

## Welcome Remarks

欢迎辞

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Respected Officials, Dear Friends and Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen

尊敬的各位领导、各位来宾、亲爱的朋友、女士们、先生们：

My name is Magnus Marsden and I am a Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex. I am also the Director of the University of Sussex Asia Centre.

我名叫 Magnus Marsden，是萨塞克斯大学的一名社会人类学教授，也是萨塞克斯亚洲研究中心主任。

It is an enormous pleasure to welcome you to the mid-term meeting of the project Yiwu: Trust, Commodities and Global Traders in a Chinese International Trade City. It is remarkable to think that 27 months has passed since we launched the project in Yiwu in May 2016 with the support of the Yiwu Municipal Government, the Yiwu Commercial and Industrial College and the China International Electronic Commerce Centre. Over the course of those past 27 months, members of the project team - with the support of our partners - have been conducting intensive research both in Yiwu but also in several of the many markets to which traders based in Yiwu send the commodities in which they deal.

在此，我非常荣幸地欢迎各位出席我们的题为“中国的国际化城市义乌：诚信、商品与国际贸易商”的项目的中期总结会议。回想 2016 年 5 月，我们在义乌市政府、义乌工商学院以及中国国际电子商务中心的大力支持下举行了项目启动会议。如今，转眼间 27 个月已经过去了。在过去的 27 个月里，在我们的合作伙伴的支持下，我们项目组成员在义乌以及贸易商销售义乌商品的海外市场展开了深入的调研。

Let me recap briefly about the origins of the project. The project is funded by a grant from the European Research Council. The project's principal host is the School of Global Studies at the University of Sussex in the UK. The project also enjoys partnerships with the University of Copenhagen (Denmark), the University of Cambridge (UK), and the Royal Holloway College, University of London (UK).

请允许我简要地回顾一下我们这个项目的由来。该项目由欧洲研究理事会资助，主持单位为英国萨塞克斯大学全球研究学院，合作单位包括丹麦哥本哈根大学、英国剑桥大学、英国伦敦大学霍洛威学院。

We have also now established ties with more international institutions – many of which lie in countries that are part of the Belt and Road initiatives. These include the Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies, the European University in St Petersburg, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the National University of Singapore, and Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey. As I mentioned 27 months ago, a key aim of the project was to spearhead collaborations between compatible institutions in the Belt and Road context: I'm delighted to report on the considerable success made in this regard.

同时，我们也与更多的国际机构建立了联系。这些国际机构大都位于“一带一路”沿线国家，包括阿富汗战略研究所、位于圣彼得堡的欧洲大学、乌克兰国家科学院、新加坡国立大学、位

于土耳其伊斯坦布尔的科奇大学。两年多前，我也曾在项目启动会议上提到过，我们项目的核心宗旨是要牵头“一带一路”倡议框架下各机构之间的跨国合作。今天，我很高兴有机会在此向大家汇报我们在这方面所取得的可观成就。

Before handing the floor to the other eminent speakers in today's event let me briefly summarise the research undertaken thus far, the key themes that have emerged and the relevance of these to the city of Yiwu.

今天与会的有很多重要嘉宾，在邀请他们发表讲话之前，请允许我就项目的最新进展作简要总结，包括调研中发现的核心议题及其对义乌的意义。

## 1) FIELDWORK

As I discussed in May 2016 the project's research has two central dimensions.

First, it focuses on the ways in which transnational trading activities are conducted in the dynamic and international city of Yiwu.

### 1) 实地调研

2016年5月的项目启动会议上，我曾提到该项目研究的两个核心维度。

一是聚焦跨国贸易活动如何在充满活力的国际化城市义乌开展。

Second, the project explores the markets to which Yiwu commodities are exported, and the role that traders play in connecting Yiwu to the world.

二是考察义乌商品的海外出口市场，探讨贸易商在连接义乌与全球的过程中所发挥的作用。

With regards to the study of Yiwu, members of the research team have collectively spent over 30 months in the city. They have walked up and down the lanes of the great Futian Market, exploring the ways in which foreign traders and Chinese sellers interact and communicate with one another. They have asked foreign traders and local sellers/producers in what ways their businesses are changing as a result of new developments, such as E-commerce and the global economic downturn. They have addressed how trading practices are being transformed by new infrastructure developments, as well as the inevitable difficulties that such initiatives have faced. By speaking first-hand to traders and local businesspeople, the team has generated a unique understanding of the historical development of Yiwu as a commercial city, and the role played by local business people, policy makers and also foreign traders in that history.

