

Research Article

The Times Changes of the “Sanyuesan” Festival of the “She” Ethnic Group in Jingning County and Its Music Construction and Identity

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Abstract: Through literature collection and field investigation, this study combs the track of changes and the characteristics of the times of the “Sanyuesan” festival of an ethnic group called “She” in Jingning county, Zhejiang Province, and focuses on the contemporary construction and identification of their festival music, an important carrier reflecting their culture. It provides a new research perspective for deeply grasping the construction path and development trend of the “She” group’s festival music as well as the innovation and inheritance of their traditional culture.

This paper mainly takes participant observation and in-depth interview as research methods, carries out a comprehensive analysis method dominated by qualitative analysis and supplemented by quantitative analysis, and summarizes the track of changes and the characteristics of the times of the “She” ethnic group’s “Sanyuesan” festival, so as to find the historical context and background for the construction and identification of their “Sanyuesan” festival music.

This study takes the research on the change of the “She’s Sanyuesan” festival as the time axis, takes the core music layer, intermediary music layer and peripheral music layer as the division standard, and takes the identity order of ethnic identity, regional identity and national identity as the theoretical basis in an effort to explore the contemporary construction and multi-level identity of the “She’s Sanyuesan” festival music in Jingning county.

Key Words: “She’s “Sanyuesan”, festival music, changes, construction, identification

Introduction

National Traditional Festival ceremony is a significant carrier to reflect the identity and characteristics of different national cultures. Festival ceremony music is not only the

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concentrated embodiment of its national culture, but also an important symbol to identify ethnic identity and boundary.

National traditional festivals are an important component of national traditional culture, which carries people’s memory and remembrance of their past life. As the link of social and cultural relations and the connection point of cultural inheritance and creation, festivals have become the entry point for cultural researchers to observe cultural images, gain insights into cultural connotation, understand the changes of the times, collect various cultural symbols and explore the deep structure of culture. With the improvement of social production capacity, the advancement of urbanization and urbanization and the growth of people’s labor surplus time, the creativity in festivals increasingly reflects the diversified cultural needs of social life.

The cohesion of a nation comes from the collective identity of all groups and individuals constituting the nation to its own culture, which is not forced to be maintained by external forces but realized through its own collective memory, the most important of which is the collective memory of its own cultural characteristics. As a festival day with specific folk activities of the “She” ethnic group, “Sanyuesan” is an important time period to awaken and inherit the national collective memory. After one or two thousand years of accumulation, it has become the symbol of the “She” group and the carrier of their collective memory. The government or people strengthen the collective memory and national emotional identity of the “She” with their customary festival activities once a year.

The Development of “Sanyuesan” Festival of “She” in Jingning

The “Sanyuesan” (also “WuFan” Festival) of “She”, which is called “celebrating March the 3rd” by the people, is the most distinctive festival of the “She” ethnic group and an important carrier for the display of their traditional culture. With the development of local economy and society, the festival has evolved from a cultural event with local customs to a carnival cultural festival dominated by the government and gathering all kinds of the “She” group’s cultural capital to serve the economic development (Lin, 2017).

From the perspective of its development process, the “She’s Sanyuesan” in Jingning is mainly divided into three important periods:

The first stage is the original growth period before 1984. The “She” people continued their own production and life style, and the area was relatively closed, which makes this folk matter completely retain its traditional characteristics. During the festival, they gathered in the countryside, singing songs to each other from morning to evening, worshiping their ancestors and gods, picking the leaves of the tree called “Wuren”, soaking the glutinous rice with its tender leaf juice, cooking “WuFan” with the soaked rice and entertaining their guests.

The second stage is the period of construction and integration from 1984 to 2001. In 1984, Jingning Autonomous County of “She” was established to construct the identity of the “She” group by an administrative means and promote the development of “She” people’s

culture, which is characteristic of the period. The extraction and expression of “She” cultural symbols have attracted the attention of the government, thereby sorting out and protecting their culture has become a policy plan of the Autonomous County and even Zhejiang Province. At the same time, with the reform and opening up of China, the county began to seek an effective way out for economic development, thereby the regional territory was broken and cultural integration began to take place.

