the cooperation of their own relatives. The reason is that unequal exchange of labour between partners due to differences in age and physical strength often led to dissatisfaction on both sides. The fact that labour exchange occurred mainly among relatives testified to the social capital inherent in kinship relations. As seen in the case of Hoàng Thị Hoa, she worked for her relatives, and in turn, they worked for

her. These exchanges were made through verbal agreements and based on mutual trust. What Hoàng Thị Hoa did for her relatives (such as transplanting rice seedlings) was not actually equal to what her relatives did for her (such as ploughing and raking) and these activities did not happen at the same time. In these exchanges, the principle of reciprocity was clearly at play, as Portes explains:

First, the currency with which obligations are repaid may be different from that with which they were incurred in the first place and may be as intangible as the granting of approval or allegiance. Second, the timing of repayment is unspecified. Indeed, if a schedule of repayments exists, the transaction is more appropriately defined as market exchange than as one mediated by social capital (Portes, 1998: 7).

While doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, along with the exchange of labour, I also witnessed the widespread phenomenon of exchanging and sharing cattle between households in agricultural production. Usually, a household having no cattle could borrow cattle from another relative for ploughing and raking, and in turn, the borrowing household may help this relative with some working days in the future. Two related households could also share cattle, in the following manner: the better off household would buy the cattle and the household providing labour would raise the cattle. The two ways of this phenomenon also happened depending on the social capital mechanism, as described above.¹⁰

3. Kinship relations and cottage industry production¹¹

The ‘revival’ of private cottage industry group in the *Đổi mới*

Since the *Đổi mới*, the collective cooperatives including small industry and handicraft cooperatives were phased out, giving way to a private economy spearheaded by the households (Dương Duy Bằng, 2002: 569). With the revival of private economy and household economy, many cottage industry guilds operating on voluntary collaboration among individuals have emerged. In recent years, villagers in the North of Vietnam usually engaged in cottage industry activities besides agricultural production. This is one of the ways peasants used the idle time between seasons [*nông nhàn*] to supplement their meagre incomes from agricultural production (Nguyễn Tùng, Bế Viết Đăng, & Trần Văn Hà, 2003:248).

There were a number of secondary jobs in Quỳnh Đôi in the *Đổi mới* era such as repairing bicycles and electrical goods (small fans, TV sets, and small engines), making vermicelli, rice husking, plaiting household articles from rattan or cotton threads. People also formed bricklaying groups, woodworking workshops and incense production workshops. The survey in December 2006 and January 2007 among 300 villagers indicated that 171 households (57% of total informants) had members holding secondary jobs. Among them, 66 stated that members of their households did not cooperate with other households in cottage industries; 115 said that members of their households cooperated with relatives, 58 said that members of their households cooperated with friends, 18 stated that members of their

¹⁰ I got this information from Hồ Sĩ Ngọc 41-years old, living in hamlet number 6, interviewed on 20 July 2006; Hồ Sĩ Tám, 53 years old hamlet number 5, interviewed on 24 July 2006; Hồ Thị Du, 39 years old, hamlet number 6, interviewed on 28 July 2006.

¹¹ I use the terms ‘cottage industry’ or ‘small industry and handicrafts’ to translate Vietnamese terms ‘ngành nghề tiểu thủ công nghiệp’.

households cooperated with neighbours, and 21 stated that members of their households cooperated with people from the same associations. These data indicated that many villagers did not cooperate with one another in secondary jobs. I myself could see that works like repairing bicycles or electrical goods, making vermicelli, rice husking, etc, were carried out by individuals or household members without requiring outside help. For works that needed extra manpower villagers could rely on the cooperation of relatives, friends, neighbours relations and members in the same associations. However, kinship relations played the predominant role in comparison with other relations.

From the above, it was noted that all five types of kinship relations formed the foundation for cooperation in cottage industry production. Among 115 informants who said that members of their households cooperated with relatives, 30 stated that these were mothers' kin; 32 involved fathers' kin; 33 spouses' kin; 15 siblings' family in-laws; and 5 children's family in-laws. Thus, kinship relations within these groups were not only patrilineal but also ego-based kin networks. In my fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I found that cooperation based on kin relations played an important role in bricklaying groups, woodworking workshops, and incense production workshops as illustrated in the following case studies.

Kinship relations in bricklaying, woodworking and incense production

Bricklaying group

Bricklaying was an important cottage industry that has developed in the era of the *Đổi mới* when many people became better off and wanted to build new houses or upgrade their houses. Usually, bricklayers gathered to form bricklaying groups, as was the case in hamlet number 5. On 24 July 2006, I conducted an interview with Hồ Sĩ Tám, born in 1953, Secretary of the Party Cell in hamlet number 5. According to Hồ Sĩ Tám, in July 2006 his hamlet had 118 households with a population of 473. At that time, the hamlet had 4 bricklaying groups, each consisting of 5 to 10 bricklayers. There were quite a few labourers who followed bricklaying as a secondary job.

The case of Hồ Sĩ Tam's bricklaying group

On 26 July 2006, I visited Hồ Sĩ Tam household to learn about the operation of his bricklaying group. Hồ Sĩ Tam was born in 1965 and lived in hamlet number 4. In 1982, he graduated from secondary school. In 1987, he married Nguyễn Thị Thuyền, a native villager, who was born in 1969. They had three children. Hồ Sĩ Tam and his wife were peasants. Together they had 4.0 sào of agricultural land. Bricklaying was his secondary occupation.

Hồ Sĩ Tam gave up school in 1982, when he began to practice the building trade himself. At the beginning, he built garden fences, piggeries, cookhouses for his family-household, relatives and neighbours. At that time, no one hired him or paid him for his labour. They only asked him to help and offered him meals. In 1988, Hồ Sĩ Tam and two of his relatives in his patrilineage set up a bricklaying group headed by himself. At that time, Quỳnh Đôi villagers began to pay bricklayers for building their houses and Hồ Sĩ Tam had expert knowledge about building houses. In 1996, the group dissolved when Hồ Sĩ Tam went to Đồng Nai province to visit a relative. There he was hired as a bricklayer for two years. In 1999, he went back to Quỳnh Đôi and set up a new group of bricklayers. The group had six members: Hồ Sĩ Tam, head of the group; Hồ Sĩ Chung, born in 1968, a brother of Hồ Sĩ Tam; Nguyễn Danh Thệ, born in 1982, a son of Hồ Sĩ Tam's sister; Phạm Đình Du, born in 1960;

Phạm Đình Nghi, born in 1962; and Phạm Đình Doan, born in 1965. The last three on the list were siblings and were the sons of a brother of Hồ Sĩ Tam's mother.

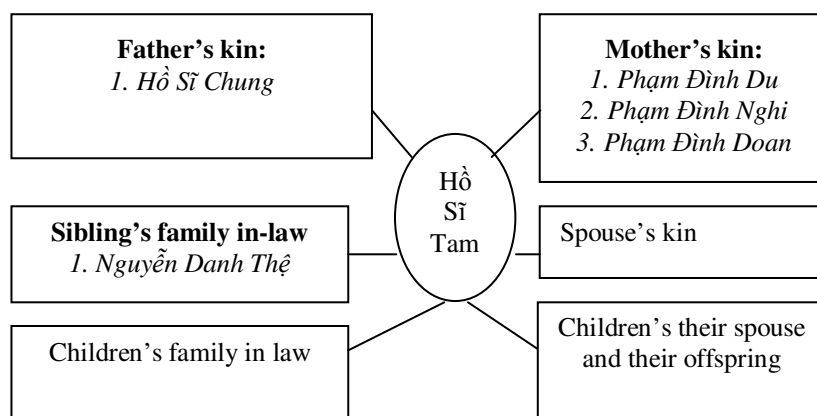
The operation of this bricklaying group began when Hồ Sĩ Tam got a contract to build a house. Then he gathered other members to start working. Members joined the group on a voluntary basis and there were no contracts. They worked together and the earnings from projects were shared equally among them after Hồ Sĩ Tam had taken a ten percent share of the earnings. The group worked in several places, inside and outside Quỳnh Đôi. In 2003, they went to work in Đà Nẵng city. In 2004, they worked in Sóc Trăng province. The Đà Nẵng and Sóc Trăng projects were thanks to the introduction of Nguyễn Duy Chính, whose mother was a relative in Hồ Sĩ Tam's patrilineage. In July 2006, the group was building a house in Sơn Hải commune, Quỳnh Lưu district. The foundation of the house covered an area of 160 square meters. Everyday after having breakfast at home they travelled to Sơn Hải commune to work. They took lunch at the working site. A member of the group prepared the lunch. In the evening, they returned home to have dinner.

The case of the Hồ Sĩ Tam's bricklaying group highlighted some important points. One is that Hồ Sĩ Tam established this group in the *Đổi mới* era. Hồ Sĩ Tam started his bricklayer's career in 1982. However, from that time until 1988, all he could earn from building jobs for households in the village were meals. The real thing started in 1988 when he set up a bricklaying group two years after the *Đổi mới* was announced. Other researchers also reported the booming household cottage industry several years after the *Đổi mới*. For example, in his study of three communes of Châu Giang district, Hưng Yên province, Gironde indicated that most households developed their cottage industry business after 1990 (Gironde, 2002: 251-252).

A phenomenon worth noting, as shown in Hồ Sĩ Tam's case, is the mobility of the labour force, which allowed such a group of workers to take on contracts in far-flung places like Đà Nẵng and Sóc Trăng. The opportunity for them to work in other provinces was initiated by kin members. This new mobility enabled Hồ Sĩ Tam to migrate to Đồng Nai province in the first place, where he worked as a bricklayer for two years before starting out on his own with his team of bricklayers.

As far as kin relations in work group are concerned, one sees that there are more than one type of relatives involved. In the case of Hồ Sĩ Tam's bricklaying group, only one member came from the same patrilineage as Hồ Sĩ Tam. If viewed from an ego-based kin network viewpoint in which Hồ Sĩ Tam was the ego, then this can be shown in the following diagram.

Figure 15: The ego-based kin network of Hồ Sĩ Tam in bricklaying group



Thus, as the head of this bricklaying group, Hồ Sĩ Tam cooperated with 5 relatives, only one of whom came from his own patrilineage. The other four came from two other patrilineages: either kin on the side of his sibling's family in-law or kin on the side of his own mother. In this group, there were no neighbours or friends. However, that did not mean kinship relations excluded other relations in the bricklaying business. Lê Quang Hạ's group was one example.

On 23 July 7 2006 I visited Lê Quang Hạ, living in hamlet number 5, to find out more about bricklayer groups. In 1995, Hạ set up a group of bricklayers consisting of 9 members, 2 were non-kin: a friend and a neighbour. Compared with Hồ Sĩ Tam's group above which was made up exclusively of relatives, Lê Quang Hạ's group was more variegated. However, kinship was still a predominant feature and here the relatives were the kin on the side of Lê Quang Hạ's wife. This underscores the fact that people were free to choose any type of relatives to work with, regardless of patrilineage affiliations. Informal ties marked the operation of Lê Quang Hạ's group; when Hạ got a building contract, he just summoned members of his group, and together they would take on the job. They divided the payment when the work was finished. If there was no new contract, they would return to their homes. If someone did not want to stay with the group, he was free to quit at any time.

The way in which bricklaying groups were set up and operated in Quỳnh Đôi, as seen in the above cases, relied on the social capital among the group members. Collaboration was voluntary. There were no written agreements or labour contracts between the head and other members of the group or among the members themselves. All matters related to the group from work procedures to financial payments were through verbal agreements. In such circumstances, social capital in terms of enforceable trust was the foundation for establishing and operating such a group. In addition, the enforceable trust was not only between relatives in the same patrilineage but also between relatives in different patrilineages.

Mai Văn Hai and Phan Đại Doãn also offered similar observations on the activities of bricklaying groups in Tứ Kỳ village, Hoàng Liệt commune, Thanh Trì district, Hanoi. Again, there were no legal or written agreements and contracts between the heads of these groups and their members, or among the members themselves. Also kinship relations played an important role in these activities, however the authors did not specify the types of relatives from the standpoint of ego-based kin networks (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000: 90-91).

Depending on the patrilineage dimension, bonding social capital is understood as enforceable trust between relatives in the same patrilineage, while bridging social capital is the term used to indicate enforceable trust between relatives in different patrilineages. In the case of Hồ Sĩ Tam's bricklaying group both bonding and bridging social capital could be seen at work. There were two periods of development in Hồ Sĩ Tam's occupation. In the first stage, he cooperated with two relatives in his patrilineage to set up a bricklaying group. The group worked within Quỳnh Đôi village. The foundation for setting up and operating this group was not a contractual but a verbal agreement predicated on the enforceable trust between Hồ Sĩ Tam and two relatives in the same patrilineage, that is, in terms of bonding social capital. At this stage, because of a limited number of members and a limited working area, Hồ Sĩ Tam's profits were not much. In the second stage, there was an increase of material benefits for Hồ Sĩ Tam when he set up a new bricklaying group. Two aspects reflect this advancement. First, there was an increase in group's membership. The new group consisted of 6 members - twice the old one consisting of 3 members. Second, the working area of this group was not confined to Quỳnh Đôi village but extended even to other provinces. Similar to the old group, not contract but social capital in terms of enforceable trust between the members was the foundation for the new group. From Hồ Sĩ Tam's position, bonding social capital (within the patrilineage) was found only between Hồ Sĩ Tam and one relative in his patrilineage (Hồ Sĩ Trung), whereas bridging social capital (beyond the patrilineage) was in the relations between

Hồ Sĩ Tam and four other relatives (Nguyễn Danh Thệ, Phạm Đình Du, Phạm Đình Doan, Phạm Đình Nghi). Thus, the foundation for establishing and operating this group was mainly bridging social capital. As presented above, in the first stage, Hồ Sĩ Tam depended on bonding social capital to set up and operate a bricklaying group, earning him limited profit. In the second stage, by expanding social capital from bonding to bridging social capital as the foundation for his bricklaying group, Hồ Sĩ Tam enhanced his profit through increasing the group's numbers and expanding the working area of the group. Therefore, bridging social capital understood as social capital between relatives in different patrilineage was crucial for Hồ Sĩ Tam to advance his material benefits through an increase in the group's membership and an expansion of the working area outside Quỳnh Đôi.

Another useful possible distinction between bonding and bridging social capital in the case of Hồ Sĩ Tam concerns the village dimension. With this distinction, social capital between Hồ Sĩ Tam and Nguyễn Duy Chính can be labelled bridging social capital that bridged between the villager and his relative beyond his own village. As presented above, Nguyễn Duy Chính settled outside the Quỳnh Đôi village and his mother was a relative in Hồ Sĩ Tam's patrilineage. Through my interview with Hồ Sĩ Tam on 26 July 2006, Hồ Sĩ Tam told that in the past Nguyễn Duy Chính hired Hồ Sĩ Tam's group to build a house for Nguyễn Duy Chính's mother living in Quỳnh Đôi. Nguyễn Duy Chính's mother lived in Quỳnh Đôi village, but Nguyễn Duy Chính's lived in Vinh city, Nghệ An province. After building the house, Nguyễn Duy Chính highly appreciated the professional skills of Hồ Sĩ Tam's group and felt indebted to Hồ Sĩ Tam and his group's services as well. After that, Nguyễn Duy Chính introduced building projects in Đà Nẵng and Sóc Trăng to Hồ Sĩ Tam (projects related to Nguyễn Duy Chính's company). Therefore, social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges was found in the relation between Hồ Sĩ Tam and Nguyễn Duy Chính. In addition, this is labelled bridging social capital in the sense that it created a bridge between a villager and his relative living outside the village. This bridging social capital was useful for Hồ Sĩ Tam to get ahead in terms of advancing profits through extending the working area of the group to other provinces. The case of Hồ Sĩ Tam was quite in line with an insight of Woolcock and Narayan about the correspondence between social capital and the development of business. At the outset, bonding social capital was important for people to start their business. However, people looked for diverse networks where bridging social capital resides when they expanded their business (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000: 231-233).

Woodworking workshop

Besides bricklaying, woodworking is a secondary occupation for many villagers. This occupation has a long history, as shown earlier in Chapter 4. Compared to bricklaying groups, who worked in different localities depending on the contracts they got, woodworking workshops were always set up in the village. From my observations in Quỳnh Đôi, the woodworking workshops were usually set up in the houses of the carpenters themselves. Take the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm woodworking workshop:

The case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm woodworking workshop

On 26 July 2006, I visited Nguyễn Bá Lâm's woodworking workshop at his house, located in hamlet number 4. Nguyễn Bá Lâm was born in 1969 and had finished high school. In 1994, he married Cao Thị Thúy, born in 1974. The couple had two daughters, aged 12 and 6. Nguyễn Bá Lâm's maternal grandmother was a native of Quỳnh Đôi and was married to a fellow villager. Her husband died when her daughter (Nguyễn Bá Lâm's mother) was only two years old. After that, Nguyễn Bá Lâm's maternal grandmother re-married, this time a man from Thanh Hoá province just north of Nghệ An province. From this marriage, Nguyễn Bá Lâm's

maternal grandmother had four more children, including a son - Trần Xuân Linh. Trần Xuân Linh was a carpenter and ran his own woodworking workshop. In August 1990 after graduating from high school, Nguyễn Bá Lâm went to Thanh Hoá province to learn woodworking from this workshop. In April 1991, Nguyễn Bá Lâm went back to Quỳnh Đôi to set up his own carpenter workshop at his parents' house in hamlet number 3. In 1997, he built his own house where he also practised his carpenter trade.

In 1995, Nguyễn Bá Quất, a younger brother of Nguyễn Bá Lâm, graduated from primary school, and began to learn carpentry from Nguyễn Bá Lâm. He continued to work in this workshop. Nguyễn Bá Quất then got married and continued to live with his parents in hamlet number 3. Nguyễn Bá Quất worked with his brother of Nguyễn Bá Lâm as partners in the latter's workshop. Each earned about 30,000 VND (1.81 USD) per person a day from woodworking.¹² Another of Nguyễn Bá Lâm's brothers was Nguyễn Bá Nhị. He had no woodworking experience so he did not work at the workshop. Instead, he supplied it with wood that he bought in Quỳnh Lâm and Quỳnh Mỹ communes in Quỳnh Lưu district. The products of the shop were household furniture such as cupboards, sideboards, cabinets, wardrobes, beds, tables, chairs, etc. Customers of the shop were from Quỳnh Lưu district, mainly in Quỳnh Đôi commune itself. They ordered products to be made at agreed prices. Some paid in advance but most customers, especially those in Quỳnh Đôi commune, only paid after their crops had been harvested when ready cash was available.

The case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm's woodworking workshop showed the revival of family-based craft industry in the *Đổi mới* period. Nguyễn Bá Lâm acquired woodworking skills from a relative, who belongs to the kin on his mother's side living in another province quite far from Quỳnh Đôi. He then transferred these skills to brother Quất and cooperated with brother Nhị who supplied timber. The three brothers jointly invested in this workshop.

The role of kinship relations in woodworking could be seen further in the case of Hoàng Bá Ngọc's woodworking workshop in hamlet number 5. I visited Hoàng Bá Ngọc (born in 1946) several times when doing fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi. In an interview on 28 July 2006, he told me that he learnt woodworking from his father who himself had learned this trade from his father's paternal uncle. Hoàng Bá Ngọc joined the woodworking professional team in the socialist transformation period. In the *Đổi mới* era when the woodworking professional team was disbanded, he set up his own carpenter shop at his house. Hoàng Bá Ngọc taught one of his sons, Hoàng Bá Quốc, woodworking skills. Quốc who got married in 1995 has followed his father's career for fifteen years. Every day he went to the workshop to work and returned to his house to have meals. The invested capital and the interest payments for the shop were divided equally between father and son. In 2006, they invested 25,000,000 VND (1,512.5 USD) in the workshop for buying wood.¹³

The above is an example of how woodworking skills were handed down from generation to generation - four successive generations in the same patrilineage as in the case of Hoàng Bá Ngọc. In the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm, he went to another province to learn woodwork from a relative before he passed his skills to a brother. At the time Nguyễn Bá Lâm wanted to learn woodworking several workshops had already been set up in Quỳnh Đôi, but they did not want to share their knowledge with him because they did not want competition. Hoàng Bá Ngọc who had learned the woodworking trade in the socialist transformation period and setup his workshop long before Nguyễn Bá Lâm, told me that carpenters did not want to transfer their woodworking knowledge to neighbours for fear of creating potential competition. As presented in Chapter 4, many cottage industries in Vietnamese villages had production 'secrets' to be protected from outsiders, and those

¹² In July 2006, one USD was approximately 16,528 VND

¹³ In July 2006, one USD was approximately to 16,528 VND

engaged in these activities wanted to keep them among relatives, especially among the males and daughters in-law of patrilineage.¹⁴ Although woodworking was not such a complicated process that its production knowledge had to be scrupulously safeguarded, still carpenters preferred to hand it down to relatives whom they trusted in order to avoid outside competition. In other words, social capital in terms of trust played important role in transferring woodworking knowledge.

Furthermore, in order to set up a woodwork workshop, capital was required to buy materials, especially timber. As shown in the case of Hoàng Bá Ngọc, in 2005, his workshop invested 25,000,000 VND (1,575.49 USD) to buy timber. In running their woodwork shops, carpenters often looked for partners among relatives.¹⁵ These were preferred over other relations such as friends and neighbours, owing to their trustworthiness in matters of financing and marketing woodwork production.

In the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm, the concept of bridging social capital is useful to show the effect of enforceable trust between relatives in different patrilineages. The enforceable trust between relatives in different patrilineages (which I label as bridging social capital) was crucial for Nguyễn Bá Lâm to get ahead. With the enforceable trust between Nguyễn Bá Lâm and a relative on his mother's side, who lived in another province quite far from Quỳnh Đôi, Nguyễn Bá Lâm acquired woodworking knowledge. With that knowledge, he changed and improved his life by setting up and running a woodworking workshop. The fact that bridging social capital was important for Nguyễn Bá Lâm to get ahead is in line with Woolcock and Narayan's perspective on bonding and bridging social capital. As argued by Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 231-233), many people built on diverse networks beyond their community in order to create economic opportunities to get ahead, thus creating bridging social capital. For Nguyễn Bá Lâm, the bridging social capital understood as enforceable trust between him and his relative outside his patrilineage was crucial for him to gain woodworking knowledge that he used to improve economically.

For the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm, the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital could also be seen from another standpoint. If we label social capital between the villager and people living outside the village as bridging social capital and bonding social capital understood as social capital between people in the same village, the enforceable trust between Nguyễn Bá Lâm and his relative is bridging social capital. This bridging social capital was crucial for Nguyễn Bá Lâm to gain woodworking knowledge outside the village. With that knowledge, he improved economically by setting up his own woodworking workshop. Thus, the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm shows that the bridging social capital beyond the village was crucial for him to get ahead in terms of economic advancement. In short, we see that the kinship network of Nguyễn Bá Lâm not only offered new opportunities through the inclusion of relationships outside the patrilineage, but that a connection outside his own village was also important to acquire human capital by gaining woodworking knowledge in order to improve economically.

