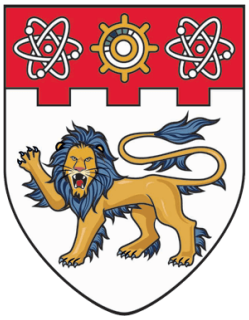


NANYANG TECHNOLOGICAL UNIVERSITY
SINGAPORE

NATION IN ACTION: MAKING CHINESE IN THE RURAL BORDERLAND BETWEEN CHINA AND NORTH KOREA

CHEN SHIWEI

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

2019

Nation in Action: Making Chinese in the Rural Borderland between China and North Korea

CHEN SHIWEI

School of Social Sciences

A thesis submitted to the Nanyang Technological University
in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

2019

Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research, is free of plagiarised materials, and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

23 April 2019

. . . . . .
Date

. . . . . .
Shiwei Chen

Supervisor Declaration Statement

I have reviewed the content and presentation style of this thesis and declare it is free of plagiarism and of sufficient grammatical clarity to be examined. To the best of my knowledge, the research and writing are those of the candidate except as acknowledged in the Author Attribution Statement. I confirm that the investigations were conducted in accord with the ethics policies and integrity standards of Nanyang Technological University and that the research data are presented honestly and without prejudice.

23/04/2019
[Input Date Here]

Hsiao Li Sun
[Input Supervisor Signature Here]

.....
Date

.....
[Input Supervisor Name Here]

SUN HSIAOLI Shirley

Authorship Attribution Statement

This thesis contains material from 2 papers accepted at conferences in which I am listed as an author.

Part of the content of Chapter 4 was presented as Chen, Shiwei. “Monuments of Revolutionary Martyrs in the China-North Korea Borderland: Displaying National Authority and Perceptions of Local Residents.” at *12th Annual International Ethnography Symposium*, Manchester, UK in Sep 2017.

Part of the content of Chapter 6 was presented as Chen, Shiwei. “Transnational Family Ties and Migrant Incorporation: Borderland Living among Korean-Chinese.” at the *International Sociological Association (ISA) Research Committees RC06 (Family) and RC41 (Population) Conference*, Singapore in May 2018.

24 April 2019

. . . . . .
Date

. . . . . .
Shiwei Chen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation has been produced through an almost five-year journey involving many locations on different continents. I am deeply grateful to many people I have encountered throughout the journey. Although I am not able to include everyone, the following is the beginnings of my gratitude and appreciation.

First of all, I would like to thank all the participants in this PhD project. Their names can't be disclosed, but I am extremely grateful for all the help from them. I would also like to specially thank the people from my main fieldsite – the village about ten kilometers from the Chinese-North Korean border – who kindly accepted me to stay in the community for such a prolonged period, invited me to numerous joyful events and generously shared their life with me.

보고 싶은 우리 촌의할아버지, 할머니, 아저씨, 아줌마, 오빠, 어니, 동생께:

그동안 덕분에 즐거운 시간을 보냈습니다. 정말 감사합니다!

Reflecting on the research journey, I came to realize that two renowned scholars who are always passionate about conducting research influenced me to become enthusiastic about my study. It is my great honor and pleasure to have the wonderful opportunity to complete my PhD dissertation under the supervision of Prof. Shirley Sun and Prof. Min Zhou, who are both extremely supportive, encouraging, caring and motivating. I would like to thank Prof. Sun for guiding me step by step through this research journey. Your rigorous research attitude continuously inspires me to carefully conduct my research at every stage. Thank you for believing in me and always being so patient and reassuring whenever I encountered difficulties and started doubting myself. Thank you for creating various wonderful opportunities for me to develop crucial skills for being an academic. I am also deeply grateful to my co-supervisor Prof. Zhou, whose wealth of knowledge and commitment, particularly in the field of migration and ethnicity is inspiring and contagious. Thank you for guiding me into the field and sharing your valuable research experiences without reservation. Thank you for modeling for both my professional and personal development.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my Thesis Advisory Committee members Prof. Laavanya Kathiravelu and Prof. Hong Liu, for the tremendous academic support and inspiration, for the insightful advice and for the valuable feedback and the investment all the way through my research proposal, data collection to the final draft.

This dissertation would not be possible without the generous help and support from the Professors and graduate students I met in Yanbian. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Prof. Zhenan Quan and his wife Ms. Honghua Jin, for the immediate welcoming and warmth when I first nervously and cluelessly arrived in Yanbian, for introducing to me the beauty of the place – both the earnest people and the delicious local cuisine, and for the continuous support and caring through my stay. I would also like to thank Prof. Jinhai Piao, for her expertise in the field, for connecting me with local communities, and for always being supportive and encouraging. I thank Prof. Hongxi Li who generously lent his large personal out-of-print collections to me; Prof. Binghao Jin and Prof. Chunri Sun, who tirelessly elaborated and contextualized important concepts. Their guidance rapidly increased my local knowledge and helped me to understand the local discourse. I would also like to thank Hongwei Wang, Dr. Guochuan Du, Dr. Jianlin Liu, Jie Jin and Yang Yang for the generous support, meaningful discussions and tremendous hospitality.

I gratefully acknowledge the institutional support that I have received in the last five years. I thank Nanyang Technological University for supporting me with generous scholarship so I could concentrate and fully commit to my PhD research project. I am grateful to the Academy of Korean

Study for sponsoring my six months stay in South Korea. I also thank the Japan Student Services Organization for offering me scholarship to study at Waseda Univeristy in Tokyo for a semester.

I would like to extend my gratitude to whom I had valuable opportunities to study with in the last four years: Prof. Shaohua Zhan, Prof. J. Patrick Williams, Prof. Francis Lim and Prof. Sam Han from my home institute Nanyang Technological University; Prof. Gracia Liu-Farrer, Prof. Roberts Glenda S. and Prof. Patrick Boyd from Waseda Univeristy; Prof. Hee-Young Kwon from the Academy of Korean Studies. Thank you all for sharing your immense knowledge and giving me numerous constructive advices. I also thank Prof. Genaro Castro-Vázquez for the guidance and inspiration during my time studying with him. I would like to specially thank Prof. Zhenjiang Zhang at Sun Yat-sen University. I was fortunate to participate in his research projects twice during my undergraduate study. The summers exploring the mountain areas in Southwest China truly broadened my imagination of what it means to conduct research and led me into the field of ethnography. I am grateful to Prof. Zhijiang Wei for his expertise and introducing me to the field of Korean studies, as well as connecting me with the research community and the renowned scholars in the field. I would also like to thank Prof. Jiangang Zhu, my undergraduate final thesis advisor, and Prof. Paul O'Connor at The Chinese University of Hong Kong where I studied my master. Their teaching and thinking inspired me at the early stage, which ultimately drew my interests to the field of everyday nationhood and ethnicity. I am grateful to Prof. Teresa Kuan and Prof. Sidney Cheung for their guidance and inspirations during my Master study, and their continuous encouragement and support to me to further pursue my research study. My gratitude extends to the staff of my school, Ms. Sufei Li, Mr. Kadhiresan Bala and Ms. Wahidah Binte Mohamed Ali, for all the help and warmth. I would also like to thank my colleagues Dr. Bernadette Bartlam, Prof. Helen Elizabeth Smith, Charlene Soon and Aloysius Chow at the Lee Kong Chian School of Medicine, NTU-Imperial College London, for the warm support and inspirations at the last stage of my PhD journey.

In the formation of this thesis, I was fortunate to be fully sponsored to attend academic events in Germany, Poland, Hong Kong and South Korea by the following organizations – The International Sociological Association, Zentrum für interdisziplinäre Forschung at Bielefeld University (funded by Volkswagen Foundation), Korea Foundation, Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology, Research Centre on Migration and Mobility at The Chinese University of Hong Kong and The School of Social Sciences at Hong Kong Baptist University. My dissertation has been greatly benefited from the exchanges with the most renowned scholars in the field.

I would like to thank Jia Jia Teo, Dr. Judit Kroo and Dr. Sirui Ma to accompany me on this journey. Our numerous discussions with wine and snacks delighted this research path. I thank Wang Yu-Ying for her kindness, warmth and all the joyful moments during my fieldwork in South Korea. Some special words of gratitude go to my NTU friends who have always been a major source of support and joy: Dr. Xiwen Ni, Fun Lau, Ka Lon Sou, Lijun Zhang, Mohamed Shahril Bin Mohamed Salleh, Dr. Ratih Oktarini and Lidia Luna Puerta. I would also like to thank my life-long friends Anqi Huang, Yanna Wu, Minqi Liu and Huimin Cui for their friendship and accompany. Thank you for always being a phone call away. Thank you for encouraging me, and when I was confused and uncertain about myself, constantly reminding me of my dream and the

person I always wanted to be since I was a little girl. As the only child, I am so fortunate to have you all like my sisters.

Finally, I would like to genuinely thank my family in Guangzhou and Cologne, for the unconditional support and love, for the encouragement to pursue my dream. I owe my deepest gratitude to Andreas Liesenfeld, for seeing and understanding the little curious ethnographer in my heart, for encouraging me to explore the unknown, for giving the happiest moments in my life, and for always being here.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY

This dissertation examines everyday nationhood, ethnicity and migration in the Korean ethnic minority borderland regions in Northeast China. The population under study are the rural residents of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture in Jilin Province, the region with the highest concentration of ethnic Koreans. Data collection is based on multi-sited fieldwork over the span of three years, utilizing participant observation and in-depth interviews. Two rounds of long-term fieldwork were conducted – one in a borderland village in Yanbian, China, and the other in Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. Long-term fieldwork was supplemented by several short-term visits, usually around two weeks per visit, to Yanbian, South Korea, and North Korea. Official documents collected in archival bureaus in China and South Korea were also used for analysis.

The dissertation is organized into two parts. Part I includes three chapters, a historical overview of ethnogenesis and ethnic classification in China from top-down perspectives (Chapter 1), a review on the sociological studies of ethnicity and nationalism in everyday life (Chapter 2), methodology and a description of the main fieldsite, a village about 10 km from the North Korean-Chinese border (Chapter 3). Part II includes three empirical chapters that examine three aspects of everyday nationhood and ethnicity in the ethnic Korean village: the uses of a stone monument that commemorates the Korean War as part of nation-building (Chapter 4), economic development policy implementation and the uses of ethnic and national framing related to their implementation (Chapter 5), and the governance of emigration and the utilizations of ethnic capital and its impact on social relationship in both the sending and receiving societies (Chapter 6).

The dissertation contributes to three fields of sociological inquiry in ethnicity and nationalism studies. First, I have re-examined the relationship between historic sites and nation-building and argue that such sites could be conceptualized as representations of state-sponsored narratives, objects participating in everyday life and rituals, as well as multitude of designed and emerging action possibilities. Second, I presented that economic development policies are intertwined with nationalization in the ethnic minority regions. Therefore, beyond actual economic benefits, they are also (symbolic) "gestures", which have to be conceptualized as ethnic and national frames among the residents that emerge as part of local manifestation of the state. I also argue that nation-building is facilitated by the communist party-building. Nationhood is constructed to embrace different ethnic groups through fostering recognition of the party. Third, ethnicity can be perceived as a form of capital to facilitate (re)migration, and different political organizations define (and sometimes contest) the value of this form of capital, which ultimately influence everyday grouping practices. It is also important to distinguish family-based network from ethnic grouping. In summary, this study of everyday nationhood and ethnicity of rural Yanbian residents shows that nationalization is highly politicalized and ethnicization is facilitated economically, which provides a new understanding of the "dual identities" of ethnic minority Koreans beyond the dichotomous division between politics and culture.

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Summer 2016. The train across the North Korea-China border from Pyongyang to Dandong stopped at Sinuiju, the last stop on its way to China. A small North Korean city at the shores of Yalu River, China right on the other side. Several men in dark green military uniforms came walking along the aisle through the train compartments, each with a badge of the late North Korean supreme commanders Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-Il on their chest. The train compartment is divided in cubicles with six beds each. One of the officers walked by our cubicle, stopped as he saw Hong Yu-Jin and greeted him in Korean. Yu-Jin is a man in his sixties. He was sent to North Korea by a Chinese state-owned company from Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture to work in a cigarette factory. This time he was travelling with a colleague, Song Se-Hun, who sat next to him. Both are frequent visitors with whom the men in uniform are probably already familiar. The officer stopped for a short hand shake and then walked away.

Minutes later, another North Korean officer walked in with a pile of A4 papers in hand that contained each passenger's information such as name, nationality and occupation. He walked up to Yu-Jin and his colleague Song Se-Hun and confirmed with them that their occupation as stated on the form as "trader" was correct. "Open your luggage," he said in Korean. Yu-Jin opened his two suitcases, both were full of cigarettes. The officer took a box of cigarettes out and put it next to his briefcase that he had placed on the bed while searching through Yu-Jin's luggage. "Why do you have so many cigarettes?" Reaching into his bag, Yu-Jin immediately produced a piece of paper and responded in Korean that the cigarettes were authorized to be brought across the border, but the officer did not seem persuaded. He checked the documents again and again while murmuring: "The stamp doesn't seem right", "The content is missing".

Eventually he walked to the next passenger, Zhang Xiao, a Chinese lady in her forties also doing cross-border trading. He opened her suitcase and found a teddy bear on top that he picked up, waving it in front of Xiao to tease her. She smiled. Then a bag of cables inside the suitcase caught his attention. “What are they for?” he asked Xiao in Chinese. She explained that the cables are for her computer and pointed the officer to her notebook. As he saw the computer, he flinched back and nervously made a gesture with his right hand to signal her to hide her laptop. Then he raised his head and looked around the compartment to make sure that the other officers did not see the notebook, so that he did not have to check it. He had no time for this.

Then the officer turned away and walked into the next compartment. His briefcase was still lying on the bed next to the cigarettes. Did he leave it there on purpose? Yu-Jin did not hesitate to take out his wallet and put 100 Chinese Yuan next to the officer’s briefcase. A couple of minutes later, the same officer came back and saw the cash. “Why is there money?” he said, picked up the bill and put it into his briefcase. After briefly chatting with Yu-Jin again, he left with the briefcase and one box of cigarettes. Apparently, he spent too much time on Yu-Jin and his cigarettes, so he didn’t bother to check my luggage or that of any other tourist in the compartment.

The train started moving again. Se-Hun who sat next to Yu-Jin the whole time suddenly turned around, scolding Yu-Jin in Korean: “I told you not to give them money. They’re spoiled by people like you. He wanted cigarettes, he can have it, but why would you give him money?”

Yu-Jin: “You ran away when he asked for money. If I wouldn’t have paid, you would have to. I paid for you, so you can save it. Let’s just say that I carelessly dropped some money.” Then he continues with a series of swear words in Chinese.

Then Xiao, the other passenger who had her luggage checking in the compartment, turned towards Yu-Jin and Se-Hun and said: "Did you guys stay in North Korea for a long time? I heard you guys speaking exactly like the officers. "

"We are ethnic Koreans, we are essentially the same ethnicity (本来就是同一个民族). We speak the same language", Se-Hun responded in Chinese. They were Chinese nationals classified as "ethnic-minority Koreans" (朝鲜族) from Yanbian, the border area between China and North Korea. This was also my destination as I returned to my fieldwork site to continue working.

Ethnic-minority Koreans, *chaoxianzu* or *Joseonjok,* are an officially-classified ethnic minority group of China (中国少数民族之一). When the Communist Party came to power in 1949, it found that there were about one million people who spoke Korean and traced their ancestral root to the Korean Peninsula living mainly in three provinces that make up Northeast China. In fact, part of countries, linguistic diversities and lifestyles that are different from the "imagined mainstream" Chinese culture were common across the country, particularly in the borderland regions. To govern and gain support from the residents in the periphery, the new regime began an ethnic classification project to define the ethnic composition of the new country. Along with the classification of another fifty-four ethnic minorities, this Korean-speaking population became Chinese citizens with a special ethnic minority status. Later, Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture was established in the region close to the China-North Korea border where most of the ethnic Koreans reside.

In the following decades, the ethnic Koreans became part of the multi-ethnic population of today's China. The geographical proximity of Yanbian to the Korean Peninsula and a shared language offered them unique opportunities to interact with the two Koreas. Also, their relatively high educational and economic achievement in comparison to other ethnic minorities earned them the public image of a "model ethnic minority" – a title granted by the Chinese state. This led to the proliferation of a range of positive narratives that depict this group of people as role models for the many other ethnic minority communities in the Western and Southern parts of China that are struggling with poverty and underdevelopment. However, this "transborder membership" (Brubaker and Kim 2011; Kim 2016) did not only bring economic benefits, but also raised doubts about their loyalty to a country. On one hand the prosperous image of the ethnic Korean community in Yanbian distinguishes them from other ethnic minorities that are frequently depicted as poverty-stricken or violent. On the other hand, the frequent interactions with the two Koreas and their "external membership" (Kim 2016) of those countries have put their sense of belonging and loyalty to the Chinese nationhood in the spotlight. The report of what happened on the train from North Korea to China exemplifies how Chinese businessmen with ethnic minority Korean status utilizes multiple membership categories in interaction with people from both China and North Korea. When Chinese companies establish business relations with North Korea, ethnic Koreans like Hong Yu-Jin and Song Se-Hun are often selected as ideal candidates sent over to represent Chinese state-owned enterprises, mainly due to their language skills. Following the unpleasant incident on the train, Se-Hun stated that "we are essentially the same ethnicity" which

indicates a self-identification as ethnic Korean in this situation. But what about his life in China, would he bring up national or ethnic categories in a similar way there?