The third stage has been a period of vigorous development since 2001. The external wave of globalization and the dual promotion of the development of county tourism economy have formed an all-round atmosphere of “building ‘She’ culture and driving local economy” with the government as the main body. As the representative cultural brand of the “She” group, “Sanyuesan” has become the object of centralized construction.

Contemporary Changes of “She’s Sanyuesan” Festival in Jingning

With social progress and economic development, “Sanyuesan” has gradually become a cultural card for the development of tourism economy in Jingning, Zhejiang Province. Thus, the content and derived significance of the “Sanyuesan” have gone far beyond the traditional “WuFan Festival” and have become a large-scale festival celebration to include various literary and artistic performances, singing competitions, clothing displays, sports competitions, photography and painting, and many other cultural projects such as academic seminars and food promotion. The contemporary change and construction process of “Sanyuesan” vividly reflects the interesting theme of “traditional invention” and reflects the subtle position of “culture” in the economic development of ethnic minorities. Specifically:

Changes of Festival Connotation and Function

The traditional “Sanyuesan” is also called the “Folk Song Festival” or “WuFan Festival”. Singing folk songs embodies the national characteristics of the “She” group, such as “taking songs as the medium” and “speaking with songs”. Eating black rice is not only for ancestor worship, but also a folk custom. The traditional “WuFan festival” includes four cultural connotations: commemorating national heroes, worshiping the ancestors of “She”, praying for peace and a bumper harvest. However, in recent years, with the acceleration of globalization and urbanization, the development of social economy, the economic function of culture has been gradually valued and excavated. The “Sanyuesan” festival with “She” characteristics has naturally become a platform for the development of tourism economy in Jingning and a cultural card to publicize and promote the image of Jingning township. Accordingly, the connotation of the “Sanyuesan” festival has also changed, that is, from the original commemorative connotation of simply expelling evil and avoiding evil and worshiping ancestors for happiness to the political and economic connotation of entertainment, unity and development.

The traditional “WuFan” Festival on March the 3rd not only plays the function of offering sacrifices to gods, but has the social function of civil free communication, emotional

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contact, blood and ethnic relationship, and the agricultural function of preparing for spring ploughing and praying for a good harvest. In comparison, the traditional folk function of the contemporary “She's Sanyuesan”, however, has gradually weakened, and then changed to the composite function of tourism economy, national unity, cultural exchange and display.

Changes of Festival Form and Content

The main contents of the traditional “Sanyuesan” Festival are outing, singing, eating black rice and carrying out sacrificial activities in the fields and countryside, as well as courtyards and ancestral halls. Among them, singing has become an important play for the “She” people to spontaneously celebrate the “Sanyuesan” and express the love of young men and women. At present, there are also performing antiphonal singings on the day, but their content is mainly about praising the modernization, reform and opening up and other contemporary contents. Even the traditional love songs are weakened due to the dilution of the marriage customs function of the festival. The “Sanyuesan” duet festival of “She” has become a platform for ethnic gatherings. In addition to inviting “She” singers from relevant regions to sing their own local folk songs, it has also invited the performance of the Central Ethnic Song and Dance Troupe, Taiwan ethnic minorities and other non-“She” organizations to get together for the gala. Eating black rice is also different from taking the family as the unit in the past. Now, not every household of the “She” group eats black rice on March the 3rd. The organizer has designated a supply location in an effort to offer tourists black rice on the same day to enjoy. The ancestor worship ceremony also changed from private to public, from the original stage of producing “self” to the performance stage of producing “self” for “viewer”.