Incense production workshop

Along with bricklaying and woodworking, incense production is an important cottage industry in Quỳnh Đôi. As presented in Chapter 4, incense production had a long tradition. During the socialist transformation period, this occupation was suppressed because products such as incense, an important item in ancestor worship and other rituals, were associated with superstitions and religious practices considered to be contrary to socialist ideology. In the era

¹⁴ Traditionally, villagers were reluctant to share their handicraft skills with outsiders who were not relatives, in order to protect trade secrets or market (Phan Đại Doãn, 2001; Vũ Văn Quân, 2002).

¹⁵ In January 2005, one USD was approximately to 15,868 VND

of the *Đổi mới*, many households have engaged in incense production to supplement their incomes.

The case of Nguyễn Thị Huế's incense production workshop

On 21 July 2006, I had a long conversation with Hồ Quốc Vinh and his wife Nguyễn Thị Huế. Their house was located in hamlet number 4. Hồ Quốc Vinh was born in 1949, his wife was born in 1953. They had three children. This household had been producing incense since 1988. At the beginning, they produced incense on a small scale for family use on the occasions of rituals. Since 2001, they began to operate on a larger scale for commercial purposes.

Hồ Quốc Vinh and his wife would buy the raw materials themselves and hired labourers in the village to roll incenses from the eighth month to the eleventh month of the lunar year. There were two steps in making incenses: mixing incense powder with additives and rolling incense sticks. The first step the couple did themselves because this knowledge was a trade secret that would determine quality and speciality of incense products and they did not want to share it with outsiders. They told me that other households also protected their own trade secrets. In 2005, Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế hired six women aged from 30 to 47 to roll incenses for them. These were: Trương Thị Hóa, Nguyễn Thị Hân, Dương Thị Khương, Nguyễn Thị Nhân, Hồ Thị Lộc, and Phan Thị Thục. Each could make from 2,000 to 2,500 incense sticks per day depending on their skill.

These women were skilled in incense making. Phan Thị Thục learnt the trade from her maternal uncle Lê Xuân Hoán, Trương Thị Hóa from her father in-law Hồ Sĩ Tuân, Nguyễn Thị Hân from her maternal grandparents, Nguyễn Thị Nhân and Hồ Thị Lộc from relatives of their patrilineages: Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế. In 2006, Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế planned to teach incense making to two daughters-in-law of two relatives namely Hồ Quốc Lâm and Hồ Văn Thu. Hồ Quốc Lâm's father was an older brother of Hồ Quốc Vinh. Hồ Văn Thu and Hồ Quốc Vinh had the same paternal-great-grandfather. Most incense products of Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế were sold to wholesale dealers who distributed them in Hà Nội and Vinh city.

From the story of Hồ Quốc Vinh and his wife Nguyễn Thị Huế, we can see that incense production had trade secrets that involved the mixing of incense powder with additives; this would make a brand of incense more attractive than others in a highly competitive market. The process of mixing was exclusively carried out by Hồ Quốc Vinh and his wife, the labourers' task was to roll them into sticks.

As regards the relations between Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế (as workshop owners) and their labourers, we can see that among six labourers there were three relatives, one was from Hồ Quốc Vinh's patrilineage (Hồ Thị Lộc) and two from Nguyễn Thị Huế's patrilineage (Nguyễn Thị Hân and Nguyễn Thị Nhân). Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế also planned to teach incense making to the daughters-in-law of two persons from Hồ Quốc Vinh's patrilineage. Besides the five relatives, three labourers that worked for this workshop were neighbours of the owners. The couple hired both relatives and neighbours who had expert knowledge of incense rolling. For this occupation, they could not hire people without the knowledge even though they were relatives.

Enforceable trust has a role to play in transferring incense-rolling knowledge. As shown above, this knowledge was also passed on among relatives. Of the six people working for the incense production workshop above, five people learnt the trade from their own relatives belonging to several types of kinship relations. These relations included father kin (Nguyễn Thị Nhân and Hồ Thị Lộc learnt from people of the same patrilineage), mother kin (Phan Thị Thục learnt from her maternal uncle and Nguyễn Thị Hân from her maternal

grandparents), spouse's kin (Trương Thị Hóa from her father in-law). Hồ Quốc Vinh and his wife Nguyễn Thị Huệ also intended to teach two daughters-in-law from Hồ Quốc Vinh's patrilineage the skills of incense rolling. There was one labourer, Dương Thị Khương, who learnt the knowledge from non-kin. The general preference however was to pass on the trade among relatives, but not necessarily from the same patrilineage.

The development of incense production of Nguyễn Thị Huệ's household corresponded with mobilizing relatives outside her patrilineage as well as neighbours. At the outset, her household produced incense on a small scale for family use on ritual occasions, for which she did not hire labourers. After 2001, her household-based incense production developed from small-scale family use to a larger scale for commercial purposes. In the second stage, her household hired labourers. As presented above, the foundation for hiring the labourers did not depend on contracts, but on verbal agreements which can be interpreted as social capital in terms of enforceable trust between the owners (Nguyễn Thị Huệ and her husband) and the labourers. The patrilineage could not provide enough people to hire as labourers, so the owners looked for relatives and neighbours outside their patrilineage. By turning to relatives and neighbours outside their patrilineage, the Ms. Huệ's household had new opportunities for hiring people on the basis of enforceable trust and thus expand their workshop. Therefore, in order to get ahead in terms of advancing profits through expanding the workshop, the owners extended to utilize their social capital beyond the patrilineage, which can be interpreted as bridging social capital, crossing the lineage boundary.

The way in which incense production knowledge was transferred among relatives could be observed in the case of Lê Xuân Hoán. I visited Lê Xuân Hoán's household in hamlet number 3 for the first time on 30 August 2003.¹⁶ This was a small incense production workshop located in his own house. His paternal grandfather was regarded as the first person, who introduced this occupation to Quỳnh Đôi from the imperial city of Huế. Lê Xuân Hoán inherited this occupation from this paternal grandfather. From this ancestor down to Lê Xuân Hoán's son, this family had maintained the tradition of incense production for four generations. Each year, the general income of this workshop amounted to around 30,000,000 VND (1,865.55 USD). A labourer earned an average income of 20,000 VND (1.24 USD) per day. Highly skilled labourers could earn 30,000 VND (1.86 USD) per day.¹⁷ In a bustling season, Lê Xuân Hoán hired 12 female labourers, 5 or 6 of them were relatives. Thus, similar to Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huệ's workshop, in Lê Xuân Hoán's workshop both relatives and neighbours were hired to work, where relatives accounted for half of the total number of labourers all of whom were women.

Similarities and differences related to the kinship dimension within various cottage industries

From the information above, it can be seen that the kinship dimension was at the core of the activities of bricklaying groups, woodworking and incense making workshops. However, how does this kinship element come into play in organizing and running these groups and workshops? I detected both similarities and differences related to the kinship dimension with regard to woodworking, bricklaying and incense production.¹⁸

Without a doubt, relatives were an important factor in these types of cottage industries. There were friends and neighbours but these were in the minority. The foundation for

¹⁶ In July 2006, when I returned to his household, he had died, but his son's household still produced incenses.

¹⁷ In August 2003, one USD was equal approximately 16,081 VND

¹⁸ In October 2007, I returned to Quỳnh Đôi to re-interview Hồ Sĩ Tam, Lê Quang Hạ, Hoàng Bá Ngọc and Nguyễn Bá Lâm. I conducted interviews with Hồ Sĩ Tam and with Lê Quang Hạ separately on 23 October 7 2007. I also had conversations with Hoàng Bá Ngọc and Nguyễn Bá Lâm separately on 24 October 2007.

operating these groups and workshops was the social capital inherent among their members as evidenced by the fact that in bricklaying, incense production, and woodworking villagers worked together on verbal agreements. In addition, in woodworking and incense production, with only rare exceptions, occupational knowledge was transferred among trusted relatives.

Of course, there are differences in the way kinship plays its role in woodworking, bricklaying and incense production. For bricklaying, people sharing this knowledge would organize themselves into groups and work on building contracts. No capital investment was required. For woodworking, however, carpenters needed cash to buy materials. This was when relatives came in to lend a hand. An incense-producing household usually put up its own working capital and hired labourers help with production. In both cases capital was raised individually (in incense production) or through relatives (in woodworking). My informants told me that in matters concerning cost financing and product marketing, relatives are preferred over neighbours and friends. This is the case where trust among relatives was better enforceable than that among non-kin.

About the size of each group or workshop, bricklaying groups and incense production workshops were usually bigger than woodworking groups. Each bricklaying group had between five and ten members: 9 members in Lê Quang Hạ bricklaying group, and 6 members in Hồ Sĩ Tam's bricklaying group. For incense makers, Nguyễn Thị Huế's workshop had 6 labourers and Lê Xuân Hoàn's workshop hired 12 labourers. A woodworking workshop had two to three members: Nguyễn Bá Lâm's had 3 and Hoàng Bá Ngọc' had 2. The size of a bricklaying group or incense production workshop was usually bigger than that of a woodwork group because of the specific requirements of each group. For example, in order to make a cabinet or a table, a single worker would suffice, whereas to build a house, a group of workers was needed. In incense production, in order to turn out a large number of incense sticks, a workshop would require several labourers. Because the woodworking workshops needed fewer labourers, the heads of these groups usually chose to work with close relatives.

The third important point relates to occupational knowledge. In some cases, carpenters had special knowledge that they wanted to pass on to others, especially among relatives. As shown above, both Hoàng Bá Ngọc and Nguyễn Bá Lâm learned the skills of woodworking from their relatives and they in turn passed them on to other relatives. This is a typical case where social capital in terms of enforceable trust inherent in kinship relations was a foundation for transferring knowledge in woodworking. The same applies to transferring knowledge and trade secrets among relatives in incense production. As shown in the case of Hồ Quốc Vinh and Nguyễn Thị Huế's incense production, their labourers usually acquired incense production knowledge from their relatives. Trade secrets of producing incense were safeguarded scrupulously. In contrast to woodworking and incense production, bricklaying requires no specific knowledge that has to be kept in private, therefore the kinship factor is rather irrelevant. It should be noted that, before 1945, trade secrets in cottage industries were often passed on to members of the same patrilineages as showed in Chapter 5. In recent years, for example, the patrilineage boundaries had become blurred and, as we have seen earlier, trade secrets in woodworking were handed down among relatives outside the patrilineage. This was the case with Nguyễn Bá Lâm, who learned the trade from a relative on his mother's side.

From a gender standpoint, while people engaged in woodworking and bricklaying groups were mainly men, those working in incense production workshops were women. There were no female labourers in Nguyễn Bá Lâm's and Hoàng Bá Ngọc's woodworking workshops and Hồ Sĩ Tam's and Lê Quang Hạ's bricklaying groups. In contrast, Nguyễn Thị Huế's incense production workshop did not hire male labourers. Thus, there was a tendency that men followed woodworking and bricklaying whereas women followed incense

production. As regards income, there were no significant differences between earnings of workers in woodworking and bricklaying and those working in incense production. As shown above, a labourer could earn around 2.00 USD per day (1.81 USD in the case of Nguyễn Bá Lâm's woodworking workshop in 2006; 1.86 USD in the case of Lê Xuân Hoán's incense production workshop in 2003). However, the way of employment was different. In incense production, labourers were hired to work for owners of workshops whereas in woodworking and bricklaying, labourers worked together and shared their incomes. One more point, woodworking and bricklaying require physical strength while incense production needs labourers with high dexterity. In practice, some men still produced incense and some women still followed woodworking and bricklaying but these were exceptions, not widespread. The popular perception in Quỳnh Đôi was that woodworking and bricklaying were more suitable for men, whereas incense production was more appropriate for women.

4. Kinship relations and rotating credit association

Voluntary rotating credit association - A way to provide financial capital

In Southeast Asia in general and Vietnam in particular, rotating credit associations were very popular, serving as a form of mutual assistance (Scott, 1976: 206).¹⁹ According to Sơn Nam - a well-known writer from southern Vietnam - rotating credit associations existed in Saigon during the French colonial period (Lê Công Sơn - Nguyễn Đình Mười, 2004).²⁰ Trần Từ pointed out that rotating credit associations were quite common in the countryside prior to 1945. The purpose of these associations was for peasants to help one another in everyday life. They also helped promote trading activities in the countryside of northern Vietnam. People joined these associations on the basis of cooperation and trustworthiness (Trần Từ, 1984). During the socialist transformation period, as mentioned in section 6 of Chapter 6, along with setting up the agricultural cooperative, a collective credit cooperative was established in 1960 in Quỳnh Đôi. In 1990 this credit cooperative was dissolved because it was shown to be ineffective (Hoàng Nhật Tân, 2005:176). In the *Đổi mới* setting, not only in Quỳnh Đôi but also in many localities, rotating credit associations of the pre-1945 era re-emerged. According to Trần Du Lịch, head of the institute for economic research in Hồ Chí Minh city, since the 1990s joining rotating credit associations became the way to accumulate capital when the market economy started to develop in Vietnam (Lê Công Sơn - Nguyễn Đình Mười, 2004).

According to a Government decree (Chính phủ Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 2006), there are several types of credit associations which are referred to as 'hộ', 'hụi', 'phường', 'biều' in the Vietnamese language. In this decree, the term 'hộ' was used to indicate all types of rotating credit associations. According to the same decree, the credit associations consisted of rotating credit associations without interest and the rotating credit

¹⁹ The term 'voluntary rotating credit association' reflects the fact that the operation of the association depends on the voluntary participation of its members. I conveniently shorten this name to "rotating credit association".

²⁰ In contemporary societies, rotating credit associations among households has been an important aspect of the economy in developing countries. This is a way of risk sharing and mutual support among households. By a survey in four villages in northern Philippines, Fafchamps and Lund (2003) show that thanks to these credit facilities rural households can face the vagaries of health, crop pests, medical costs, etc. Informal credit is one way that allows people to share risk within confined networks of family and friends (Fafchamps & Lund, 2003). It is likely that informal loans play an important role in helping villagers in their everyday life. Along these lines, Ferrara (2003) explores the important role of kinship relations in the credit domain in Ghana.

association with interest. At a meeting of the National Assembly meeting, one deputy argued that the term *hụi* was usually used to indicate the rotating credit associations with interest whereas the term *hộ* was usually used to indicate rotating credit associations without interest (Nhu Trang, 2005).

In practice, the operation of a credit association depends on the trust between members, who are acquaintances (Hoàng Khương - Võ Hương, 2007; Mai Anh - Chí Hải, 2007). There are no collateral in these transactions, only the verbal agreement (Hoàng Khương, 2007). Article 7 of the Government decree on credit associations also stipulated that agreements in these kinds of informal financial transactions can be verbal or written (Chính phủ Nước Cộng hòa Xã hội Chủ nghĩa Việt Nam, 2006).

During my fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I found that only the rotating credit association without interest was operated. The villagers called the rotating credit association without interest *phường*. In fact, the rotating credit association with interest usually occurred in urban areas rather than in the countryside, especially at markets and trading centres such as Lào Cai city (Nhóm PV Thời sự - Kinh tế, 2008), Hồ Chí Minh city (Mai Anh - Chí Hải, 2007), Đà Nẵng city (Hải Châu, 2008), and Pleiku town (Lê Hân, 2008).²¹ In Quỳnh Đôi, as in many other villages, in addition to the rotating credit association without interest, which was an informal form of credit, there were semi-formal and formal forms of credit. In the following section, I will discuss the three forms of credits: formal, semi-formal and informal credit in Quỳnh Đôi in the *Đổi mới* context.

Formal, semi-formal and informal credit forms since the *Đổi mới*

The information on credit in Quỳnh Đôi was gathered from a number of informants through informal discussions and interviews.²² From these sources, in my view, the credit lending facilities in Quỳnh Đôi can be categorized as formal, semi-formal, and informal forms. The formal credit form consisted of the Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development, the Vietnam Bank for Social Policy, and The Commune People's Credit Fund run by the Commune Farmers' Union or the Commune Credit Fund of the Commune Farmers' Union [*Quỹ tín dụng của Hội nông dân xã*]. The semi-formal credit form consisted of the credit funds of the Commune Women's Union and of the Commune Veterans' Association. The informal credit form is the voluntary rotating credit associations.²³ The differences between the three forms are examined below.

Purposes and scope of activities

The first difference between the three forms concerns the purposes and working scopes of each form. The formal credit form provided loans with interest charges. The Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development is a normal state-run commercial bank. The Vietnam Bank for Social Policy is a state-run bank that provides loans for poor people and small

²¹ For practical purposes, the term "rotating credit associations without interest in villages" is abbreviated as "rotating credit associations".

²² I conducted an interview with Hồ Thị Thư on 12 January 2007. She was 43 years old and president of Quỳnh Đôi Women's Union. On 15 January 2007, I interviewed Hồ Sĩ Trọ, 62 years old and president of Veteran Association. On 26 October 2007, I had a conversation with Phan Hữu Tý, 65 years old and living in hamlet number 1.

²³ Mai Văn Hai & Philippe Fontenelle in their study of Đào Xá village, Nam Sách district, Hải Dương province, divided credits into two forms including formal and informal credit, in which the credit form of mass organizations such as the Commune Women's Union and the Commune Veteran's Association belong to the category of informal credit form. They argue that both informal and formal credit sources have played an important role in the economic development of rural Vietnam. (Mai Văn Hai & Fontenelle, 2002).

businesses.²⁴ Both these banks had their branches located at Quỳnh Lư district town. The Commune Credit Fund of the Quỳnh Đôi Commune Farmer's Union is a kind of formal credit fund operating under the authorization of the Commune People's Committee. This credit facility operates via an ordinary commercial lending organization and the operating area is limited to Quỳnh Đôi commune alone, providing loans to local villagers who could also deposit their savings in the fund.

The semi-formal credit form includes the credit fund of the Commune Veterans' Association and the credit fund of the Commune Women's Union. These are semi-formal credit forms because these funds have both formal and informal characteristics. The formal nature of these funds lay in the fact they implemented the programs and plans of their respective organizations. Managers of these organizations were paid by the state budget and only members of the Commune Veteran's Association and of Commune Women's Union could join the credit funds of their respective organizations. The informal side of it was that joining these credit funds is voluntary.²⁵

The informal form of credit covers the voluntary rotating credit associations. These associations are set up to provide financial support to their members in everyday life. Each member contributes a share (usually money) to the common pool of the association for terms of one month, three months, six months or one year as mutually agreed. After each term a member is to receive the money pool through random selection or the selection that gives priority to members who meet difficulties or want to do some household's affairs.

Sizes of loans and interest charges

There were considerable differences in the sizes of loans and interests between formal, semi-formal and informal credit forms. Formal credit organizations provide big loans whereas informal and semi-formal credit associations could only provide smaller loans. For example, in 2006 the Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development could lend a maximum of 10.000.000 VND (623.13 USD) per household while the average share a member could get from the rotating credit associations was often less than 1.000.000 VND (62.31 USD), usually in the range from 200.000 VND (12.46 USD) to 500.000 VND (31.15 USD). For the Veterans' Credit Fund, in 2006 the total amount available for loans to its members was 5,500,000 VND (342.72 USD).²⁶ Moreover, while formal credit organizations could provide loans at any time, the Commune Veterans' Union and the Commune Women's Union could only make loans available depending on their programs and plans. In rotating credit associations, members took turn to collect money from the pool at intervals of one month, three months, six months or one year, etc, depending on each association.

Concerning interest rates, in 2006, the Vietnam Bank for Social Policy provided loans at the monthly interest rate of 0.65%, the Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural

²⁴ Vietnam Bank for Social Policy was established in October 2002 (<http://www.business.gov.vn/asmed.aspx?id=64>)

²⁵ In 2006, there were two kinds of credit facilities related to the Commune Women's Union. One was the credit program sponsored by the Canadian Embassy (started in 1997) to help poor women in the commune in developing their household economies. In 2006, 36 members of the Commune Women's Union took part in this program with a total capital of 60,000,000 VND (3,738.78 USD). The other was the Credit Groups operating among members of the Commune Women's Union. In this scheme, members contributed money to the group's credit fund from which fellow members could borrow. In 2006, the total capital of these groups was 69,000,000 VND (4,299.60 USD). 442 women joined these credit activities and 137 members borrowed money from these funds. The Veterans' credit fund, in 2006 raised a total amount of 5,500,000 VND (342.72 USD). On average, each member contributed 110,000 VND (6.85 USD) to the fund. However, the credit was too small to help individual members in an effective manner.

²⁶ In January 2006, one USD was equal to approximately 16,048 VND

Development 1.00%, and the credit fund of the Commune Farmer's Union 1.15%. The credit fund of the Women's Union and the Commune Veteran's Union charged monthly rates of 0.7% and 0.5%, respectively. There were no interest rates charged in voluntary rotating credit associations.

Borrowing procedures

Borrowing procedures were different in formal, semi-formal, and informal forms of credit granting. Formal credit forms required certain procedures and documents.²⁷ In contrast to formal credit institutions, procedures for borrowing from semi-formal and informal credit associations were very simple. In the case of semi-formal credit, there were no special procedures for borrowing. The amount of loans and times of borrowing and paying back these loans were based on the plans and program of each organisation. In the case of informal credit, there were no procedures for borrowing. A group of villagers could gather to form a rotating credit association. At regular intervals, each member contributed a certain share to a common pool and a member was picked to receive this amount. All was done through verbal agreements.

Each form of credit had its advantages and disadvantages. In the case of formal loans from banks, the advantage for borrowers was the considerable sizes of the loans. The disadvantages were high interest rates, complicated procedures and collateral requirements. For semi-formal credit facilities of the organizations, the advantages were simple procedures and low interests. However only members of these organizations could join in, and the operations of credit lending were not flexible due to fixed plans and programs of the organizations concerned. Regarding the informal credit, the advantages were that no interest was charged, procedures were simple, and practically all people could join in. In fact, informal credit in the form of voluntary rotating credit associations was a favourable choice for many villagers as illustrated in the following. In the following, I will analyze more voluntary rotating credit associations.

The establishment, the structure and the operation of rotating credit associations

In late 2007, I had several in-depth interviews with key informants to learn about rotating credit associations in Quỳnh Đôi. On 24 October 2007, I interviewed Hồ Đắc Thi, 37 years old, living in hamlet number 6. He had been a member of a rotating credit association, which no longer operated. On 26 October 2007, I interviewed Cù Thị Ngân, 49 years old, living in hamlet number 3. Cù Thị Ngân's husband was a member of a rotating credit association.²⁸ According to these informants, in setting up a rotating credit association three essential things

²⁷ In order to borrow money from the banks borrowers had to show the banks the documents signed by the head of hamlet and the commune authority - usually the vice chairman of the Commune People's Committee. Applications for loans from the Vietnam Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development require collaterals such as houses, lands, or other properties. The Bank for Social Policy did not require collaterals but needed recommendations from the Commune Women's Union or the Commune Farmers' Union if borrowers were members of these organizations. The recommendations were based on the opinions of the members through voting.