Previous studies examined such "dual identities" – national Chinese identity and ethnic Korean identity (Choi 2001; Choe 2006; Li 2012a; Liu 2009). However, few of these studies explicitly examine these issues from an "everyday life" perspective, putting ordinary residents and their everyday experiences and how such national and ethnic membership categories emerged from daily conversations and grouping practices into focus (Brubaker et al. 2006; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008).

Another body of literature addresses the large exodus of people from Yanbian about one third of this population currently resides in South Korea. Those studies found that many developed pro-China sentiments and that their Chinese identity was "reinforced" after living in South Korea (Piao 2010; Song 2009; Song and Tsunoda 2016 etc.). These migration studies largely focus on migrants in South Korea but, to the author's knowledge, few studies have examined the situation back in the borderlands. What about those who eventually return to China? How does the migration experience impact life in rural Yanbian?

A third body of literature addresses the relationship between South Koreans and Chinese ethnic Koreans. These studies report that the two groups do not "merge" and that both appear to remain distinct ethnic groups. For instance, Bialogorski's (2010) study on Buenos Aires, Argentina, quoted a Korean interviewee describing the relationship between the groups: "We are like water and oil. We coexist but do not integrate" (2010:16). Many aspects of such shifting group dynamics

are yet to be explored, particularly the situation of ethnic Koreans in China, their migration experience and their role in nation-building back in Yanbian.

Today, large parts of nationalism studies are informed by various strands of constructivist theory and nationhood has come to be perceived as a continuous project (Anderson 1983; Brubaker et al 2004; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012). The Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture with its multi-ethnic population is an ideal field site to further explore the dynamic relationship between nationalism, ethnicity and migration. Departing from a "dual perspective", I explore top-down and bottom-up factors related to these three topics (Brubaker et al 2004; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012) with an emphasis on nationalism and ethnicity as processes constructed from both above – states, organizations, ethnopolitical elites and other actors that are advocating for national and ethnic categories, as well as from below – the targeted audience by the former and their reaction and participation in the process. Taking this approach, this study does not only investigate how Yanbian residents assert their identities with national and ethnic terms, but also maps out when, where, how and why such assertions come to place as well as what actors and factors play roles in the processes of nationalization and ethnicization. To be more specific, from above, the dissertation looks into how the Chinese state governs borderland residents of Korean heritage and discusses various policies and political projects that target this area, as well as the localization of the policy implementation by other actors. Complementing this "top-down" view, I then examine how the residents of rural Yanbian react to the policies and how these policies affect grouping practices in everyday life. I approach these topics from the perspective of nationhood construction

and everyday ethnicity, as "ways of perceiving, interpreting, and representing the social world" (Brubaker 2004: 17).

This dissertation is a multisited fieldwork-based study grounded in an ethnic Korean community in rural Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture about 10km from the Chinese-North Korean border. When I first entered the village, I brought the following two sets of research questions into the field:

1. What is the role of the state in the making and remaking of ethnic boundaries? How does the Chinese state facilitate nationalization in the ethnic minority communities?

2. In this process, how do the villagers react to, resist or negotiate the categories they are assigned to in everyday life? What contributes to the processes of shifting and remaking ethnic and national boundaries?

Staying in the field for more than a year in total, I immersed myself in the local community and observed when, where, why and how people would use national, ethnic and racial categories *in-situ.* During my stay, I have learned a great deal about various aspects of how national politics affect the village and have come to deeply appreciate this way of exploring everyday ethnicity. I have uncovered a multitude of different strategies and practices related to my topics of interest that both the state and the villagers commonly rely on to go about their daily business in the village. Three sub-themes emerged during my fieldwork under the main theme "everyday nationhood and ethnicity": historic sites and nation-building, economic incentives and nation-building and governing people crossing borders. This thesis presents these findings in the following order.

Synopsis

The central theme of this dissertation is to explore processes of nationalization and ethnicization from above and from below. The first three chapters (1-3) introduce my conceptual approach, contextualize the situation in China and outline my methodological framework. Chapter 1 reviews different ways of how people were classified throughout modern Chinese history and shows that ever since the concepts of race, ethnicity and nation were introduced in China, how these concepts have influenced China's transformation into a modern nation. I argue that nationhood construction and ethnic classification have been largely intertwined and that these concepts and their use have experienced different phases of transformation. The chapter also outlines the situation in the borderlands and traces how the residents of Yanbian became one of the first officially recognized ethnic minorities in China. Chapter 2 reviews sociological theory relevant to the present inquiry, with an emphasis on cognitive sociology, everyday nationhood and ethnicity studies.

Chapter 3 introduces the main fieldsite, a Chinese-North Korean borderland village with a predominantly ethnic minority Korean population. I describe institutions and people in the village, portrait aspects of village life such as infrastructure, economic activities, informal relationship and daily routines.

Chapter 4, 5 and 6 report the empirical findings. Chapter 4 examines the role of a large stone monument as part of nation-building in everyday life. This monument erected by the state commemorates "socialist revolutionary martyrs" (革命烈士), soldiers that died during the Korean War. As a towering symbol of a state-sponsored narrative in the village, the 5-meter tall stone is

examined as part of a larger investigation into the role of national symbols in the everyday life of the villagers and their understandings and (re)interpretations of them. I uncover possible reasons behind the inconsistent adoption of these narratives in the village and describe the use of these state-sponsored narratives by the villagers to achieve various goals.

Chapter 5 examines the impact of economic development policies on the village and describes local practices of nation-building and party-building. I focus on two large-scale national projects that the state carried out in the borderland regions during my stay: The *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich People* (兴边富民行动) and the implementation of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* (精准扶贫). I explore the political implications of these projects and their impact on the ways villagers interpret, frame and use national and ethnic categories.

In chapter 6, I explore the migration experiences of Yanbian current and former residents and follow some of my informants to South Korea. The chapter explores the relationship between ethnic capital and cross-border migration as I uncover emigration trajectories, as well as the impact of migrant experiences on grouping practices in everyday life. I also explore how the administrative institutions of Yanbian, the sending society, deal with the significant exodus of people in the region.

All these three empirical chapters feature, what I call "fieldwork vignettes" that recount certain events that I encountered during my stay. These ethnographic vignettes document conversations, actions, interactions and events and are usually supplemented by additional information that I collected in various local archives. Chapter 7 summarizes all findings and outlines future studies, and concludes my investigation that ethnicity and nationalism are a

grouping practice of many, but do not seem to be essentially different from grouping practices along other lines. They became most salient in everyday life when emotion was evoked, and often occur when emotionally charged events took place.

CHAPTER ONE - THE STATE AND ETHNOGENESIS IN CHINA

This chapter explores the relationship between nation-building and ethnic classification in contemporary China and throughout modern Chinese history. Studies on what is often referred to by the state as "ethnic minority issues" (少数民族问题) in contemporary China usually focus on ethnic conflicts between various ethnic minorities and the Han majority. Many of these studies use the official ethnic categories as taken-for-granted analytical units, relying on the current ethnic classification system that categorizes Chinese nationals into 56 ethnic groups (民族). This system emerged in the 1950s as a result of a national wide project known as *Ethnic Classification Project* (民族识别).

In this chapter, I examine how this classification system came about, what it was built on and how it evolved. I trace different ways of how people were classified throughout various eras and ultimately propose a different perspective to how to view "ethnic minority issues" in China: as a process. Drawing on previous studies that examine ethnicity as a process of ethnic formation, I investigate factors that contribute to defining and maintaining certain aspects of groupness (e.g. Mullaney 2011; Qi 2008; Piao and Jiang 2017). It argues that China has been simultaneously undergoing processes of nationalization, ethnicization and racialization since the late Qing dynasty when concepts such as the modern nation, nationhood, nationalism, race and ethnicity were introduced to political elites. These concepts subsequently laid out a conceptual foundation to govern the country as a whole for politicians such as Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China (1912-1949), and Mao Zedong, the first chairman of the People's Republic of

China (since 1949). As part of the efforts of these politicians to transform an empire into a modern nation, a nation-state (国族) emerged that slowly turned a great deal of linguistic and cultural diversity into unity throughout the past century. Since the beginning of this transformation nation-building and ethnic classification were largely intertwined and both play an important role in the construction of modern Chinese nationhood.

Han Chinese and "Barbarians"

In China most of the ethnic minorities inhabit the periphery of the country. Located far away from the center of power, the minorities have long been described using derogatory terminology that differentiates them from those in power. Various studies on such "otherizing" terminology are available. For instance, in ancient China boundaries were commonly drawn between those who were Sinicized and the "barbarians" (Crossley 1990), e.g. the division between *Hua* (华) and *Yi* (夷) or *Han* (汉) and *Hu* (胡). These narratives depict *Han* people (or *Hua*) as inhabiting the center of "the land under heaven (天下)"[1] and literally called the Central Plain (中原). "Others" are referred to using directional terms, e.g. as the barbarians from the East (东夷), the South (南蠻), the North (北狄) and the West (西戎). The further people live from the center, the more they are otherized. However, these studies also present evidence that the situation is

[1] *Tianxia* has sometimes been used by governors in imperial China to describe the territory of the empire. More discussion can be found in Li 2012b, "*tianxiaguan*" *de luoji qidian yu lishi shengcheng* ("天下观"的逻辑起点与历史生成, "The Starting Point and the Generating Process of Tianxia View"); Luo 2008, "From "*Tianxia*" (All under Heaven) to "the World": Changes in Late Qing Intellectuals' Conceptions of Human Society"; Li 2015, "The Concept of the "Chinese Empire" and its World Order: a Misinterpreted Tianxia Order".

different at the individual level as people can be incorporated into the category "Han" (汉). This provides a new perspective to interpret the concept of "Han" that is commonly understood as both a cultural and racial term today – it was not necessarily a fixed category.

In addition to the use of "Han" as a tool to classify people according to racial and ethnic concepts, the division between "Han" and "barbarians" has also been used to differentiate between those who are "Sinicized" and those who are not. Under certain circumstances it was possible for individuals to shift from "barbarian" to "Han". The term was not always exclusively based on blood ties in a primordial sense. A popular means available for "barbarians" was through a process of "culturalization", often tied to Confucian education that enables the chosen individuals to participate in the central education system (科举) and ideally leads to acceptance of the social values and moral norms promoted by the central imperial government (Chen 1997; Ma 2017). Chen (1997) even reports that in this process, "culturalization" was even more important than blood ties in differentiating *Hu* and *Han*.[2] According to him, whether a person was Han or Hu was primarily based on education.[3]

Another perspective on the concept of Han focuses more on institutional factors and the legal system and argues that various means such as land registration with the government and tax

[2] This position is undergoing debate and evoked criticism of being not practical (Dikötter 1992) and such argument have been criticized as circular (Crossley 1990).

[3] The original text in chinese: "汉人与胡人之分别, 在北朝时代, 文化较血统尤为重 要。凡汉化之人, 即目为汉人; 胡化之人, 即目为胡人。其血统如何, 在所不论。……此为北朝汉人、胡人之分别, 不论其血统, 只视其所受教化为汉抑或为胡而定之确证, 诚可谓有教无类矣 (In Northern Dynasty (386-581), "culture was more important than bloodline in distinguishing Han people from Hu people. People who were Sinicized were perceived as Han people, people who were Hunized were perceived as Hu people. Bloodline was not part of the evaluation. [...] That was the distinction between Han and Hu during the Northern Dynasty. It did not concern their bloodline and only considered the kind of education (Han or Hu) as evidence. That was called education without distinction.)."

payment led to the incorporation of "a person outside of the system (化外之人)" (Faure 2007; Qu 1961; Zhang 2004)[4]. For instance, Faure argues in *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories, Hong Kong* (1986) that "a distinction had already emerged between 'us' – the administered population and its administrators – and 'them', the *Dan* (蜑, people of the water), the *Yao* (瑶, people of the mountain), and later, the *Hakka* (客家人)". The study examines "becoming Chinese" as a long term process of incorporation of local communities into the state. According to this approach, the measurements that define "us" and "them" are mainly based on whether a person accepts the regulations and administrative system of the central state. A similar process of absorbing peripheral societies into the central state through internalizing the state legal system has been reported in other parts of China during Ming and Qing dynasty (Faure 1989 and 2007; Faure and Liu 2000; Liu 1997; Zhang 2004; Zheng and Chen 2001). These studies present evidence of how different regions with people speaking different languages gradually became part of China. Generally, such studies provide a new angle that re-examines "China as process" (Siu 2016), examining processes of becoming instead of describing China as a substantial entity with a singular culture.

The modern concepts of nationhood, race and ethnicity were not popularized until the arrival of European colonial powers in China. Studies on the introduction of racial, national and ethnic concepts to China usually state that the invaders from the West brought the concept of "race"

[4] Tongzu Qu's Law and Society in Traditional China provides a general introduction to the core principle of regulation in ancient China. Although the book is considered oversimplified (see Barbara Celarent 2010), it outlines the primitive ideas of neutralization through legal system (huanei zhiren, 化内之人) in imperial China.

as it was popular in Europe at the time to China and also introduced the concept of "nation-state". An important term related to nationalism in China was *minzu-ism (*民族主义*)*.[5] It was introduced by some scholars and politicians around the end of the 19th century and used to advocate the resistance to the imperialist powers from Europe and Japan. It was instrumental in advocating a strong nation-state based on the idea that "'the struggle for survival' was a competition between nations rather than persons" (Chung 2014) [6]. From then on, definitions of Chinese using ethnic or racial terms have continuously been intertwined with the formation of a modern Chinese nation.

The term *minzu* (民族) emerged in Chinese along with the introduction of race, ethnicity and nation. Some studies on its etymology trace the word to two origins – firstly, the term *minzu* is said to have been adopted from Japanese *minzoku*, which "means an ethnic group, a nation, a race, or even a combination of all these" (Yoshino 2007). Other studies hold that the term and its associated meaning were largely influenced by the German and Russian discourse of the time, particularly among communist intellectuals and politicians (Lin 1963; Ma 2000).

Another related term is *zhongzu* (种族), which refers to "race" but has a stronger "blood-based" implication. Sometimes, *zhongzu* and *minzu* were used interchangeably, but similar to its Japanese origin, *minzu* could be used in a broader sense.[7] Archival analysis shows that the concept

[5] A popular explanation of the origin of the word *minzu* among Chinese ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists and historians is that the word was adopted from Japanese through students studying in Japan towards the end of the Qing and the early years of the Republic of China (Dikötter 1992: 108; Mullaney 2011: 23). The concept race in a Social Darwinism sense is frequently assumed to have been popularized in China along with the word *minzu*. Recently, however, this etymology of the word in Chinese discourse has been challenged by new archival evidence (Fang 2012; Hao 2004; Peng 1984), pointing out earlier uses of *minzu*. Even in the light of such evidence, most of the parties in this debate agree that the concept of *minzu* in its contemporary understanding developed in the late 19th century.

[6] For example, see an audio recording of the founding father of the Republic of China Sun Yat-sen that was recently made public: "Policy of Country Salvation", speech in Cantonese, recorded on 30th May 1924 in Guangzhou, China.

[7] The section "Terminology" in Chapter 2 will elaborate the translation and usage of those terms in this dissertation.

of race (*zhongzu*, 种族) was used in China since at least the end of 19th century (Dikötter 1992; Sang 2012). After Hong Kong Island became a colony of the British Empire in the 1840s, armed conflicts occurred in Guangdong province and different parties of the conflict have been described as different races. According to Dikötter (1992: 70) and Lamley (1977), this documents an early use of the new racial terminology by Christian missionaries. After the introduction of racial categorization to Hong Kong it was then transmitted to other parts of China. For instance, Teochew and Hakka were descriptions of cultural traits (文化现象) that gradually crystalized into different ethnicities in the process and transformed into ethnic groups (*zuqun*, 族群) using distinctive languages and other distinguishing traits (Chen 2007; Huang 1999; Rao 2005). Later, the narration of conflicts with ethnic/racial terms became commonplace and what Brubaker (2004: 44) called the "ethnic competition schema" has widely been adopted in political discourse.[8] Along with this process, the consciousness of Chinese as a hegemonic race, or ethnic group, was popularized, leading to efforts among Chinese elites of how to revive the greatness of this race, or *minzu*.

This glimpse into the history of national and ethnic terms shows that China was never inhabited by a singular race but that racial terms have long been used by different groups to mobilize people and achieve political agendas. For instance, the term Chinese Nationality (*zhonghua minzu*, 中华民族) was coined to promote a united nation and to strengthen social cohesion while fighting the colonial invasion. Ever since, the term has been promoted by those in

[8] When this form of schema is activated, people tend to "see and experience competition in ethnic rather than other terms" Brubaker (2004: 44). Ethnicity is re-examined as processes of ethnicization, which means the processes of ethnic schemas becoming hyper-accessible and outweighing other interpretive schemas.

power since late Qing dynasty. The meanings assigned to the concept went through transformational stages. In 1901, Kang Youwei talked about *minzu* in *Great Harmony* and distinguished *minzu* from *zhong* (种)[9]. To him, *zhong* was a concept that distinguished four skin colours and which seems to be inspired by the popular social-Darwinist models of race in other parts of the world at the time. He considered *minzu* a sub-category of *zhong.* For instance, according to him, there are several *minzu* in Asia, such as *Huaxia* (华夏), Mongolian, Japanese, but since they all have similar facial features, they belong to the same *zhong.*[10] He believed that only *minzu* can mix and merge through education.