In addition to the changes in the contents of traditional singing and eating black rice to worship ancestors, the “Sanyuesan” festival also continues to integrate the contents of activities with “She” cultural characteristics, commercial value and publicity value, including a series of “She” activities: “She” tea, “She” niang (ladies), “She” art, “She” flavor, “She” scenery, “She” technique, “She” music, “She” dance, “She” products, “She” painting etc. Special attention has been paid to integrating the celebration of the festival with the tourism economic development, and the main participants of the festival have been transformed into tourists. The local tourism bureau has carefully planned such high-quality routes of the festival celebration as “folk experience tour” and “ecological leisure tour”, and carried out publicity activities in cooperation with relevant media. Taking “marketization” as an important concept of the festival celebration, it strongly highlights the economic function of the “Sanyuesan” festival.

Changes of Festival Participants

Before 1984, the “She” people lived in a relatively closed area and continued their own way of life. The folk customs retained the traditional characteristics, spontaneously “offering sacrifices to their ancestors” and “eating black rice” in the family. The participants were the

members of the “She” group or family members, with the characteristics of self entertainment, spontaneity and groupness. After the establishment of Jingning Autonomous County of the “She” ethnic group, government administrative means got involved in participating in the construction of “She” identity, promoting the development of “She” culture. The government gave full play to its administrative advantages, consciously explored and integrated the folk customs, culture and art of the “She” group, and so it became the initiator and organizer of the “Sanyuesan” festival. At this time, the festival became a big gathering and a gala between the “She” group and other brother ethnic groups, as well as an exhibition of the “She” culture. With the deepening of reform and opening up and the development of market economy, the “Sanyuesan” festival has become a “cultural platform” for “economic singing”, and the main participants of the festival have been diversified with the change of its function.

In order to further expand the popularity of the regional brand of “She Township in China” and give full play to the tourism economic function of “She” culture, relevant media, enterprises, experts and foreign tourists have gradually become important participants in the “Sanyuesan” festival.

Changes of Festival Cultural Space

As an important folk activity of the “She” people, the “Sanyuesan” festival also has a specific ritual space environment. The traditional ritual space is mainly the family courtyard and ethnic ancestral temple. The family festival is relatively simple as black rice is made and eaten at home and given to relatives and friends as gifts. In addition, they go outdoors and sing in pairs or at home. They sing all the time and everywhere. She people not only sing folk songs on various festivals or on various festive occasions, but also are willing to express their feelings and speak for themselves with songs in their daily life (Guo, 2004). It can be seen that the “She” folk songs have rich space for antiphonal singings, and the requirements for space are relatively free, as they sing in the family residence, ridge in the mountains, bamboo grove and stream, etc. However, for festival activities, the antiphonal singings can also have specific space restrictions, that is, the “She” clan ancestral temple or ancestral temple.

With the acceleration of globalization and modernization, the “She” people are more open and confident, and actively get involved in social communication and development. In accordance with the trend, the ritual activity space of “Sanyuesan” has become increasingly wider, extending from the past courtyard, field and ancestral temple to large public activity spaces such as squares and auditorium. At the same time, thanks to the development of digital media and we media, it has become fashionable and normal to hold “Sanyuesan” celebrations both offline and online simultaneously.

Contemporary Construction and Cultural Identity of “Sanyuesan” Festival Music of “She” in Jingning

Festival culture is an important part of national traditional culture, and festival music is an important symbol of festival culture. Festival music is particularly lively in cultural

exchange and mutual learning because of its unique freshness and identity function. As a cultural symbol, festival music is also a significant representation of national identity and identification. In an open era of globalization, the exchange between different ethnic cultures is not only the basis of cultural change, but also the driving force of cultural construction. Under the background of ethnic interaction and the efforts of the local government to protect, excavate, sort out and rescue intangible cultural heritage, the construction and identity of “She” festival music has become an important perspective for the study of its culture.