²⁸ According to my informants (Cù Thị Ngân and Hồ Đắc Thi), at the beginning of the *Đổi mới* era shortly after 1986, voluntary rotating credit associations were organized in terms of rice guilds [*phường lúa*]. With this form, a group of people contributed an amount of paddy at harvesting time to a common pool that was given to one member of the guild by drawing lot or considering the needs of members. With the disappearance of paddy guilds, money guilds have become widespread.

had to be taken into account. First and foremost was the trust among members since there were no written or legal agreements involved. Therefore, people often sought out relatives, friends and neighbours whom they could cooperate trust in financial matters. The second was the motives of those members. The members usually wanted to get hold of a sum of money for some household affairs [*việc gia đình*] such as paying tuition fees for their children, repairing houses, buying televisions or motorbikes, etc. The third was that those members could earn a sum of money (monetary share) in a certain period to give to the money pool of the associations. The shares varied from association to association. Therefore, if people could not earn much money, they could join rotating credit associations, which required smaller monetary shares. In the following, I will examine two case studies about rotating credit associations.

The case of Dương Văn Gia's rotating credit association

*I visited Dương Văn Gia's household several times during my fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi. Dương Văn Gia was born in 1954. His house was located in hamlet number 3. On 25 July 2006, I had a long conversation with him about his rotating credit association. He told me that during the meeting to prepare for the 1996 spring ancestor worship of the Dương patrilineage, several relatives also brought up the questions of helping each other in building houses and developing household economies [*kinh tế hộ gia đình*]. The result of this discussion was the creation of a credit association, which included relatives not from the Dương's patrilineage were also invited to join the association.*

At the beginning, besides Dương Văn Gia, the association had seven members consisting of Dương Đình Ngoan, Dương Văn Chính, Dương Phúc Hoạt, Dương Thế Quyên, Hồ Sĩ Sinh and Hồ Trọng Bình. The first three were paternal cousins of Dương Văn Gia. Hồ Sĩ Sinh was a son-in-law of Dương Văn Gia's patrilineage²⁹, Hồ Trọng Bình was a relative on the side of Dương Văn Chính.³⁰ For various reasons, three members, Dương Đình Ngoan, Hồ Sĩ Sinh, and Hồ Trọng Bình, withdrew from the association in 2003. Dương Đình Ngoan died, Hồ Sĩ Sinh migrated to the South and Hồ Trọng Bình went to Vinh city to work at a transportation company. Therefore, in 2006 the association had just four members.

*All things related to the establishment and operation of the association depended on verbal agreements between members. Every six months, each member put a share of money equivalent to the value of one golden ring [*một chỉ vàng*] into the pool and one of the members would collect the money. In June 1996, Dương Đình Ngoan collected the money to build his house. In December 1996, Dương Văn Gia collected money to build his own house. At that time, the price of one gold ring was 500,000 VND (30.05 USD), so Dương Văn Gia received 3,000,000 VND (180.35 USD) from the pool.³¹ At the time Dương Văn Gia built his house, it cost him 23,000,000 VND (1,382.71 USD). In order to pay for building the house, besides the 3,000,000 VND (180.35 USD) from the credit association and his own savings of 2,000,000 VND (120.23 USD), Dương Văn Gia needed help from several relatives. For example, two sons of Dương Văn Gia's third uncle, lent him 3,000,000 VND (180.35 USD) and 2,000,000 VND (120.23 USD) respectively. A son-in-law of Dương Văn Gia's fifth uncle helped him with sand, which cost 1,200,000 VND (72.14 USD) and bricks, which cost 3,300,000 VND (198.38 USD). Likewise, other members of the association, in turn, collected money to build their houses: Dương Phúc Hoạt in 1997, Dương Văn Chính in 1998, Dương Thế Quyên in 1999 and Hồ Trọng Bình in 2000. Dương Văn Gia paid back the money (and the materials in cash) that he owed his relatives after a certain period. However, he did not have to pay any interest. These relatives did not borrow money from Dương Văn Gia when*

²⁹ Hồ Trọng Bình is a son-in-law of Dương Danh Y. Dương Danh Y was a paternal uncle of Dương Văn Gia

³⁰ The mother of Dương Văn Chính is a sister of Hồ Sĩ Sinh's father

³¹ In December 2006, one USD was equal approximately 16,634 VND

they built their houses because Dương Văn Gia's household was not rich. What Dương Văn Gia gave back to them when was his labour.

As it turned out Dương Văn Gia's rotating credit association was set up through a meeting of relatives on ancestor worship day (as presented in Chapter 7). The main reason for the meeting was matters related to ancestor worship, however matters of economic welfare of the patrilineage members were also discussed that led to the setting up of a rotating credit association. Thus, the ancestor worship day was a chance for these relatives to start an economic project, in this case, aimed at building houses and developing household economies.

Every six months the members pooled their shares and a member collected the total sum of money. The turn of receiving money depended on the need of an individual member. One important thing here was that social capital in terms of enforceable trust among those relatives was the foundation for the operation of this association. There were only verbal agreements among them, no legal contracts or collaterals were involved. These were the major features of the rotating credit associations in Quỳnh Đôi and elsewhere in northern Vietnam. Mai Văn Hai & Philippe Fontenelle emphasized that the relations between partners in rotating credit associations primarily depended on trust between relatives, neighbours, or people coming from their social groups. The authors also pointed out that in some cases the trust between the members of the associations was not strong enough, hence some members lost their money (Mai Văn Hai & Philippe Fontenelle, 2002: 360).

From another social capital perspective, reciprocity exchange was also a foundation for the operation of the association. As we have seen in the case of Dương Văn Gia's rotating credit association, members of the association would take turn in receiving the sum of the shares of other members. A member pooled his money with other members with the expectation that he would get the pooled amount in due course. The transactions of giving and receiving occur turn-by-turn, round by round in rotating credit associations, following the norm of reciprocity that underlines the operation of these associations. In addition, we also see that when Dương Văn Gia collected money from the association, this sum accounted for only 13% percent of the total costs to build his house (3,000,000 VND compared with 23,000,000 VND). However, with the support from his network of relatives, including members from the rotating credit association, he managed to build his house in 1996. These debts Dương Văn Gia eventually paid back with his own labour when these relatives built their own houses. Transactions of this kind were made possible owing to the social capital in terms of reciprocity exchange that exists among these relatives. As Coleman pointed out, rotating credit associations were "semi-social and semi-economic institutions". These associations were important for borrowing and accumulating capital in the context of a lack of banks or other formal financial institutions. The associations provide a valuable economic resource for their members depending on trustworthiness among the members (Coleman, 1984: 84-85).

About the structure, Dương Văn Gia's rotating credit association consisted of seven members, all of them relatives. There were no friends or neighbours involved. The relatives did not come from just one patrilineage, but two: five belonging to the Dương patrilineage and two belonging to the Hồ patrilineage. About the two members from the Hồ patrilineage, one person was a son-in-law of the Dương patrilineage, the other had a mother who was a daughter of the Dương patrilineage. The cooperation in this rotating credit association materialized among relatives who were both members and non-members of the patrilineage. If Dương Văn Gia's rotating credit association had no neighbours or friends, the following case involves both kin and non-kin.

The case of Cù Ngọc Trung's rotating credit association

As mentioned in Chapter 7, I had a long relationship with Cù Ngọc Trung's household living in hamlet number 6. I always stayed at his house whenever I returned to Quỳnh Đôi to collect data. On 30 August 2006, Cù Ngọc Trung told me about the rotating credit association of which he was a member since 1996. The purpose of the association was to support the members in family affairs such as building new houses, organizing wedding ceremonies for children, or developing household economies such as breeding fish or pigs, etc. For Cù Ngọc Trung, the rotating credit association helped him to build a new house in 1997. He also used the money from the association to support his third son's study at a university from 2000 to 2004 and to buy a TV set in 2003. He helped the wife of his third son with the money from the association in applying for a job in 2005. The money collected from the association also enabled him to attend the weddings of his son and a nephew (a son of his brother) in Đắc Lắc province and Đà Lạt city, in the Central Highlands in early 2006.

Each month, members of the association pooled their shares of money for a member whose turn it was to collect. This depended on the needs of individual members. The share differed from year to year. Between 1996 and 1997, the share per member per month was 200,000 VND (18.15 USD).³² In 1999, this increased to 300,000 VND (21.60 USD).³³ From 2000 to 2004, each member paid 500,000 VND (30.96 USD) per month.³⁴ Since 2005, this had risen to 700,000 VND (44.11 USD) per month.³⁵ The association was comprised of Cù Ngọc Trung, Cù Tuấn Ngộ, Nguyễn Văn Toàn, Hồ Sĩ Đăng, Hồ Như Hưng, Nguyễn Thị Bằng, Phan Văn Nghinh, Cù Chính Hai, Hồ Sĩ Tơ, and Hoàng Đình Châm.

The relations between members of the association were as follows: Cù Tuấn Ngộ was Cù Ngọc Trung's brother. Cù Chính Hai was a relative in Cù Ngọc Trung's patrilineage. Hồ Sĩ Tơ was a son of Cù Ngọc Trung father's sister. One of Hồ Sĩ Đăng's sons was married to a daughter of Cù Ngọc Trung's maternal uncle. Hồ Như Hưng was a neighbour of Cù Ngọc Trung. Nguyễn Thị Bằng was a daughter-in-law of Hồ Như Hưng. Hồ Sĩ Đăng's son was married to one of Hoàng Đình Châm's daughters. Hoàng Đình Châm was in the same patrilineage of Cù Ngọc Trung's wife. Nguyễn Văn Toàn and Phan Văn Nghinh were neighbours of the same hamlet. They had no kinship relations with other members of the association.

Joining the credit association not only helped Cù Ngọc Trúc to pay some of the costs in building his house but also helped him in do several things from supporting his son in attending the university, to buying a television, and spending for a trip to attend the wedding ceremonies of his son and the son of his brother.

If the case of Dương Văn Gia's rotating association involved only relatives, Cù Ngọc Trung's association involved both relatives and neighbours. The relations in Cù Ngọc Trung's rotating credit association were quite complicated. Of the ten members, two members had no kinship relations with any other member of the association. The other eight were related to each other in several ways. First there were those coming from the same patrilineage (Cù Ngọc Trung, Cù Tuấn Ngộ and Cù Chính Hai of the Cù patrilineage; Hồ Sĩ Đăng, Hồ Sĩ Tơ, and Hồ Như Hưng of the Hồ patrilineage). Then there were those related through marriage: Hồ Sĩ Đăng's son was married to a daughter of Cù Ngọc Trung's maternal uncle; Nguyễn Thị Bằng was a daughter-in-law of Hồ Như Hưng. Hồ Sĩ Đăng's son was married to one of Hoàng Đình Châm's daughters. Lastly, there was a relation on the spouse's side: Hoàng Đình Châm was from the same patrilineage as Cù Ngọc Trung's wife).

³² In January 1996, one USD was approximately to 11,014 VND

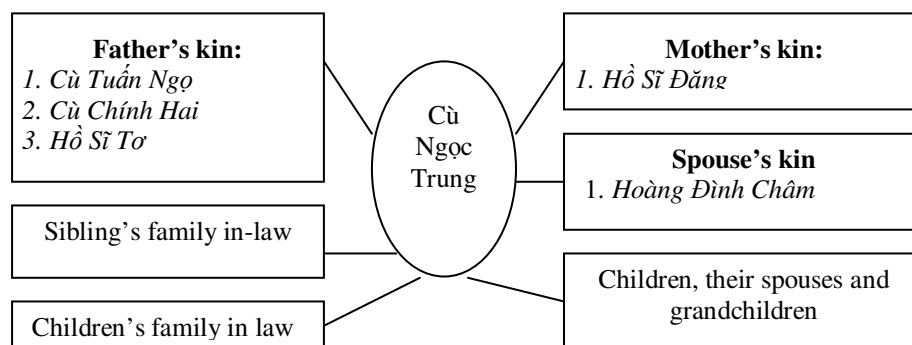
³³ In January 1999, one USD was approximately to 13,887 VND

³⁴ In January 2004, one USD was approximately to 16,147 VND

³⁵ In January 2005, one USD was approximately to 15,868 VND

Viewed from Cù Ngọc Trung's position, his kin network within the association was as follows: two persons came from his own patrilineage, one came from his wife's patrilineage, one was a son of his father's sister, and one had a son who was married to a daughter of Cù Ngọc Trung's maternal uncle. In total Cù Ngọc Trung had five relatives coming from his mother's kin, his father's kin, and his spouse's kin. This kin network can be illustrated in the diagram below.

Figure 16: The ego-based kin network of Cù Ngọc Trung in rotating credit association



By joining the rotating credit association, Cù Ngọc Trung improved his household's welfare in several aspects, such as building a house, supporting his children to attend university and obtain a job. As presented above, social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust was the foundation for establishing and operating the rotating credit association. If Cù Ngọc Trung had depended just on relations with relatives in the same patrilineage (understood as bonding social capital), he would have received limited benefits because in that case he could cooperate with only two relatives in his patrilineage (Cù Tuấn Ngộ and Cù Chính Hai). In actual practice, by turning to relatives outside his patrilineage and to neighbours, he had more opportunities to increase his benefits since he cooperated with seven more members (Nguyễn Văn Toàn, Hồ Sĩ Đăng, Hồ Như Hưng, Nguyễn Thị Bằng, Phan Văn Nghinh, Hồ Sĩ Tơ, and Hoàng Đình Châm). Therefore, Cù Ngọc Trung did not confine himself to relations within his patrilineage (bonding social capital) but drew on relations beyond his patrilineage (labelled bridging social capital) in order to get more benefits that helped him improve his household's welfare. In other words, bridging social capital with relatives beyond the patrilineage and neighbours was important for Cù Ngọc Trung to 'get ahead' in terms of receiving significant benefits from the rotating credit association to improve his household's welfare.

To find out more about the relationships that underline the workings of these rotating credit associations, a survey of 300 Quỳnh Đôi villagers was conducted in December 2006 and January 2007. According to the results of the survey, 109 informants (36.3%) had household members joining rotation credit associations (a household may have more than one member joining rotating credit associations). Of the people joining rotation credit associations, 126 people cooperated with relatives, 70 cooperated with friends, 32 cooperated with neighbours and 18 people of these households cooperated with people from the same associations. These data showed that in rotating credit associations villagers chose to cooperate with both kin and non-kin. However, kinship relations played a prominent role involving five types of relatives: 39 villagers said that members of their household cooperated with father's kin, 34 with spouse's kin, 27 villagers with sibling's family-in-law and 18 with children's family-in-law. It can be seen that in rotating credit associations kinship relations in terms of ego-based kin networks played a significant role in comparison with patrilineages.

Concerning the gender dimension in rotating credit associations, data from the same survey showed that among 109 households having members in rotating credit associations, there were 43 households (39.4%) in which both husbands and wives joined a rotating credit association, 31 households (28.4%) involving only wives, 29 households (26.6%) involving only husbands, 5 households (4.6%) involving children and 1 household (0.9%) had another member (which the question in the questionnaire did not specify) who joined a rotating credit association. This general picture showed that in the domain of credit, women played a significant role befitting their role.

Do rotating credit associations always work well?

During fieldwork in Quỳnh Đôi, I did not see any cases of failures among the rotating credit associations due to the fact that someone who had received the pooled amount from other members earlier and then failed to contribute his/her share to the common pool when the time came for others to collect it. This situation was observed in the Red River Delta, but it was not common (Mai Văn Hai & Fontenelle, 2002). In Quỳnh Đôi, I met the situation in which a rotating credit association did not work well because after a period some members felt that they no longer benefit from the association and withdrew from the association. That led to a failed operation of the association sooner than they expected. Hồ Đắc Thi's rotating credit association below was an example.

The case of Hồ Đắc Thi's rotating credit association

On 24 October 2007, I interviewed Hồ Đắc Thi (37 years old, living in hamlet number 6) about his old rotating credit association. This association was based on friends and neighbours consisting of ten members. The association started in 1996 and ended after two rounds of operation. For the first round, each member gave 300,000 VND (27.23 USD) to the money pool and a member received this sum of money.³⁶ In the first round, priority was given to members who needed the ready cash for household affairs such as building or repairing houses, or expenses related to sickness, etc. For the second round, at a six-month interval, each member gave 500,000 VND (45.39 USD) to the money pool. The selection of members receiving the pool of this round depended on drawing lots, and not based on members' individual needs. After the second round ended, four members withdrew from the association. These four members were people whose turns to receive their money pool in the second round were later than the other six members. After the withdrawal of the four members, the other six members decided to stop the association altogether because with such a small number of people there was not enough money to go around to accomplish anything. According to Hồ Đắc Thi, the reason why four members decided to withdraw from the association was that they felt they were at a disadvantage compared with the other six who were to receive their pool earlier. They might reckon that the money due to them in the future would be worth a lot less because of inflation.

Comparatively, voluntary rotating credit associations based on kinship relations seemed to last longer than those based on friends and neighbours. The reason was that besides the all-important factor of trust, another kind of social capital was at play here, which was the norm of reciprocity based on kinship relations carried over to the workings of the rotating credit associations. In Dương Văn Gia's association, the selection of members to receive the money pool always depended on the needs of members who were relatives. In the case of Hồ Đắc Thi's association, owing to a lack of social capital (lots were drawn to decide who was

³⁶ In January 1996, one USD was equal to approximately 11,014 VND

next to receive the money pool in the second round), this association could not last beyond the second round.

While in the villages, failures of rotating credit associations without interest was very rare, in urban areas, break-ups among the rotating credit associations with interest were common in cities and towns such as Hồ Chí Minh city (Mai Anh - Chí Hải, 2007), Đà Nẵng city (Hải Châu, 2008), Pleiku town (Lê Hân, 2008). The interest-based rotating credit associations in cities and towns were common among workers. The input of each worker to the money pool of his or her association was not much. For example, in a rotating credit association of workers in Dĩ An district, Bình Dương province, the stake was around 300,000 VND (18.90 USD) per month, per member (Bảo Hiền, 2005).³⁷ There were several reasons behind the failures of rotating credit with interest in cities. First, people collected large sums of money to do business without providing any collateral. When their business was insolvent, they did not have the money to pay to other members of the association leading to its collapse (V.Hùng - Đ.Nam, 2008). Secondly, people took advantage of the trustworthiness of others to defraud them as reported by Hoàng Thúy Hằng in her surveys about rotating credit associations with interest in many localities (Mạnh Quân, 2006). It should be pointed out that members of rotating credit associations with interest in urban areas where the stakes could be as high as 70 billion VND (around 4,361,914 USD) are business connections usually acquaintances, or in many cases, only passing acquaintances (Hoàng Khương - Võ Hương, 2007; Thiên Bảo, 2006).³⁸

From a social capital viewpoint, we can see that the operation of both rotating credit associations without interest in the villages and rotating credit associations with interest in urban areas depended on social capital. However, the social capital inherent in the village-based rotating credit associations without interest was much stronger than the social capital invested of urban area rotating credit associations with interest. The reason is that in the former type of association members were relatives and neighbours, and the trustworthiness was stronger than that of the urban area rotating credit associations with interest, where members were mere acquaintances. In the former case, if a member fails to pay his/her share after receiving money from others, he/she would be ostracized by kinship networks and neighbours. No one wants to be in that situation. In the rotating credit associations with interest in urban areas if someone committed a break of trust, the consequences would be less personal in the anonymity of the big cities.

5. Summary

This chapter analyzed kinship relations in the economic domain in the *Đổi mới* era from a social capital perspective. I looked at kinship relations in comparison to other relations such as friends, neighbours and relations between people coming from the same associations in three sub-economic domains consisting of agricultural production, cottage industry, and rotating credit association.

By applying the perception that individuals can secure benefits via social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 2001, 2002; Lin, 1999, 2001; Portes, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), we see that kinship relations is prominent in comparison to other relations. As presented above, social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges mainly between relatives helped villagers to secure economic capital in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association.

³⁷ In January 2005, one USD was approximately to 15,868 VND

³⁸ In January 2006, one USD was approximately to 16,048 VND

In agricultural production, depending on reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust in kinship relations, villagers not only exchanged labour, but also rented land or cooperated to receive land during land allocation between households. Those transactions often happened through verbal agreements thanks to trust between related households. In exchanging labour between households, peasants had several types of relationships to choose, but transactions often happened between relatives and rarely happened between non-kin because these transactions depended on social capital in terms of *unequal* reciprocity exchanges, not merely economic exchanges.

Turning to cottage industries, villagers usually did bricklaying, woodworking and incense production in groups or workshops in which relatives were accounted for a significant part. The establishment and operation of these groups and workshops depended on social capital in terms of enforceable trust between the members because there was no legal or written agreement or contract needed to be carried out in the groups and workshops.

Regarding the rotating credit associations, relatives and non-kin existed in these associations, but kinship relations predominated over other relations. Enforceable trust as well as reciprocity exchanges between the members enabled them to set up and operate these associations because all transactions in the associations worked without collateral or legal/written agreements. Thus, enforceable trust between members guaranteed the operation of these rotating credit associations, and the norms of reciprocity were the foundation for giving and receiving shares of money around members of the association.

In the transactions in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association, trust was better enforceable between relatives than that between non-kin. As shown above, in agricultural production, most transactions related to agricultural land happened between related households mainly by verbal agreements, whereas many transactions between non-kin needed written agreements. In cottage industry, when investing money into its workshops and in transferring occupational knowledge, villagers usually chose trusted people who were relatives. In the rotating credit associations, trust in the village rotating credit associations, which included related and neighbour members, was more enforceable than that in the urban area rotating credit associations with interest, which included acquaintance members. Stronger obligations, expectations and sanctions between relatives and neighbours in the village rotating credit associations made trust between the members more enforceable.

The distinction between bonding and bridging social capital depending on the patrilineage dimension was useful to illustrate the correspondence between bonding social capital and getting by as well as bridging social capital and getting ahead. On the one hand, as showed in the case study related to agricultural production, bonding social capital between relatives in the same patrilineage was important for villagers to get by in terms of dealing with difficulties in cultivating their land. On the other hand, bridging social capital between relatives in different patrilineages was crucial for villagers to get ahead. That was demonstrated in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association. In agricultural production, bridging social capital was crucial for the villagers to get ahead by enhancing profits through expanding agricultural land. In cottage industry, one villager acquired woodworking knowledge from his relative beyond his own patrilineage to set up a woodworking workshop and thus advanced materially. In addition, the development of cottage industry depended on bridging social capital beyond the patrilineage. Such bridging social capital was important for the people involved in terms of upward economic mobility. Moreover, bridging social capital between relatives beyond the patrilineage in rotating credit association was also important for the villagers to get ahead in terms of improving their families' welfare.