Later, in 1924, after reforming the Nationalist Party of China, President Sun Yat-sen further advanced the definition of *minzu* in China. He recognised domestic *minzu* diversity in the announcement of the first national congress and promised rights of self-determination among minority *minzu*[11]. He advocated a united Republic of China based on voluntary association of each *minzu*. *Five-Nationality Unity for a Republic* (五族共和) was promoted by Sun Yat-sen since the very beginning of the Republic of China. *Wuzu* here refers to Han, Manchus, Mongols, Hui and Tibetans. In the late years of the Republic of China, the ministry of education then decided to

[9] The e-version of Datong Shu: http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=547649, retrieved 10 May 2019.
[10] The original text in Chinese:
"同种国既合一矣，既大同矣，而民族之混同为难。然其教化相等，面目相等，既经混一之同教同养，即无自分其民族之高下，则平等相亲，固自易易。若欧洲之罗马、条顿、斯拉夫族，本自全同，固易合一；即亚洲之华夏族、蒙古族、日本族，一被同等之教化，其智能皆相类，面目亦相同，则亦至易合同而化矣。所最难合同而化者，人种颜色绝殊异者也。今世界中有白色种者，有黄色种者，有棕色种者，有黑色种者，面色绝异，神气迥殊，如之何而能化之也？"
[11] The original text: "国民党敢郑重宣言，承认中国以内各民族之自决权，于反对帝国主义及军阀之革命获得胜利以后，当组织自由统一的（各民族自由联合的）中华民国。"

advocate that China only has one race called *zhonghua minzu* with multiple cultures and religions in different regions. In 1944, a document archived in Guangdong Provincial Archive recorded one of the policies based on the idea of a unitary and singular *zhonghua minzu*. The *Ministry of Education Orders on the Item by Item Instructions about Minzu and Borderland Issues*[12] is a governmental file telegraphed to National Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou on 31 Sep 1944. The orders were written by the head of Ministry of Education Chen Lifu and intended to provide a guideline for historical research and editing related textbooks regarding *minzu* at universities. The first item clarified:

"The people in our country branch in different clans, but they do not have racial differences".[13]

The other part of the document also offers insights of how the Republic of China interpreted national, ethnic and racial concepts at that time. It discusses how people in different dynasties described "people who are not from the same clan (外族)"[14]. Chen writes that these are also descendants of *Yan and Yellow emperors* just like other Han people (a well-known ancestral mythology, for more details, see Dikötter 1992: 132). In the same fashion, he pointed out that Manchurians, Mongolians, Hui and Tibetans in China were all part of Chinese nationality.[15] Here, the relationship between people with different cultural practices within the Chinese territory and

[12] The original Chinese title is "教育部关于民族及边疆问题逐项指示的训令". The document is collected in Guangdong Provincial Archives, case number: 020-002-154-029~032.
[13] The original text in Chinese: "我国人民有宗族之分支，无种族之区别".
[14] The original text in Chinese: "闭关时代所见者小以五胡为外族目元清为夷狄今日视之与周代以荊楚为南蛮同一情形古之所谓四夷四裔固无一而非炎黄子孙".
[15] The original text in Chinese: "所谓满蒙回藏亦复如此要,皆中华民族也".

the nation was clearly stated – they are all parts of the country. Notably, the document considered Tibet and Mongolia names of a place, and Hui as the name of a religion, and Manchuria was the name of Nurhaci (his son changed it to Qing), which means Manchuria was also not an official name for a region.[16] In order to prove his arguments, he quoted Sun Yat-sen:[17]

"When our founding father talked about nationalism, firstly he said that nationalism means nation-stateism (国族主义) [...]. *He talked about each clan rather than each nationality or each race because of the same reason."*

Along the same lines, Chiang Kai-shek's interpretation of *minzu* was "to link it inextricably to the ideas of singularity and indivisibility, and thereby advance a concept of a unitary '*Zhong-hua minzu*' [中华民族] within which no divisions could be recognized" (Mullaney 2011: 15-16). However, as the Communist Party of China took control over China, a new system was established altogether.

The State Project of *Ethnic Classification* in the People's Republic of China

The *Ethnic Classification Project* (民族识别) in the People's Republic of China was largely inspired by the Soviet Union and marks clear boundaries between ethnic groups and ultimately turned China into a country with "multiple nationalities" – 56 to be exact. This *Ethnic Classification* system, which is still in place today, is based on a project conducted mainly in the

[16] The original text in Chinese: "考蒙藏皆地方之名，回为宗教之称，满洲则努尔哈赤一时之名号，其子皇太极即改称清并非正式之地名".
[17] The original text in Chinese: "国父讲民族主义首言民族主义即国族主义指示最明显中正在中国之命运一书称为各宗族不曰各民族或各种族亦即此意".

1950s, but that continued until into the 1980s. However, the Communist Party has probably been working on this issue decades before it eventually gained control over China in 1949. Early documents of the party in the pre-1949 era include articles written by first-generation leaders that reveal their concerns about ethnic conflicts between Han Chinese and other people as well as attempts to include people other than Han Chinese in the communist revolution. For instance, the *Manifesto of 3rd National Congress of the Communist Party of China* written in 1923 states:

"Our mission is to liberate the oppressed Chinese nationalities through national revolution... "[18]

The term ethnic issues (民族问题) also frequently appeared in other party documents written in the following decades. Gladney (1998) pointed out that the 6000 miles "Long March" (1934-1935) of the Communist Party brought it to some of the most remote minority regions of China. Possibly in relation to such experiences, the Communist Party aimed to distinguish itself from other political powers such as the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China by promising ethno-national equality (Mullaney 2011:2-3). For example, the preface of *A Collection of Archives on Minzu Issues* (民族问题文献汇编) (*Zhonggong Zhongyang Tongzhanbu* 1991: 1) states:

"For a long time, China has been a country that consists of many minzu. In the modern era, each minzu in China suffered oppression from imperialism together. In the meanwhile, institutionalized oppression exists domestically as minzu have unequal status. The dominant minzu, especially the ruling Han-chauvinism represented by Northern Warlords and the Nationalist Party

[18] The original text in Chinese: "我们的使命是以国民革命来解放被压迫的中国民族". 民族 (*minzu*) has been officially translated into "nationality" until the early 2000s. A detailed discussion on the translation issues please refer to the Chinese sociologist Ma Rong's article (2016).

government, oppressed and exploited other minzu everywhere. Therefore, since the day the Chinese Communist Party was established, solving Chinese minzu issues became the historical mission...”[19]

A number or interesting observations that can be made here illustrate how the party perceived the issue: First, *minzu* was used in plural form, which indicates that ethnic diversity was recognized. Second, the party acknowledged that inequality existed among different *minzu* and pledged to solve this problem.

After the CCP became the ruling party in 1949, the state began engaging different *minzu* more directly and started the project of *Ethnic Classification* that aimed to identify the ethnic composition of the country and to come up with protective regulations and support for these ethnic minorities (Mullaney 2011). To this end, the central government sent out a group consisting of ethnologists, sociologists and anthropologists to identify the ethnic composition of the country. The project of *Ethnic Classification* lasted more than three decades and concluded that China consists of one ethnic majority *hanzu* (汉族) and fifty-five ethnic minorities (少数民族).

Notably, in this process Han has been a taken-for-granted ethnic entity. According to Fei Xiaotong, an anthropologist who participated in the project, the classification effectively only targeted minority *minzu* (Fei 1997): [20]

[19] The original text in Chinese: “很久以前， 中国就是一个由多数民族结合而成的国家。到了近代，中国各民族共同遭受外来帝国主义的压迫，同时，在国内又存在着民族压迫制度，各民族的地位是不平等的。居于统治地位的民族，特别是以北洋军阀政府和国民党政府为代表的大汉族主义统治，对于其他各民族压迫剥削，无所不至。因此，中国共产党从成立之日起，就把解决中国的民族问题列为重要的内容之一。”

[20] There is an ongoing debate about the concept “Han” and its ambiguities, e.g. *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China’s Majority* (Mullaney et al. 2012).

"Ever since I participated in minzu research, minzu studies referred to ethnic minorities, so working on minzu naturally equals to working on ethnic minorities, which excludes the study of Han Chinese. This self-evident thought was formed during the early days of the field trip missions of the central government. The substantial task of these missions was to clarify that ethnic minorities are masters in the new China and to promote policies of ethnic equality. Therefore, the missions only targeted ethnic minorities rather than Han".[21]

In fact, Fei Xiaotong was a leading figure of the project and a student of the renowned anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski at the London School of Economics. He was part of the first generation of overseas educated and systematically trained social scientists in the People's Republic of China. According to Fei, places Fei and his colleagues who conducted the *Ethnic Classification*, their trips mainly led them to the borderlands and to remote rural and mountain areas and another effect of the expeditions to all these regions by the central government was to declare the rule of the new political power over the people in the remote parts of the newly formed country. In this sense, the *Ethnic Classification Project* assigned not only a *minzu* but also the PRC nationality to the individuals scattered throughout the borderlands and inaccessible areas of the country. The official *Ethnic Classification* integrated the minorities into the new national system and promulgated the rule of the Chinese Communist Party over the country as a whole.

[21] The original text in Chinese: "在我开始参加民族研究的那一段时间里, 我们一提民族工作就是指有关少数民族事务的 工作, 所以很自然地民族研究也等于是少数民族研究, 并不包括汉族研究。回想起来这种不言而喻的看法是在中央访问团时期已经形成了。中央访问团的实际任务就是向少数民族讲清楚在新中国他们已有当家作主的权利, 即宣传民族平等的政策。因之访问团只访问少数民族, 并不访问汉族".

The guiding principles of the project have been recorded by Fei Xiaotong (1980: 153). The definition of *minzu* utilized in the project was based on Karl Marx's historical materialism, combined with and further developed Joseph V. Stalin's (1913) definition of *minzu* based on the so-called "four commons": an ethnic group is a stable entity sharing a common language, territory, economic activities and psychological make-up that is manifest in a common culture grounded in history, taking the history of ethnic origin, inter-ethnic relations, lifestyles and religious rituals into account (Fei 1980: 153). According to Ma Rong, this interpretation of *minzu* inspired by Stalin is the most popular and authoritative definition in post-1949 China (Ma 2000).

Fei (1997) also wrote about how the project was conducted. Initially, the government encouraged people to register their own *minzu* identities and the project collected more than four hundred different *minzu* this way. Then, in order to verify these claims, the government sent out several groups of ethnologists and anthropologists to conduct fieldwork in the ethnic minority areas, a process that lasted more than 30 years. As part of this project, the central government also established ethnic minority autonomous regions that are led and managed by the minority groups themselves (Ma 2010: 304). The idea of establishing autonomous regions can be traced back to the 1920s. The third National People's Congress held in Guangzhou from 12 to 20 June, 1923 passed *the Draft of Constitution of the Communist Party of China*, which includes the following item:

"The relationship between the China Proper and Tibet, Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai etc. are to be self-determined by the minzu itself."[22]

[22] The original text in Chinese: "西藏、蒙古、新疆、青海等地和中国本部的关系由该民族自决".

After innumerable discussions and negotiations on different administrative levels, the central government officially recognized the last ethnic minority in 1979 but continued to make amendments to the existing categories until 1981. By the time the project was concluded, the government officially recognized fifty-six *minzu,* one majority Han and fifty-five ethnic minorities (少数民族). Along with the project, five autonomous regions, thirty autonomous prefectures, 117 autonomous counties and three autonomous banners were established, such as the Tibet Autonomous Region, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yanbian Korean Autonomous prefecture.

After identifying and classifying the ethnic minorities, the central government set up a number of preferential policies targeting minorities in order to aid economic development as most of these regions were underdeveloped in comparison to most Han-dominant regions. Fei (1997:5) claimed that *minzu shibie* aimed to support ethnic minorities and strictly followed the principle of equality among ethnic groups, which means to improve the status of ethnic minorities in relationship to Han Chinese. The *White Book of Chinese National Policies Toward Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Group Prosperity and Development*[23] published by the State Council Information Office laid out the legal status of ethnic minorities and guarantees equal rights in politics, economy, culture and social life among different ethnic groups regardless of population size, area of residence, level of economic development, religion, language or custom. Besides the guarantee of equal rights between Han and ethnic minorities, the central Chinese government also provided

[23] In Chinese: 中国的民族政策与各民族共同繁荣发展白皮书.

financial support specifically to ethnic minority autonomous regions and offered other benefits in the areas such as state-sponsored education (Ma 2010: 304).

Ethnic Classification created fixed and rigid ethnic categories. A result of the project is that the identity card of PRC citizen indicates the officially-assigned ethnic identity along with personal name, birthday, gender and address. The information on the identity card is fixed, the ethnic identity is inherited and cannot be changed under normal circumstances. Chinese citizens commonly inherit the ethnic identity of their parents. If both parents have different ethnic identities, the family needs to choose one.[24] As mentioned earlier, the so-called "four commons" played a crucial role in the categorization process: common language, common inhabited territory, common customs and rituals, common psychological quality.[25] However, this way of drawing boundaries was not without criticism.

The ethnic categories were constructed as a collaborative effort by selected scholars and the state. The self-identification of the people under investigation only played a minor role. The final decision of recognizing an ethnic group and imposing an ethnic category on individuals was made by the government, in some cases against the ethnic self-identification of certain groups (Ma 2010). Numerous unsolved issues in relation to the project remain. For example, according to the *2010 Chinese Population Census* there were still 640,101 people regarded as *unclassified ethnicity* (未识别民族). The officially assigned ethnic identity sometimes fails to represent the individual

[24] In Chinese: 公民满 18 岁后 2 年内可依父母变更一次民族成分(http://politics.people.com.cn/n/2015/0626/c1001-27214430.html) on People's Daily, retrieved 10 May 2016.

[25] Fei Xiaotong (1997) interpreted common psychological quality as the "consciousness of ethnic identity". Translated from Chinese: 关于我国的民族识别工作和更改民族成分的情况报告 (The Report of *Ethnic Classification* and Changing Ethnicity).

perceptions of ethnic identity. Occasionally, the assigned ethnic identity and collective memories of certain groups are irreconcilable. Issues like these show the complex relationship between the assigned rigid ethnic categories and individual self-recognized ethnic identity, and, in fact, this has emerged as a key issue in recent decades. Another result of the project is that the term *minzu* became a popular concept in China and now appears more frequently than *zhongzu* (race).

The *Ethnic Classification Project* led to controversies in domestic and international academic circles. After 1949, it has been difficult for foreign scholars to conduct field research in China, so most of the early work on the *Ethnic Classification Project* by scholars outside China focused on analysing the policies. Since the 1980s, more and more scholars gained access to ethnographic studies in China which led to a richer body of literature on the project. For instance, Mullaney (2011) describes the *Ethnic Classification* process in Yunnan from the perspectives of some of the participants in the project, mainly ethnologists and linguists. He describes the shift from "a non-interventionist policy" that encourages self-categorization to "a predetermined set of authorized *minzu* categories" that "have to be mutually exclusive, limited in number, of a reasonably large size, but also sufficiently grounded in local realities so as to elicit popular support" (Mullaney 2010). The domestic debate on the project in China began around the beginning of new millennium and some Chinese scholars (e.g. Ma 2012; Wang 2010; Jian 2006; Qi 2008) critically examined the process of *Ethnic Classification* and criticized the randomness and subjectivity of the decision-making process of the project. Much of this debate centred on whether the *Ethnic Classification Project* threatens social cohesion and national unity. For instance, Ma (2017) argues that, in order to build a civic society, China needs to weaken "the political colors that favor 'nation

(民族)' in relation to status, prestige, advantages in the judiciary system or distribution of welfare benefits". However, it is yet unclear in which direction the central government will take the project and its aftermath. For now, *Ethnic Classification* appears to be set to remain in place as it is and its effects on the people are profound, especially for those who are members of an ethnic minority category that is organized as one of the autonomous regions.

Cross-border Ethnic Minorities in Contemporary China

In contrast to examples of the controversial categorization of several ethnic minorities, other ethnic minorities clearly self-identify in accordance with the officially assigned categories. Most of these ethnic minorities have in common that they belong to an ethnic group that makes up the ethnic majority of a neighboring country. These are the so-called cross-border ethnic minorities (跨境少数民族), such as Korean, Mongolian and Thai minorities. These people typically reside in the border region between the respective neighboring country and China. The existence of cultural ties across the borders not only complicates regulatory and incorporation processes but also puts such ethnic minorities in a sometimes uneasy position in relation to nation-building processes in China. This is especially true in the case of the ethnic minority Koreans as their ancestral homeland is split into two states.