Cultural Construction and Cultural Identity

Cultural Construction

Cultural construction is an important cultural practice of human beings. In a broad sense, it belongs to a practical way of cultural reproduction. It is a cultural innovation carried out by the participants replying on their initiative, and it is a positive cultural change. Narrowly speaking, it is the reprocessing and recreation of a certain cultural phenomenon, and it is also the reunderstanding of the existing cultural phenomenon.

Under the impact of globalization, modernization and urbanization, Chinese traditional culture has been marginalized and even abandoned. However, with the enhancement of China’s comprehensive national strength and the in-depth practice of the Chinese dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, Chinese people gradually develop their cultural self-confidence and cultural consciousness. From the national to the local, they have carried out the cultural construction in line with their own identity and needs. The construction of music culture is an important part of “no music, no ceremony”. The construction of minority festival music is the most direct way to highlight their ethnic boundaries and strengthen their cultural identity.

At present, whether out of the inheritance of traditional culture, the exploration of tourism culture, or the needs of rural revitalization, the construction of festival culture has sprung up everywhere. The cultural characteristics of national festivals have inherent advantages in realizing ethnic identity. At the same time, the regional characteristics of national festivals provide essential exotic customs for festival tourism, and can bring the same or similar cultural experience and cultural memory to similar population. It further extends their cultural identity by affecting the implicit mechanism of the subject’s collective memory and cultural identity. Accordingly, ethnic minorities need to construct their cultural identity. Various festivals have become the sustenance of a great many culture. The traditional and modern, self and borrowed festivals are gathered here. Under the background of becoming a national “intangible cultural heritage” project, the cultural construction of the “Sanyuesan” festival of the “She” ethnic group in Jingning of Zhejiang Province is gradually conducted and completed under the leadership of government departments, experts, scholars, cultural elites and the general public with the help of capital, power, habits and other resources in a specific field.

Cultural Identity

The “identity” refers to “sameness”, “recognition”, “identification” and so on. It was first proposed by Sigmund Freud, an influential Austrian psychologist and psychiatrist. It is defined as the primary stage of individual ID ideology swallowing other forms of consciousness. It is studied from the perspective of social group psychology. It is considered that identity is a process in which we tend to be consistent with others, individuals and groups in psychology, cognition and feeling (Freud, 1922). Huntington (2005) believes that the majority of “identity” are words with connotation generated through construction, including not only the identity of individual and group organization, but also many aspects such as regional identity, cultural identity, political identity, social identity and so on.

“Cultural identity” refers to the same feelings of individuals or groups on the cultural characteristics of themselves or others, which are common and will exist for a long time. It is the positive recognition of the most meaningful things of the nation formed by people living together in a national community for a long time, and its core is the recognition of the basic value of a nation (Hu, 2010). It is the spiritual link that condenses the national community and the spiritual basis for the continuation of the life of the national community. Cultural identity comes from a common economic foundation, a common social identity and a common conceptual system (Erikson, 1968). The main ways to form cultural identity include cultural inheritance, cultural exchange and integration and political force coercion. The contemporary “Sanyuesan” festival culture of the “She” nationality in Jingning is based on the “conscious” and active inheritance of the “She” people’s traditional folk culture. Meanwhile, it draws important lessons from and integrates the “other” culture, supplemented by the active support of national forces, experts and scholars. It has gradually realized such a multi-level cultural identity as rational confirmation, emotional conversion and practical maintenance (Hu, 2020).

Festival music is an important part of the construction of festival culture. At an intermediary level, it is a melting pot with multi-dimension and multi-direction. Accordingly, it also reflects the identity characteristics of different levels, such as national identity, national identity, regional identity, ethnic identity and so on.