The distinction between bonding and bridging social capital was also meaningful when we examine it from the village dimension. As presented above, if we label social capital between the villagers and their relatives outside the village as bridging social capital, we can see that the villagers depended on bridging social capital to access resources from their relatives outside the village in order to get ahead. That was demonstrated through the way in which a villager depended on the bridging social capital with his relative outside the village to acquire woodworking knowledge in order to setting up his own woodworking workshop. Moreover, bridging social capital between a villager and his relative outside the village was also important for a bricklaying group to extend his working area to other provinces in order to enhance profits. It can be said that the two possibilities of distinction between bonding and bridging social capital showed that bridging social capital between the villagers and their relatives beyond their patrilineage even beyond their village was useful for the villagers to get ahead.

There was a growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison to the patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* era. In the pre-socialist transformation period, there was a preponderance of the patrilineage over other types of kinship relations. The preponderance (in the economic domain) was demonstrated through patrilineage rice fields, patrilineage budgets, and economic support between relatives within the patrilineage and the roles of patrilineage in cottage industries. In the socialist transformation period, the cooperatives with new production methods broke down kinship cooperation in the economic sphere and there was a reduced economic role of the patrilineage. In the *Đổi mới* era, there was a revival of kinship roles in the economic domain. By viewing kinship relations from the patrilineage viewpoint and the ego-based kin network standpoint (Fox, 1967); we found out that the ego-based kin network, which included parts of patrilineages had its importance in comparison to the patrilineage. In the transactions related to agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association, individuals as egos could cooperate with several types of relatives. Those types of relatives were father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, sibling's family in-law, children's family in-law, children and children's spouses and grandchildren. That demonstrates the growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison to the patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* era.

There were changes related to gender dimension in the economic domain, in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with the previous periods. In the pre-socialist transformation period, villagers usually cooperated with relatives in the same patrilineage in the economic domain. In that setting, women did not have many opportunities to do economic transactions with their relatives because officially they did not belong to any patrilineage. In the socialist transformations period, the relatives rarely cooperated in the economic domain because at that time, villagers rarely did economic outside the agricultural cooperative, the cottage industry cooperative and the credit cooperative. In the *Đổi mới* period, women cooperated with not only kin on the father's side or kin on the mother's side but also several types of relatives making the ego-based kin network to secure their economic benefits. Thus, in the *Đổi mới* era, women had new opportunities in the setting of kinship relations in the economic domain.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

The main objective of this research is to examine the changes of kinship relations in the Northern Vietnamese countryside through a sociological and anthropological study in Quỳnh Đôi village, Quỳnh Lưu district, Nghệ An province in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period - roughly coinciding with the colonial period. The research questions and the working hypotheses are as follows:

Research questions:

- 1. What were the changes of kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household in the *Đổi mới* era in comparison with those in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period?**
- 2. How did the changes in kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household articulate with other social practices in the village?**

Research hypotheses:

- 1. In the pre-socialist period, the patrilineage held important functions in ritual, education and economic domains and dominated over other forms of kinship relations.**
- 2. In the socialist transformation period, the patrilineage lost many of its functions in the ritual, education and economic domains to the state and the cooperative.**
- 3. In the *Đổi mới* era, the kinship functions in the ritual, education and economic domains revived, together with the growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison with the patrilineage.**
- 4. The changing kinship forms correspond with changes in the ways villagers built and used bonding and bridging social capital in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network.**

The theoretical framework of this study is based on relevant theories on the village, kinship relations and social capital. The village is a social and cultural unit of the countryside. It is constantly re-produced under the perennial change of the wider political, economic and cultural context. Kinship relations - an integral part of village life - are re-produced against the backdrop of this change. On the one hand, the village acts as a unit when it faces outside threats forcing its inhabitants to band together for collective actions in order to protect the village interests. On the other hand, the village is an arena of fragmentation and contradiction between groups in everyday life, in which villagers usually rely on kinship relations to secure their benefits.

Kinship relations are examined from a network perspective. The types of kinship relations involved in this study are the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. The patrilineage is a network which consists of people sharing common ancestors. The ego-based kin network is made up of a focal individual called ego, and those having kinship ties with the ego. People involved in this network come from the mother's kin, the father's kin, the spouse's kin, the children and the children's spouse and their offspring, the children's family in-laws, and the siblings' family in-laws.

The changes of kinship relations are examined from a social capital perspective. In this study, social capital is defined as resources in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges embedded in an individual's social networks. These resources can be produced, maintained and used through ties in the network. The changes of kinship forms and functions are perceived by examining the way in which villagers build and use social capital in kinship relations to secure benefits in ritual, education and economic domains.

It is in this context that I conducted field research on the village of Quỳnh Đôi. This is a well-known village where political, economic, social and cultural changes occurred in an extreme manner, thus bringing significant transformations and developments to the fore in starker relief, especially during the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period. The significant features of the village could be recapitulated briefly as follows. Under the classical education system built on a neo-Confucian model for selecting mandarins for state service, the village of Quỳnh Đôi is well known for its literati and holders of high degrees. Records show that a native of Quỳnh Đôi received a doctorate degree as early as 1449 and since then many others had become illustrious scholars and high mandarins until competitive examinations of this kind came to an end in 1919. A number of villagers also followed the French colonial education system before 1945.

Quỳnh Đôi has a long and well-recorded history. In the 20th century this village is the birthplace of several well known leading figures in the Communist movement. Quỳnh Đôi is a part of Nghệ An province - considered to be a cradle of the socialist revolution - where collectivization was carried out with great fervor. That deprived kinship of some of its pre- and post-revolutionary functions. In the *Đổi mới* era, Quỳnh Đôi carried out the socio-economic, cultural and political reforms in a more pronounced manner than elsewhere, thus rendering the process and effects more visible. Against this background, this sociological and anthropological study helps illustrate how the changes of kinship forms and functions intersect with the economic, political, social and cultural fields. In this study, kinship relations are examined in three periods: the pre-socialist period, mainly from the late 19th century to the time prior to the August Revolution in 1945 hence roughly coinciding with the colonial period, the socialist transformation period from 1945 to 1986, and the *Đổi mới* period since 1986.

In this study, I examine the changes of kinship forms and functions in ritual, education and economic domains. Such a study allows me to explore the creation of social capital and the conversion of social capital into human capital and economic capital; in particular the ways social capital is built in the ritual domain and used for educational and economic aims. The framework of this dissertation does not allow me to study kinship relations in other domains such as politics, religion outside ancestor worship, and cultural aspects outside marriage and funeral. Furthermore, studying the political domain is difficult in Vietnam because of specific sensitivities as I pointed out in Chapter 2.

This concluding chapter recapitulates the main findings of my study. Section 2 summarizes the way in which kinship relations are re-produced constantly which may be compared to the way in which the village itself is re-produced. Section 3 reviews the discussions about the importance of patrilineage before the socialist transformation period and the deprivation of patrilineage functions during the socialist transformation period. This

section also reviews women's position in kinship relations in the pre-socialist period and their position in the related context such as the education, and economic domains in the socialist transformation period. Section 4 describes the way in which villagers built and used social capital in kinship relations to secure their economic and human capitals. It highlights the re-emergence of kinship functions and the growing importance of ego-based kin networks vis-à-vis the patrilineage in the *Đổi mới* era. This section also deals with the changes of the women's position in kinship relations in comparison with the socialist transformation period and in the pre-socialist period. Section 5 and 6 consider how the findings of this detailed research can be related to kinship relations and social capital in kinship relations beyond Vietnam. Section 7 touches on the limitations of the thesis together with suggestions with a view to exploring further this subject. Finally, the concluding section sums up the findings of this study in response to the research questions and the researcher's own reflections on the hypotheses.

2. The creation and the use of social capital in kinship relations

Drawing on Appadurai's perception of the production of locality, this study has shown three dimensions related to the production of kinship relations as follows.

The first is that the production of kinship relations is not naturally or socially given. People involved in this process expend constant efforts at building and using social capital in kinship relations. The endless efforts of involved people could be seen through the way in which they build social capital via ancestor worship and related activities such as compiling patrilineage annals, repairing patrilineage halls, embellishing cemeteries and carrying out rituals related to life cycle events such as marriage and funeral. The constant efforts in producing kinship relations are also reflected through the way in which villagers use social capital to secure their benefits in education and economic domains. In the education domain, individuals draw on social capital to secure human capital through channels such as the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund and the exchange of textbook among children of related families. Villagers also use social capital to secure economic capital through exchanging land and labour in agricultural production, through cottage industry workshops and groups and through rotating credit associations.

The second is that the production of kinship relations reflects continual changes in these relations. Both kinship forms and functions have undergone dramatic changes over the years. In the pre-socialist period, the major form of kinship relation was patrilineal. The patrilineage dominated over other kinship types by virtue of its existence as an organization and the roles played in rituals, education and economic matters. In the socialist transformation period, the patrilineage barely survived as an organization and its functions were much reduced. In the *Đổi mới* era, this institution has re-emerged and evolved in new directions. Together with the ego-based kin network it performs important functions in ritual, education and economic domains. On the whole, villagers built and used social capital in the patrilineage and in the ego-based kin network.

The third is that the production of kinship relations also reflects the continuity of these relations against a background of constant economic, political and cultural changes. Spanning the pre-socialist, high socialist and post-socialist periods, we still see the continuity of kinship relations in terms of the patrilineage as an organization. However, this continuity comes not without change concerning such matters as patrilineage membership and council, together with the obligations and benefits of members and non-members of the patrilineage. The

continuity of the patrilineage can also be seen in the functions carried out in the ritual, education and economic domains that also affect women's position in these kinship settings.

Applying Popkin's perspective on rational choices of individuals in securing benefits, I argue that in the *Đổi mới* context, individuals create their ego-based kin networks, where they build and use social capital to ensure their livelihood and secure benefits. My evidence shows that the unfixed ego-based kin network of each person consists of several sorts of relatives and is not congruent with the patrilineage that this person belongs to. Not all relatives of 'Ego' make part of his or her ego-based kin network. Not all people of Ego's patrilineage are in her or his ego-based kin network. Who belongs to Ego's ego-based kin network depends on the constraints, opportunities and choices of Ego in a given context. The times and the domains to create and/or make use of the ego-based kin network are determined by Ego, within certain social and cultural limitations. More importantly, those choices and decisions of Ego in creating and making use of Ego's kin network come from his or her calculations regarding potential benefits. Thus, the creation of the ego-based kin network is governed by the "considerations of self-interest" rather than the "moral arrangement".

3. Patrilineages before and during the socialist transformation period

The importance of patrilineages before the socialist transformation period

In the pre-socialist period, the patrilineage played an important role in Vietnamese villages. Although Vietnamese kinship system traditionally was characterized by both maternal and paternal features, the patrilineage dominated over other types of kinship relations.

First, the patrilineage existed as a distinct organization with a well defined structure built on the cult of ancestor worship, consisting of a head of patrilineage, a body of membership, an ancestral hall, patrilineage rice-field, genealogical records and a graveyard. These features are not present in other forms of kinship relations. It should be mentioned that women were not allowed to become members of their father's patrilineage nor their husband's patrilineage. Thus, women's position is limited in such a kinship relation setting with the predominance of the patrilineage.

Second, the predominance of the patrilineage over other kinds of kinship relations could be seen in the specific terminology and popular sayings, which stress the distinction between maternal relatives and paternal relatives, generally giving preference to situations related to the father's patrilineage.

Third, historically when establishing a new village, individuals belonging to the same patrilineage often cooperated closely together in the early stages of settling in. Many villages were named after the biggest patrilineage in the village, reflecting the fact that the original land of the village was first settled by members of this patrilineage. In the case of Quỳnh Đôi, the chronicle 'Old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi' [*Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên*], acknowledged the contributions made by three patrilineages in founding this village, while no mention was made of other kinship types in the matter. Although it is impossible to ascertain the veracity of these narratives and these patrilineage claims, what matters here is the extent to which these narratives are believed or contested in the present.

Fourth, the importance of the patrilineage in comparison to other types of kinship relations could be seen through its moral and legal obligations specified by state codes and its own regulations. For example when a patrilineage member did something wrong - legally or morally - the whole patrilineage had to take steps to remedy the situation and to protect its own good name. No such obligations were required from other types of kinship relations.

Fifth, the predominance of the patrilineage was demonstrated through spatial residential patterns within the village itself. Before 1945, members of a patrilineage usually lived in close proximity in a certain area of the village, showing that the patrilineal ties was a major factor in deciding how and where villagers chose to live.

Finally, the predominance of the patrilineage before 1945 was evident in the roles it played in the ritual, economic and educational domains. In ritual matters, relatives within the patrilineage played an important role in life cycle events such as marriage and funeral, much more so than in other types of kinship relations. In the education domain, patrilineages stimulated learning through study encouragement schemes such as providing the revenues from 'lamp-book' rice fields [*học điền*] for promising students, holding trial examinations, and reserving special privileges for literati and laureates of state examinations. In the economic domain, patrilineage members often supported each other in matters related to economic activities. In addition, the relatives, who belonged to the same patrilineage, often cooperated with each other in cottage industry production.

At work here is the social capital accumulated through enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges between patrilineage relatives in matters concerning ritual, education and economic domains in the pre-socialist period. In the ritual domain, social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges was the foundation for mutual assistance in marriages and funerals. Reciprocity exchanges between patrilineage relatives formed the basis for financial incentives and social honours in education. In addition, reciprocity exchanges enabled individual households to receive economic assistance from the patrilineage budget in case of need, as well as support from other patrilineage members by sharing labour, material and financial resources in agricultural and handicraft production. Moreover, social capital under the guise of enforceable trust among patrilineage relatives was a vital factor in cottage industry production to keep trade secrets within the patrilineage.

Robert Putnam made the distinction between 'bonding social capital' (within a certain group or community) which would allow members to "get by", and 'bridging social capital' (crossing the group's or community's boundaries) which would allow group members to "get ahead". If we take the patrilineage dimension as the relevant boundary, then we may say that social capital among relatives in the same patrilineage was important for poor members to get by. This was illustrated by the fact that bonding social capital within their patrilineage enabled villagers to cope with economic and production difficulties through assistance from the patrilineage budget as well as sharing labour, material and financial resources with other patrilineage members. In addition, bonding social capital between relatives in the same patrilineage was instrumental in protecting trade secrets within the patrilineage. In this way relatives in the same patrilineage were able to protect their age old cottage industry from outsiders' competition. In other words, bonding social capital among members of the same patrilineage was crucial for 'getting by' in terms of keeping alive the cottage industry they inherited from their ancestors.

If we take the village as the relevant social unit, the reciprocity exchanges concerning studies in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese could be labelled bridging social capital. That was illustrated through the way in which villagers supported the students of their patrilineages (through patrilineage measures such as building thatched huts for the related students of poor households) as well as other students of the village (through village measures

such as providing village agricultural land for the students of the village), and expected to receive returns from the students if they became mandarins working somewhere outside the village. This bridging social capital was good for the villagers to get ahead in terms of improving economically or non-economically (land, money, prestige, power, and reputation). The bridging social capital was also important for other students to get ahead, understood as facilitating their studies and passing examinations to become mandarins.

The deprivations of patrilineage functions in the socialist transformation period

The period of socialist transformation began in 1945, when the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established, and lasted until 1986, when economic reforms were launched. During this period, socialism in Vietnam was carried out in the framework of three revolutions respectively in the fields of production relation, science and technology, and cultural and ideology.

With regard to culture and ideology, the state organized widespread campaigns with a view to transforming the ‘old’ culture into a new ‘socialist’ culture. In this context, ancestor worship was regarded as a form of superstition, and various life cycle rituals were considered as ‘feudal’ elements. In addition, the hardship of wartime and preoccupation with daily survival made religious concerns and rituals a luxury for most people, reducing them to minimal simplicities. These conditions were not ideal, to put it mildly, for villagers to create and nurture social capital in kinship relations.

One of the effects of the state’s efforts to build a socialist education was the elimination of patrilineage functions since the state assumed all responsibilities and controlled all resources related to education. No social forces outside the state’s apparatus were allowed to play any part. This was in contrast with the past when patrilineages played an important role in the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script before 1919. Under the modern colonial education system, the larger patrilineage ceased to play a significant role in supporting education for its members, while the smaller family continued to provide educational opportunities for its sons. This situation continued during the socialist transformation period when children with close ties with the new Communist elite had good access to education, thus enabling them to acquire high positions in state institutions thanks to the political credentials of their family members.

In the sphere of production relations, the effects of the land reform accompanied by class struggle permeated every aspect of society, causing severe damage to long standing bonds among relatives, including patrilineage members. There were instances of members in the same family denouncing each other, children against parents, nephews against uncles, nieces against aunts etc. In these circumstances, social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges among relatives took a nose dive. In addition, the cooperative with its new production methods operate in ways which cut across kinship lines where cooperative members were assigned to different production brigades and professional teams. This broke down the mutual cooperation in economic matters. There was no private cottage industry in that period, thus reducing kinship cooperation further. However, it should be mentioned that at that time individuals were allocated five percent of the total agricultural land to cultivate privately. It was in this allotted area for private cultivation that kinship cooperation was most intense.

Although its functions in ritual, education and economic domains were suppressed drastically, the patrilineage still existed as an organization with its head, its membership and its own graveyard. Ancestor worship was conducted in simple fashion by elderly members.

Annals updates were neglected and patrilineage halls suffered severe damage but they did not disappear altogether.

In gender relations, with regard to education, women had the same rights as their male counterparts under the socialist transformation period. This was a big step forward as compared to the pre-colonial education system when only men could go to school. In the French colonial education system before 1945, women were in principle allowed to attend school, but this occurred mainly in the urban areas. In production matters, women and men had the same rights as members of the cooperative; women were awarded work points just as men and could become cooperative managers. In addition, in order to free women from family burden for collective work, commune-subsidized kindergarten was established. Before the socialist transformation period, relatives, mostly women, usually helped parents to look after their children. Thus while the kindergarten relieved women of their family burden for production purpose, it reduced the kinship relation function in childcare.

4. The re-emergence of kinship functions and the growing importance of ego-based kin network in the *Đổi mới* era

In the ritual domain

Kinship functions re-emerged with a vengeance in ritual, education and economic domains together with the growing importance of ego-based kin networks in the *Đổi mới* era. These changes were apparent in the ways villagers build and use social capital in kinship relations. As shown in Chapter 7, rituals related to ancestor worship, marriage and funeral have intensified and changed since the introduction of the *Đổi mới*. These phenomena reflect the weakening of the Party control in cultural matters and its diminishing coercive power that led to a relaxation of state interferences in rituals related to life cycle events. Another important factor is the growing prosperity among the populace in which the display of wealth in marriage and funeral is considered as a sign of social prestige.

The revival of ancestor worships allowed relatives, both patrilineage members and non-members, to re-affirm their kinship ties. Thus each individual cultivated and consolidated the channel through which he/she relates to a kinship network. Hence it was important for villagers to build social capital in term of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges with their relatives, not only members but also non-members of their patrilineage. Updating patrilineage annals and upgrading patrilineage halls and graveyards were conducive to creating and maintaining social capital among members as well as non-members of the patrilineage. In the first case, works related to supplementing, elaborating and re-writing patrilineage annals provided opportunities for maintaining and expanding social capital through frequent contacts among patrilineage members, far and near. Likewise the need to repair ancestral halls and embellish graveyards offered an opportunity for relatives to contribute money to the patrilineage, thus earning them recognition and honour within and outside the patrilineage. That created social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges among relatives, both patrilineage members and non-members

The changes of kinship relations manifested in the blurring of patrilineage boundary and the relaxation of regulations also had an impact on gender relations. As explicated in Chapter 7, since the *Đổi mới* women were eligible for patrilineage membership or a seat on the patrilineage council if they so wished. The financial and labour contributions to the patrilineage were made on a voluntary basis, coming from both members and non-members of

the patrilineage, including women. This was a big change from the strict rules before 1945, which required contributions from all (male) members for work such as repairing patrilineage halls and maintaining graveyards.

Changes of kinship relation was accompanied by the growing importance of the ego-based kin network vis-à-vis the patrilineages which could be observed in the way villagers built social capital at life cycle events. These occasions offered relatives both within and outside the patrilineage an opportunity not only to express their personal sentiments but also to offer the persons hosting these events support in cash or labour seen as 'gifts'. This was a way of generating mutual trust that carries reciprocal obligation between the host and his guests - the gift givers. In other words, social capital was created in ego-based kin networks, in which the egos were the hosts. It should be noted that social capital created in kinship relations was much more significant than in other kinds of relations such as those involving friends, neighbours or people from the same professional associations. This was evident when one made a comparison of the gifts in terms of money, items and/or labour offered by relatives and those by non-kin. In short, in marriages and funerals, social capital was created and maintained in the ego-based kin network that includes parts of the patrilineages.

In the domain of children's education

One important finding of this study is the growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison to the patrilineage in the education domain. This was evident in the way social capital was created and used in various study encouragement schemes and in the exchange of textbooks among children of related families.

From a receiver's position, patrilineage non-members such as pupils whose mothers are daughters of the patrilineage and patrilineage members such as pupils whose fathers are members of the patrilineage had the same opportunity in receiving study encouragements through non-economic encouragement measures and the study encouragement fund. The social capital enabled people to secure financial support from the fund and other non-economic rewards. From a donor standpoint, people contributing money to the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund and those offering their services to the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Section were both members and non-members of the patrilineage. These contributions depended on the social capital between contributors and relatives inside and outside the patrilineage. In this way the patrilineage became institutional and organizational vehicles facilitating wider kin-based practices. If we examine kinship relations from an individual as a contributor or as a receiver, we see the ego-based kin network at work here rather than the patrilineage properly bounded by its membership base.

The operations of the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Section and the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund also showed some gender-related changes. At the receiver's end, schoolboys and schoolgirls had the same opportunity in receiving benefits from non-economic encouragement measures as well as from the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund. From the donor's perspective, both men and women could contribute money to the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund and serve in the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Section. This was a big step forward compared to the long era of the classical education system in Hán-Chinese script when only men could attend school and only (male) patrilineage members could benefit from patrilineage study encouragement schemes. In the colonial education system before 1945, the patrilineage did not provide incentives to encourage learning.

As to the exchange of textbooks among related children, social capital embodied in direct and indirect reciprocity exchanges in kinship relations was important for people to give

and receive textbooks. Transactions of giving and receiving textbooks occurred within wider circles of kin, with the expectation of direct reciprocity now, or indirect reciprocity in the future. Viewed from the perspective of an ego-based kin network, the exchange of textbooks depended on social capital in terms of reciprocity exchange among children of related households within wider kin groups.

If we assume that the social unit of (bonding) social capital is the patrilineage, then the patrilineage boundary is the relevant boundary, and social capital between women and their affinal relatives in their husbands' patrilineages can be labeled bridging social capital, which was important for the women to get ahead by improving their social status through membership in the Study Encouragement Section of the patrilineage council. Also the bridging social capital between pupils and their relatives beyond their patrilineage was useful for textbooks exchange that was good for them to get ahead in terms of educational advancement. If the relevant social unit is the village rather than the patrilineage, then the social capital between villagers and their relatives living outside the village can be called bridging social capital. This bridging social capital was the foundation for financial contributions by patrilineage members and other relatives living outside the village. The financial contributions form the bulk of patrilineage education funds. These funds enabled pupils to get ahead in terms of educational advancement, regardless whether pupils received money from their 'own' patrilineages or from the patrilineage where their mothers hailed from. In addition, bridging social capital between pupils living in the village and their relatives living outside the village was the basis for exchanging textbooks that pupils used to get ahead in terms of making progress in their studies.