In contrast to other places such as Yunnan where most disputes regarding ethnic identity occur, ethnic Koreans were identified relatively easily because previous governments, Qing and the Republic of China, already documented this population as *Korean People* (朝鲜人). The area of today's Yanbian, the Korean autonomous prefecture where many ethnic Koreans live, has been

ruled by the communist party since the surrender of Japan in the Second World War in 1945. The communist party took over the existing system of categorization and regulation on this population from the previous political entities and then offered the ethnic Koreans the opportunity to change their citizenship. Part of the population decided to give up their previous nationalities and became today's Chinese nationals classified as ethnic-minority Koreans or *Chaoxianzu* (朝鲜族).

From "Korean people" to "Chinese ethnic-minority Koreans"

Migration between the Korean Peninsula and China has a long history since the regions are geographically connected. The origin of *chaoxianzu* (朝鲜族) has been debated among Korean-Chinese historians since the 1970s. Some trace the origin of these people back to an ancient mysterious tribe that would locate the ancestral homeland of this population in today's Yanbian and give them the status of native inhabitants to the region instead of migrants (Quan 1993). However, a more mainstream explanation of the origin of *Chaoxianzu* is that these people migrated up North from the Korean peninsula in several waves and that earlier migrants to Chinese territory already became part of Han or Manchu while others have returned South (An 1994: 21-22; Sun 2009; Piao 1990). The remaining people integrated with local inhabitants and gradually became undistinguishable from Han or Manchus. Therefore, the most common definition of the "Korean people (朝鲜人 or 韩国人)" who eventually became "Chinese ethnic minority Korean (朝鲜族)" is that they are the people who migrated from the peninsula more recently. The formation of this identifiable population also seems to be related to the restrictive policy that deported residents in

this region during the Qing dynasty, which ultimately prevented the Korean-speaking population to be integrated into "mainstream" society in the country.

The current Yanbian is part of the regions that the Manchu claimed as their ancestral homeland after becoming the new rulers of China. The Changbai Mountains in Yanbian are sometimes referred to as "the vain of dragon (龙脉)" and represent the origin of important Manchu ancestors. During Manchu rule, the abundant natural resources of this region attracted hunters and farmers from surrounding regions to migrate and settle in the area. To counter this trend, the Qing government gradually restricted people to enter the area in order to protect the "royal spirits (皇气)" and their homeland (Sun and Piao 2000).[26] However, it was simply impossible to seal of such a large region and it was found that the region was already inhabited by Korean farmers during and after the restrictive policy. The number of these "illegal squatters" slowly increased and in the second half of the 19th century after a famine caused by draught on the Korean Peninsula larger waves of farmers from the peninsula came to settle in the forbidden area. Eventually, the Qing government stopped the prohibitive policy and started to neutralize the Korean farmers. A possible reason for doing so was the increasing tensions with neighbouring Russia in that neutralizing the residents in the region may have served to strengthen the claim of the Manchu to rule the region (Jin 2007). Easing the prohibitive policy also allowed more Han Chinese and Koreans to migrate to this region (Song 2009). After the country-wide policy of "Shaving Hair and Changing Costume (剃发易服)" was implemented, some Korean farmers agreed to shave their hair and adopt

[26] Another popular explanation of this prohibitive policy is that the Manchurian rulers were afraid that Han people will eventually regain control over China, and, in this case, the protected area could serve as a possible retreat destination for the Manchu rulers.

Manchurian-style haircuts and costumes, effectively becoming Qing residents by appearance. However, only a minority of the local population accepted the Qing rule and the Qing government eventually expelled people who were not neutralized. This led more than half of the farmers from the peninsula to change their nationalities (Sun and Piao 2000: 56). The Korean government protested against this neutralization and sent governors to the territory to convene with the farmers, triggering disputes between Qing and Korean governments (Jin 2007).

The second large wave of migration from the Korean Peninsula to this region occurred right after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910. The region became a shelter for Koreans who escaped from Japan's rule as well as the base for political anti-Japan movements. The migrant flow from the peninsula to the region continued and, two decades later, large parts of current Northeast China became part of Manchukuo. During this Manchukuo period, people were moving relatively freely between Manchukuo and the peninsula since both belonged to the Japanese empire. This led to a large wave of migration from the peninsula to Manchukuo territory. Some were encouraged by the Japanese rulers to join the army and to expand the territory of the empire. Others were secretly working on the liberation of Korea and gathered in Northeast China to further their goals from there. Some were simply attracted by the empty land and abundant resources and moved there to pursue a better life.

After the Qing rule ended, the Northeast China region was officially ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party for a while but in fact the Chinese Communist Party was already active in the region for most of that period. From 1927 to 1936, the party secretly formed the Manchuria Provincial Committee (满洲省委) in Fengtian (today's Shenyang, the capital of Liaoning province).

Early CCP documents reveal that the first generation of leaders was already aware of the Korean population from the Korean Peninsula and the party actively attempted to include them in their revolutionary efforts (Piao 2001).

Manchuria Communication (满洲通讯), a publication of the committee, features several discussions about Korean farmers (朝鲜农民) and potential strategies to categorize Koreans, Mongolians and Manchurians as ethnic minorities (Quan and Li 2001: 234-235). The publication shows the social status of the Koreans from the perspective of the CCP: they were recognized as a Chinese ethnic minority called "Chinese ethnic minority Korean" (中国朝鲜族) rather than "overseas Koreans in China" (在中国的韩国侨民). In 1939, Mao Zedong (1991) once again mentioned this in his writing *China Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*. The Korean-speaking population of Yanbian was already on track to become one of the first recognized ethnic minorities in the new China.

On 9 December 1948, about ten months before Chairman Mao Zedong ascended the Tian'anmen lectern to announce the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the prefecture party committee secretary Junxiu Liu announced in Yanbian: "We confirm that the Korean people living in Yanbian territory are recognized as ethnic minority Koreans within Chinese territory, and are part of the People's Republic of China" (Sun 2009:725). After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, when the central government initiated the *Ethnic Classification* program to establish today's ethnic minority categories, the ethnic minority Koreans were one of the first to be recognized (Fei 1980: 5). Later, Yanbian, the region where many of them resided, became a borderland region after the formation of three new political entities: China,

South Korea and North Korea. During this time, those who did not want to give up their Korean or Japanese citizenship were forced to leave China. In the 1940s and 1950s, one third of the Korean-speaking population returned to the Korean peninsula while around one million chose to stay in China (Lankov 2007). The Korean-speaking people who chose to stay in China acquired PRC citizenship and were then officially categorized as ethnic minority Koreans in the 1950s. The region where this population concentrated is located close to Russia and North Korea and eventually became the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture.

Currently, ethnic Koreans in China still largely reside in Jilin province. The province is inhabited by 62% of all ethnic minority Koreans in China according to the 2010 government census. Within Jilin Province, the highest concentration of ethnic minority Koreans is still found in the border region between China and North Korea - Yanbian. Today this region serves as "a locus of cooperation with North Korea and [is] the home of about half of the entire Korean population in the People's Republic of China (PRC)" (Cathcart 2010: 26).

In recent decades, however, after the "economic reform and opening-up" (改革开放) of China, many ethnic Koreans left Yanbian and migrated to South Korea. In South Korea, they are now officially categorised as *Overseas Koreans in China* (한국계 중국인) and *Compatriots in China* (재중 동포). They are eligible to apply for special visas for overseas Korean that allow them to stay in the country for two years and engage in most employment activities. According to the Sixth National Population Census of the People's Republic of China in 2010, the total population of ethnic minority Koreans was 1,830,929, including those who are living abroad but still hold a Chinese passport. Notably, according to the Korea Immigration Service, there were

628,207 people categorized as *Overseas Koreans in China* residing in South Korea in Feb 2016. Even though there is a five-year gap between these two data sets and these official figures have not always been reliable, there is no doubt that a large number of ethnic Koreans have been moving back and forth between China and South Korea in recent years. This significant flow of people across the China-Korea borders is one of the sub-themes that I will explore in this thesis. With a focus on life in rural Yanbian, I set out to examine a range of question related to nation-building, ethnicity and migration related to this population.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter reviewed different forms of classifying people from the perspective of different governments in China throughout the last century. Following increasing interaction with people from the other part of the world where the concepts such as nation, state, race and ethnicity were already popular, Chinese elites began to be increasingly concerned with nation-building, i.e. with the question of how to build a modern nation out of a culturally diverse population. Since the Republic of China, nation-building has largely been intertwined with ethnic classification. Forming China as a nation, the question of what race or races China consists of became a central issue to several governments.

As part of reviving the nation, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party both used slogans such as "leading the Chinese ethnicity to a revival" that helped both to gain support among the people and rule the country. In competition with Kuomintang, the communist party cultivated an image of supporting and representing ethnic minorities and, after coming to power, the CCP

made efforts to identify and classify the minorities, beginning the country-wide *Ethnic Classification Project*.

This project led to the formation of a fixed set of categories and institutionalized a set of rigid boundaries. Today, these categories are the basis of preferential policies toward certain groups of people, but it has also led to conflicts and sometimes appears to isolate these minorities from mainstream society. Although the categories have been criticised as arbitrary and imprecise by some scholars, these legal categories are widely accepted and deeply influence various aspects of life of ordinary people in today's China. They have become an important factor in the process of boundary and group formation.

Since the ethnic categories are generally a product of a political project and did not "naturally" occur, it sometimes requires considerable efforts to maintain such categories. Drawing on Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012), nationhood and nationalism is constructed from both "above" and "below". Most previous studies on nationalism and ethnicity in China mainly address top-down aspects, focussing on large-scale historical events and government policies. Such "top-down" research designs often neglect "bottom-up" perspectives, the perspectives of those targeted by such policies, the ordinary people. To this end, I propose a study focusing on everyday nationhood and ethnicity (Billig 1995; Brubaker et al 2006; Edensor 2002, 2006; Fox 2017; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Moreno-Almendral 2018). Based on extended fieldwork, I explore the life of the borderland residents who are both Chinese citizens and ethnic Koreans to address the following questions:

1. How does the Chinese state manage the coexistence of national and ethnic categories? What efforts does the state undertake to facilitate national unification while maintaining ethnic division in contemporary Yanbian?
2. How effective are such policies and political projects? How do the people who have been categorized as ethnic minorities react to the policies? How do they interpret the categories, use national and ethnic terminology in everyday life and to what extend do such categories influence their grouping practices?

CHAPTER TWO - CONCEPTUAL APPROACH AND FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews work in the field of nationalism and ethnicity that inspires this dissertation and elaborates how the concepts of everyday nationhood and ethnicity are applied in this study. The dissertation draws on two recent developments in nationalism and ethnicity – the study of nationhood and nationalism as a dual phenomenon from both above and below (Brubaker et al. 2006; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012) with an emphasis on the everyday life setting (Fox 2017; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Moreno-Almendral 2018), and the cognitive turn in nationalism and ethnicity studies (Brubaker et al. 2004). This study treats ethnicity, race and nationalism as processes and focuses on three aspects: ethnicization, racialization and nationalization. Specifically, I propose a new fieldwork-based study on nationhood construction and ethnicity formation in everyday life in the China-North Korea borderland.

Nationalism and Ethnicity

Since the ground-breaking publication of *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* by Benedict Anderson (1983), nationhood has often been examined as a continuous project. Nations here are no longer mere political entities that are defined by clear and rigid borders, rather, they are also bounded by emotional legitimacy (Anderson 1983: 48), constantly shaped by *lieux de mémoire* - realms of memory (Nora and Kritzman 1996), and justified by (invented) tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012). Each of these milestones contributed to current understandings of nation, nationhood and nationalism. This study of nation-

building in Yanbian will also pay special attention to these aspects in the forms of heritage sites, festivals and rituals as well as the related construction of collective memories.

Classical studies on nation-building usually paid more attention to social structure rather than to individual experience. For instance, Eriksen pointed out that the formation of what Benedict Anderson called "imagined communities" is guaranteed by administrative structural forces. These forces forge a modern nation out of diversity, i.e. standardization of language, the creation of national labor markets and compulsory national schooling (2010: 102). He traces the emergence of nations and formulates two preconditions: industrialization and communication technology. Industrialization needs a large part of the population to cooperate in production and the nation provides a large-scale social structure that makes it possible to place and move workers. On the other hand, legislative systems and nationalist ideologies play crucial roles in confirming the integrity of nations, which is largely based on the development of communication technology, modern transportation and media like newspapers, radio and television. Those technological means helped to standardize representation and language across the whole nation. These classical approaches inform this study to pay attention to the standardization process of infrastructure, media and discourse in modern China.

Another concept frequently discussed in nation-building studies is ethnicity: "Ethnicity represents the perennial basis of human history, limiting the range of nationalist inventions and imaginations in modern times [...]" (Wimmer 2002). Eriksen (2010) proposed a rough division of nations into two types: ethnic nationalism and supra-ethnic nationalism. The former defines nations in terms of ethnicity and the common traits such as languages, faith or ancestral roots. The

latter refers to forms of nation-building that strive to transcend rather than endorse ethnicity in a country (Eriksen 2002). Which type a nation belongs to is depending on how the people of the nation perceive the ethnic composition in the nation. In cases where virtually all people consider they belong to the same ethnicity within a nation, ethnicity and nationality become essentially identical categories. Eriksen points out that sometimes national and ethnic identities are potentially interchangeable, for example, "a Mexican in the United States belongs to an ethnic group but belongs to a nation when he or she returns to Mexico" (Eriksen 2010: 119). Along with the discussions in academia and among policy makers came an awareness of the potential danger of overstating ethnic consciousness, which sparked work on building a larger identity that encompasses people beyond ethnic boundaries. Some of the projects aim to design national identity in a way that includes people with different ethnic identification (e.g. Biswas 2010). Some of the projects work on building a regional identity, e.g. the Europeanisation of EU members states (Batory 2010; Della Sala 2016). Such discussions inform this study of Korean-Chinese to pay attention to the dynamics between the "dual identities" of the research population, and how the Chinese state works on building a sense of belonging that transcends ethnic diversity. On the other hand, the Korean-Chinese have their own autonomous prefecture. Therefore, this study also pays attention to whether a regional identity emerges and how this influences their sense of belonging to the nation.

On the other hand, ethnicity and ethnic organization may threaten national cohesion if a nation is not defined by a single ethnicity. For instance, the concept of ethnicity "can be used to build unity and solidarity within a fragmented, weak community that is seeking to attain some

form of equality [...]. The same force which has mobilized fragmented minorities in their struggle to gain legitimate rights has been used by strong majorities to suppress, even destroy weaker groups in society" (Glazer et al. 1974: 27). This statement outlines the situation in most nations including China: a nation consists of more than one ethnicity and ethnic groups come in various sizes and forms. They usually possess different levels of power and rights. Usually, only a small number of groups are controlling the value system and the allocation of resources (Schermerhorn 1970). Therefore, the division and conflicts between ethnic majorities and minorities (or of dominating and dominated groups) occur, which Eriksen considers as a threat to the cohesion of a nation. Inspired by these concerns, the study pays attention to both tangible and intangible resources allocated to the ethnic minority Koreans and investigates how such resources influence the status of this ethnic minority.

A large part of nationalism and ethnicity studies is concerned with struggles and conflicts in the name of nationalism or ethnicity, and whether "nationalism should be understood as a continuation of long-standing patterns of ethnicity, or as something distinctively new and modern" (Calhoun 1993). A lot of studies have either explicitly or implicitly described ethno-national contention in different regions in the world, e.g. Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, the US and India (Banac 1988; Batory 2010; Biswas 2010; Laitin 1988). The former Yugoslavian region and other post-communist Eastern European countries have also long been a popular site for this kind of enquiry and numerous studies (e.g. Banac 1988; Csergo Deegan-Krause 2010; Lampe 2000; Smith 1986). Many investigated both the multinational state before the collapse and the break up following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe. Here, Smith found that "modern

nations and nationalism have only extended and deepened the meanings and scope of older ethnic concepts and structures. Nationalism has certainly universalized these structures and ideals, but modern 'civic' nations have in practice not transcended ethnicity or ethnic sentiments" (1986: 216). Notably, whether this is the case in China, a communist party-led country, is yet to be explored. To this end, the national and ethnic sentiments of the ethnic minority Koreans in China may shed new light on the understandings of nationalism and ethnicity in (post)communist regimes.

The Cognitive Turn and Everyday Nationhood and Ethnicity

Classical studies in nationalism and ethnicity provide relevant insights into how nation-building works on a macro level. However, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012) indicated, nationhood and nationalism are not only a project from "above", but also from "below". This urges for a deeper understanding of the role of ordinary people in the construction of nations. Here seen as dual phenomena, nationalism and ethnicity have since been re-examined in everyday life settings (Brubaker et al 2006; Fox 2017; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Moreno-Almendral 2018). These studies aim to rediscover the "unselfconscious nationalism" that is beneath the surface in everyday life. Even though the nation is often imagined as a static and uniform concept by the participants in such settings, the researcher's task is then to identify more complicated meanings as they are ascribed by ordinary people and to unravel individual experiences as imagined and re-imagined in a variety of ways (Miller-Idriss 2006).

Everyday nationhood also derives from a re-examination of the analytical units that many previous studies of nationalism and ethnicity studies relied on. Instead of treating such units as

taken-for-granted and substantial entities, Brubaker (2009) proposes "ethnicity without groups" as a new perspective to study this phenomenon. He proposes to consider "group" as a variable rather than a constant. Therefore, to use this approach means to avoid "groupism" and re-examine ethnic conflicts in China in a different way— to view such events as ethnicized or ethnically framed conflicts rather than conflicts between ethnic groups. Perceiving groupness as events ideally allows the analysts to examine the collective solidarity of a group as well as to be open to the possibility of failed to crystalize groups or failed efforts to evoke ethnopolitical projects. This approach allows the researcher to study ethnic minority Koreans as a process of group formation, which may not necessarily happen, and to be more aware of individual differences as well as factors other than ethnicity or nationality that draw people together.