Multi-level Identity

Generally speaking, traditional festivals have the characteristics of periodicity, ethnic groups and regions. They are people’s bodies’ coexistence and their organized behaviors and activities in an ethnic group or region. In the context of contemporary globalization and urbanization, traditional festival ceremonies have experienced several functional transformations, which has become an important symbol of cultural transformation in social and historical changes (Luo & Liang, 2016). As the process of global localization and local globalization is accelerating, the cultural circles of all ethnic groups, regions and countries are in an unprecedented trend of in-depth exchange, collision, mutual integration and mutual

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benefit. National festival music has a significant function in cultural exchange and identity recognition because of its uniqueness and identity function.

As an important symbol to identify the identity and boundary of the “She” ethnic group, the festival music at different levels of the group’s “Sanyuesan” is related to different identity categories. These music cultures at different levels are incorporated into the same music culture system. In contrast, they form the characteristics of identity order difference (Fei, 2005). These identity differences mainly demonstrate multi-level cultural identity such as ethnic group, region and country. These three identities not only have micro mutual game (mainly reflected in ethnic identity), but also converge as a whole driven by the macro policy of the state to promote the exchanges, communications and integration of all ethnic groups (“three exchanges”), and intersect and penetrate each other, in the form of network interweaving. In the field investigation, the author found that in the traditional ritual music within the “She” ethnic group (such as teaching, learning and doing merits), ethnic identity is the core of identity function, followed by national identity and regional identity. In terms of cultural representation, ethnic identity is predominant, while national identity and regional identity are recessive, showing a bottom-up cultural identity difference order (Zhang, 2020). In the super ethnic and super regional national celebration or religious festival celebration and sacrificial ceremonies, however, the national identity is the core, which is dominant, followed by regional identity and then ethnic identity, which are recessive, showing a top-bottom cultural identity difference order.

Hierarchical Construction and Multi-level Identity of the “She’s Sanyuesan” Festival Music

Different types of music cultural identity need to be reflected by different music cultural types and activities, and show different symbolic meanings due to the changes of cultural contexts such as individuals, groups, ethnic groups, nationalities, cities and countries (Rice, 2007). In other words, the concept of cultural identity of music needs to be constructed and represented by varied cultural subjects in different forms of music forms and music behaviors. Different levels of music culture during the “She’s Sanyuesan” festival correspond to diversified types of cultural identity, as shown in the table below:

Table 1: *Stratification and Identification of the “Sanyuesan” Festival Music of “She” Ethnic Group in Jingning*

Music Stratification	Music Identification	Music Categories	Music Works
Primary layer (core)	Ethnic identity	“She” religious music	<i>The Song of Gao Huang, Songs of novels, virtues, ancestor worship ...</i>
		“She” folk music	Ballads, love songs, songs of marriages and customs ...
Secondary layer	Regional identity	Adapted “She”	<i>The Songs of the Tea Leaf Pickers, the</i>

(intermediary)		songs	<i>Song Greeting Guests, the Toasting Song ...</i>
		Newly composed ones	<i>Phoenix and mountain guest, Singing “She’s Sanyuesan”, The Most Beautiful “She” Song ...</i>
Tertiary layer (peripheral)	National identity (political)	Odes, patriotic songs	<i>My Motherland, the Ode of Red plum Blossom...</i>
		Composed theme songs	<i>Singing a Song to the Communist Party...</i>

Construction and Ethnic Identity of the Primary Layer Song and Dance Music of the “She” Group’s “Sanyuesan”

In the cultural performances of the “She’s Sanyuesan” festival over the years, it is a must to present the performances of the “She” masters and the “She niangs” (singing ladies), including the songs and dances of “doing meritorious deeds” and “teaching and learning” performed by the “She” masters, as well as *the Song of Gao Huang*, novel songs and other traditional “She” songs by the “She niangs” (Hong, 2017). Their song and dance forms are unique to the “She”, and their main function is to reflect the “She” characteristics, identify ethnic boundaries and determine ethnic identity. These songs and dances are nominally used to pay tribute to gods and ancestors. In fact, they strengthen the ethnic identity of the “She” people and clarify the psychological cognition and emotional attachment of the members of the ethnic group to their own.