Despite all the changes during the pre-socialist (pre-colonial and colonial) period, the socialist transformation period and the *Đổi mới* period, there was some degree of continuity with respect to the role of kinship relations in education. In the classical education system in the pre-colonial period, students received material and immaterial encouragement from their patrilineages and their village. During the socialist transformation period, educational access largely depended on the political credentials of family members. In the *Đổi mới* era, the role of kinship relations in education was visible through the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund and activities of the Patrilineage Study Encouragement Section. In these three periods, when successful in later life, the beneficiaries often brought back (or were expected to bring back) prestige, power or material benefits to their patrilineage and village. It can be seen that social capital - understood here as reciprocity exchanges - was at work in these transactions.

In the economic domain

In the economic domain, the changes of kinship relations that occur with the re-emergence of kinship function along with the growing importance of ego-based kin network could be seen in the way villagers use social capital in terms of reciprocity exchanges and enforceable trust to secure their benefits in agricultural production, in cottage industry as well as in rotating credit associations. Most transactions were conducted mainly through verbal agreements based on trust between relatives. There were no written contracts in transactions involving labour exchange, in incense production, in bricklaying and woodworking as well as in setting up and operating rotating credit associations. Only enforceable trust between the people involved underwrites these transactions. If agricultural land transactions among relatives were agreed verbally those involving non-kin often required written agreements. Moreover, relatives often joined forces in investing in cottage industry and kept occupational knowledge, especially trade secrets, among themselves. This shows that trust between relatives is better enforceable than that between non-kin. That trust between relatives is stronger than trust between non-kin is apparent when one compares rotating credit associations in rural areas

(without interest) with those in urban area (with interest). This is due to the fact that strong obligations, expectations and sanctions among relatives and neighbours in the village made trust more enforceable than in urban areas where rotating credit associations consist of non-kin members.

It should be noted that villagers not only cooperated with relatives in the same patrilineage but also rely on other types of kinship ties such as father's kin, mother's kin, spouse's kin, sibling's family in-law, children's family in-law, children, their spouses and offspring in order to secure their benefits in agricultural production, in cottage industry as well as in rotating credit association. Viewed from an individual standpoint, each individual has an ego-based kin network made up of several types of relatives, in which he/she is the ego. This leads to the growing importance of the ego-based kin network (each network incorporates several parts of different patrilineages) in comparison with the patrilineage.

From the perspective of the patrilineage as the relevant social unit, bonding social capital among relatives in the same patrilineage is useful for villagers to get by when dealing with difficulties in agricultural production. Meanwhile, bridging social capital among relatives in different patrilineages is important for villagers to get ahead, understood as enhancing profits and improving families' welfare through agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit associations. If the village is taken as the relevant unit of analysis, then bridging social capital between villagers and their relatives outside the village is important to help them get ahead economically. This bridging capital enables the bricklaying groups to rely on relatives outside the village in extending the scope of their activities. Likewise this kind of capital makes it possible for starting carpenters to acquire woodworking skills from relatives before setting up their own workshops.

The way in which villagers use social capital in ego-based kin networks to secure their economic benefits show the changes in gender relations. In an ego-based kin network where a woman is at the center, she can derive benefits due to social capital cultivated and shared with several types of relatives. As compared to the socialist transformation period dominated by agricultural and cottage industry collective cooperatives, women and men rarely depended on kinship relations to secure benefits in the economic domain. In the pre-socialist period, although people often cooperated with relatives in their patrilineage to secure their benefits, the roles of women were subdued because they were not members of any patrilineage, thereby having less access to kin networks. In short, in the more liberal society of the *Đổi mới* era, the growing importance of ego-based kin networks empowers women to secure their share of benefits in the economic domain.

5. Findings of this study and implications to studies on kinship relations beyond Vietnam

While this study was based on field research in a Northern Vietnamese village, its findings may have relevance beyond Vietnam.

The first implication is that kinship relations in Vietnam bear a number of resemblances to kinship relations in China as seen in the context of the economic reforms in the two countries. It is worthwhile to refer to Chinese forms of kinship when studying kinship relations in Vietnam because there are similarities in culture and society of the two countries. The revival of kinship functions in the *Đổi mới* period as illustrated in this study is in line with the findings of Kuah (1999) and Watson (2004) about the revival of kinship connections between inland Chinese and their relatives in Singapore and Hong Kong in the ritual and economic domains in the wake of China's renovation. Kuah (1999: 108-126) and Watson

(2004: 901-903) showed that these connections were established at first in the domain of ancestor worship and related activities such as building patrilineage halls or ancestral tombs, and writing annals. It was these activities that led to the foundation for economic support or trans-border businesses between these relatives. Thus there are similarities in the revival of kinship functions in the *Đổi mới* period in Vietnam as shown by this thesis and the revival of kinship connections in ritual and economic domains in China as shown by Watson and Kuah.

As regards the gender dimension in China, both Kuah (1999) and Watson (2004) emphasized the important position of women in patrilineages. Watson argued that until the 1980s, Chinese women had limited rights regarding patrilineage affairs. Nowadays women are seen as wielding considerable power in running patrilineage business affairs (Watson, 2004: 900-901). Kuah also pointed out that women played important roles in patrilineage rituals and were considered as “an integral part of the lineage” (Kuah, 1999: 115-116). Comparatively, my findings related to the gender dimension in Vietnamese kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* period are in line with the findings of Kuah and Watson in the Chinese setting. In the wake of the *Đổi mới*, Vietnamese women play important role in rituals and other patrilineage activities. Many have become patrilineage members and draw on kinship relations to secure their benefits.

Another finding of this thesis is the growing importance of the ego-based kin network in comparison with the patrilineage. This is in line with Fox’s contention (1967) that in complex societies, kinship tends to be defined more in terms of ego-based kin networks than in terms of membership in (lineage) descent groups. While Fox stressed the importance of the ego-based kin network in complex societies in general, I focused on the increasing role of the ego-based kin network in a socialist society in transition characterized by a liberalizing economy, a diversifying culture, and changing politics. I also showed the important role played by the ego-based kin network in ritual, education and economic domains.

6. Findings of this study and implications with regard to studies of social capital in kinship relations beyond Vietnam

This study presents new findings on social capital in kinship relations compared to the works of Coleman (1988) and Fukuyama (2002). While Fukuyama (2002: 27-28) shows the important role of social capital between relatives in times of economic recession and unemployment in Latin America, I explore the ways in which villagers used social capital to secure economic benefits specifically in agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit facility in rural Vietnam under normal circumstances.

The findings of this study could be best seen in the mold of Coleman’s perceptions on social capital in the creation of human capital. In his study, Coleman (1988) explored the usefulness of social capital within the households in the creation of human capital for the benefit of children’s education, whereas in this thesis I argued that social capital between relatives beyond individual households helped children to access financial resources that enabled them to pursue their education. Thus, both Coleman’s study and my own showed the importance of social capital in kinship relations in the creation of human capital. However the contents of these studies differ: while Coleman focused on the household I dealt with situations beyond the household in the cultural specific context of Vietnam.

It should be added that the findings of this study are in line with the results of other studies on social capital and economic development in a number of countries. The way Vietnamese villagers use bonding and bridging social capital to secure benefits, and the

crucial role of bridging social capital for them to get economic upward mobility are consistent with the general conclusions from these studies (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) employed data from studies in various countries to show that bonding social capital within a community is good for getting by, whereas bridging social capital prevailing in diverse networks beyond that community is important for getting ahead. The ways Vietnamese villagers develop their ego-based kin networks outside their patrilineage and especially outside their village to build and use bridging social capital is consistent with findings in development studies that diversification of networks to access bridging social capital is crucial for getting ahead, as argued by Woolcock & Narayan (2000) and Woolcock (2001).

7. The limitations of the thesis and questions for further studies

One important aspect related to kinship relations in Vietnamese village that was not examined in this thesis is the kinship relations in the political domain. In recent years, researchers and politicians within the Communist leadership have discussed the influence of kinship relations on the election of commune authority in the *Đổi mới* era. In 2008, there were discussions about the possibility of allowing direct election of the chairperson of People's Commune Committee, which so far has been elected by the People's Commune Council. In these debates, there were warnings about the danger of factionalism [*cục bộ*] if the elected chairperson was the representative of the biggest patrilineage in the commune (Lê Nhung, 2008). This question in fact has been broached earlier, for example in a novel about conflict between patrilineages vying for local leadership (Nguyễn Khắc Trường, 1990). Another short story recounted the struggle for power and prestige between patrilineages on the question of the village deity (Lê Minh Ngọc, 1995).

Along this line DiGregorio investigated rival claims about patrilineage founders and the origins of a village in the Red River Delta (DiGregorio, 2007). Others raised questions about the influence of patrilineages on commune authority election (Đoàn Văn Chúc, 1997; Nguyễn Đình Chú, 1997; Phan Đại Doãn, 1998). Mai Văn Hai, through a study of the villages of Đào Xá (Nam Sách district, Hải Dương province) and Tứ Kỳ (Thanh Trì district, Hanoi) reported that there was no patrilineage-related factionalism in commune authority elections (Mai Văn Hai & Phan Đại Doãn, 2000). However, Mai Văn Hai only examined the issue from a patrilineage standpoint. Since it is most likely that villagers use their social capital inherent in their ego-based kin network as well as in their patrilineage to secure benefits in political domain, then the influence of kinship relations on local authority organization may be more complicated than it may appear. Relations embedded in an ego-based kin network are wide ranging and multi-layered and a person can rely on any of them to advance his/her political ambitions. This is a subject worth investigating since it may help broaden our knowledge of kinship relations in the political domain, thus making a contribution to the debate on the direct election problematic.

The second limitation of this thesis concerns the gender dimension. A considerable number of authors have written on this subject. For example, Tétreault (1996), Turley (1972), and Trần Đình Hượu (1996) mentioned the improvement of women's position during the French colonial period. Đặng Thị Vân Chi (2006), Tétreault (1996), Turley (1972), Lê Thị Nhâm Tuyết (1975), Trần Đình Hượu (1996) highlighted the important role of women and gender equality - both in theory and in practice - during the independence movement, the Vietnam war and the period of high socialism after the war. In the free-wheeling economy of

the *Đổi mới*, women did not fare as well as their menfolk, accounting for the majority of low-skilled employment with poor pay. Women earned less than men in non-wage as well as wage employment. Few women held decision-making positions in government and in the job market, and they had fewer opportunities than men in capitalizing assets (World Bank et al., 2006: 37-44). Despite the existing gender inequality, Vietnam was considered as one of the most successful countries in East Asia in narrowing the gender gap in last 20 years in the domains of educational and health services, opportunities to work, and participation in decision making (World Bank et al., 2006: 23-34).

In passing one should mention the remarkable body of work related to women's studies concerning family and kinship relations. Jayne Werner (2004) for example explored the changes of intergenerational hierarchies through examining relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. Ngo Thi Ngan Binh (2004) highlighted the changes in traditional values prescribed to women in the patriarchal Vietnam. Bélanger and Khuất Thu Hồng (2002) reported on single women who refused potential candidates for marriages. Krowolski (2002) revealed a high proportion of women playing the roles of household head. Bélanger explored the son preference phenomenon among peasants in the countryside (Bélanger, 2002).

In this thesis, I have focused on the improvement of women's position in kinship relations seen against the backdrop of the changes of kinship forms and functions in the *Đổi mới* era. I have shown that women could become members of the patrilineage and sit on its council. They had the same opportunities as men in receiving from and contributing to the patrilineage. Above all, women had opportunities in ego-based kin networks when doing economic transactions. However, the thesis did not explore the impact on kinship relations of matters such as labor division between men and women in the household, types of employment and income of women, gender preference in giving birth and women's involvement in childcare. Surely studying these issues will shed light on the changes of kinship relations set against the backdrop of changing gender relations in family and society.

The third limitation is that this study has paid less attention to relations between the villagers and their relatives outside the village. I have mentioned these relations were maintained through ancestor worship in which people living outside the village sent money to repair patrilineage halls or embellish patrilineage graveyards. I have also mentioned the strengthening of ties between the villagers and relatives outside the village through works related to compiling and upgrading patrilineage annals. However, other important aspects have not been discussed such as the role of kinship in attracting villagers to migrate for better job opportunity elsewhere.

The fourth limitation is my leaving out kinship relations within the household seen from a social capital standpoint, no doubt an interesting topic. There were a number of studies on kinship relations within households, for example the changes in husband-wife relationship (Pham Van Bich, 1997), the changes of intergenerational hierarchies through examining relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law (Werner, 2004), labour division within households (Vũ Tuấn Huy (chief author), 2004), etc. A study of the relations between kin within households from a social capital standpoint would have been useful to explore how human capital is created for the benefit of children.

Lastly, I should add a precautionary note. This is only a case study of a village in Northern Vietnamese while there is admittedly a diversity of Vietnamese villages from the north to the south, from the highlands to the lowlands and coastal areas, all marked by physical, socio-cultural variations and historical fluctuations, not to mention different patterns of administration and local power structures (Kleinen, 1999; Nguyễn Thế Anh, 2003). Therefore, in order to get a general picture of the changes of kinship relations in Vietnamese villages, one needs more comparative studies in other regions.

8. Summary and conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I have recapitulated the main findings of my research. These are now reiterated as a brief answer to the questions: *“What were the changes of kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household in the Đổi mới era in comparison with those in the socialist transformation period and the pre-socialist period? How did the changes in kinship forms and functions beyond the reproductive and affective functions of the immediate kin group or household articulate with other social practices in the village?”* I also present the findings as my reflections on the hypotheses mentioned earlier and also briefly reiterate the implications of these findings with kinship relations and social capital in kinship relations beyond Vietnam.

In the pre-socialist period, the Vietnamese kinship was basically patrilineal. The predominance of the patrilineage over other kinship types was demonstrated by patrilineage functions in ritual, education and economic domains as well as through the existence of the patrilineage as an organization. In this setting, women were marginalized because they were not members of the patrilineage. In the socialist transformation period, the state simplified ritual and took over the education and economic functions of the patrilineage. In the *Đổi mới* era, the state relaxed significantly its hold on these functions and in this new situation, villagers found ways to perform kinship-related ritual, education and economic functions in order to secure personal benefits.

By applying a social capital perspective to examine the performance of kinship-related ritual, education and economic functions, I found several important points. The first is that the performance of these functions reflected the way in which villagers built social capital in terms of enforceable trust and reciprocity exchanges in the ritual domain and used it to secure benefits in the education and economic domains. In addition, villagers also built social capital in the education and economic fields and used it in the ritual domain but with less emphasis. Moreover, social capital built in one domain may or may not be used in other domains. The second important point is that although villagers built and used social capital in kinship relations and non-kin relations, they preferred to build and use social capital in kinship relations because trust was better enforceable in these relations than in other non-kin relations. Likewise, reciprocity exchanges were better realizable over time among relatives than between non-kin. The third important point is that villagers built and used social capital in both the patrilineage and the ego-based kin network. The way in which villagers built and used social capital in the ego-based kin network demonstrates the growing importance of this network vis-à-vis the patrilineage. The fourth important point concerns the changing position of women in relation to the changes in kinship relations. In the pre-socialist period, women's position in the kinship setting was marginal because they formally were not members of any patrilineage. In the socialist transformation period, in which the patrilineage's education and economic functions were suppressed, women had the same rights as men in education and in the collective system of agricultural and cottage industry production. In the *Đổi mới* period, with the re-emergence of kinship functions and the growing importance of the ego-based kin network, women had more opportunity to build and use social capital in order to secure benefits in the kinship setting. While they could become patrilineage members in their own right, they were, more importantly, able to build and use social capital for their own good in ego-based kin networks beyond the patrilineage.

I have pointed out that bonding social capital was good for villagers to get by in terms of coping with economic hardship or difficulties in agricultural production whereas bridging social capital was vital for villagers to get ahead in terms of enhancing profits and improving household welfare through agricultural production, cottage industry and rotating credit association. In addition, bridging social capital was important for students to get ahead in

education, through study encouragement schemes financed by the patrilineage as well as by exchanging textbooks among related children. Moreover, the role of kinship relations in education in the pre-socialist period continued with the changes in the socialist transformation and the *Đổi mới* periods.

The findings from this study also suggest implications for research on kinship relations and social capital in kinship relations beyond Vietnam. First, it is worthwhile to compare the changes of kinship relations in Vietnam with those in China because of the socio-cultural similarities in culture and society taking into account of the reforms in these two countries. The revival of kinship functions in the *Đổi mới* period somewhat resembles what Kuah (1999) and Watson (2004) observed about the revival of kinship connections between inland Chinese and their relatives in Singapore and Hong Kong in the ritual and economic domains in the renovation period of China. Moreover, women's position in the Vietnamese kinship in the *Đổi mới* era is comparable to that of women in Chinese patrilineages as shown by Kuah (1999) and Watson (2004). Second, changes in kinship form in terms of the growing importance of the ego-based kin network vis-à-vis the patrilineage is consistent with Fox's perception (1964) of the importance of the ego-based kin network in complex societies. Seen from this perception, this thesis shows the importance of the ego-based kin network in a (post-)socialist society in transition seen through certain ritual, education and economic aspects. Third, social capital in kinship relations brought out in this study could be compared with what Fukuyama (2002) argued about the value of social capital in kinship relations relating to economic benefits. While Fukuyama stressed the importance of social capital in kinship relations during times of economic hardship, this thesis affirms the role of social capital in kinship relations in a growing economy as well. In addition, this study shows that social capital in kinship relations is vital for children's education, confirming the findings of Coleman (1998) about social capital in the creation of human capital. While Coleman explored the role of social capital in children's education within the household, this thesis shows the importance of social capital among relatives beyond the household parameter in children's education in the specific context of Vietnam. In addition, in the *Đổi mới* setting, Vietnamese villagers often went beyond their patrilineage boundaries to mobilize their ego-based kin networks, while reaching out to relatives outside their village with a view to building and utilizing new sources of (bridging) social capital. This is consistent with development findings from research conducted elsewhere (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000) that diversification of networks to access bridging social capital beyond the own kin group or local community is crucially important for individuals to get ahead.

The Vietnam case suggests that in modernizing societies, kinship relations remain a significant social element. While kinship held important functions in the pre-socialist period, those functions were lost to the Party-State in the socialist transformation period. There has been a revival of kinship relations in the context of Vietnam's recent dramatic entrance into the global economy, culture and politics. To a certain extent, this finding goes against the contention of classic sociologists as they believed that in modern society primary groups would fall into decay (Litwak & Szelenyi, 1969), in line with the historical loss of functions of kinship in Western society (Shorter, 1975). However, my findings are consistent with results of several studies elsewhere, thereby indicating that kinship still plays an important role in social support, even in (post-)industrial societies (Höllinger & Haller, 1990; Allen, 2008). It can be said that the changes of kinship relations in Vietnam correlate with the picture of kinship relations in many societies: kinship did not fall into decay as society modernized. Instead, the increase or decrease of the importance of kinship relations corresponds with the transformations of politics, economy and culture (Entwistle et al., 2007).

In the context of a rapidly changing Vietnamese society, the intensification of kinship relations is not only a revival of patrilineages but also manifests the importance of ego-based

kin networks in comparison with patrilineages. This is reflected by the fact that individuals have new choices and opportunities to secure benefits through kinship relations in the *Đổi mới* period in comparison with the socialist transformation period (when kinship was deprived of its economic and educational functions) and the pre-socialist period (when villagers mainly relied on relatives within their patrilineages for assistance). The way in which villagers have built and used social capital in their ego-based kin networks in the *Đổi mới* era shows that individuals are becoming more autonomous social actors. In other words, this finding sheds light on the process of individualization within contemporary Vietnamese society demonstrated through the growing importance of ego-based kin network in the setting of economic reforms. To a significant extent, the changes in kinship patterns reflect the way in which Vietnamese society is on the same road as modernizing societies elsewhere that place the individual at the center.

The changes of kinship relations in Vietnam also reflect the way in which individuals have extended the scope for building and using social capital from the bounded patrilineage to the ego-based kin network, which includes parts of patrilineages. In the pre-socialist period, villagers built and used social capital mainly in the patrilineage. In the socialist transformation era, the social capital in kinship relations was dismissed by the Party-State because it was believed to go against collective interests. In the reform context, individuals have looked for new choices and opportunities to secure benefits through building and using social capital, not only in the patrilineage but also in the ego-based kin network. Thus, the changing shape, function and use of social capital in kinship relations mirrors historical, socio-economic and political transformations. More importantly, the expanded uses of social capital corresponds to the current socio-economic development of Vietnam in the *Đổi mới* context. This finding throws new light on contemporary Vietnamese society by emphasizing the economic value demonstrated through the creation of new opportunities to build and use social capital to secure benefits in the *Đổi mới* era with the visions for the free market, privatization, and globalization. To a considerable extent, what can be concluded is that the economic development in Vietnam, and possibly elsewhere, is shaped by the expanded uses of social capital.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Verwantschap als sociaal kapitaal: Economische, sociale en culturele dimensies van veranderende verwantschapsverhoudingen in een dorp in het noorden van Vietnam

Deze dissertatie gaat over veranderende verwantschaps-, familie en genderverhoudingen in het hedendaagse Vietnam. Na een periode van socialistische collectivisatie waarin vele economische, sociale, culturele en politieke functies van de patrilinie (afstammingsgroep langs de mannelijke lijn) werden overgeheveld naar de staat, hebben verwantschapsverhoudingen een *come-back* gemaakt in de periode van economische hervormingen vanaf 1986. Dat hernieuwde belang van familie- en verwantschapsgroepen in de huidige tijd betekent niet zomaar een terugkeer naar pre-socialistische vormen, functies en inhoud, maar gaat gepaard met veranderingen op al die gebieden.

De resultaten zijn verkregen uit een case study in het dorp Quỳnh Đôi, gelegen in het Quỳnh Lưu district, in de noordelijke provincie Nghệ An Vietnam. Dit dorp heeft op verschillende momenten in de Vietnamese geschiedenis een belangrijke rol gespeeld, zo ook in de socialistische revolutie. Om die reden kunnen mogelijke veranderingen in verwantschapsrelaties hier scherp naar voren komen. Vanuit de resultaten geef ik commentaar op eerder ontwikkelde hypothesen en geef ik aan wat de implicaties zijn voor *verwantschapsrelaties* en sociaal kapitaal in *verwantschapsrelaties* buiten Vietnam.