Studying ethnicity as processes of ethnicization, Brubaker outlines several kinds of participants whom researchers should pay more attention to. For instance, people who Brubaker refers to as "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs", those who are benefitting from ethnicity and evoking groups and politicize ethnicity to realize collective actions. Brubaker argues that analysts need to understand how the practice of reification of "group feelings" works rather than to simply criticize those sorts of practices (2002: 167). Drawing on Goffman's theory of frames (1974), ethnic and national frames and their strategic use will be studied.

This study pays attention to the actors that take advantage of the ethnic, racial and national terminology related to the ethnic minority Koreans, sometimes to mask their real motivation such as to pursuit of clan, clique or class interests. Who is "making" the Korean-Chinese group? Why are they evoking the group? When do they succeed or fail? Aiming to study ethnicity without using

groups as taken-for-granted analytical unit, I investigate these processes by adopting the eight focal points: practical categories, cultural idioms, cognitive schemas, discursive frames, organization routines (Weber 1968), institutional forms, political projects and contingent events (Brubaker 2002). Category can be understood as "a potential basis for group-formation or 'groupness'" of the ethnic minority Koreans (2002: 169). Investigating practical categories refers to how people or organizations "do things with categories" in a particular setting (Sacks 1992). Cultural idioms represent the process of how categories becoming institutionalized, part of administrative routines and part of myths, memories and narratives.

This process can not only be studied from above, at the administrative level such as through examining political projects or state-lead contingent events in China, but also from below – "the targets of these endeavours are the people themselves: to make the nation is to make people national" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 536). In this sense, group-making can be perceived as "a social, cultural and political project, aimed at transforming categories into groups or increasing levels of groupness" (Brubaker 2002: 170-171). Besides reflections on "groupism", Brubaker also advocates to perceive race, ethnicity and nationalism as an integrated field under the umbrella of "cognition" (Brubaker et al. 2004). In contrast to investigating ethnicity, race and nationalism separately, the cognitive approach treats ethnicity, race and nation as belonging to one domain, in that they are perspectives on the world rather than substantial entities. Ethnicity, race and nationalism are defined as "a way of understanding, interpreting, and framing experience" and "socially shared knowledge of social objects" while offering "an alternative to substantialist or groupist ontologies" (2004: 52). For instance, to perceive the Chinese nation as cognition is to see

"the nation supplying them with a pre-programmed cognitive map for negotiating a complex social world" (Fox 2017).

Generally, the cognitive turn in ethnicity and nationalism studies advocates to give more voice to individuals involved in the process of nation-building, e.g. ordinary ethnic minority Koreans in the nationalization of China. Besides shedding light on the perspective of the ordinary people, it also underlines the importance to bridge micro and macro-level concerns, something often lacking in classical theories related to nationality and nationalism. The Chinese national and Korean ethnicity are perceived as dynamic, constantly negotiated and adapting to changing social and political environments in China and the Korean Peninsula. At the individual level, "Chinese" and "Korean" could also refer to a "thought community" or the "sociomental" (Durkheim 1960; Zerubavel 1997). In *The Dualism of Human Nature and Its Social Conditions*, Durkheim describes two forms in our intelligence: sensations and sensory tendencies, those which are individualistic, egoistic, personal; conceptual thought and moral activity, and those which are social, universalized and impersonal (Durkheim 1960: 325-327). "Korean" and "Chinese" could be perceived as concepts and they are constituted by means of words, which are not the "work of product of one particular person", but are the result of a *collective elaboration*. When individuals talk about "we are Koreans (or Chinese)", it could also be interpreted from the aspect of thinking – "we think […] as social beings", we think as Korean or Chinese (Zerubavel 1997: 5). Another focus of this approach is how, when, and why people interpret social experiences with those national and ethnic terms while taking the surrounding environment into account. Cognitive approaches introduce an important concept to serve the new aim: schemas. Notably, as briefly mentioned before, the aspects

of cognition sociologists look into are different from those cognitive scientists or psychologists are concerned with. The schemas as mental structures in sociology are distinctive from the use of the term in other disciplines and are neither universal nor idiosyncratic, rather, are "culturally shared mental constructs" (Brubaker et al. 2004: 41). The concept draws attention to "how people perceive and interpret the world and about how knowledge is acquired, stored, recalled, activated, and extended to new domains". A cognitive perspective includes more research objects in the examination of classification than only social actors, it studies a broad range of things including "gestures, utterances, situations, events, states of affairs, actions, and sequences of actions" (2004: 43).

The cognitive approach advocates a fundamental change to how researchers see race, nationalism and ethnicity: the three terms need to be understood as a way of categorization or classification. Similar approaches have also been popular in anthropology for decades. Fredrik Barth (1969) is commonly assumed to be one of the proponents of this approach. He questions that former studies, especially those that focus on the historical backgrounds and ecological factors of ethnic formation, were limiting the exploratory range to only cultural and social forms. Instead of focusing on cultural markers of a given ethnic identity under specific circumstances, something Barth considers not concrete enough to observe, he advocates that researchers need to examine the maintenance of ethnic boundaries and investigate socially relevant factors of this process, i.e. what constitutes the boundaries between ethnic Koreans and the rest. Drawing on Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) developed by Harvey Sacks (1992), Brubaker et al. (2004) also advocates to engage in cognitive research that aims to understand categorization and classification.

Here, terminology related to ethnic minority Koreans could be perceived as membership categories, and the aim is to study how members claim membership of different groups using both the Chinese and Korean categories.

Criticism of the Cognitive Turn

Although the constructivist approach has become increasingly popular in the past few decades, critique of the approach pointed out a lack of attention to the influence of ancestral ties and insufficient attention to the roles of political and economic interest in how ethnic groups are forming (Yang 2000: 46). For instance, Freedman (1960:43-44) studied Overseas Chinese voluntary associations in Southeast Asia in the 19th century and pointed out that in order to bring a large number of kinsmen together, the basis of forming one type of associations is surname, which indicates the important role that the ideology of agnatic kinship plays in Chinese diaspora.

Other studies also pointed out the limitation of individual choice in ethnic identity. For instance, Jimenez empirically investigates how multi-ethnic individuals negotiate ethnic boundaries in daily life and administration (Jimenez 2004). The study examines the cases of 20 multi-ethnic Mexican Americans and has found that mainly skin color and surname influence the participants' freedom to choose identities. Also, since the selectable categories of ethnicity are limited on the administrative level in the United States, they have to compromise in order to fit in. They also encounter similar dilemma while choosing identities in daily life. Other criticisms toward "ethnicity without groups" center on one question – is it really possible to study ethnicity without groups or nation without groups? For instance, Flere and Klanjšek (2016) argued this

approach has its limitation to explain the dissolution and collapse of Yugoslavia; and Calhoun pointed out that "no one lives outside particularistic solidarities" (2003: 546).

A more general criticism towards "everyday nationhood" and "ethnicity without groups" is that while the scholars paid attention to avoid using groupist terms to study ethnicity and nationhood, they in fact tended to group the participants using other terms, such as "ordinary people" and "elites" (Smith 2008). And while emphasizing the role of "elites" or "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs", the analysis may pay less attention to the role of "bottom actors" and the participation of "common people" (Polese 2011).

Proposing a Study on Everyday Nationhood and Ethnicity in the Borderland

This PhD dissertation project adopts the analytical framework laid out in the book *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* by Brubaker et al. (2006). Similar to the Chinese-Korean borderland Yanbian, Transylvania is located on the margins of at least two nations and is currently "caught between rival Hungarian and Romanian nationalizing projects" (2006: 56). Drawing on "nationhood and nationalism as dual phenomena" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), I conceptualize nationhood and nationalism as being "constructed essentially from above" e.g. by states organizations, while also emphasizing the role of ordinary people in the process. The Transylvanian study by Brubaker was an attempt to respond to the calls for studies that integrate both perspectives from "above" and "below". It looked into both nationalist politics from above and as part of everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town.

On the administrative level, nationalist politics, organizations and their protagonist roles in conflict are the central focus of analysis. In the case of the Transylvanian town, an organization claims to represent the Hungarian minority and demanded more autonomy in terms of territories, education and media, which has been frequently criticized by the residents whom the organization claims to represent. On this level, the question is how resources are allocated and how regulations are implanted according to ethnic categories.

On the everyday level, the question is when, where and how ethnic, racial, national categories become matter in everyday lives of ordinary people? What behaviours are attributed to an ethnic category and how related knowledge shapes everyday interaction and influences the way people perceive and explain events? How do people change their style of interaction when they think a person belongs to a certain category?

As of December 2017, the analytical framework of "ethnicity without groups" has been adopted to various fields, including migration (Kasinitz et al. 2009), diaspora (Kim 2016), and nationalism (Fox 2008). Following this tradition, future studies need to locate individuals in larger political and social contexts and explore their responses to the expectation from the surrounding environment of who they are. As an individual, how do they negotiate different meanings attached to a certain category imposed on them by different forces, e.g. governments and communities? How do they draw boundaries under different circumstances?

Bridging macro and micro, Wimmer's (2008) multilevel process model of "ethnic boundary making" offers another framework to supplement the data collection and analysis. The model distinguishes multiple layers that all play a role in the formation of ethnic boundaries. It

identifies patterns in the shift of characteristics of the boundaries and describes the consequences of such shifts. The model tries to connect macro-level social structure with micro-level individual behaviours. On the macro-level, the theory distinguished between three characteristics of social fields: institutional order, distribution of power and networks of alliances. Each of these respectively affects one of the following individual boundary-making strategies on the micro-level: type of boundary, level of differentiation and location of boundary. These micro level strategies then influence the social field and vice versa. The strategic interaction and negotiation between individuals results in a certain degree of power, inequality and consensus, which define three boundary characteristics: cultural differentiation, social closure and political salience. This whole process is an endless, dynamic and transformable circle, which is influenced by exogenous shifts (new institutions, resources, actors) and drift (diffusion of new strategies) (Wimmer 2008: 1007-1011).

This dissertation aims to provide a new case of this process by analysing a new research setting in the Chinese borderland. In the case of China, boundaries between ethnicity, race and nationalism are largely blurred, not only between Chinese overseas communities all over the world and the people living inside China which also includes numerous ethnic minorities of which 55 are officially recognized. The ethnic minorities residing in the North Korea-China borderland Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture have Chinese citizenship, but some of them are officially categorized as having foreign ethnic origins, which complicates processes of ethnicization and nationalization. This phenomenon has drawn attention from scholars specializing in identity studies and is sometimes depicted as people with "dual identities" (Choi 2001; Choe 2006; Hong

et al. 2013; Li 2012a; Liu 2009; Song 2009 etc.). A popular research question centered on whether they are more Chinese or Korean. This dichotomy between the Korean and Chinese identities is sometimes narrated as a split between cultural and political identities. Feelings of belonging of this population are further complicated by the existence of two Koreas as well as the rigid ethnic category imposed by the Chinese state. Another literature body centers on linguistic usages of Korean-Chinse and the studies mainly took place in educational settings (e.g. Gao 2009; Gao and Park 2012; Tai 2004). However, little is known what it means to be officially categorized as ethnic Korean and how people perceive and practice ethnicity and nationality in everyday life under the rigid *Ethnic Classification* system.

Focusing on the perceptions and meaning-making processes of individuals in relation to the larger surrounding environment, this dissertation questions previous approaches studying ethnic minorities in China that consider "groupism" as a taken-for-granted research unit. This dissertation attempts to explore an understudied aspect of the racialization, ethnicization and nationalization in contemporary China – the everyday ethnicity of North Korea-China borderland residents who are categorized as ethnic minority Koreans. On the administrative level in the Koreas and China, their Chinese nationality and Korean ethnicity are clear. On the individual level, questions remain on how the residents perceive, internalize and negotiate sometimes seemingly irreconcilable imposed categories. To this end, this study examines how they practice ethnicity, race and nationality in daily interaction in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. How do the ethnic minority Korean themselves perceive ethnic and national categories? When and how they parse everyday experiences with ethnic, national and racial terms? How does the perception differ

among individuals? Based on what circumstances a person would assert the membership of national or ethnic categories? What choices of membership do they consider: Chinese, North Korean, South Korean or a newly emerged and distinctive category called *chaoxianzu*? Is it possible that an individual chooses none of those options or more than one under different circumstances? How are they performing their membership of a category and what attributes they think are attached to a category? What does it mean to them to be in a certain category?

The dissertation further analyses official archives and policies concerning the researched population. As Barth (1969) and Brubaker et al. (2014) shed light on the process of how boundaries between groups are drawn within the constraints imposed by external forces. At the state level, the study looks into what other policies have been implanted in the borderland to facilitate nationalization, what forms of organizations are involved in the processes and how they relate to ethnicization, racialization and nationalization.

Terminology

Until recently, the official English translation of *minzu* in China has been "nationality". Probably following this official translation, many English publications have described China as a "multinational country" with "fifty-six nationalities". Therefore, the translation of *shaoshu minzu* (少数民族) was "minority nationality". In early 2000s, the official translation of the department in charge of "*minzu* issues" changed its English name from "State Nationality Affairs Commission" to "State Ethnic Affairs Commission", which changes the governance perspective (Ma 2016). Following this change, *chaoxianzu* (朝鲜族) will be translated as "ethnic minority Korean" or

"ethnic Koreans" rather than "Korean nationality in China", *shaoshu minzu* (少数民族) will be translated as "ethnic minorities" rather than "minority nationality". On the other hand, official statistics in South Korea categorize this population as Korean-Chinese (한국계 중국인) . In this dissertation, I will mainly use the terms "ethnic Koreans in China" "ethnic Koreans" or "ethnic minority Koreans" to refer the research population, since most of the discussion centers on the perspectives of how the Chinese state creates the category for this Korean-speaking population in Yanbian. "Korean-Chinese" and other terms that occur in daily conversations also appear occasionally in certain contexts, particularly in relation to in South Korea. Furthermore, I translate *zhongzu* (种族) as race and *minzu* (民族) or *minjok* (민족) as *ethnicity*.

Notably, although this dissertation I aim to adopt the approach of "ethnicity without groups", but for the sake of brevity the terms "ethnic Koreans" or "Korean-Chinese" are used even though those terms should accurately be referred to as "a multitude of individuals and organisations who pursue a particular political project by invoking a notion of Koreaness" (Brubaker 2004; Malesevic 2006). Similar issues also apply to terms such as "Han Chinese", "Han people", "Korean-Chinese" and so on.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter reviewed classical work in nationalism and ethnicity studies that lay out the foundation of how those concepts as used in this dissertation. I conceptualize race, ethnicity and nation as one domain of study, as processes of racialization, ethnicization and nationalization, and as a dual phenomenon from both above and below. Drawing on the recently developed concept of

"everyday nationhood and ethnicity", I examine ways to discover nationhood and ethnicity in an everyday life setting (Brubaker et al 2006; Fox 2017; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008; Moreno-Almendral 2018). I propose a new empirical study situated in the North Korean-Chinese borderland, focusing on the residents of rural Yanbian who are predominantly Chinese nationals with the ethnic Korean minority status.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

Trained in cultural anthropology, I have been conducting ethnographic research studies in rural areas in China for several years with a particular focus on ethnic minorities. As part of my previous research experiences in Southwest and Southeast China, I developed a research interest in Chinese villages, where more than half of the population of the country concentrated until 2012. I am interested in ways of living that are different from the imagined mainstream Chinese culture. Living with farmers in the mountainous North of Guizhou Province for several months not only offered me insights in the everyday life of a farmer, but also opportunities to observe when and how the central state appears and impacts their life. I became especially interested in their perceptions of being a citizen and their reactions toward and involvement in nation-building efforts by the state.

I was also part of a project located in the rural parts of Hong Kong that was concerned with the indigenous residents in the New Territories. Here, I examined issues related to land disputes and reviving traditional festivals for community-building purposes. This project further drew my attention to the dynamics between administrations and ordinary people. Drawing on these experiences, I decided to explore another part of the Chinese borderland in this study: Northeast China.

I initially became interested in the study of the ethnic minority Koreans in China after I came across two conflicting narratives related to this group of people in the media and the Internet. On one hand, they are described as a model minority based on the relatively high average education

and their economic achievements in comparison to the situation of other minorities. Even in comparison with economic metrics of the mainstream Han population, this ethnic minority economically performs above the national average, which makes the economic achievement of ethnic minority Korean regions rather outstanding. Related to such developments, popular narratives typically depicts the ethnic Korean community as harmonious and prosperous. However, on the other hand, another narrative describes doubts and sometimes criticisms concerning the loyalty of the population to the country. These narratives focus on the ancestral roots of this population on the Korean Peninsula and point to the sometimes-difficult international relations between China and the two Koreas. [27]

The latest census conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics reveals that 62% out of all ethnic minority Koreans in China reside in Jilin province.[28] Within Jilin Province, the highest concentration of ethnic minority Koreans is found in the border region between China and North Korea called Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. According to the prefecture government record, the population of Yanbian was 2,149,707 by the end of 2013. The population of ethnic minority Koreans was 781,565 on this record, about 36.36% of the whole population in the region. The administrative zones in China are usually divided in various administrative levels: city (市), county (县), town (乡镇) and village (村). The prefecture is divided by eight administrative zones at the city/county-level divisions: Yanji, Tumen, Dunhua, Hunchun, Longjing, Helong, Wangqing

[27] For instance, the disputes over regional history narratives between China and South Korea sometimes put Korean-Chinese scholars in a difficult position (for a more detailed discussion please see Gries 2005 and Li 2016).
[28] 2010 Chinese Population Census. This census is unverified from other sources.

and Antu. In four of those divisions: Yanji, Tumen, Longjing and Helong, ethnic Koreans take up more than half of the population.