Ethnic identity is mainly composed of festival ritual music with its basic emotion derived from ancestral beliefs and primitive narration. It is characterized by originality, irrationality and subconsciousness. It takes primitive ancient songs as the core and ethnic music and dance as the language to describe the specific life scenes within the ethnic group. Its function is to identify the ethnic boundary, that is, to stabilize the internal identity of the ethnic group.

Construction and Regional Identity of Secondary Layer Song and Dance Music of “She”

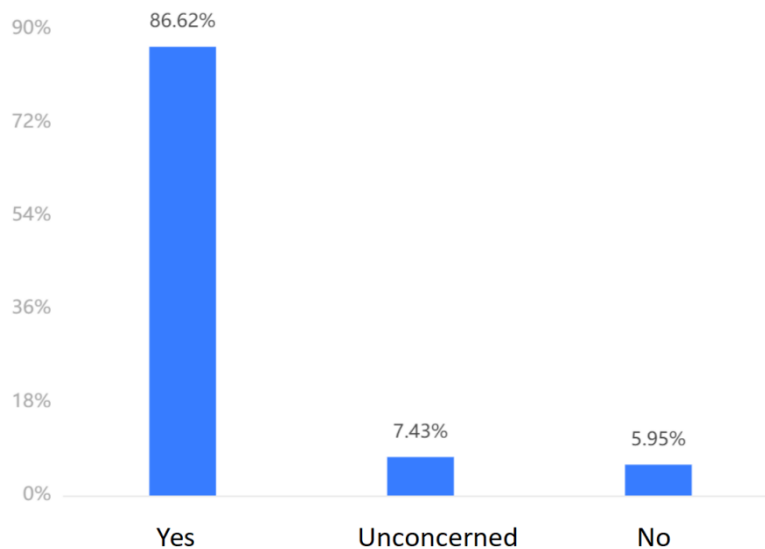
As the only Autonomous County of the “She” ethnic group in China, Jingning is unanimously determined to build itself into a national “She” cultural headquarter. Since 2001, Jingning has consciously undertaken the mission of constructing cultural resources representing the whole “She” ethnic group, making the title of “She Township in China” worthy of its name. In the context of global tourism, Jingning has greatly expanded the extension of the “Sanyuesan” festival. There are not only traditional national songs and dances, clothing and catering performances, but also various cultural performances integrating the content of modern life, thus forming a multi-dimensional festival ceremony performance space. The leading force that promotes this cultural space field is the local administrative organization, the purpose of which is to drive the development of local economy and culture. The according performances show the characteristics of setting, interest, rationality and instability.

Festival music at this level is mostly based on the core of their own music culture, borrowing or changing the music elements of other ethnic groups, showing multi styles such as ethnic group, regional and modernity. The specific music forms are mainly the adapted

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“She” folk songs and the newly created “She” songs. According to the questionnaire (Question 9) conducted by the author in the main “She” people gathering areas of Fujian and Zhejiang provinces, nearly 90% of the people are very happy and agree with these two kinds of “She” songs. As shown below:

Table 2: (Question 9) Do you think the “Sanyuesan” festival music of “She” can be integrated with contemporary song and dance music?



Options	Feedback
Yes	234
No	16
Unconcerned	20
Participants involved: 270	

In addition, the folk song and dance drama, the highlight of the opening ceremony of the “She” people’s “Sanyuesan” festival, also embodies regional identity. Take amorous dance poetry drama *Millennium Shanha* as an example. The Legend of the common origin of the “She” ethnic group is used as the material for creation, and the cultural characteristics of the She people in Fujian and Guangdong are also used for reference in terms of clothing and music. The whole play consists of six parts: preface, preacher, ploughing mountain, winding song, ceremony marriage and ending. Focusing on the historical themes, religious culture, farming and hunting, tea weaving, singing, marriage and other themes of the most influential and cultural connotations of the “She”, the cultural and artistic essence of “She” folk dance, craft architecture, costume tea art, sports competition and other cultural and artistic essences are presented in the way of singing and dancing, showing the folk customs and spiritual connotations of the “She”. The local characteristics of the “She” in Jingning have been weakened, and historical legends have become the main body of dance drama, which has built an “imaginary community” for the “She” ethnic group. In the later “folk song competition”, contestants from Guangdong and Fujian provinces won gold and silver awards respectively, reflecting the characteristics of regional identity.