In het slothoofdstuk heb ik de belangrijkste resultaten van mijn onderzoek kort samengevat. Die formuleer ik hier nogmaals als kort antwoord op de volgende vragen:

- *Welke veranderingen in vorm en functie van verwantschap buiten de reproductieve en affectieve functies van de directe verwantengroep of het huishouden waren er tijdens het Ðổi mới tijdperk en hoe verhouden die zich tot de veranderingen tijdens de socialistische transformatieperiode en de pre-socialistische periode?*
- *Hoe hingen de veranderingen in vorm en functie van verwantschap buiten de reproductieve en affectieve functies van de directe verwantengroep of het huishouden samen met andere sociale gebruiken in het dorp?*

In de pre-socialistische (en koloniale) periode, vanaf de late 19^e eeuw tot ongeveer 1945, was verwantschap in Vietnam in principe patrilineair georganiseerd. De dominantie van de patrilinie over andere verwantschapstypen kwam tot uiting in functies van de patrilinie in rituelen, onderwijs en op economisch terrein en tevens door het bestaan van de patrilinie als organisatie. In deze setting werden vrouwen gemarginaliseerd omdat ze geen deel uitmaakten van de patrilinie. Tijdens de socialistische transformatieperiode, tussen 1945 en ongeveer 1986, beperkte de staat de rituelen en nam het onderwijs en de economische functies van de patrilinie over. In het Ðổi mới tijdperk, dat begon in de jaren tachtig, liet de staat zijn greep op deze functies verslappen. In deze nieuwe situatie vonden de dorpelingen manieren om verwantschap-gerelateerde praktijken in te voeren in rituelen, onderwijs en economische functies om persoonlijke doeleinden te dienen.

Ik heb verwantschap-gerelateerde rituelen, onderwijs en economische functies als maatschappelijke praktijken onderzocht vanuit het perspectief van sociaal kapitaal. Dit heeft mij tot verschillende belangrijke punten gebracht.

- Het eerste is dat de uitvoering van deze functies de manier weerspiegelde waarin de dorpelingen sociaal kapitaal opbouwden in de vorm van vertrouwen en wederkerige uitwisselingen in het rituele domein en dit kapitaal gebruikten om persoonlijk

voordeel te behalen in onderwijs en het economische domein. De dorpelingen bouwden ook sociaal kapitaal op in het onderwijs en op economisch terrein en maakten er gebruik van in het rituele domein, maar dit gebeurde minder nadrukkelijk.

- Het tweede belangrijke punt is dat de dorpelingen, hoewel ze sociaal kapitaal opbouwden en gebruikten binnen zowel verwantschapsrelaties als in andere maatschappelijk betrekkingen, de voorkeur gaven aan verwantschapsrelaties. De reden hiervoor is dat het vertrouwen tussen verwanten sterker gesanctioneerd was dan tussen niet-verwanten. Ook wederkerige uitwisselingen ontwikkelden zich in de loop der tijd beter tussen verwanten dan tussen niet-verwanten.
- Het derde belangrijke punt is dat de dorpelingen in zowel de patriline als het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk sociaal kapitaal opbouwden en gebruikten. Anders dan de externe organisatie van de patriline, is het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk opgebouwd uit verwantschapsrelaties van een individu. Die verwanten kunnen, maar hoeven niet, afkomstig (te) zijn uit de patriline. De manier waarop de dorpelingen sociaal kapitaal opbouwden en gebruikten in het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk toont het toenemende belang van dit netwerk ten opzichte van de patriline.
- Het vierde belangrijke punt betreft de veranderende positie van vrouwen in samenhang met de veranderingen in verwantschapsrelaties. In de pre-socialistische periode was de positie van vrouwen binnen de verwantengroep marginaal omdat zij formeel geen deel uitmaakten van een patriline. In de periode van socialistische transformatie, waarin de onderwijs- en economische functies van de patriline werden onderdrukt, hadden vrouwen dezelfde rechten als mannen in het onderwijs en in het collectieve landbouwsysteem en de huisnijverheid. In de *Đổi mới* periode, met de wederopleving van verwantschapsfuncties en het toenemende belang van het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk, kregen vrouwen meer kansen om sociaal kapitaal op te bouwen en in te zetten voor hun persoonlijk voordeel. Niet alleen konden ze nu een meer volwaardig lid worden van de patriline, ze waren ook in staat sociaal kapitaal op te bouwen en ten eigen bate in te zetten binnen persoonlijke verwantennetwerken buiten de patriline.
- Ik heb ten slotte uitgelegd dat samenbindend (*bonding*) sociaal kapitaal gunstig was voor de dorpelingen omdat het hen in staat stelde te overleven in tijden van economische tegenslagen of problemen in de agrarische productie terwijl overbruggend (*bridging*) sociaal kapitaal voor de dorpelingen juist van vitaal belang was om vooruitgang te boeken op terreinen als het verhogen van de winst en het verbeteren van de welvaart van het huishouden door middel van landbouwproductie, huisnijverheid en informele, roterende spaar- en kredietvormen van vooral groepen vrouwen. Daarnaast was overbruggend sociaal kapitaal, in de vorm van studie-aanmoedigingsprojecten die door de patriline gefinancierd werden en de uitwisseling van leerboeken onder verwante kinderen, belangrijk voor studenten om vooruit te komen in het onderwijs.

De resultaten van dit onderzoek hebben ook implicaties voor onderzoek naar verwantschapsrelaties en sociaal kapitaal binnen verwantschapsrelaties buiten Vietnam. Ten eerste is het waardevol om de veranderingen in verwantschapsrelaties in Vietnam te vergelijken met die in China vanwege de socio-culturele overeenkomsten in cultuur en maatschappij, voortvloeiend uit de hervormingen in de twee landen. De heropleving van de verwantschapsfuncties in de *Đổi mới* periode lijkt enigszins op de door Kuah (1999) en Watson (2004) opgemerkte opleving in verwantschapsbetrekkingen in de rituele en

economische domeinen tussen Chinezen van het vasteland en hun familieleden in Singapore en Hong Kong tijdens de Chinese periode van vernieuwing. Bovendien is de positie van vrouwen in de Vietnamese verwantengroep tijdens het *Đổi mới*-tijdperk vergelijkbaar met die van de vrouwen in Chinese patrilinies, zoals Kuah (1999) en Watson (2004) die beschrijven. Ten tweede komt het steeds belangrijker worden van het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk tegenover de patrilinie overeen met de visie van Fox (1964) op het belang van persoonlijke verwantennetwerken in complexe maatschappijen. Vanuit dit perspectief gezien, toont dit proefschrift het belang van het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk in een (post-) socialistische maatschappij in transitie aan de hand van bepaalde rituele, educatieve en economische aspecten. Ten derde zou het sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties dat in deze studie naar voren komt vergeleken kunnen worden met wat Fukuyama (2002) stelde over de waarde van het sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties voor economisch voordeel. Terwijl Fukuyama het belang van sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties in tijden van economische tegenspoed benadrukte, laat deze dissertatie zien dat sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties ook een belangrijke rol speelt in tijden van economische groei.

Deze studie laat ook zien dat sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties van vitaal belang is voor het onderwijs van kinderen en bevestigt daarmee de conclusies van Coleman (1998) over de rol van sociaal kapitaal bij het creëren van menselijk kapitaal. Terwijl Coleman de rol van sociaal kapitaal in het onderwijs aan kinderen binnen het huishouden onderzocht, toont deze thesis het belang van sociaal kapitaal tussen verwanten buiten de grenzen van het huishouden voor het onderwijs aan kinderen in de specifieke context van Vietnam. Daarnaast opereerden Vietnamese dorpelingen in de *Đổi mới* periode vaak buiten de grenzen van hun patrilinie om hun eigen persoonlijke verwantennetwerk te mobiliseren, en legden contact met verwanten buiten hun dorp met het doel om nieuwe bronnen van (overbruggend) sociaal kapitaal aan te boren en te benutten. Dit komt overeen met conclusie van ander ontwikkelingsonderzoek (Woolcock, 2001; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000), namelijk dat de diversificatie van netwerken om toegang te krijgen tot overbruggend sociaal kapitaal buiten de eigen verwantengroep of lokale gemeenschap van cruciaal belang is voor het individu om vooruit te komen.

Het geval van Vietnam laat zien dat verwantschapsrelaties in moderniserende maatschappijen een belangrijk sociaal element blijven. Terwijl verwantschap in de pre-socialistische periode belangrijke functies vervulde, werden die functies in de socialistische transformatieperiode overgenomen door de eenpartijstaat en haar instellingen. Er is recentelijk een opleving geweest in verwantschapsrelaties vanwege de dramatische intrede van Vietnam in de mondiale economie, cultuur en politiek. Tot op zekere hoogte gaat deze bevinding in tegen de stelling van de klassieke sociologen die geloofden dat de primaire groepen in de moderne maatschappij in verval zouden raken (Litwak & Szelenyi, 1969) door het historische verlies van functies van verwantschap in de westerse maatschappij (Shorter, 1975). Mijn bevindingen komen echter overeen met de resultaten van verschillende andere studies, en geven aan dat verwantschap nog steeds een belangrijke rol speelt in sociale ondersteuning, zelfs in industrieel ontwikkelde maatschappijen (Höllinger & Haller, 1990, Allen, 2008). Gesteld kan worden dat de veranderingen in verwantschapsrelaties in Vietnam correleren met het beeld van verwantschapsrelaties in veel samenlevingen: verwantschap raakt niet in verval wanneer de maatschappij moderniseert. Eerder correspondeert de toe- of afname van het belang van verwantschap met veranderingen in politiek, economie en cultuur (Entwistle et al., 2007).

Binnen de context van een snel veranderende Vietnamese maatschappij is de intensivering van verwantschapsrelaties niet alleen een opleving van patrilinies, maar laat ook het toenemende belang van persoonlijke verwantennetwerken zien. Dit wordt weerspiegeld in het feit dat in de *Đổi mới* periode individuen nieuwe keuzen en mogelijkheden hebben om

voordeel te behalen uit verwantschapsrelaties in vergelijking met de socialistische transformatieperiode (toen verwantschap werd ontdaan van zijn economische en educatieve functies) en de pre-socialistische periode (toen de dorpelingen voor steun vooral terugvielen op hun familieleden binnen de patriline). De manier waarop dorpelingen in de *Đổi mới* periode sociaal kapitaal hebben opgebouwd en gebruikt in hun persoonlijke verwantennetwerken laat zien dat individuen autonomer worden in hun sociaal handelen. Met andere woorden: dit resultaat werpt licht op het proces van individualisering binnen de hedendaagse Vietnamese maatschappij. De veranderingen in verwantschapspatronen laten zien dat de Vietnamese maatschappij op dezelfde weg is als moderniserende maatschappijen elders in de wereld die het individu centraal stellen.

De veranderingen in verwantschapsrelaties in Vietnam laten ook zien hoe individuen hun bereik bij het bouwen en gebruiken van sociaal kapitaal hebben uitgebreid van de afgegrensde patriline naar het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk, dat delen van patrilineën omvat. In de pre-socialistische periode, bouwden en gebruikten dorpelingen sociaal kapitaal voornamelijk binnen de patriline. In het tijdperk van socialistische transformatie werd het sociaal kapitaal binnen verwantschapsrelaties door de eenpartijstaat terzijde geschoven omdat men van mening was dat dit tegen de belang van het collectief in zou gaan. Binnen de context van de hervormingen, zijn individuen op zoek gegaan naar nieuwe kansen om persoonlijk voordeel te behalen door het opbouwen en gebruiken van sociaal kapitaal, niet alleen binnen de patriline maar ook in het persoonlijke verwantennetwerk. De veranderingen in vorm, functie en gebruik van sociaal kapitaal in verwantschapsrelaties zijn dus een weerspiegeling van historische, sociaal-economische en politieke transformaties. Belangrijker, de toename in het gebruik van sociaal kapitaal correspondeert met de huidige sociaal-economische ontwikkeling van Vietnam in de *Đổi mới* periode. Deze bevinding werpt een nieuw licht op de huidige Vietnamese maatschappij door de economische waarde te benadrukken die ontstaat door de creatie van nieuwe mogelijkheden om sociaal kapitaal op te bouwen en te gebruiken voor persoonlijk voordeel in het *Đổi mới* tijdperk dat op de vrije markt, privatisering en mondialisering is gericht. Geconcludeerd kan worden dat de economische ontwikkeling in Vietnam, en mogelijk ook elders, in aanzienlijke mate gevormd wordt door het toegenomen gebruik van sociaal kapitaal.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Some important historical events in Quỳnh Đôi¹

- 1378: Quỳnh Đôi village was established.
- 1440: The first teacher in Hán-Chinese script was invited to Quỳnh Đôi.
- 1449: The first Quỳnh Đôi villager received a doctorate-level degree at a general examination in Hán-Chinese script
- 1655: The first carpentry shop was set up in Quỳnh Đôi
- 1688: Weaving production (cottage textile industry) was introduced to Quỳnh Đôi
- 1885: Booldshed in Quỳnh Đôi: 80 villagers were killed in clashes with French troops and their Vietnamese supporters.
- 1907: Hồ Học Lãm, the village's first revolutionary, went to Japan under the 'Go East' Movement [*Phong trào Đông Du*].
- 1927: A cell [*chi bộ*] of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Young Comrades [*Việt Nam Thanh Niên Cách Mạng Đồng Chí Hội*] was established in Quỳnh Đôi. The Association, established in 1925 by Nguyễn Ái Quốc (Hồ Chí Minh), was the forerunner of the Communist Party of Vietnam.
- 1930: A cell of the Communist Party was established in Quỳnh Đôi, consisting of 6 members.
- 1945: On 2 August 1945, the National Liberation Committee of Quỳnh Đôi village [*Ủy ban dân tộc giải phóng làng Quỳnh Đôi*] was established.
- 1945: On 18 August 1945, Quỳnh Đôi villagers rose up against the French colonialists and their Vietnamese collaborators and seized local power.
- 1946: A primary school was established.
- 1955: Land reform was carried out in Quỳnh Đôi.
- 1958: Collective agricultural cooperatives were established.
- 1992: The electric power network reached Quỳnh Đôi.
- 1992: The Hồ patrilineage hall was acknowledged as a historic cultural monument
- 1996: Quỳnh Đôi village was awarded the title of Hero of the People's Armed Forces
- 1998: Quỳnh Đôi village was awarded the title of cultural village at provincial level.
- 1998: The Nguyễn patrilineage hall was acknowledged as a historic cultural monument
- 1999: The Hoàng patrilineage hall was acknowledged as a historic cultural monument
- 2001: Agricultural land was re-allocated for reducing the number of allotments per household and enlarging the area of each plot of agricultural land.

¹ The information used in this section came from field interviews and was compiled from the following materials:

- Hồ Phi Hội, & Hồ Trọng Chuyên. (2004[1856]). *Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên* [The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi]. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Lao động.
- Hồ Phi Hội, Hồ Trọng Chuyên, & Hồ Đức Linh. (2005[1856, 1963]). *Quỳnh Đôi cổ kim sự tích hương biên* [The old and new stories of Quỳnh Đôi]. Hồ Chí Minh: Nhà Xuất bản Tổng hợp Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh.
- Hồ Sĩ Giàng. (1988). *Từ Thổ Đôi Trang đến xã Quỳnh Đôi* [From Thổ Đôi Farm to Quỳnh Đôi commune]. Nghệ Tĩnh: Nhà Xuất bản Nghệ Tĩnh.
- Hồ Sĩ Giàng. (1990). *Quỳnh Lưu huyện địa đầu xứ Nghệ* [Quỳnh Lưu – The Northernmost district of Nghệ An province]. Vinh: Nhà Xuất bản Nghệ Tĩnh.
- Hồ Sĩ Giàng. (1993). *Quỳnh Đôi chặng đường nối tiếp* [Quỳnh Đôi: the continuing stage]. Nghệ An: Nhà Xuất bản Nghệ An.
- Hoàng Nhật Tân. (2005). *Lịch sử Đảng bộ xã Quỳnh Đôi* [The history of Quỳnh Đôi Commune Communist Party]. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất bản Lao động.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for survey in 2000

Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội
Trường Đại học Khoa học
Xã hội và Nhân văn
KHOA XÃ HỘI HỌC
Vietnam National University, Hanoi
College of Social Sciences and Humanities
FACULTY OF SOCIOLOGY
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Đề tài: Vai trò dòng họ trong đời sống
cộng đồng làng xã hiện nay
Project title: The role of patrilineages in
the rural community at the present time

BẢNG HỎI **QUESTIONNAIRE**

Kính thưa ông (bà, anh, chị...),
Nhằm góp phần tìm hiểu vai trò dòng họ trong đời sống cộng đồng làng xã hiện nay, khoa Xã hội học thuộc Trường Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn, Đại học quốc gia Hà Nội tổ chức cuộc nghiên cứu này. Chúng tôi mong muốn nhận được ý kiến của ông (bà, anh, chị...) về những vấn đề dưới đây (xin đánh dấu X vào những ý kiến mà ông (bà, anh, chị... cho là phù hợp). Những ý kiến của ông (bà, anh, chị...) rất có ý nghĩa đối với cuộc nghiên cứu này.

Xin chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của ông (bà, anh, chị...),

Dear Sir/Madam,

In order to learn about the role of patrilineages in the village community at the time, the Faculty of Sociology, College of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, conducts this study. We would like to receive your opinions about the questions listed below (please tick off (x) on your answer for each question). Your opinions are very important for the research.

Thank you very much for your help

Câu 1: Có quan niệm: “một giọt máu đào hơn ao nước lã” ông (bà, anh, chị...) thấy điều đó có đúng trong giai đoạn hiện nay nữa không? [Question 1: Do you think the proverb: “Blood is thicker than water” still holds true at the present juncture?]

- 1. Có [Yes] ☐
- 2. Không [No] ☐

Câu 2: Theo ông (bà, anh, chị...) việc thờ cúng ông bà, tổ tiên, những người ruột thịt đã mất cần thiết như thế nào? [Question 2: What are your opinions on ancestor worship practice?]

- 1. Rất cần thiết [Very necessary] ☐
- 2. Cần thiết [Necessary] ☐
- 3. Bình thường [Nothing special] ☐
- 4. Không cần thiết [Not necessary] ☐
- 5. Khác [Other opinions] ☐

Câu 3: Theo ông (bà, anh, chị.....) việc duy trì dòng họ trong giai đoạn hiện nay có cần thiết nữa không? [Question 3: Is it necessary to maintain patrilineages nowadays?]

- 1. Có [Yes] ☐
- 2. Không [No] ☐

Câu 4: Ông (bà, anh, chị...) đánh giá mức độ quan trọng những công việc sau như thế nào?
[Question 4: Please rate the importance of activities below]

	Rất cần thiết [Very necessary]	Cần thiết [Necessary]	Không cần thiết [Not necessary]
1. Xây mới, sửa chữa nhà thờ [<i>Building, repairing patrilineage ancestral halls</i>]	☐	☐	☐
2. Xây mới, sửa sang mồ mả tổ tiên [<i>Rebuilding, embellishing ancestral tombs</i>]	☐	☐	☐
3. Thành lập ban quản lý dòng họ [<i>Establishing patrilineage councils</i>]	☐	☐	☐
4. Viết gia phả [<i>Writing patrilineage annals</i>]	☐	☐	☐
5. Viết lịch sử dòng họ [<i>Writing patrilineage history</i>]	☐	☐	☐
6. Đề nghị nhà nước phong tặng các danh hiệu cho người trong dòng họ có công với nước [<i>Proposing to the State to grant titles to patrilineage members who have made a contribution to the country</i>]	☐	☐	☐
7. Xây dựng, viết lại tộc ước [<i>Writing, re-writing patrilineage regulations</i>]	☐	☐	☐
8. Lập quỹ khuyến học của dòng họ [<i>Establishing Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund</i>]	☐	☐	☐

Câu 5: Khi gặp khó khăn hoạn nạn thì ông (bà, anh, chị...) sẽ hy vọng vào sự giúp đỡ ai?
[Question 5: When you encounter difficulties or misfortunes, from whom do you expect to receive support?]

1. Của anh em ruột thịt [<i>Siblings</i>]	☐
2. Của họ hàng thân thiết [<i>Close relatives</i>]	☐
3. Của bà con hàng xóm láng giềng [<i>Neighbours</i>]	☐
4. Của bạn bè đồng nghiệp cùng làm ăn [<i>Friends</i>]	☐
5. Của các tổ chức nhân đạo xã hội [<i>Relief organizations</i>]	☐
6. Chính sách nhà nước [<i>State policies</i>]	☐
7. Các tổ chức đoàn thể (nông dân, phụ nữ, cựu chiến binh....) [<i>Mass associations (Farmers' Association, Women's Association, Veterans Association, etc)</i>]	☐

Câu 6: Nếu cần thiết phải hợp tác làm ăn thì ông (bà, anh, chị...) sẽ hợp tác với ai ?
[Question 6: If you need to cooperate with other people in economic activities, whom will you choose?]

1. Anh em ruột thịt [<i>Siblings</i>]	☐
2. Họ hàng thân thích [<i>Close relatives</i>]	☐
3. Người cùng làng [<i>People in the same village</i>]	☐
4. Bạn bè đáng tin cậy [<i>Trusted friends</i>]	☐
5. Bất kỳ ai biết làm ăn [<i>Those who are good in the relevant field</i>]	☐

Câu 7: Ông (bà, anh, chị...) cảm thấy thế nào khi trong họ của mình có người làm lãnh đạo địa phương ? [Question 7: If a person in your patrilineage becomes a local leader, what do you think?]

1. Rất phấn khởi [*Very happy*] ☐
2. Yên tâm hơn [*Feel more secure*] ☐
3. Bình thường [*Nothing special*] ☐
4. Không quan tâm [*Not interested*] ☐
5. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 8: Trong các cuộc bầu cử ở địa phương, dân làng thường bầu cho ai? [Question 8: In local elections, whom do villagers choose mostly?]

1. Người có thành tích [*People with good records*] ☐
2. Người có tài đức [*Talented and honest people*] ☐
3. Người có quan hệ họ hàng [*Relatives*] ☐
4. Người ở gần nhà mình (cùng thôn, cùng xóm) [*People in the same hamlet*] ☐
5. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 9: Khi bầu cử ở địa phương ông (bà, anh, chị...) có vận động cho người trong họ mình không ? [Question 9: In local elections, do you mobilize support for relatives in your own patrilineage?]

1. Có [*Yes*] ☐
2. Không [*No*] ☐

Câu 10: Khi có con em trong họ học hành giỏi, đỗ đạt ông (bà, anh, chị...) cảm thấy thế nào? [Question 10: How do you feel when children in your patrilineage achieve good results in education?]

1. Rất tự hào [*Very proud*] ☐
2. Tự hào [*Proud*] ☐
3. Bình thường [*Nothing special*] ☐
4. Không quan tâm [*No interest*] ☐
5. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 11: Ông (bà, anh, chị...) cảm thấy thế nào khi trong họ có nhiều người có công với cách mạng? [Question 11: What would you think if your patrilineage has people who have rendered good services to the revolution?]

1. Rất tự hào [*Very proud*] ☐
2. Tự hào [*Proud*] ☐
3. Ít quan tâm [*Little concern*] ☐
4. Không quan tâm [*No interest*] ☐
5. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 12: Giả sử họ hàng gần của ông (bà, anh chị...) có đám cưới cùng thời gian với một cuộc hẹn làm ăn của ông (bà, anh chị...) thì sẽ ứng xử thế nào? [Question 12: If you are invited to a wedding party of a close relative at the same time that you have a business appointment, what will you do?]