In order to have a closer look at the everyday life of the research population, I was looking for an ethnic minority Korean community among those four administrative zones to conduct fieldwork. I decided that one of the countless villages of around a hundred households that are scattered across Yanbian prefecture would provide an ideal setting for my enquiry. The village I picked is one of the 1051 villages (村) in Yanbian. I have visited the region four times in the course of two years (2015-2017) and spent approximately seven months in the village that is located around 10 km from the Chinese-North Korean border.

Staying in the village for seven months allowed me to observe how "nation" and "ethnicity" emerged in its natural environment. During my stay in the village, I tried to immerse myself in the villagers' life to explore what Brubaker et al. (2004) called "everyday ethnicity" by participating as much as possible in everyday activities such as housework, farming, village affairs and festivals. Living, working and eating together was not only a means to "build up rapport" (Geertz 2000) with the research population in a classical ethnographic fashion, but also enabled me to observe when, where, why and how categories of national, racial, ethnic naturally emerge and become relevant in daily conversations and interactions. More importantly, experiencing the everyday life of a borderland resident helped me to better understand the surrounding environment, both natural and political, enhancing my understanding of what shapes the perceptions of the borderland ethnic minority. On one hand, I observed how the central Chinese state asserted its authority in the periphery and what impact the "ancestral countries" North Korea and South Korea have on this

borderland region. On the other hand, I explored the reaction of the villagers, how they perceive, make, remake, negotiate meanings of imposed official categories, how they draw boundaries between "us" and "them" under different circumstances, how they interact with the Chinese and Korean states as well as how they create social spaces beyond national politics.

Multi-sited Fieldwork

I have conducted two rounds of long-term fieldwork, one in Yanbian, China, and one in Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. Around 15 months in total, these two fieldwork trips laid out the foundation for this dissertation. They are supplemented by several short-term visits of around two weeks each to Yanbian, South Korea and North Korea. During my first year as a PhD student (during my exchange study at Waseda University, Japan), I conducted a preliminary visit to Yanbian in June 2015. During the two-week trip, I explored as many villages as possible and identified three types of ethnic compositions in rural Yanbian: villages where ethnic minority Koreans make up the majority of the village population, those where ethnic Han make up majority and those that are roughly half-half. I also found that a large number of people has moved to South Korea and observed that interactions between residents in Yanbian and North Korea are commonplace. I realized that a multi-sited study was necessary to investigate this population.

Fortunately, I was offered a research fellowship by the Academy of Korean Studies in Seongnam, South Korea. From February to August 2016, I spent six months in South Korea and conducted a round of data collection on the everyday life of Korean-Chinese immigrants in South Korea. My participants ranged from university students in their early 20s to low-wage workers in

their late 60s. I have also interviewed some South Koreans and learnt about their perceptions of their "co-ethnics".

After the visiting fellowship, I have attended two conferences in Yanbian and presented some of my findings in South Korea. During the conferences, I expressed my willingness to conduct a long-term fieldwork in rural Yanbian and got some supportive feedback from several warm-hearted local scholars. In October 2017, with the help of the scholars in Yanbian whom I met at the conferences, I was accepted by a local family in a village that I will here refer to using the pseudonym *Brookside Village*.

About 10 km from the Chinese-North Korean border, the village was an ideal site because the majority of the population was ethnic Korean and it belongs to *Maizefield Town*, also a pseudonym, that features a population of both ethnic Koreans (about 70%) and ethnic Han. The village is of average size in comparison to other ethnic Korean villages I have visited. The gender, age composition and other observable factors like infrastructure situation are typical of ethnic Korean village in the region. Another appealing characteristic of Brookside was the geographical closeness to North Korea. In recent years, news of people that cross the North Korean border were frequent, which would make the village an ideal setting to observe the interaction not only between ethnic Han and ethnic Koreans, but possibly also between North Koreans and Korean-Chinese. To my surprise, after entering the village, I have learnt that the village also has frequent direct contacts with South Koreans. Summer camps for university students from South Korea are occasionally hosted in this area and students come to learn about their "overseas compatriots".

From Oct 2016 to Feb 2017, I began my first period of fieldwork in the village. I returned to the fieldsite in April 2017 and conducted another round of data collection for about two months. I entered the field in mid-autumn and left in winter. I returned in the middle of spring and stayed until early summer. This way, I had the chance to experience the village life during all four seasons and participated in most of the biggest annual festivals.

Towards the end of my stay in Yanbian, I crossed the border and spent around a week in North Korea where I encountered Chinese tourists, Korean-Chinese migrant workers, entrepreneurs and ethnic Han businessmen. This trip supplements a quick glimpse at the "ethnic return" of Korean-Chinese to North Korea. After that I went to South Korea in the autumn of 2017 and the summer of 2018. During those two trips, I focused on the everyday life of the people from Brookside Village in South Korea. I got to know more people from Brookside Village whom I did not have a chance to meet in Yanbian. I also had the chance to stay with some families to observe their everyday life in South Korea.

Data Gathering Process

Different strategies of data collection were utilized in different field sites. During my stay at the Academy of Korean Studies, South Korea, I have utilized a multi-entry chain-sampling strategy to recruit participants in order to build a sample that adequately represents the immigrant population. I visited three different types of spaces: organizations providing accommodation to Korean-Chinese migrant workers, space of religious practices and universities in three cities Seoul, Seongnam and Ansan. Those organizations provided me an entry point to access the research

population. Later, some participants introduced more people outside of those spaces to me that were willing to take part in my research. I actively participated in community events and followed some individuals for several days in order to learn about the everyday life of my informants in South Korea.

Besides participant observation of everyday life, I have conducted in-depth interviews with twelve participants in Chinese and Korean (depending on the preferred language of the respondents). These participants represent different types of informants that I have encountered during my fieldwork and the recruitment is roughly sampled for socio-economic status, gender and age. Following common practice, I have avoided asking my informants directly about their "dual identities" during the interviews. Instead, my questions centered on their life history including family background, education, occupation and marriage choices. The questions aim to oscillate around important life moments or decisions in the life of the participants. Different sets of questions were asked according to the age and gender of informants. I made efforts to avoid asking questions that encourage them to talk about national and ethnic identities directly to avoid what Brubaker et al (2006) have called "imposing analytical frames" on participants:

"We do not assume the salience or significance of ethnicity and nationhood; we seek rather to discover and specify when, where, and how they become salient or significant. […] To study ethnicity alone is to impose ethnicity as an analytical frame of reference where it might not be warranted; it is to risk adopting an overethnicized view of social experience. 'If one goes out to look for ethnicity,' wrote anthropologist Thomas Eriksen, 'One will 'find' it and thereby contribute

to constructing it.' To study ethnicity without inadvertently contributing to its reproduction, it is necessary to situate ethnicity in the context of 'that which is not ethnic'."

Instead of asking directly about their identities such as whether the respondents feel more Chinese or Korean, I aimed to give the respondents as much freedom as possible to describe their own life history according to their styles of narration. By doing so, I ideally gain opportunities to explore when, where and how national, ethnic and racial categories matter. Later, when I analyzed the responses, I paid special attention to the national, ethnic and racial terms emerged in their narratives and under what circumstances such frames have been utilized to parse experiences and explain things. Furthermore, I also paid attention to emerging boundaries based on other factors (e.g. religions and socioeconomic status) that the respondents utilized to distinguish "us" and "them" in order to explore under what circumstances other variables transcend national, ethnic and racial boundaries.

I have utilized the same interview strategy in the beginning of my fieldwork in Yanbian to collect life history and oral accounts of the village history, but a larger part of my data generated from participant observation of the villagers' everyday life and the numerous conversations between me and the villagers as well as among themselves in daily interaction. The interviews were conducted in both Chinese and Korean and the linguistic choices were usually decided by what language the respondents preferred to use. The lingua franca in the village is Korean mainly because older generations only speak Korean, or more specifically, a Yanbian dialect of Korean. I learned Korean from South Korean teachers at my home institute in Singapore and at The Academy of Korean Studies in Seongnam, South Korea, so in the beginning, the Korean I spoke

was more similar to the "South Korean standard language". However, since South Korean TV programs are popular in the village, and many villagers have been living in South Korea in recent years, they usually understood the "South Korean standard language"[29] and some of them were enthusiastic in teaching me Yanbian phrases. After living in the village for a while, I adopted more Yanbian expressions. Later, I went back to South Korea and used some Yanbian phrases when I spoke to the villagers there – some of them were happily surprised. Furthermore, younger generations (below forty years old) and these villagers that hold positions in the government frequently speak Chinese, so a lot of the interviews with them were conducted in Chinese, particularly when the topics were governance and policies in China.

During my stay in the village, I was living with a local family and participated in numerous village events. I tried to immerse myself in the everyday life of Brookside Village as much as possible. On a daily basis, I helped my host family and sometimes its extended families and close friends in the village with daily housework including cooking, cleaning and making fire. In the second week, I received a phone call from the village government and I was invited to help the local school kids with their homework. I began tutoring the kids every weekday evening and half day during weekends.

I entered Brookside in mid-autumn when the villagers were busy harvesting and preparing for the long winter. According to the meteorological data gathered from 1971 to 2000 by the local weather station, every year from November to March, the monthly average temperature is below

[29] During my short trip to North Korea, I was asked serval times by locals about where I learnt Korean. After knowing about my Korean teachers were from South Korea, some of them elaborated the differences between North Korean and South Korean as well as tried to "correct" some of my pro-South Korean expressions.

zero. I participated in the last weeks of harvest activities in October and prepared more than twenty big buckets of fermented food (mostly Kimchi) with my host family and their extended families. Through those activities during the first two weeks, I became familiar with several families in the village. Although my entry to the village was relatively smooth, I was aware from the very beginning of the risk of living with one family in the village because of "many rules of anthropological thumb against becoming associated with any one side of a community conflict" (Laitin 1998). Hence, I was also actively seeking for other opportunities to meet villagers who were less close to my host family.

After living in the village for about one week, I identified more spaces where social interaction usually happened, including public spaces in the village such as the government office, a playground and the Brookside Association of Elderly, town markets, farming fields etc. Around the end of October, Brookside welcomed the first snow of the winter. From this time on, the Association of the Elderly located right next to the village government office became a popular meeting point. Many villagers went there almost every day to play a popular card game called Go-Stop (화투). Sometimes almost the entire village gathered there to have big meals together. I was introduced to more villagers by my host family and began taking part in playing the card game and the meals at the association.

Another occasion to meet and chat during winter was an evening walking routine that took place on the main road in the village after dinner. Due to the lack of exercises in winter, a group of villagers decided to walk several times from one end to the other end of the main road about 500 meters for about half an hour every day. Usually about ten to fifteen villagers gathered and

chatted while walking. During the long winter, I was also invited to have dinner at a range of different homes. Another place to interact with people was the town market. There was only a small convenience store in the village offering basic household goods. When villagers need to buy more goods and fresh food, they need to travel to the town center. The town market opens twice a week and most of the villagers went there about every two weeks, usually went in groups.

I briefly described these activities because those were the environments where I frequently observed social interaction and learnt about their perceptions as emerging from naturally-occurring conversations. Participating in those activities and becoming part of daily conversations offered me generous insights to learn and observe. Later on, in spring and after the Chinese Lunar New Year (February 2017), I gradually encountered more people including younger generations who left the village and were working in big cities in China and South Korea.

After a short trip back to my home university in Singapore to present my research progress, I returned to the village in April when the village just began farming activities. Sometimes the villagers also went into the mountains to collect edible wild plants. Those activities involved a broader range of social interaction between Brookside villagers and people from other parts of the town. In spring, as temperatures rose, more activities happened at the township and city levels, including visits by local governors related to the poverty alleviation projects conducted by the city government, celebrations organized by the city government, land ownership verification and public land disputes. I also took part in a regional dancing competition with the villagers. Besides annual festivals and political events, I experienced a range of important rituals such as weddings, birthdays and funerals. Similar to my experiences in Yanbian, participant observation was the main

method to understand the everyday practices related to national, ethnic and racial categories in North Korea.

During the fieldwork, I produced field notes, interview recordings, pictures and videos. Complementing this data, I visited numerous archives in the region. While the South Korean government has made numerous relevant documents available on the Internet, the collecting process in China was more adventurous. I found that the regulations to access the government archives vary significantly and whether the documents are accessible largely seemed to depend on ad-hoc decisions of the staff on duty. I visited several archival bureaus in Jilin Province and was able to access the Jilin Provincial Local Chronicles Office in Changchun and Yanbian Prefecture Archival Bureau. Although most documents concerning the Korean Peninsula, particular those during the Republic of China, were not publicly available, I was able to collect documents that are not officially considered "sensitive" but still provide valuable insights into certain important historical events that help me to understand the regional history, policies and the administrative narratives. I also collected documents of related national policies from Guangdong Archival Department. In addition, I collected publications available in local libraries and bookstores, asked my participants for pictures, videos, letters and certificates, and made thousands of pages of copy of such so-called folk documents.[30]

[30] Those documents were not only collected for analytic purposes, but I have also used some of them during interviews as a tool to trigger conversations as what Edwards and Holland suggested (2013: 53): "Researcher can utilize a range of other textual, visual and creative tools to engage interviewees and stimulate discussion [...] they access parts of personhood that interviews using words alone cannot reach".

Bridging National Politics and Everyday Ethnicity Enquiry

Drawing on the analytical framework laid out in *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Brubaker et al. 2004), nationalist politics are studied through archival analysis and complemented by oral accounts of local governors, researchers and scholars. Following Brubaker et al. (2004), the "contemporary nationalist politics have been decisively shaped by large-scale, long-term processes". Aiming to describe these processes, my analysis aims to examine the dissemination process – how are the policies constructed and carried out by Beijing and how are they introduced and implemented in Yanbian, more than 1000 km away. Complementing this, I describe "everyday ethnicity". In the field, I had the opportunity to observe the emergence of ethnic, national and racial categories as they occurred in daily interaction and conversation. I observed when and how boundaries emerged and what social practices those terms were part of. I recorded how people used those categories and what actors were associated with those categories. I examined under what circumstances people who have been assigned different categories at the administrative level group together and what factors drew them together.

Notes on Confidentiality

In order to protect the identities of the participants, I have given pseudonyms to both my informants and the specific locations where I have conducted fieldwork. I refrain from reporting detailed information that may expose the participants of this study. Since the names of many of my informants can be pronounced in both Chinese and Korean, choosing either way of pronunciation potentially influences the first impression of readers. Therefore, for my Korean-

Chinese informants, I use pseudonyms that are both available in Korean alphabets and Chinese *pinyin* system in order to minimize the risk of misleading the reader.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity here means the attitude of the researcher to systematically attend to the context of knowledge production and to "realize the researcher's position in the field" (as Pierre Bourdieu put it). When presenting the findings, I aim to include a detailed description of the scene where the naturally-occurring conversation took place in order to present my role in data collection and to show to what extent my presence has influenced the knowledge production on site.

Prior to 2014, when I first proposed a study in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture based on long-term fieldwork, I was warned (mainly by Chinese scholars from other parts of China) that Yanbian, particularly the rural area, is a relatively closed community and it could be difficult to get access: "There is a chance that you will be ignored.", "People may not talk to you." It is hard to state clearly where this general impression of ethnic minority Koreans in China comes from. One possible explanation is that most of the ethnic minority Korean studies, particularly those based on fieldwork, have been conducted either by Chinese ethnic minority Korean scholars or South Korean scholars, which may contribute to the assumption among Han Chinese scholars that Yanbian is relatively inaccessible for non-Koreans.

As a Chinese citizen being categorized as Han, I was prepared to encounter some difficulties to build up rapport in the field. Such scenarios of "being ignored" are well-documented in the ethnographic literature (e.g. the descriptions of scenes in a Balinese village in Geertz 2000).

However, I did not encounter what Geertz and his wife described as part of their work in a Balinese village, namely that locals behaved like they "were not there" or "invisible". However, Brookside villagers were very cautious about my presence and did not hide their curiosity, and sometimes even showed some distress during the early days of my arrival. During my first week, I wandered around in the village to learn about the environment of the village and to inform the villagers about my presence. I was stopped by villagers and asked questions like "What are you doing here? Who are you? Where are you from?" After answering that I am a PhD student writing my dissertation about ethnic minority Koreans, the villagers usually asked me which family I stayed with and then walked away and left me alone without further questioning.