首先，关于义乌跨国贸易活动的研究，研究团队协力在义乌市实地调研30多个月。他们深入福田市场的大街小巷，观察外国商人与中国销售商之间的互动与交流模式。他们访谈外国商人、本地商贩和生产商，了解其营业如何受诸如电子商务发展、全球经济下滑等新形势的影响。他们关注基础设施发展如何影响贸易实践的变化，以及这些发展所面临的挑战。基于和外商与本地商人访谈的一手资料，研究团队对义乌市的商贸发展史形成了独到的见解，对历史上本地商人、政策制定者与外国商人所发挥的作用也有了深入的认识。

In addition to walking the lanes of Futian, the team members have also sought to better understand the social and cultural dynamics of Yiwu. How do so many people from so many different national, cultural and religious backgrounds cohabit in Yiwu? Do they share spaces of living or do they live in distinct enclaves? How does such a diverse range of actors communicate with one another?

除了深入福田市场的大街小巷，研究组成员还关注义乌的社会文化动态。这些来自众多不同国家、文化、宗教背景的人如何在义乌共同生活？他们是否混居一起共享生活空间？抑或是形成各自聚居的“飞地”？这些有着多元化背景的主体之间的交流模式又是如何？

In a globalising context, these are issues of great importance for the city, for China, and for the wider world more generally. In order to gain insights into these aspects of life in Yiwu, researchers on the team have worked outside the Futian market as much as within it. They have spent hours chatting with traders in the city's restaurants and cafes, often until late at night. They have taken part in leisure activities with the city's foreign traders – visiting swimming pools and being driven to celebratory feasts in beauty spots and historic sites. Our researchers have also been invited to observe family life in Yiwu, often viewing at first-hand cross-cultural marriages. By engaging in this range of activities across different spaces in the city, the researchers have had the opportunity to directly observe the everyday lives of Yiwu's foreign traders and the relationships they have built with Yiwu people and migrants to the city from elsewhere in China.

在全球语境下，这些问题对于义乌及中国乃至世界而言都有着重要意义。为了深入理解义乌的社会文化动态，研究团队转而考察福田市场之外。他们到义乌的各家餐厅和咖啡馆与那里的商人交谈，通常直至深夜。他们还参与义乌外商的休闲活动，和商人们一起去游泳馆、去风景区参加在那里举办的庆祝宴会、参观历史遗迹等。他们还受邀拜访义乌家庭，观察其家庭生活，通常能获得关于跨文化婚姻的一手资料。通过参与城市空间的各种活动，研究者有机会直接观察义乌外商的日常生活，考察其与义乌本地人和义乌的外地移民所建立的关系。

Secondly, in addition to working in Yiwu, the team has conducted research in the markets in which commodities procured in Yiwu are sold. They have done so with the aim of better understanding the exact networks and commercial geographies that connect Yiwu to the world. Team members have caught up with foreign traders they met in Yiwu in the bazaars of Afghanistan, Tajikistan, and India, as well as in the souqs of the Middle East (especially in Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates). They have spent days in wholesale markets in the former Soviet countries (especially in Belarus, Ukraine and Russia). In these markets, goods purchased in Yiwu are sold from containers – these are deadly cold in winter, and swelteringly hot in summer. The researchers' interests haven't stopped in what is conventionally referred to as Asia. We've also explored how Yiwu goods are provisioned and sold in Western Europe (especially in Hungary, Poland, Germany and the United Kingdom). We're now also beginning to take an interest in the fortunes of Yiwu commodities in the USA. A key discovery is the important role that overseas Chinese who started trading in commodities sourced in Yiwu have made a significant impact on the markets, economies and societies of their host countries.

其次，除了义乌，研究组还对义乌商品的销售市场进行了实地考察，以便更深入地理解那些连接义乌与世界的确切的贸易网络和商业地理。研究组成员跟随在义乌认识的外国商人到阿富汗、塔吉克斯坦和印度等地的巴扎，以及土耳其、沙特阿拉伯、阿联酋等中东地区的市场。他们在这些前苏联国家（尤其是白俄罗斯、乌克兰和俄国）的批发市场进行为期多天的调研。从义乌采购来的商品就通过集装箱运送到这些市场来出售，很多当地的市场冬天严寒，夏天闷热。研究团队的兴趣并不止步于传统定义上的亚洲，我们还探讨了义乌商品在西欧如何供应和出售（尤其是匈牙利、波兰、德国和英国），并开始关注在美国的义乌商品的社会生命。这些研究中的一个重要发现是：海外华人通过义乌商品贸易，给其所在国家的市场、经济和社会带来了重大影响。