1. Bỏ công việc làm ăn để dự đám cưới [*Give up the appointment to attend the wedding party*] ☐
2. Bỏ đám cưới để làm ăn [*Give up the wedding party to keep the appointment*] ☐
3. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 13: Khi trong họ có người hư hỏng hoặc phạm tội ông (bà, anh, chị...) cảm thấy và ứng xử thế nào? [Question 13: If there are bad elements or convicted criminals in your patrilineage, how will you react?]

1. Xấu hổ [Ashamed] ☐
2. Thông cảm [Sympathetic] ☐
3. Khuyên bảo [Admonishing] ☐
4. Can ngăn [try to prevent] ☐
5. Tố cáo (nếu cần thiết) [report to authority if necessary] ☐
6. Thờ ơ [don't care] ☐
7. Xa lánh [stay away] ☐
8. Lên án [Condemn] ☐

Câu 14: Ông (bà, anh, chị...) cảm thấy thế nào khi trong họ có cặp vợ chồng sinh toàn con gái? [Question 14: What do you do or think when a couple in your patrilineage gives birth to only daughters?]

1. Khó chấp nhận [Difficult to accept] ☐
2. Ái ngại [Feel sorry] ☐
3. Khuyên họ sinh tiếp để có con trai [Advise them to continue giving birth to get a son] ☐
3. Khuyên họ không sinh tiếp [Advise them to stop giving birth] ☐
4. Bình thường (thế nào cũng được) [Nothing special] ☐
5. Không quan tâm [Pay no attention] ☐
6. Khác [Other opinions] ☐

Câu 15: Ông (bà, anh, chị...) ứng xử ra sao khi người trong họ chọn vợ hoặc chọn chồng mà ông bà thấy chưa ổn? [Question 15: If a relative in your patrilineage chooses a spouse but you think that choice is not right, what will you do?]

1. Góp ý với người đó [Make a suggestion to the relative] ☐
2. Góp ý với bố mẹ người đó [Make a suggestion to the relative's parents] ☐
3. Góp ý với bố mẹ người đó và người đó [Make a suggestion to the relative and his/her parents] ☐
4. Dèm pha [Comment behind his/her back] ☐
5. Phản đối [Oppose] ☐
6. Ngăn cấm [Prevent] ☐
7. Không quan tâm [Pay no attention] ☐
8. Khác [Other opinions] ☐

Câu 16: Khi một gia đình trong dòng họ có tang ông (bà, anh, chị...) ứng xử thế nào? [Question 16: When there is a funeral of a relative in your patrilineage, what do you do?]

1. Phúng điều bằng tiền [Offer money] ☐
2. Phúng điều bằng hiện vật [Offer items] ☐
3. Đến chia buồn hỏi thăm [Offer sympathy] ☐
4. Đến giúp đỡ những công việc cần thiết [Offer labour] ☐
5. Khác [Other choices] ☐

Câu 17: Theo ông (bà, anh, chị...) thì tổ tiên, ông bà, những người thân đã khuất có quan hệ gián tiếp với con cháu như thế nào? [Question 17: According to you, what are the influences of ancestors over the living?]

1. Giúp đỡ con cháu khi gặp khó khăn hoạn nạn [*Ancestors support their offsprings when they meet difficulties in life*] ☐
2. Giúp đỡ con cháu ăn nên làm ra, thành đạt [*Ancestors support their offsprings in economic activities*] ☐
3. Phù hộ cho con cháu có sức khỏe [*Ancestors support their offsprings in sickness*] ☐
4. Củng cố niềm tin, nghị lực cho con cháu trong cuộc sống [*Ancestors bolster confidence of their offsprings*] ☐
5. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 18: Theo ông (bà, anh, chị...) việc giáo dục truyền thống dòng họ cho con cháu có vai trò quan trọng như thế nào? [Question 18: According to you, how important is the task of teaching children about patrilineage traditions?]

1. Giúp con cháu hiểu về truyền thống cha ông [*Remind offsprings of ancestors traditions*] ☐
2. Giúp con cháu thấy được công lao tổ tiên [*Help the offsprings to realize ancestors' merits*] ☐
3. Giáo dục con cháu quan niệm sống “uống nước nhớ nguồn” [*Teach offsprings to be grateful to their ancestors, “When drinking the water, remember its source”*] ☐
4. Xây dựng lòng tự hào về dòng họ cho con cháu [*Instill a sense of pride in their patrilineage*] ☐
5. Nâng cao ý thức trách nhiệm của cá nhân trong quan hệ dòng họ [*Enhance the sense of individual responsibility in patrilineage relations*] ☐
6. Giáo dục con cháu ý thức sống xứng đáng hơn với cha ông [*Educate offsprings to live in manners worthy of ancestors*] ☐
7. Củng cố kết chặt chẽ hơn quan hệ dòng họ [*Consolidate patrilineage relations*] ☐
8. Khác [*Other opinions*] ☐

Câu 19: Xin ông (bà, anh, chị...) cho biết đôi điều về bản thân ? [Question 19: Please provide us some personal information]

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Tuổi [Age]: | 6. Thuộc dòng họ [<i>The name of your patrilineage</i>] |
| 2. Giới tính [Sex]: | 7. Học vấn [<i>Education level</i>]: |
| 3. Nghề nghiệp [<i>Occupation</i>]: | 8. Hôn nhân [<i>Marital status</i>]: |
| 4. Tôn giáo [<i>Religion</i>]: | 9. Thu nhập của gia đình hàng năm [<i>average annual income of your household</i>]: |
| 5. Số thế hệ trong gia đình [<i>The number of generations living in your household</i>]: | 10. Chi tiêu của gia đình hàng năm [<i>average annual expenditure of your household</i>]: |

Xin chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của ông (bà, anh chị...)

Thank you very much for your help.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for survey in 2003

Trường Đại học Khoa học
Xã hội và Nhân văn
Khoa Xã hội học
College of Social Sciences
and Humanities
FACULTY OF SOCIOLOGY
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Đề tài: Vai trò dòng họ trong đời sống cộng đồng làng xã
Project title: The role of patrilineages in village-community life

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PHIẾU TRAO ĐỔI Ý KIẾN QUESTIONNAIRE

Kính thưa ông/bà,

Nhằm tìm hiểu vai trò của dòng họ trong đời sống cộng đồng làng xã và văn hóa làng Quỳnh Đôi chúng tôi tiến hành cuộc nghiên cứu này. Chúng tôi kính mong nhận được sự giúp đỡ của ông/bà bằng cách trả lời các câu hỏi dưới đây. Ý kiến của ông/bà rất có ý nghĩa đối với nghiên cứu của chúng tôi. **Cách trả lời:** Ông/bà khoanh tròn các phương án trả lời mà ông/bà cho là phù hợp trong mỗi câu hỏi.

Xin chân thành cảm ơn ông/bà.

Dear Sir/Madam,

This research is carried out in order to explore the role of patrilineages in the community and cultural life of Quỳnh Đôi. We would appreciate your help in answering the following questions. Your opinions are very useful for our study. Please circle the number of the answer which you think is best suited for each question.

Thank you very much

Câu 1: Trong năm vừa qua, gia đình ông/bà nhận được sự giúp đỡ từ người trong họ hoặc đã giúp đỡ người trong họ các công việc nào sau đây? [Question 1: Last year what aid in the following list did your household give to or receive from the relatives in your patrilineage?]

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Làm đất (cày bừa...) [Work the soil] | 6. Hỗ trợ giống [Providing seedlings] |
| 2. Cấy [seeding transplanting] | 7. Hỗ trợ về kỹ thuật sản xuất [Supporting farming technology] |
| 3. Làm cỏ [Weeding rice field] | 8. Hỗ trợ bán sản phẩm [Supporting sale of agricultural products] |
| 4. Làm thủy lợi [Irrigating] | |
| 5. Gặt hái [Harvesting] | |

Câu 2: Nếu có thành viên trong dòng họ gặp khó khăn về kinh tế, ông/bà sẽ giúp đỡ bằng những biện pháp nào sau đây? [Question 2: If your relatives have financial difficulties how will you help?]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Giúp công cụ lao động [Provide farming tools] | 5. Cho vay tiền có lấy lãi [Lend money with interest] |
| 2. Giúp ngày công [Support working days] | 6. Tạo công ăn việc làm cho họ [Provide job opportunity] |
| 3. Đóng góp ý kiến [Give advice] | 7. Hình thức khác [Other ways] |
| 4. Cho vay tiền không lấy lãi [Lend money interest-free] | |

Câu 3: Khi thực hiện việc dồn điền đổi thửa, ông/bà có muốn nhận ruộng gần với ruộng của anh em trong họ không? [*Question 3: When re-allocating of agricultural land occurred did you want to receive land next to your relatives' land?*]

1. Có [*Yes*]

2. Không [*No*]

Nếu có thì vì những lý do gì sau đây? [*If yes, please give reasons*]

1. Để giúp nhau khi làm đất [*Help each other in working soil*]

3. Để giúp nhau khi thu hoạch [*Help each other in harvesting*]

2. Để giúp nhau khi gieo trồng [*Help each other in transplanting*]

4. Để giúp nhau khi chăm bón [*Help each other in tending*]

Câu 4: Theo ông/bà dòng họ của ông bà đã coi trọng những việc nào sau đây? [*Question 4: According to you, which activities your patrilineage consider as most important?*]

1. Hỗ trợ nhau phát triển kinh tế [*Mutual aid in economic activities*]

4. Giáo dục con cháu nền nếp gia phong [*Teaching children of family traditions*]

2. Khuyến khích con cháu học hành [*Encouraging children in education*]

5. Thờ cúng tổ tiên [*Ancestor worship*]

3. Đoàn kết nội bộ dòng họ [*Solidarity within the patrilineage*]

Câu 5: Khi có mâu thuẫn giữa các thành viên trong dòng họ, theo ông/bà nên giải quyết như thế nào? [*Question 5: When there is a conflict in your patrilineage, what should be done?*]

1. Thông qua trưởng tộc [*Submit to head of patrilineage*]

5. Thông qua các thành viên trong dòng họ [*Submit to meeting of patrilineage members*]

2. Thông qua trưởng ban cán sự [*Submit to president of patrilineage council*]

6. Thông qua chính quyền [*Submit to local authority*]

3. Thông qua ban cán sự dòng họ [*Submit to patrilineage council*]

7. Thông qua các tổ chức đoàn thể [*Submit to mass organizations*]

4. Thông qua các vị cao tuổi [*Submit to senior members*]

8. Khác [*Others*]

Câu 6: Theo ông/ bà thì những người trong dòng họ tuân theo quy định (quy ước dòng họ...) của dòng họ như thế nào? [*Question 6: In your opinion in what way members of your patrilineage abide by your patrilineage regulations?*]

1. Rất tự nguyện [*Very willingly*]

3. Không tự nguyện [*Not willingly*]

2. Tự nguyện [*Willingly*]

4. Ý kiến khác [*Other choices*]

Câu 7: Ông/bà có thường nhận được lời khuyên về lối sống hàng ngày của những người trong dòng họ không? [*Question 7: Do you usually receive advice from your relatives about everyday affairs?*]

1. Thường xuyên [*permanently*]

3. Hiếm khi [*Rarely*]

2. thỉnh thoảng [*Sometimes*]

4. Không bao giờ [*Never*]

Câu 8: Theo ông/bà thì việc đóng quỹ ở dòng họ ông/bà hàng năm nói chung là nhiều, ít, hay hợp lý? [*Question 8: What do you think about the annual contribution you make to your patrilineage ?*]

1. Hợp lý [*Reasonable*]

3. Ít [*Little*]

2. Nhiều [*Much*]

Câu 9: Ông/bà đánh giá như thế nào về việc cúng tế ở dòng họ ông/bà hàng năm?
[Question 9: Please give us your opinion about ancestor worship of your patrilineage every year?]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Thể hiện được sự tôn kính tổ tiên [Showing respect for ancestor] | 4. Mới chỉ chú trọng ăn uống [Only interest in feasting] |
| 2. Thắt chặt hơn đoàn kết trong dòng họ [Reinforcing solidarity among members] | 5. Đóng góp tốn kém [Heavy financial contribution] |
| 3. Góp phần giáo dục con cháu [Contributing to teaching children] | |

Câu 10: Việc giáo dục trong dòng họ ông/bà về nếp sống hàng ngày thường được thể hiện qua những hình thức nào? [Question 10: How is the task of educating young generations in everyday behaviours carried out in your patrilineage?]

1. Qua các buổi họp họ [At patrilineage meetings]
2. Qua các buổi tế lễ [At patrilineage rituals]
3. Các bậc cao niên nhắc nhở con cháu khi thấy cần thiết [Senior patrilineage members counsel young generations when necessary]

Câu 11: Xin ông bà/cho biết đôi điều về bản thân [Question 11: Please give us some personal private information]

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. Tuổi [Age]:..... | 4. Học vấn [Education level] |
| 2. Giới tính [Sex]:..... | 5. Thuộc dòng họ [Name of patrilineage]..... |
| 3. Nghề nghiệp [Occupation]:.... | |

Câu 12: Nếu có ý kiến gì thêm xin ông bà viết ra [Question 12: If you have other opinions, please write them down:

Một lần nữa xin chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của ông/bà.
Thank you very much for your help

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for survey in December 2006 and January 2007

Trường Đại học Khoa học
Xã hội và Nhân văn
KHOA XÃ HỘI HỌC
College of Social
Sciences and Humanities
FACULTY OF SOCIOLOGY
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Đề tài: Quan hệ họ hàng trong đời sống
cộng đồng làng xã hiện nay
*Project title: Kinship relations in village community life
at the present time*
---***---
PHIẾU TRAO ĐỔI Ý KIẾN
QUESTIONNAIRE

Kính thưa ông/bà,

Nhằm tìm hiểu vai trò của quan hệ họ hàng trong đời sống cộng đồng làng xã hiện nay chúng tôi thực hiện nghiên cứu này. Nếu ông bà vui lòng đồng ý trả lời, chúng tôi kính mong nhận được sự giúp đỡ của ông bà qua việc trả lời các câu hỏi dưới đây. Ông/bà không phải nêu tên mình vào bảng hỏi này. Tất cả các thông tin ông bà cung cấp sẽ được giữ kín và chỉ sử dụng cho việc nghiên cứu. Ý kiến của ông bà rất có ý nghĩa đối với nghiên cứu của chúng tôi. **Cách trả lời:** Ông/bà khoanh tròn số thứ tự các phương án trả lời hoặc đánh dấu X vào các ô của các phương án trả lời mà ông bà cho là phù hợp với đánh giá của mình.

Xin chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của ông/bà.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The purpose of our research is to explore kinship relations in the village community. If you are willing to cooperate we would like you to answer the below questions. You do not need to put down your name in this questionnaire. All information received will be kept anonymous and used only for research purposes. Please circle the number of the answer you think most suitable, or tick off the items best suited in your opinion.

Thank you very much for your cooperation

Câu 1. Năm vừa qua, trong sản xuất nông nghiệp, hộ gia đình ta có đổi công với hộ gia đình nào không? [*Question 1: Last year did your household exchange labour with other households?*]

1. Có [Yes] 2. Không [No] 3. Không sản xuất nông nghiệp [*Not engaged in agricultural production*]

Nếu có thì quan hệ giữa ông/bà với người đổi công đó như thế nào? [*If yes, what are the relations between you and the people who exchanged labour with your household?*]

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Người có họ hàng dòng mẹ [<i>Mother's kin</i>] | 6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [<i>People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union ...)</i>] |
| 2. Người có họ hàng dòng bố [<i>Father's kin</i>] | 7. Bạn bè [<i>Friends</i>] |
| 3. Người có họ hàng dòng vợ/chồng [<i>Spouse's kin</i>] | 8. Hàng xóm [<i>Neighbours</i>] |
| 4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [<i>Sibling's family in law</i>] | 9. Ý kiến khác [<i>Other relations</i>] |
| 5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [<i>Children's family in law</i>] | |

Câu 2: Hộ gia đình ta có thuê mướn ruộng (đấu thầu) để canh tác không? [Question 2: At present, does your household rent agricultural land for cultivation?]

1. Có [Yes]

2. Không [No]

Nếu có thì việc thuê mướn do ai quyết định? [If yes, who makes the decision on the transactions?]

1. Vợ [Wife]

2. Chồng [Husband]

3. Hai vợ chồng [Both husband and wife]

4. Con cái [Children]

5. Người khác [Others]

Nếu có thì người cho thuê mướn ruộng có quan hệ với ông/bà thế nào và việc thuê mướn diễn ra như thế nào? [If yes, what are the relations between you and the renters and how these transactions are carried out?]

Forms of transactions	Chỉ nói miệng với nhau [Through verbal agreements]	Bảng văn bản có xác nhận của chính quyền [Through notarized contracts]	Bảng giấy viết tay có chữ ký của các bên [Through written agreements signed by both parties]	Khác [Other forms]
Sorts of relations				
1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin]				
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin]				
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin]				
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law]				
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law]				
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union ...)]				
7. Bạn bè [Friends]				
8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours]				
9. Ý kiến khác (ghi rõ) [Other relations (write down)]				

Câu 3: Hộ gia đình ông bà có nuôi trâu/bò không? [Question 3: Does your household raise cattle?]

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Có nuôi trâu bò [Yes, raising cattle alone] | 2. Có nuôi trâu bò với hộ gia đình khác [Yes, raising cattle 'together with other households] | 3. Không nuôi trâu bò [No] |
|--|---|----------------------------|

Nếu có nuôi trâu bò thì những ai sau đây thường mượn trâu/bò ông bà để cày kéo? [If yes, who often borrow your cattle during the farming season?]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin] | 6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union...)] |
| 2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin] | 7. Bạn bè [Friends] |
| 3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin] | 8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours] |
| 4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law] | 9. Không có ai mượn [Nobody] |
| 5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law] | 10. Ý kiến khác [Others] |

Nếu không nuôi trâu/bò thì ai sau đây thường cho ông/bà mượn trâu bò để cày kéo? [If no, who have lent their cattle to you in farm seasons?]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin] | 6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union...)] |
| 2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin] | 7. Bạn bè [Friends] |
| 3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin] | 8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours] |
| 4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law] | 9. Không có ai cho mượn [Nobody] |
| 5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law] | 10. Ý kiến khác [Others] |

Câu 4: Hộ gia đình ông/bà có người làm nghề phụ (bún, hương, mộc, nề, đan lát, vận tải, buôn bán...) không? [Question 4: Does any person in your household take up secondary jobs (as carpenters, building workers, vermicelli makers, petty traders, etc)?]

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Có [Yes] | 2. Không [No] |
|-------------|---------------|

Nếu có thì người đó (những người đó) thường hợp tác hay cùng làm với ai? [If yes, whom does he/she cooperate or work with?]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin] | 6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union...)] |
| 2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin] | 7. Bạn bè [Friends] |
| 3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin] | 8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours] |
| 4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law] | 9. Không hợp tác, hay làm cùng với ai cả [Do not cooperate] |
| 5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law] | 10. Ý kiến khác [Others] |

Câu 5: Hộ gia đình ông/bà có tham gia phường tiền không? [Question 5: Does your household join rotating credit associations?]

1. Có [Yes]
2. Không [No]

Nếu có thì ai là người tham gia phường tiền? [If yes, who takes part in the association?]

1. Vợ [Wife]
2. Chồng [Husband]
3. Hai vợ chồng [Both husband and wife]
4. Con cái [Children]
5. Người khác [Others]

Những người trong phường tiền đó quan hệ như thế nào với thành viên của gia đình ông/bà tham gia phường tiền? [If yes, what are the relations between these people and other members of the associations?]

1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin]
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin]
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin]
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law]
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law]
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union...)]
7. Bạn bè [Friends]
8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours]
9. Ý kiến khác [Others]

Câu 6: Nếu ông/bà cần vay tiền để trả nợ, ông/bà sẽ vay ai? [Question 6: If you were in debt, whom would you borrow money to pay off the debt?]

1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin]
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin]
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin]
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law]
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law]
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union...)]
7. Bạn bè [Friends]
8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours]
9. Ý kiến khác [Others]

Ông/bà đã gặp tình huống như thế chưa? [Have you ever encountered this situation?]

1. Đã gặp [Yes]
2. Chưa gặp [No]

Ông/bà đã cho ai vay tiền để họ trả nợ chưa? [Have you ever lent money to others to pay off their debt?]

1. Đã cho [Yes]
2. Chưa [No]

Nếu đã cho thì người đó là ai? [If yes, who are they?]