After learning more about the village, I came to realize that villagers are quite used to university students staying in the village for a short time. The earliest university students coming to rural Yanbian were the "youth sent to the countryside (下乡知青)" from big cities in China in the 1970s during the Cultural Revolution. More recently, both local Yanbian Universities and universities in South Korea have hosted summer camps in Brookside and some students also stayed for a couple of days with local peasant families. Therefore, the villagers were not surprised when they found out that I am also a student.

As a female who is officially categorized as Han Chinese in my late 20s, my gender, age and ethnic identification certainly played a role in the beginning of my fieldwork in the village. I have been aware of the potential disadvantages to my data collection and tried to pay special attention to the possible consequences. Thanks to the help from local scholars I met in local university conferences, the village government allowed my stay in Brookside and the village

mayor introduced me to a family. I really appreciated the generosity of the family so I tried to share as much housework as I could in order to minimize the inconvenience that my stay may bring to the family. I also helped other villagers with their housework and farming whenever I could. Villagers did not show obvious objection to my stay in the beginning. After I continuously took part in gathering and social events for about two weeks, villagers stopped asking about me and seemed to become used to my presence in village events.

I found that the terms I was referred to by the villagers gradually changed through my stay. In the very beginning, the villagers whom I got to know introduced me to others as a Han girl (한족 여자) from Guangzhou (my hometown in Southern China). After a couple of weeks, the introduction changed to "a university student (대학생) from Singapore". Later, the whole village knew me and when the villagers needed to introduce me to people from outside of Brookside, I was just simply introduced as "the university student in our village (우리 촌 대학생)". Some outsiders thought that I was born in the village and returned after university and sometimes the villagers did not bother to clarify. My gender, ethnic identification and origin gradually disappeared in the narratives. In the end, only one label based on my occupation remained – a university student. Maybe my other identities were not significant to Brookside villagers any more after knowing me for a while. To a certain extent, I felt accepted as a full member of the community, or at least an acquaintance of them. After I returned to Brookside the second time after a short stay in Singapore, many villagers greeted me: "You're back!" On the other hand, the villagers seemed to still be aware of our differences and explained them based on occupations, but this could also be caused by the age differences between me and most of the villagers. In the village, age plays a

significant role in social relations. Therefore, I was treated like an adolescent or a granddaughter by many villagers.

Later, I had to leave. The fieldwork was not concluded because I thought I had collected sufficient data, rather, other practical reasons such as shortage of funding, conflicting schedules at my home institutes or simply that "it's time to graduate" brought it to an end. One important limitation of this study is that I had barely enough time to immerse myself in the life of one village. The inclusion of more villages and a longer fieldwork are crucial to further develop this enquiry. Upon my departure from the fieldsite, I sincerely wished that I could spend more time in the field. Also, due to the limited access to local archives, a more detailed account of administrative politics could be further developed.

The Main Field Site – Brookside Village

Brookside is a small village of less than one hundred residents located in Yanbian Autonomous Prefecture about 10 km from the Chinese-North Korean border. Here I briefly describe its natural environment, infrastructure, activities of government organizations and the everyday life of ordinary villagers. I stayed in Brookside for a total of nearly seven months in 2016 and 2017.

Location

The village is located in *Maizefield Town* (pseudonym), an area that already featured numerous settlements before the communist party (CCP) came to power. People built settlements and clusters of clay houses and harvested natural resources in the surrounding area. After becoming

part of post-1949 China, boundaries between villages were drawn and recorded. The administrative area of a village in the communist system usually includes the residential quarters as well as nearby forests, rivers and mountains where the residents are allowed to engage in farming activities. In the case of Brookside, the administrative area encompassed about 66 km² and most of the area consists of forests and mountains. The residential area takes up only about 0.2% of the administrative area. With its less than one hundred residents, Brookside is a mid-sized village in this region.

Climate and resources

Brookside features a temperate continental climate. The monthly average temperature ranges from a freezing -12.8 degree Celsius in January to 22.3 in August. The maximum precipitation is 760.6mm and the minimum is 325mm. The duration of sunshine is 2188.8 hours per year and the percentage of bright sunshine is 49.7%. The yearly frost-free period is 149 days.

The natural resources that are harvested by local residents include wild edible plants and medical herbs, several kinds of wood, wild animals and minerals. The edible plants found in the mountains include various kinds of mushrooms such as Matsutake (송이), agaric, late oyster, honey fungus and monkey head mushroom. Pine nuts, hazelnuts, walnuts, Amur grapes and fiddlehead can be found in the area. Local medical herbs include ginseng, ganoderma, astragalus root, yellow Himalayan fritillary and Chinese magnolia-vine. Woods that are sold for profit includes Korean pine, various kinds of Spruce, Manchurian ash, tilia and oak. Native wildlife includes the sika deer, black bears, Siberian roe deer, Eurasian badgers, foxes and wild boars. Coal

and moorstone are mined in the area. Some documents mentioned gold mines in the region but I did not identify any related mining activities during my stay.

Infrastructure

Originally, the residential houses in Brookside were made of clay, twigs and covered by tiles and there were two separate residential settlements, but after the ground of one settlement began to sink, probably due to nearby coal mining activities about two decades ago, all villagers were moved into one settlement. The old houses were rebuilt, and the settlement was expanded. Old pictures show that the houses were originally built in a less uniform fashion in the old settlements. After the resettlement, the size and appearance of all houses and gardens were standardized.

Figure 1: House in the old settlements and new house rebuilt by the government

Tap water and electricity are available in every house in Brookside village. Instead of coming from water treatment works, the water runs into the village directly from the mountain

without filtration, which leads to small quantities of sand and rock fragments in the water at times. My host family lives at the far end of the village near the end of water pipe, and there the water supply is barely sufficient. The family usually lets the water run for some time in the morning and stores it in bulks for cooking and cleaning, because sometimes, when the entire village is using water, the water pressure for those living at the end of the pipe is barely enough. The sediments in the water also occasionally block the pipes entirely. During my stay, I have experienced a more than a week-long cut in water supply in May 2017. When this happens, we had to transport water in buckets from a brook that is around five minutes walking distance from the residential area. Normally, the village government also helps in such situations by distributing containers of drinking water to each house every one or two days. According to the villagers, insufficient snow or rain also led to water supply cuts in the past. Although the water supply is not stable, since no water works are involved, the water in the village is provided free of charge. The village government received funding from the county government to build the pipes and the cost of maintenance is also paid by the village government.

The electricity comes from a small substation in the town that is connected to the power grid via several high-voltage power lines. During extreme weather such as rain storms or strong wind, the station cuts off the electricity supply for the whole town to prevent damage. A small measuring station that collects climate information is also located in the village.

There is a county highway right next to the residential area. Three intercity buses pass by the village every day and they are the main transportation villagers utilize to get to the nearby villages and towns. However, the services are frequently interrupted during winter because of bad

road conditions. Besides the buses, there are also taxis and unlicensed vans that pass by the village every day. If villagers miss the inter-city buses and they need to go to the town or the city, they usually just wait by the highway until they get picked up by a car or van. The price is negotiable and mostly depends on current demand and weather conditions. Several villagers also have their own trucks, motor tricycles and tractors. Both motor tricycles and tractors are used as vehicles to go to the center of the town and other nearby locations. Several families also have bikes.

No public facilities are available in the village. On a government records, I found that a clinic was supposed to be located in the village with one doctor working there full-time. However, when I first entered the village in October 2016, I found a building named "Village Health Clinic (村卫生所)", but it was empty. Villagers need to go to the next town hospital to see a doctor. Another facility that recently closed is a post office.

Figure 2: Public transportation and postal package fees[31]

	Bus		Shared Van/Taxi		Taxi	
	Per person	Per parcel	Per person	Per parcel	Per person	Per parcel
Brookside Village - Maizefield Town	4	5	3-5	5	15	-
Maizefield Town - Cam City Center	5	-	10-15	2-4	30-40	-
Brookside Village - Cam City Center	9	10	-	15	40-50	-
Brookside Village - Cam City Railway Station	-	-	-	-	50-60	-
Brookside Village - Yanji City Center	19	-	60-80	-	200-250	-

[31] The currency is Chinese Yuan and prices were collected from Oct 2016 to June 2017.

China Post used to contract a local family for a couple of years and send postmen to the village every two days to deliver newspapers to the village government and letters and small parcels to the villagers. Other private companies that provide couriers services only deliver parcels to the nearest city that is about thirty kilometers from the village. Villagers have to go to the city center to collect the parcels or pay extra fee for the inter-city bus drivers to collect the parcels for them. The prices of transportation and postal services in Brookside are listed in Figure 2.

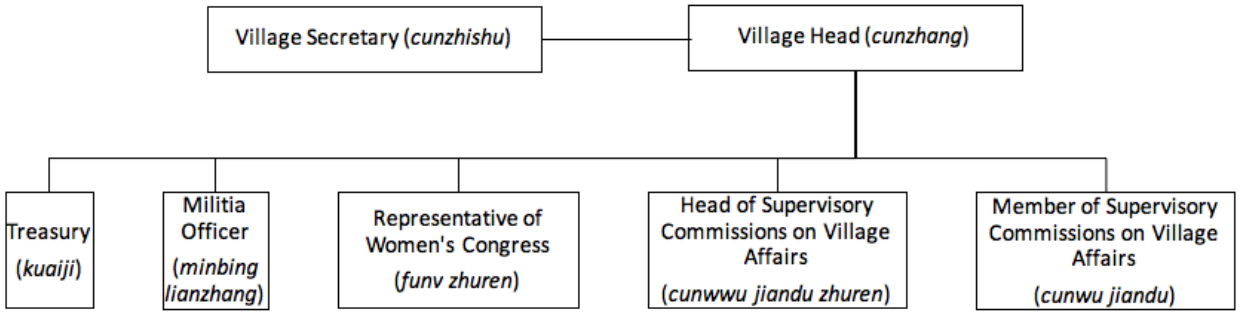
Administrative organization

The Brookside village government, like most of the administrative structure in rural China, is led by two people, the Village Mayor (村主任)[32] and the Village Secretary (村支书). Village Mayors are elected by the villagers and the election is usually held every five years. The village secretaries are the representatives of the communist party and are usually appointed by the upper level party branches. In Brookside, the village secretary was appointed by the upper government but is not living in the village. During my stay, he did not show up in the village and I have asked some villagers about him and they did not seem to know him. The current village mayor was elected in 2016 and he was born in the village. He went to South Korea for almost two decades and came back to the village several years before he won the election. The other government representatives are mostly locals except for the treasurer who moved to the village from a nearby

[32] Villagers usually prefer to call this position a "village head (村长) ".

city after retirement. All positions are usually voluntary and either nominated or appointed by the village mayor.

Figure 3: Administrative structure of Brookside village



Although every position is supposed to have clearly distinguished responsibilities according to the national constitution and prefecture law, in Brookside the village administration appears to have their own way to allocate work and cooperate. For instance, according to a guideline issued by the general offices of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and the State Council, a village affairs supervision committees should be present that assists to "overcome unhealthy tendencies, curb corruption, promote harmony and stability and improve governance in villages".[33] In Brookside, however, the head of this committee was living out of town and only came by once every week. He did not seem to be very involved in village affairs and actually told me that he took the job only because there were not enough other party members

[33] China to enhance supervision of village affairs: http://english.gov.cn/policies/latest_releases/2017/12/04/content_281475964600548.htm, retrieved 1 Aug 2018.

in the village. The other two regular committee members were living in the village and are involved in more activities.

Although the administrative posts are assigned to one person and the salary was for one person, in reality both the selected person and his or her spouse seemed to be carrying out the work. For instance, the position of treasurer is supposed to be held by a single person, but in fact the current treasurer and her husband both seemed to be involved in the village administration. Partly due to their high Chinese proficiency, they are involved in a wide range of tasks that appear to go beyond the original duties of the post.

Generally, the administration of Chinese villages consists of two branches, the village government (lead by the village mayor) and the party branch at the village level (lead by the village secretary). However, the establishment of this dual system required a minimum number of five party members. Brookside Village, as of 2018, did not have enough party members to form a party branch. Chapter 6 will present on-going party-building activities in Brookside.

Media and information management

The village is covered by the China Mobile and China Unicom mobile phone network. Broadband internet is advertised in the village but only very few families have it installed at home. According to my observation in 2017, less than 5% of the residents had broadband internet or computers at home, but mobile phones were much more common and almost every family had at least one mobile phone and many have subscribed to mobile internet services. Landline telephones are rare in the village.

Cable television, on the other hand, is common in Brookside. In October 2016, when I first entered the village, many families had satellite televisions that enabled them to not only watch Chinese TV shows, but also to receive South Korean TV channels. However, in April 2017, all the satellites were removed after a new regulation was enforced by the prefecture government. At the time of my last contact with the villagers in late 2018, the villagers could only watch Chinese TV channels.

Security and law enforcement

While the closest police station is located in Maizefield town, Brookside has a security system in place called "ten-family joint defence". A common practice in rural Yanbian, particularly in villages like Brookside that are very close to the North Korean-Chinese border, the "ten-family joint defence" refers to a network of ten families that are living close to each other and that form a unit. These families share an alarm circuit that is also connected with the nearest town police station. When one family activates the alarm, the other nine families and the police receive the alarm call at the same time. During my stay in the village, I saw red banners introducing this "Ten-family joint defence", but I never actually identified any alarm bottom or other devices related to it in the houses.

Many families also have a calendar distributed free-of-charge by the Department of Frontier Defence at home. On each page of the calendar, a phone number of the nearest police station can be found next to a notice that reads "actions violating border control regulations are: illegally crossing border, faking immigration documents, damaging border control facilities,

smuggling and illegal trading, producing and selling drugs, human trafficking, sheltering or funding foreign illegal migrants, overstaying immigration document, illegally hiring of foreign workers, illegal work, illegally housing, cross-border plant gathering, illegal logging and poaching , unlicensed operations and other related illegal behavior". However, during my stay I did not encounter the border police in the village.

Governmental economic activities

The prefecture government subsidizes several projects in the village. For example, a Yanbian-wide policy is "one family one cow". The government provides five thousand Chinese yuan to every rural family to buy a cow and the Brookside village government helps the villagers to take care of the cows. All the cows were kept by one family. Since Brookside is close to the border, it also received special funding for borderland households. Brookside villagers also receive subsidies related to the nation-wide "Poverty Alleviation (扶贫)" policy. Each family with an income lower than RMB3300 per annum is eligible to this (see Chapter 6 for details).

Educational Institutions

There is no school in the village. Kids take a school bus to the nearest town school every weekday. According to the villagers, about ten to fifteen years ago there was an elementary school in the village but now the building is abandoned. There is one elementary school and one middle schools in the nearby town. Both schools are joint ethnic schools, which means that different ethnic students are attending the same school, but ethnic Koreans and all others are allocated into different

classes. In ethnic Korean classes, students learn all subjects in Korean, but they need to take a course in Mandarin Chinese. The other classes teach completely in Mandarin. The division of classes based on ethnic categories is also common practice in high schools, the nearest of which is in a nearby city. There are also a number of universities in the prefecture capital, Yanji, but in contrast to the bilingual elementary and secondary education system, the commonly used medium of instruction at the university level is Mandarin Chinese.

Economic activities

Most of the villagers are farmers and they are registered as "borderland rural population (边境农业人口)" in the *hukou* system, the Chinese system of household registration. This is important because many subsidies are tied to residential status and some only apply to those who are considered "agricultural population". Many residents have been working in South Korea at some point in their lives and many have private savings for retirement in the village or live of remittance from their relatives who work in South Korea or in Chinese cities. Some families also receive subsidies from the government to sustain their livelihood (see Chapter 5 and 6 for details).

A family is running a small shop in the village that sells a limited variety of goods such as cigarettes, alcohol, soft drinks and frozen dumplings. The operating hours depends on whether a family member is at home. The nearest town features a much wider range of shops, probably due to a nearby military camp. The villagers usually go to bigger towns and do regular grocery shopping at local wet markets that offer a range of vegetables, meat and seafood and that opens twice a week.

Current population

Brookside was established in the late 1930s. There are 185 families and a total of 537 people registered in the village according to a village government records of December 2014, but according to my observation (and orally confirmed by a local governor), only around 35 families permanently resided in the village as of November 2016, 52 are categorized as ethnic Koreans and 9 as Han Chinese. In late spring of 2017, I observed several families moving back to the village from South Korea, possibly due to tightened visa regulations. The population is aging significantly and most of the long-term residents are above 50-years-old. The younger generation are generally either studying or working in bigger cities in China or are in South Korea (more details in Chapter 6). In fact, this dramatically skewed age composition is a common phenomenon in rural Yanbian.

Most of the villagers hold either middle school or elementary school degrees and few have finished high school or a university education. Those who have higher degrees mostly did not return to Brookside after graduation (see also Chapter 6). According to a census from 2000, ethnic minority Koreans in all of Yanbian prefecture feature the following educational background and employment type. [34] Figure 4 and 5 show that most ethnic-Korean residents work in the primary sector and that the average educational background is middle school.

Figure 4: Education of ethnic-minority Koreans in Yanbian according to the Jilin Government census (2000)

Junior college and above	High school (including technical secondary school)	Middle school	Elementary school
7.73%	25.54%	41.22%	19.24%

[34] More information please refer to the data announced by the Jilin Provincial Government: http://tjj.jl.gov.cn/tjfx/2004/t20051020_59279.htm, retrieved 9 Aug 2018.