By carrying out research in this multi-dimensional and multis-sited way, the team is painting a complex, serious, balanced and empirical rich understanding of Yiwu's global connections. It has

been able to do this because team members have built up face-to-face relations with traders over months and years, rather than relying on statistics and simplistic and often one-sided images from the media. Critical to their work has been knowledge of the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of Yiwu's foreign traders. The team members collectively speak over ten languages, including Chinese, English, Russian, Ukrainian, Spanish, Mongolian, Farsi, Urdu, Arabic, Kazakh, Pashto, Hindi, and Vietnamese. As a result, they are able to interview and interact with traders in their own languages revealing details about trade that are otherwise invisible.

通过开展多维度、多地点的调查研究，研究组丰富了对义乌的全球连接的复杂的、严肃的、以及全面的实证理解。这样的认识是基于研究组成员与商人所建立起来的长达数月甚至数年的面对面的联系，而不是依靠数据和简单片面的媒体印象而得到的。对于他们的研究来说，掌握有关义乌外商的文化背景和语言知识是至关重要的。研究组成员所掌握的语言加起来共有十多种，包括中文、英语、俄语、乌克兰语、西班牙语、蒙古语、波斯语、乌尔都语、阿拉伯语、哈萨克语、普什图语、印地语、越南语。因此，他们都能用外商的母语进行访谈并与其互动，从而观察到贸易中那些不易察觉的细节。

## 2) KEY FINDINGS TO DATE

Over the course of the past 2.5 years, the project has made important progress in its aims to contribute thematically and empirically to major fields of investigation. Let me identify six specific contributions the project is making to knowledge to date, as well as reflect on the relevance of these to Yiwu.

### 2) 目前的重要发现

过去的两年半里，项目在一些主要研究领域的研究主题和实证分析方面都取得了重大进展。接下来我将具体介绍项目目前所取得的 6 个重要的知识贡献及其对义乌的启示。

#### 1) Yiwu – Empirical study of an International trade city

The assembled team is developing a unique and multi-dimensional understanding of the functioning and dynamics of this hitherto poorly understood “global city” in China. It is tempting for scholars to treat Yiwu simply as a space of commerce – a ‘global super-market’. But the project's team recognises that both foreign traders and local entrepreneurs emphasise their emotional attachments to the city. They talk about the role that their work and effort has contributed in improving their family living standard and shaping Yiwu's development and place in China and the wider world today. Foreign traders are often proud to remark, ‘we helped build Yiwu’. In short, the forms of global capitalism on display in Yiwu today are specific to the city – they are the outcome of the activities of the networks active in the city. Yiwu is poorly understood if thought of simply as the result of a universal maximising search for profit. City planners will no doubt see the importance of recognising that Yiwu's foreign traders regard themselves as integral to the city's social, cultural and economic fabric.

#### 1) 对国际化商贸城市义乌的实证研究

目前学界对于义乌这一国际化城市的作用和动力机制了解甚少。我们的团队通过研究合作，逐渐形成对这一问题的多层面的独到认识。学者很容易进入把义乌仅仅视为商贸空间—即“全球超级市场”—的认识误区。但我们的研究发现，无论是外国商人还是本地企业家都强调他们对义乌的情感归属。他们会谈及其工作和努力对改善家庭生活和义乌发展的贡献，以及对义乌能在中国乃至世界取得如此地位的促进作用。义乌的外商常常自豪地表示，“义乌的建设有我们的功劳。”总而言之，今天义乌所呈现的全球资本主义形式具有其独特性：这些资本主义形式

是活跃在义乌城市里的社会网络活动的结果。如果仅仅把义乌视作各方普遍寻求利益最大化的结果，那么我们并没有真正理解了义乌。义乌外商认为自己是组成义乌文化、社会和经济组织中不可或缺的一部分，我相信义乌的规划者们一定能意识到这种认同的重要意义。

## 2) International migration in China to incorporate relations to commercial networks

For long scholars of China focused on Chinese global migration - only more recently have academics focused on international migration to China. The findings of this project bring new insights by documenting the connections between international migrants to China and the fortunes of global Chinese migrants. We are interested in the modes through which foreign traders in Yiwu create and sustain transnational ties with their home countries and the various parts of the world in which they work. Focusing on such transnational trading networks through which ideas, commodities and people circulate allows the project to understand how different parts of Asia are incorporated and excluded from wider dynamics. Project members are also developing geographic categories that better reflect the geographical imaginations and experiences of Yiwu's foreign traders and the networks they form. An especially insightful category for example is 'West Asia': this geographical category makes possible a focus on connections between East and West Asia and also opens up post-soviet Eurasia to connective scholarship. Yiwu is a node in multiple transnational networks and thereby uniquely situated to influence and inform the activities of informal or everyday diplomats in multiple settings.