In the way of “economic platform and cultural singing”, the local government not only promotes the development of local tourism economy and benefits the broad masses of the people in the region, but also fully displays and blends the history, culture, folk customs, language and religion of ethnic groups in the region, so as to build a new cultural community and objectively strengthen the cultural and psychological identity of residents in the region.

Construction and National Identity of Rebirth Song and Dance Music of “She”

Festival ceremony music is an important part of traditional festival folk culture. At major time nodes, folk festival music actively promotes national identity in its unique way. Taking the “She’s Sanyuesan” themed activity program of Jingning in 2019 as an example, it coincides with the 70th anniversary of the founding of the people’s Republic of China and the 35th anniversary of the establishment of Jingning Autonomous County. Therefore, the first part of the activity theme is designed to “*Spanning 70 years and Celebrating the New Era*”, with a clear theme of praising national development and the leadership of the party. The opening program is that all the actors perform the opening dance “*Praising the New Era*”, followed by the song and dance performance “*My Motherland*”, the revolutionary song “*the Ode of Red plum Blossom*”, and the situational dance “*Seeing the Red Army Out for Ten Times*”. All the themes and programs highlight the “national will” and attach importance to the characteristics of politics, rationality and constructiveness. Throughout the whole performance, songs, dances, music, lights, art, clothing, props, stage art and many other aspects also show cultural symbols with national consciousness as much as possible, as well as the transformation and expropriation of music of other ethnic groups under the guidance of the national discourse system.

It is based on such a cultural structure that the “She’s Sanyuesan” festival music realizes its comprehensive innovation, reconstruction and reproduction of traditional ethnic festivals on the premise of maintaining the ethnic cultural connotation and characteristics, relying on the official capital and power, and integrating various forces, so as to achieve the function of new national identity.

Conclusion

The contemporary change of the “Sanyuesan” festival of the “She” ethnic group in Jingning county, Zhejiang Province, is not only a “acculturation” phenomenon of the traditional culture of ethnic minorities under the impact and influence of modern civilization, but also a self adjustment of their own cultural development (Sam & Berry, 2006). “Invariance” is relative, while “change” is eternal. “Every culture is in a constant change, which is the theoretical starting point of cultural change. The basis of the whole cultural change is innovation ... When this innovation is accepted by most members, cultural change will occur, which is the overall form of cultural change; the overall framework of cultural change usually occurs with the change of social and cultural environment or natural environment.” (Fu, 2007, p54) It can be said that from the traditional folk custom “WuFan Festival” to the modern diversified sound landscape “Sanyuesan” festival, this is not only the reconstruction of the sound structure of the ritual of “She” folk festival, but also the change of its ritual symbol and cultural function.

In the changing process of the “Sanyuesan” festival ceremony in Jingning, its content, form and significance must evolve with the transformation of time and space. It is necessary to constantly construct new forms to adapt to the development of the times. This construction

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must go hand in hand with identity and influence each other. China is a multi-ethnic country, and each ethnic group has its own unique cultural system. In building the national pattern of “integration and diversity” of the Chinese nation, cultural identity is a force of great importance to promote the exchanges, communication and blending of all ethnic groups. Among them, festival music, as the most fundamental and vivid symbol of identity, plays an irreplaceable role in communicating and constructing the cultural and psychological identity of all ethnic groups, identifying ethnic boundaries, and promoting national integration, unity and mutual assistance.

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