1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin]
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin]
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin]
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law]
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law]
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union...)]
7. Bạn bè [Friends]
8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours]
9. Ý kiến khác [Others]

Câu 7: Trong trường hợp có mâu thuẫn trong gia đình, người có quan hệ thế nào với ông/bà sẽ đến giúp đỡ, hoà giải? [*Question 7: If there is conflict in your household who would help you to solve it?*]

1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [*Mother's kin*]
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [*Father's kin*]
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [*Spouse's kin*]
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [*Sibling's family in law*]
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [*Children's family in law*]
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [*People from the same associations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union...)*]
7. Bạn bè [*Friends*]
8. Hàng xóm [*Neighbours*]
9. Cán bộ xóm [*Hamlet cadre*]
10. Ý kiến khác [*Others*]

Câu 8: Giả định rằng một người họ hàng của ông/bà sẽ được giữ một vị trí lãnh đạo ở xã, ông/bà mong muốn người đó là ai? [*Question 8: If one of your relatives is appointed to a post in the commune administration, whom do you prefer?*]

1. Miễn là người có họ hàng chứ không phân biệt họ hàng bên nào [*Any relative, regardless of kinship sorts*]
2. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [*Mother's kin*]
3. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [*Father's kin*]
4. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [*Spouse's kin*]
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [*Sibling's family in law*]
6. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [*Children's family in law*]
7. Ý kiến khác [*Others*]

Câu 9: Theo ông/bà thì khi con cháu đạt thành tích cao trong học tập, dòng họ nên khen thưởng cho đối tượng con cháu nào? [*Question 9: What types of children should your patrilineage commend and reward in the field of education?*]

1. Chỉ con cháu hàng nội [*Children of male patrilineage*]
2. Không phân biệt con cháu hàng nào [*No distinction between children of male or female members*]

Câu 10: Ông/bà đã ứng xử như thế nào khi gia đình của những người sau đây có đám cưới? [*Question 10: What were your responses when families of the following people organized wedding ceremonies?*]

Kinds of helps	Mừng tiền [Money]	Mừng hiện vật [Item]	Giúp đỡ công việc [Labour]	Ý kiến khác/Xin ghi ra [Other forms]
Household receiving helps				
1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [<i>Mother's kin</i>]				
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [<i>Father's kin</i>]				
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [<i>Spouse's kin</i>]				
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [<i>Sibling's family in law</i>]				
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [<i>Children's family in law</i>]				
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [<i>People from the same associations (veterans association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union...)</i>]				
7. Bạn bè [<i>Friends</i>]				
8. Hàng xóm [<i>Neighbours</i>]				
9. Ý kiến khác (ghi rõ) [<i>Others</i>]				

Câu 11: Ông/bà đã ứng xử như thế nào khi gia đình của những người sau đây có đám tang? [*Question 11: What were your responses when family of the following people held a funeral?*]

Kinds of helps Household receiving helps	Phúng điếu bằng tiền [Money]	Phúng điếu hiện vật [Item]	Giúp đỡ công việc [Labour]	Chỉ đến hỏi thăm [Only offer condolence]	Ý kiến khác/ Xinghira [Other forms]
1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin]					
2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin]					
3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin]					
4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law]					
5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law]					
6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) [People from the same associations (veterans association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth's Union ...)]					
7. Bạn bè [Friends]					
8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours]					
9. Ý kiến khác (ghi rõ) [Others]					

Câu 12: Khi một thành viên trong gia đình ông/bà chuẩn bị tổ chức đám cưới, người đó thường nhận được sự khuyên bảo từ những ai sau đây? [*Question 12: When a member of your family prepares a wedding, whom do they seek advice?*]

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Người có họ hàng hàng mẹ [Mother's kin] | 6. Người cùng hội (cựu chiến binh, hưu trí, phụ nữ, thanh niên...) |
| 2. Người có họ hàng hàng bố [Father's kin] | |
| 3. Người có họ hàng hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's kin] | [People from the same associations |
| 4. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của anh, chị, em ruột [Sibling's family in law] | (Veterans' Association, Women's |
| 5. Người có họ hàng qua hôn nhân của con cái [Children's family in law] | Union, Association of Retirees, Youth |
| | Union ...)] |
| | 7. Bạn bè [Friends] |
| | 8. Hàng xóm [Neighbours] |
| | 9. Cán bộ xóm [Hamlet cadre] |
| | 10. Ý kiến khác [Others] |

Câu 13. Hiện nay ông/bà tham gia tế lễ ở dòng họ nào? [*Question 13: At present at which patrilineage do you attend worship ceremonies?*]

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1. Họ hàng mẹ [Mother's patrilineage] | 3. Họ của vợ hoặc chồng của anh, chị, em ruột [Patrilineage of sibling's family in law] | 5. Họ hàng vợ/chồng [Spouse's patrilineage] |
| 2. Họ hàng bố [Father's patrilineage] | 4. Họ của người có quan hệ họ hàng quan hôn nhân của con [Patrilineage of children's family in law] | 6. Ý kiến khác [Others] |

Câu 14: Xin ông/bà vui lòng cho viết vài thông tin về bản thân mình? [Question 14: Please give us some personal information]

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| 1. Tuổi [Age]: | 4. Giới tính [Sex]: | 7. Thuộc dòng họ [Name of your patrilineage]: |
| 2. Nghề nghiệp [Occupation]: | 5. Học vấn [Education level]: | 8. Thu nhập trung bình/người trong năm vừa qua của hộ ta: [Average income per person in your household last year]: |
| 3. Tình trạng hôn nhân [Marital status]: | 6. Số thế hệ trong gia đình: [Number of generations living under the same roof]: | |

**Một lần nữa xin chân thành cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ của ông/bà
Thank you very much for your help**

Appendix 5: A structured overview of interviewees and an overview of interview topics²

Sex:

- Female:	38
- Male:	43

Age:³

- From 18 to under 30:	17
- From 30 to 60:	35
- Over 60:	29

Occupation:⁴

- Peasant, craftsmen, trader:	58
- Others (teacher, pupil, medical doctor, retiree, etc):	23

Title/position:

- Commune Staff and Leader:	11
- Head of Patrilineage, President of Patrilineage Council:	9

Main topics of the interviews

- History of the village
- General socio-economic and cultural life of the village
- Village geographical resident structure
- Old and new village charters
- Organization and activities of Commune Party Committee
- Organization and activities of Commune People's Committee
- Organization and activities of Commune People's Council
- Organization and activities of Commune Mass Organizations (Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union)
- Patrilineage organization
- Ancestor worship
- Patrilineage regulations
- Patrilineage activities related to patrilineage halls, patrilineage graveyards, patrilineage annals, patrilineage history, patrilineage regulations, patrilineage rice-fields
- Financial and non-financial contributions of relatives to patrilineages
- Kinship relations in organizing commune administrative apparatus (Commune Party Committee, Commune People's Council, Commune People's Committee, Veterans' Association, Women's Union, Association of Retirees, Youth Union)
- Organizing wedding ceremonies and kinship relations in organizing wedding ceremonies
- Organizing funerals and kinship relations in organizing funerals
- Educational history concerning the village and villagers
- Expenditure of pupils' households on education
- Commune Study Encouragement Association
- Study encouragement through financial and non-financial measures of patrilineages
- Exchanging textbooks among children

² Apart from the lengthy interviews with the 81 respondents, I also carried out many discussions and conversations with a significant number of villagers.

³ I re-interviewed many of the respondents several times. Their ages here were at times when the first interviews with them were carried out.

⁴ Besides agricultural production, many peasants worked as craftsmen or small traders

- Land reform and kinship relations concerning land reform
- Cooperatives and kinship relations concerning cooperatives
- Kinship relations in exchanging agricultural land
- Kinship relations in exchanging cattle or/and bringing up cattle
- Kinship relations in exchanging labour in agricultural production
- Kinship relations in cottage industry production
- Kinship relations in rotating credit associations

Appendix 6: Glossary of Vietnamese terms

Vietnamese

English

A

Anh hùng lực lượng vũ trang nhân dân

Hero of the people's armed forces.

B

Ban cán sự dòng họ or Hội đồng gia tộc

Patrilineage Council

Ban chỉ huy thôn

Neighborhood Steering Committee

ban kiểm soát

audit board

Ban khuyến học

Study Encouragement Section

Ban Trung ương Vận động Đời sống mới
Life

Central Committee for Propagation of the New

bái đường

part where people stand to worship

Báo cáo kết quả công tác khuyến học

Report on the results of study encouragement activities

bắt thăm

drew lots

bần nông

poor peasant

bèo hoa dâu

water hyacinthe

bị nhà vợ dắt mũi

being led by the in-laws by the nose

bí quyết gia truyền

trade secrets or technical know-how kept well within the patrilineage from generation to generation

biết ơn, nhớ ơn

recognizing and remembering the moral debt

bỏ khoáng đi

neglected

bố mẹ đặt đâu con ngồi đấy

parents say where, children sit there

bồi tế and đọc văn

two assistants (of worshipping)

C

cách mạng văn hoá và tư tưởng

cultural and ideological revolution

Cai đám, Cai thôn

Village Commissioner

cám

mash

cán bộ

cadre

cây đa, hoặc cây gạo

banyan tree

chèn ép các họ khác

obstructed other patrilineages

chế độ bao cấp

state subsidy system

chính cư, nội tịch

official residents (of the village)

chính sách chống mê tín dị đoan

policy against superstition

chống tiêu cực và khắc phục bệnh

fighting against negativity and overcoming the 'disease of mediocrity' in education

thành tích trong giáo dục

chủ nghĩa cá nhân

individualism

chủ nghĩa tập thể

collectivism

chủ nhiệm

chairman

chủ lễ cúng

officiating chiefs

chủ tế

master of ceremony

chưởng bạ

Land-Book Keeper

con, cháu
con cháu ngoại
con cháu nội
con trai cả
cổ nông
công
công điểm
(công xá) không tính căn cơ
cộng tác viên
cơ sở bán công
cục bộ

cử nhân
cự tộc' or 'vọng tộc'
cường hào gian ác

D

dân đình
dân hàng xã
Dân quân Du kích
dâng hương, dâng rượu
di tích lịch sử/ văn hóa

Đ

Đại học sư phạm
đại nam
đất năm phần trăm
đấu tố
đền thờ vọng
địa chủ
địa chủ Việt gian, phản động,
cường hào gian ác

đình
đình or đình làng
village
điều khoản thi hành
đọc văn tế
đón dâu
đội sản xuất
đổi tên họ
Đông chí
đồng tông
đơn giản và sơ lược
Đời sống mới
đức hạnh
đức hạnh cao đẹp

G

gia đình

children, their spouse and their offspring
children of patrilineage's daughters
children of (male) members of the patrilineage
oldest son
Landless peasant
craftsmen
work points or cooperative marks for their work
not count thriftily
collaborator
semi-public institutions
factionalism, contradictions, and fragmentation
or partial interests
licentiate
rich and/or prestige, powerful, and even famous
traitorous, reactionary landlords, cruel, burly

inhabitants
the village taxpayers, village inhabitants
Militia and Guerillas
alcohol and flowers offerings
historical and/or cultural sites

Teacher's college
men over twenty
five percent agricultural land
public denunciation
distance worship temples
big landowner, landlords

traitorous, reactionary landlords, cruel,
burly landlords
patrilineage male member
communal house or communal house of the

execution provision
reading worship oration
bride's procession
production brigade
change surname
Winter solstice
same origins
simple and sketchy
New life
virtuous or dignity
great dignity

family

giáo dục
giáp

education
age-group associations

H

họ or dòng họ
họ chín đời còn hơn người dung

patrilineage
a relative nine generations apart is better
than a stranger

họ đảng nhà vợ, họ đảng nhà chồng
họ hàng
họ, hội, phường, biểu
họ ngoại

spouse's kin
kinship relations
credit associations
mother's kin or inner patrilineage

họ nội

or father's patrilineage
father's kin or outer patrilineage

hộ gia đình

or mother's patrilineage

Hộ lại

family-household or household

hoàng nam

Village Registrar

học điền

men over eighteen

Hội đồng Nhân dân

lamp-book' rice fields

Hội đồng kỳ mục

People's Council

Hội tư văn

Council of Notables

Hội khuyến học

Association of Literati

hợp tác xã

Society for the Encouragement of Learning

hợp tác xã tín dụng

cooperatives

hợp tác xã mua bán

credit cooperatives

hương ẩm

marketing cooperative

hương hoả

village deity post-worship feast

hương ước

patrilineage property

village charter

K

kế toán

accountant

khao đình

penalty (the criminals were drafted into the

army)

Kháng chiến kiến quốc

Resistance and National Construction

khóa sinh

candidates at local examinations

khoán hội

the literati's association convention

khoán làng

the village convention

khoán phe

funeral convention

kinh tế hộ gia đình

household economy

kinh tế phụ gia đình

supplementary family income

L

lạc hậu

backwards

làng (xã, thôn, phường,
trại, châu, vạ, giáp, phố, tích,
sách, động, lũng, xưởng, mỏ, bến,
chòm, nậu, đội, tộc, ấp, lý)

village

làng văn hóa cấp tỉnh

cultural village at provincial level

liệt sĩ

martyrs

lộc

perquisite

lợi ích của họ hàng
đi ngược lại với lợi ích tập thể

lúa
lư hương đá
lương thực
Lý dịch
Lý trưởng

M

máu chảy, ruột mềm
Mặt trận Liên Việt
Mặt trận Tổ quốc
mầm mống
mất sĩ diện
mồ mả

N

Nam Tiến
nghề tiểu thủ công nghiệp
nền nhà thờ
nếp sống mới

ngụ cư, ngoại tịch
người hộ tang
Nhà thánh or Văn miếu
nhà truyền thống
nông
Nông hội
nông nhân

P

phẩm hàm
phát động
phong kiến
phong trào
phong trào thực hiện đời sống mới
phong tục, lệ làng
phó bảng
phó lý
phú nông
Phụ lão (hội)
Phụ nữ và Mẹ chiến sĩ (hội)
phụng dưỡng cha mẹ

Q

quan hệ tình cảm
quan niệm phong kiến
quan niệm về tâm linh

the interests of patrilineages went against
the interests of the collective
paddy, rice
stone incense-burner
food
Village Officials, or Village Executive Officials
Village Chief

blood is thicker than water
Commune National League of Vietnam
Fatherland Front
sprouts
lose face
ancestral graves or patrilineage graveyard

March to the South
small industry and handicrafts
foundation of the hall
New Ways or new way of life

unofficial residents (those off the village)
pallbearers
Literature Temple
traditional house' of the village
farmers
Peasants' Association
idle time between seasons

mandarinate grades
mobilization
feudal
movement
movement of implementing the "New life"
village customary law
Junior Doctorates
Deputy Village Chiefs
Rich peasant
Elders' Association
Association for Women and Soldiers' mothers
support their parents

emotional bonds
feudal notions or feudal conception
conception of spiritual life

quận, phủ, lộ, châu, thừa tuyên
quốc giáo
Quốc Tử Giám
Quy ước văn hóa làng
Quỹ tín dụng của Hội nông dân xã

Quỹ khuyến học dòng họ
quyển sử họ

R

rạp đám cưới
ruộng hương hỏa

S

sắc phong
sĩ
sổ đình
sổ họ
sổ theo dõi ruộng đất của xóm trưởng
sổ vàng truyền thống dòng họ

T

tam cấp
tam tông
Tây Tiến
Tết
Thanh thiếu niên
thành hoàng
thành phần gia đình
thầy lang
thăm nghèo hỏi khổ,
phát động căm thù địa chủ

thóc
thôn
thông gia của anh em ruột
thông gia
thổ thần
thờ cúng tổ tiên
thụ lộc
thủ quỹ
thủy tổ
thuyết phục
thực phẩm
thương
thượng điện
tiên chỉ
tiến sĩ
tiến bộ or tiên tiến
tiền xây dựng

district
national religion
Imperial College
Village Cultural Charter
Commune Credit Fund
of the Commune Farmers' Union
Patrilineage Study Encouragement Fund
patrilineage annals

wedding halls
cult-portion field

imperial seals of recognition
students or scholars
roll of taxpayers
book of patrilineage or patrilineage register
land register book of the hamlet
golden book of the patrilineage traditions

perron staircase
three submissions
March to the West
lunar New Year
Youth Association
village tutelary guardian, village tutelary god
family background
oriental-style doctors

asked about their destitute situation, mobilized to
show their vindictive hatred for the landlords
rice
hamlet, neighbourhood
sibling's family in law
children's family in law
earth genie
ancestor worship
receive items of offerings to take home
cashier
common ancestor
Persuasion
foodstuff
traders
part of the hall where ancestor altars were set up
First Notable
doctorates
progressive
maintenance fee

tiền điện dùng cho quạt, bóng đèn
trong lớp học
used

tiền khấu hao đồ dùng trong lớp học
như chậu, khăn trải bàn

tiết kiệm, chống lãng phí
tinh thần tập thể
Tòa án nhân dân
tổ đảng
tổ đổi công
tộc ước, quy ước dòng họ
Tổng cục Địa chính
trấn
tráng đinh
trong sạch
trọng nam khinh nữ
trung chi họ
trung nông
trung cấp sư phạm
Trương tuần, or Khán thủ
Trưởng phòng Giáo dục
trưởng tộc
tú tài
tử đường

U
Ủy ban Hành chính Kháng chiến

V
vận động
văn hóa mới
văn hóa quần chúng
văn hóa xã hội chủ nghĩa
Văn Miếu
việc gia đình
việc làng
Việt Minh

X
xã
xã hội hóa
xuân tế

charge for electricity for fans and light bulbs
in classrooms

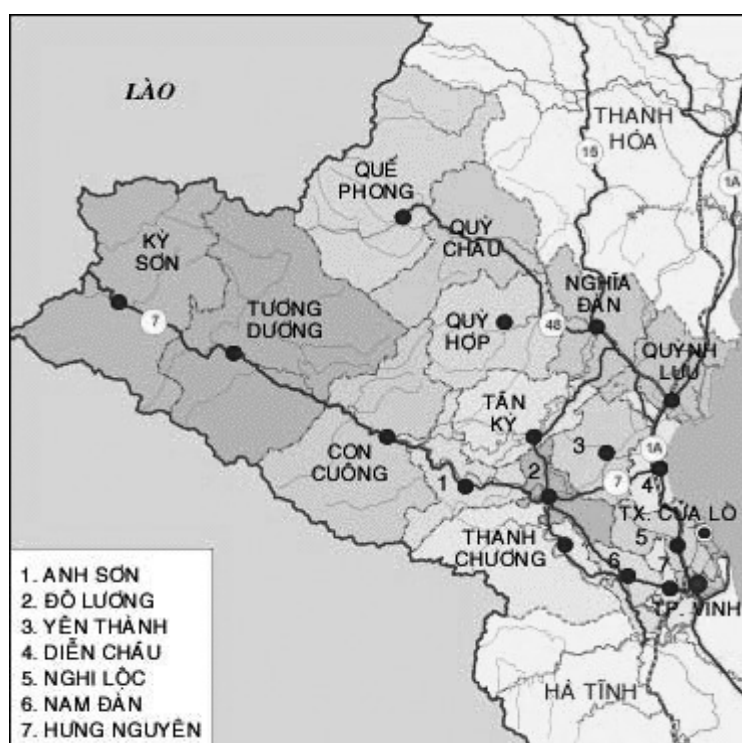
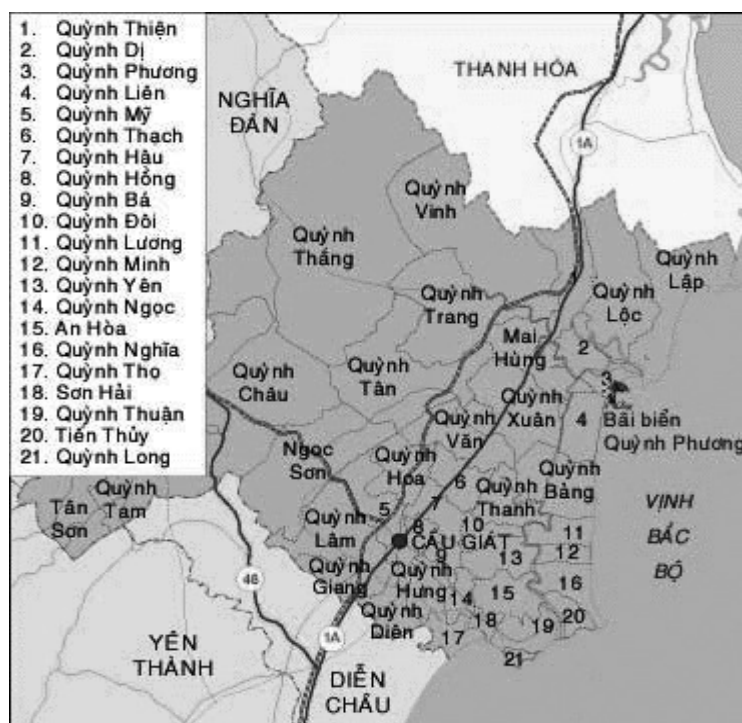
depreciation cost of tools used in classrooms
such as water basins, table-cloths
fight against wastefulness
collective spirit
People's courts
neighborhood Party cell
labour exchange teams or mutual aid teams
patrilineage's regulations
General Directorate of Land Survey
region
able-bodied men
pure
respect for men and disregard for women
sub-patrilineages
Middle peasant
secondary education teacher's college
Police Commissioner
Chief of education department of district
patrilineage head
baccalaureates
patrilineage ancestral hall or patrilineage hall

Commune Administrative Committee for
Resistance

agitation
new culture
mass culture
socialist culture
Temple of Literature
household affairs
public meetings
Independence League of Vietnam

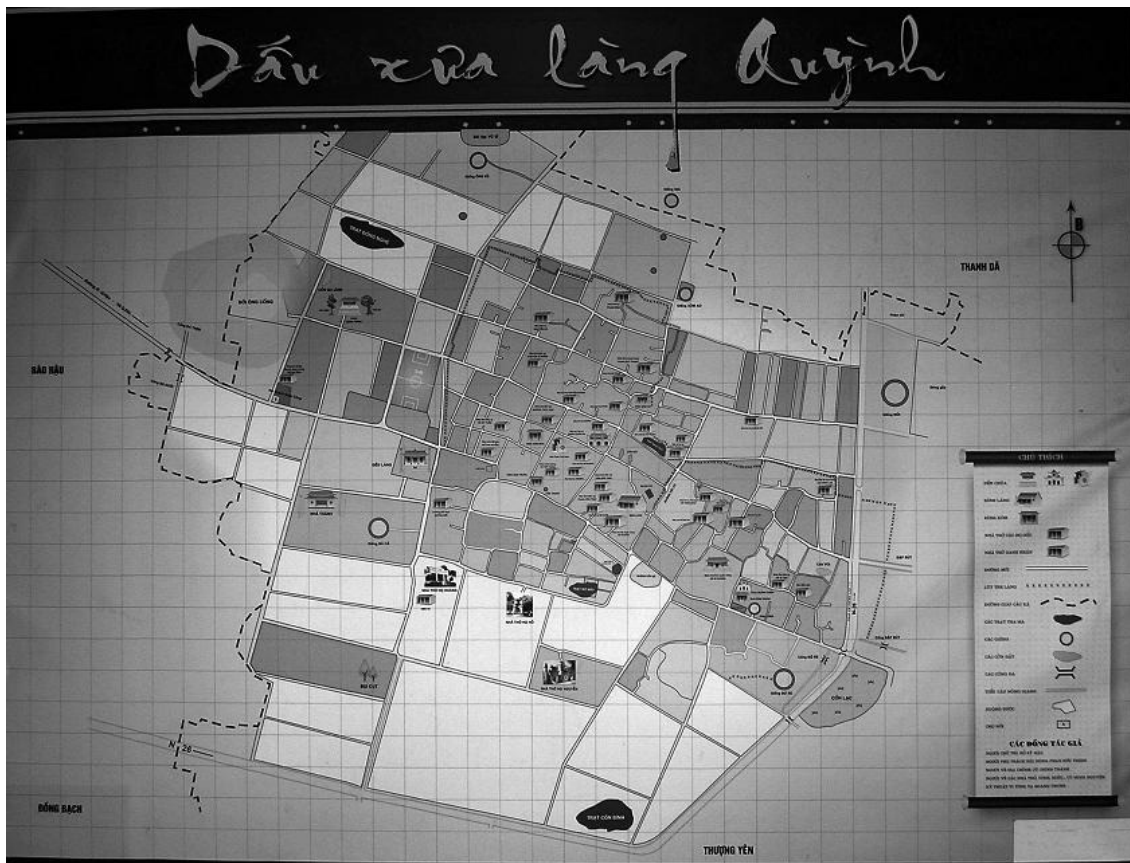
commune
socialization
spring ancestor worship

Appendix 7: Some maps of locality and region

Map of Nghệ An province⁵Map of Quỳnh Lư district⁶

⁵ Source: Du lịch Đất Nghệ Website

⁶ Source: Du lịch Đất Nghệ Website



Map of Quỳnh Đôi village just before 1945⁷

⁷ Source: The picture of the map was taken by the researcher. The copies of the map were hung on walls of the Hồ patrilineage hall and the office of the Commune People's Committee. In 2005, a member of the Hồ patrilineage spent his money to hire people in order to draw this map.

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