## 2) 义乌的国际移民将他们所拥有的关系发展为商业网络

长期以来，从事中国研究的专家学者主要关注海外华人移民，直到最近才有学者研究中国的国际移民。我们这个项目通过阐述中国的国际移民与海外华人移民的境遇之间的关系，丰富了对这一议题的认识。我们对于义乌外商建立并维持的跨国联系的模式非常感兴趣。对这些网络的研究使我们理解了跨国贸易网络如何通过观念、商品和人的流通而建立起来，亚洲多个相异的部分为何能如此相融，而它又如何与其他的部分不可兼容。此外，项目组成员还建立了一套地理分类系统，更为直观地反映了义乌外商的地理想像、经历以及他们所形成的网络。其中一项颇有见地的地理类别要数“西亚”：这一类别有助于聚焦东亚与西亚的连接并使得后苏联时代欧亚大陆的学术连接成为可能。义乌是众多跨国网络的交汇点，这一独特的地位赋予了义乌影响和谕知各种正式或非正式的外交活动。

## 3) Trust

The project findings complicate dominant trends in the wider sociological on trust. Trust tends to be conceptualised by scholars as an abstract universal value that is associated with particular forms of sociality (e.g. kinship) and cultural frameworks (e.g. religion) that structure shared expectations of moral behaviour (ethics). Rather than appealing to abstract notions of trust, the findings of the project suggest that paying attention to the ways in which traders deal with mistrust, Traders are also skilled at taking advantage of unexpected opportunities that require relations with people little known to them. Practically, this finding suggests that policy makers should think about how to create business environments in which relations of trust can be fostered and sustained – it is a mistake to assume that traders enter Yiwu with their business networks ready formed.

## 3) 诚信

项目的研究成果丰富了主流社会学研究中对诚信的理解。学者们倾向于把诚信概念化为一种抽象的普世价值，并与社会形式（比如亲属结构）和文化框架（比如宗教）联系起来，这些社会形式和文化框架往往塑造了集体对道德行为的期待（即伦理）。与抽象化信任概念不同的是，我们的研究重点关注贸易商如何处理不信任，以及如何娴熟地把握住意外的机会，为此他

们需要与不相熟的人打交道。实际上，我们的研究表明，政策制定者必须思考如何创造有利于培养和维持信任关系的商业环境，因为那些刚进入义乌的贸易商并没有如我们预想的那样已经有了自己的商业网络。

#### 4) Typologies of trading networks

The findings of the project enrich inter-disciplinary attempts to understand trading networks. Literature distinguishes different types of trading networks on the basis of their collective activities (e.g. are they made of labourers or business people?) and the forms of mobility out of which they arise (e.g. do they arise from forced or mobility that is commercially motivated?). In the context of Chinese business, scholars have long been interested in the relative importance of ties of family or friendship constructed through *guanxi* to businesses. Data gathered by the project suggest that such typifications are over-simplifying: individuals shift from status-to-status (e.g. from labourer to trader to refugee to trader) during the course of their lives. The networks they form are durable because of the ability of individuals to adapt to changing circumstances, and consequently change their role and positions in networks. This will be of considerable relevance for policy-makers keen to support sustainable trading communities and groups.

#### 4) 贸易网络的类别

我们的研究发现丰富了对贸易网络的跨学科理解。目前关于贸易网络的研究多聚焦于不同贸易网络的区分，或基于贸易网络的共同活动（比如是由工人还是商人组成的？），或基于贸易网络产生的流动形式（比如是被迫的流动还是受商业利益驱动的？）长期以来，研究中国商业的学者主要关注亲属、友谊等关系在商业中的重要作用。我们的研究数据表明，这些典型化描述是对现实的过度简化。个体在其生命历程中经历了多次社会身份的变化（比如从工人到商人，再到难民又到商人）。他们所形成的网络因他们对环境变化的适应能力而具有可持续性，而她们也会因此调整各自在网络中的角色和地位。认识到这一点将在很大程度上有助于政策制定者支持贸易体的可持续发展。

#### 5) 'Globalisation from below'

The term 'globalisation from below' is used to refer to non-elite and informal forms of mobility and trade. It is helpful because it brings attention to traders who are rarely the focus of conventional analysis of globalisation, be these overseas Chinese or Afghan merchants. Such forms of economic activity that are especially important to Yiwu and many other cities across the world today. Team members emphasise the need to historicise the activities of the groups important to contemporary forms of 'globalisation from below'. Project data on specific trading networks demonstrates that powerful similarities exist across historical periods; these make comparison between the past and present analytically helpful. The specific communities active in Yiwu are frequently from regions of the world that have long played a critical role in inter-Asian commercial dynamics. Particular expressions of capitalism (mercantile, industrial, neo-liberal) do not inevitably replacing one another in a sequential or developmental manner. The straightforward attempt to develop more and more modern forms of economy raises problems as well as solutions for a city such as Yiwu.

#### 5) “自下而上的全球化”

“自下而上的全球化”特指那些非精英的、非正式的全球性的流动和贸易形式。这一术语有助于引起学界对那些在传统全球化研究中缺席的商人的关注，比如海外华商和阿富汗商人。在今天，这些经济活动形式对义乌及其他国际城市来讲尤其重要。我们的团队强调，需要对当代以“自下而上的全球化”形式开展的经济活动进行历史化的研究。我们收集的关于具体贸易网络

的研究数据表明，不同历史时期的贸易网络存在惊人的相似；而这些相似点有助于对比分析过去和现在。比如那些活跃在义乌的商人社群大都来自于长期处于泛亚商贸网络核心的地区。一些具体的资本主义表现形式，比如商业的、工业的、以及自由主义的，并非不可避免地按着次序发展模式相互取代。对义乌这样的城市而言，尝试越来越现代的经济形式，虽然引发了许多问题，但同样也带来了诸多解决问题的方法。

## 6) Living Together in Diversity

Scholars of cultural diversity have recently focused on the notion of cosmopolitanism – the striving for universal forms of human life and identity. The ideal of cosmopolitanism is regarded as one way in which people living in culturally diverse settings engage and live side-by-side with one another. International traders in Yiwu often identify themselves as being cosmopolitan. They lead lives at the interface of multiple cultures. Importantly, however, traders are often pragmatic rather than idealistic in terms of the ways in which they live together. What is visible in Yiwu is the ways in which traders handle multiple loyalties to faith, ethnicity, nation, and wider transnational allegiances. Policy-makers might be advised to recognise thus the lengths to which Yiwu’s foreign traders adapt to life within the norms of Chinese state and society.

## 6) ) 多元共处

研究文化多元性的学者近期开始关注世界主义的概念，即追求普世性的人类生活和身份。世界主义理想被认为是文化多元背景下人与人共处的方式。义乌的国际商人常常认同自己为世界主义者。他们在多元文化的交界面生活。然而，更重要的是，商人的共处方式更多地是实用主义的，而不是理想主义的，这从义乌商人对信仰、族群、国家和跨国等多个层面的认同的处理方式上可以看出。我们的研究建议，政策制定者需要考虑义乌外商对中国国家和社会层面的生活规范的适应程度和所需时间。

This project’s in-depth investigation of Yiwu, and its connections to the world through networks and flows of people, commodities, and knowledge, is yielding an in-depth perspective on the city, its economic significance to the importing countries, the communities who live here and the global locales to which it is connected. Exploring trade against a broader backdrop of cultural exchange, makes possible a richer and longer-term understanding of Yiwu’s significance to the Belt and Road regions and the world beyond.

通过分析商品、人、知识的流动和网络，项目对义乌及其全球连接展开了深度调查，深入分析了小商品贸易对于义乌及其商品进口国的经济意义，考察了义乌社群及其所连接的国际市场。在更广泛的文化交流背景下探讨贸易，有助于我们更深入地理解义乌对“一带一路”地区及全球的重要意义。

I wish you a most enjoyable conference and hope very much that you are able to leave the event with fresh insights and ideas. We also look forward to hearing as many constructive suggestions as possible about the project, and look forward to receiving your advice and suggestions. The entire project will benefit greatly from your collective insights and contributions.

最后，祝大家会议愉快！希望此次会议能对各位有所启发。我们也期待大家踊跃提出你们对项目的建设性意见与建议。你们的集体智慧和贡献将使整个项目受益匪浅。

Thanks once again to you all for your attendance!

再次感谢各位嘉宾的光临！