Figure 5: Employment sectors of ethnic-minority Koreans in Yanbian

Employment type (three-sector distribution)	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
	49.31%	14.48%	36.21%

Social life in the village

According to my observation, the status symbols in the village are mainly economic status and age. Firstly, the influence of a person or a family largely depends on their economic status. Running businesses also helps such individuals to gain more exposure, which ultimately helps them to access posts in the village government. Several village governors have their own business in the village. Some of them contracted land and cooperate with companies to produce agricultural products. Notably, being elected into the village government office did not lead to higher status, it was a result. Another observable factor is that such people have big houses with a less traditional design. For instance, most of the village houses do not have couches or chairs because villagers are used to sit on the floor. But several governors and villagers doing business have couches and Mahjong tables at home, which mean that they probably engaged in more social events with people outside of the village. Furthermore, the village governors formed a rather closed social group according to my observation and they have frequent gatherings outside of office hours, which reveals their close relationship.

Another center of power in the village is the Association of the Elderly (老人协会). Since most of the villagers were above 50 years old, the association is a main site for village gatherings. Even though the association does not have administrative power, it is where the villagers discuss

village affairs. Most of the village governors do not attend the regular gatherings there, but they attend big events like festival celebrations. The association also has its own funding. I have witnessed during several events that Brooksiders who came back from South Korea donated money to the association. Some visitors even sponsored a meal for the whole village. Such donations and sponsors help them to show their economic success in South Korea.

Most of the older generation came to know their spouses through a date set up by their senior family members and a lot of marriages were decided by their parents. The younger generation has more say in this matter and many got to know their spouses by different means, like at school or through friends. In the village, both male and female villagers engage in farming activities, but there is a trend that women do more housework. However, there are also families where women have a better income and higher social status jobs. During village gatherings, women and men usually sit at different tables and younger women usually spend more time on preparing the food and cleaning the dishes but older female villagers are usually not involved in it.

The most common topics during such gatherings are village affairs, politics in both China and on the Korean peninsula, news and gossip about emigrants, particularly their overseas children, relatives and friends.

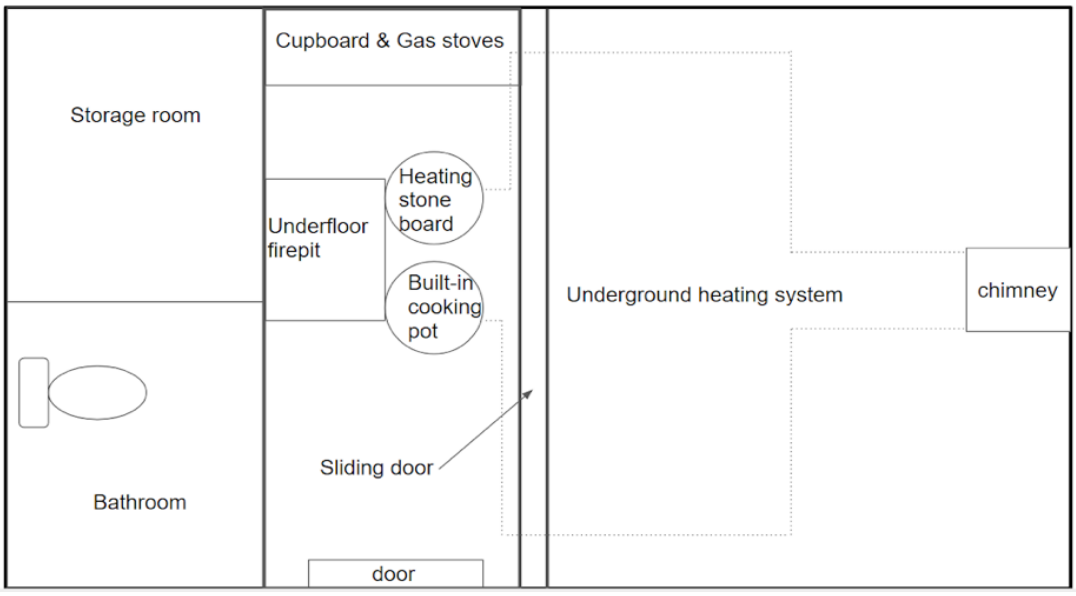
Portrait of a Day in Brookside

Everyday life in Brookside is not divided into working days (Monday to Friday) and weekends (Saturday and Sunday). Rather, important organizational structures of life in the village are annual cycles, four seasons, town market days and festivals. The four seasons are further

divided into busy farming seasons and slack seasons. The seeding period in mid-spring and the harvest in mid-autumn are the busiest periods in terms of farming activities. In the months between seeding and harvesting around three hours of work are required per day, watering, fertilizing and other related work to nurture crops. From November to March, no farming activities are conducted in the village due to the cold weather.

Villagers usually get up with the sunrise between 5 to 6 a.m. in winter and around 4 a.m. during the other seasons. Usually they start the day by making fire except for several weeks in summer when temperatures don't make this necessary. Aside from preparing food, the fire is used to heat the whole house as village houses commonly have underfloor heating (地暖). The following drawing shows the floor plan of the house of my host family:

Figure 6: Typical village house structure



Each house has an “underfloor fire pit” that is about one meter deep and the hole is covered by wooden boards. In the morning, residents take the boards away and climb into the hole. The fire is made under a built-in cooking pot, so when making fire, the board and the pot are hot enough for preparing a meal. The fire heats the entire multifunctional area (the whole right side of the drawing). Villagers eat, socialize, study and sleep in the same space. In the early morning, they get up and store all the beddings into a cupboard. When they have breakfast they eat on a pull-out table that is folded and leans against the wall during the rest of the day. Then people would usually watch some television and do some basic house cleaning work.

What activities follow breakfast depends on the season. In spring, the villagers usually begin farming the gardens next to their houses. Sometimes they are hired by a village governor who has a contract with a local medicine factory, then they go to help him collect herbs for a whole day (see Chapter 6). Sometimes, especially after a rainy day, many villagers also go into the mountains and collect edible wild plants for self-consumption. Some villagers sell the collected plants. During market days in spring, villagers often go to the town market to purchase seeds and other farming tools. Most of the social gatherings in the village happen at the town market and outside in the gardens. Villagers frequently visit each other, dropping by during all sorts of farming activities to chat, and sometimes to offer an extra hand. Other forms of social gatherings are uncommon in the busy periods of seeding and harvesting which takes about two to three weeks each. After a day of strenuous work, villagers usually go to bed around 9 to 10pm.

From late spring to summer, farming works are less intensive, and the villagers only need to spend one to two hours watering the plants, do weeding and sometimes crop-dusting. They

generally have more time to gather and often play a card game called Go-stop (화투) together. Other common activities that brings the villagers together are dancing, singing, gateball, fishing and picnic. In contrast to the busy seedings period, the villagers stay up late and would gather until 10 or 11 pm, but they still get up early and sometimes take a nap in the afternoon during the hottest time of the day. Many are actively participating in town and city events, festivals as well as travel to other parts of Yanbian to visit their relatives or host them at their homes. When they are away for a couple of days, their neighbors and relatives in Brookside will help them to take care of the gardens.

In mid to late autumn, for only about two weeks, villagers are busy again harvesting crops and preparing fermented food for the coming winter. They store eggplants, potatoes and other plants in a cellar or storage room and use cabbage and white radish to make different sorts of Kimchi, which usually takes about two days. One day to prepare the ingredients and another day to mix the vegetables and the seasoning. Sometimes they are hired to help the village government or other businessmen to harvest or process agricultural products. For instance, in the autumn of 2016, most Brookside villagers were hired for a week by a South Korean company to harvest and clean large quantities of Ginseng that the company grew on land it rented from the village.

During winter, villagers generally stay indoors more and often get together at a community space called the “Association of Elderly” (老年协会) or at village homes. All outdoor activity are reduced to a minimum. The card game Go-Stop is often what brings them together. Chinese New Year is the most important festival of the year, which is usually celebrated between late January

and early February. It is also the time many relatives and friends return to the village for a short period of time, it is a time of festive family reunions.

CHAPTER FOUR - PRESENCE OF THE STATE IN THE VILLAGE: MONUMENTS OF REVOLUTIONARY MARTYRS AND THEIR USES IN EVERYDAY LIFE

The roles of historical sites and mythologies in nation-building have been explored for decades (e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Karp 2012; Čolović 2002; Nora and Kritzman 1996; Massey 1995). A typical practice is to utilize heritages and historical narratives to construct ethno-political myths and trace the ethnogenesis of the people within a national territory to ancient times (e.g. Čolović 2002).

China is officially narrated as a multi-ethnic country, which at times makes an ancient and singular ethno-national myth of origin not suitable to facilitate a sense of belonging to the imagined community, since most of the ethnic minorities have their distinguished shared understandings of their own origins. Like many communist or post-communist countries, one way of narrating the shared past that the contemporary Chinese state engages in is based on socialist revolutions and armed conflicts (e.g. Tappe 2011). Such narratives are usually represented by heritage sites like monuments of revolutionary martyrs and continuously promoted through education and national events.

In Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, a common revolutionary memorial site are monuments remembering the Korean War. Drawing on the perspective of "ethnicity as cognition" (Brubaker 2004), this chapter analyses how different actors, such as the state and ethnopolitical entrepreneurs build these stones and create their associated meanings to promote their goals using

national and ethnic categories. It further investigates the effect by looking into the role of those stones in everyday life of rural borderland residents. Grounded in the "everyday nationhood" approach, it further uses the Yanbian monuments to suggest a new angle to investigate the uses of historical sites in nation-building by emphasising the perspectives of ordinary people in everyday life settings. The chapter aims to provide a thick description of the revolutionary monuments by analysing data from various sources – participant observation, unstructured interviews, government archives and official publications (including textbooks) related to local historical narratives.

Historical Sites and Symbols of Nationalism

National symbols are an important part of nationalization. Such symbols appear in local life in the form of various objects. Some have practical functions and have been placed across the country for practical reasons. Others have been introduced because of their symbolic meanings and state-initiated narratives they represent. Any object that was built by state institutions may serve to represent state authority. From *lieux de mémoire* (Nora and Kritzman 1996) to invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), historians have pointed out the political implications behind national historic sites – as incarnation of national memory, and their roles in facilitating the construction of a hegemonic collective memory, and ultimately a unified national identity. The past of a place people are told or choose to remember is not merely a reflection of history, but more importantly, is "to confirm the views and convictions of the present", and the construction "enables them to warrant the building of particular futures" (Massey 1995: 186).

We have learnt from numerous works (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Karp 2012; Nora and Kritzman 1996; Massey 1995; Thatcher 2018 etc.) that the political intentions of a state or other form of authority may motivate the construction (in terms of assigning meanings to the preserved materials), maintenance and display of historic sites. However, those studies mainly focused on the nation-building of European countries. Both France in the west Europe (Ben-Amos 1993; Nora and Kritzman 1996) or Serbia in Southeast Europe, the historical heritages as national symbols present what Čolović (2002) called "ethno-political mythology" and the discourse describing the shared past is usually ethnocentric with an emphasis on being "the oldest nation" (2002: 7). Non-transferable, ethnohistory hermetically seals off one group from another (Rigney 2018).

In China, a country often self-depicted as a multi-ethnic country, the ethno-political mythology based on a singular ethnogenesis has led to controversies. Vickers' study on museums in China (2007) found that "a deep-rooted assumption of equivalence between 'Chinese' and 'Han' culture and history". This phenomenon also expands to the public scope outside of museums. For instance, a number of myths that are promoted to support the imaginary of China as a homogeneous entity, such as *zhonghua minzu* being descendants from the dragon, from the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi*) or from the Peking Man are in fact Han-centric constructions (Sautman 1997: 76). Some of these myths outright contradict the mythologies of certain ethnic minorities. For instance, the Miao ethnic minority worship Chi You as an ancestor (Yang 2010), but Chi You was the eventually subdued adversary of the Yellow Emperor in the Chinese tale *Battle of Zhuolu*. This can lead to the conclusion that the Miao are actually excluded from the *zhonghua minzu*. In fact, the

countrywide promotion of the Yellow Emperor has led to debates whether this facilitates a racial hierarchy between Han and ethnic minorities (Borchigud 2013: 278-300; Song 2003: 120-140).

In the Chinese literature, several studies have addressed the relationship between state symbols and governance (e.g. Hung 2001 and 2006; Gao 2001). Hung (2006) reviewed the process of reconstructing Tiananmen Square in Beijing in the 1950s to illustrate how the Communist Party transforms spaces that have traditionally been sacred in previous regimes and attributed new political meanings to those spaces in order to legitimize its governance by implementing new state symbols, such as *Monument to the People's Heroes* (人民英雄纪念碑), *Great Hall of the People* (人民大会堂) and *the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution* (革命和历史博物馆). In contrast to Hung's study on the center of the state power, Gao (2001) investigated regions over which the central government has only loose control and where the people live rather independent from the administration of the central government and the official media and found locals-initiated state symbols to legitimize local traditional rituals. Gao describes this phenomenon as "the presence of the state" in local life. For instance, in the cases Gao studied, a Lama Temple (Tibetan Buddhist) in an ethnic minority area hosts ritual for both the sake of local villagers and the peace and prosperity of the whole country. Another case investigated local ceremonies in which retired communist party members took part to represent the state. Gao's findings show that in some cases where the central government has lose control over local religions and rituals, the local population themselves may spontaneously include symbols representing the state in local rituals to legitimize the ceremonies.

The former discussion in both English and Chinese mainly focused on the perspectives of administrators without paying sufficient attention to another important party in the process - the ordinary people and the vernacular understandings of such state-sponsored objects. The achievements of those national projects can only be realized if the intended audience accepts and believes in the stories represented by the historic sites. Several studies have indicated the important roles of visitors in museum studies and mainly discuss the experiences of visitors who actively visit museum exhibitions, and describe the process of meaning-making as co-produced by the museum exhibit and the visitor (e.g. Dicks 2017; Falk and Dierking 2000). How those national symbols influence and are perceived beyond museum tours is yet to be explored. Adopting Brubaker's approach of perceiving nationalism and ethnicity as the processes of nationalization and ethnicization, the remainder of this chapter explores meaning-making processes related to a major state-sponsored heritage site situated in my main fieldsite in rural Yanbian – a stone monument in Brookside Village. It further identifies different actors using this object to achieve various goals that involve the use and possible proliferation of national and ethnic categories, and explores the experiences and perceptions of the ordinary villagers towards such efforts.

National Symbols in Brookside Village

In Brookside Village, many objects serve the function of representing the state in the periphery. This includes symbols and facilities that directly feature national symbols such as the Chinese national flag, a village government building, and an abandoned house that was an elementary school. But also, other state-built facilities such as an outdoor fitness facility, a device

for collecting weather related data and a monument of revolutionary martyrs. Before describing the monument in detail, I would like to briefly discuss a range of physical objects that are also related to the state.

Located in the center of the residential area of Brookside Village, the village government building is decorated with Korean-Chinese bilingual banners that are advertising the communist party: "Glorifying the party flag, satisfying the people (为党旗增辉，让群众满意 in Chinese and 당기를 너욱 빛나계 하고 군중의 호평을 받자 in Korean)." On two sides of the front door placed several Chinese Korean bilingual signs of "Maizefield Town Brookside Village Committee of Villagers (村民委员会 and 촌민위원회)" "Chinese Communist Party Maizefield Town Brookside Village Branch Committee (中共村支部委员会 and 중공촌지부외원회)" "Cam City Maizefield Town Brookside Village People's Mediation Committee (人民调解委员会 and 인민조해위원회)" and "Postal Savings Bank of China (中国邮政储蓄银行[35]): Brookside Village Rural Financial Service Station (三农金融服务站 and 삼농금융복무소)". Another sign on the front side of the building is only in Chinese: a list of the governors on duty from Monday to Sunday. There are different governors on duty every day and the list also indicates their positions. The five-star red flag is flowing in front of the village

Figure 7: National flag in Brookside

[35] This part was written in Chinese only.

government building. In all the village and town governments I have been to in Yanbian, a national flag is placed at the government building.

There is an abandoned building with garden in the center of the residential area. It was the village elementary school ten to fifteen years ago. In comparison with other village houses, this building is a big one-floor building with no clear ethnic elements. Most of the village houses have a special type of rooftop and locals identify a house as Korean or Han Chinese style largely based on the shape of the rooftop (see the house in Chapter 4, the picture displays a typical Korean house). The rooftop is triangular and on top of the rooftop two upwards curved horns are placed on two sides. The former elementary school building is surrounded by weeds. After the school was abolished, the building has since been left unused. The outdoor fitness facility and the weather station are services provided by the government.[36] Both sites are representing the presence of state influence in the village.

Figure 8: Outdoor fitness playground and abandoned elementary school (in front of the mountain)

[36] This kind of fitness facility has been a frequent sight in rural Yanbian in recent years and almost every village has such a space. It is considered one of the achievements in "Developing Civilization and Ethics in Countryside (农村精神文明建设)"[36]. Developing civilization here usually refers to developing socialist culture. "Developing Socialist Culture and Ethics" is a phrase that was officially announced during the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee (中国共产党第十二届六中全会) in 1986, which has been promoted by the Publicity Department in the following decades. As part of Deng Xiaoping's theory, the development of culture and ethics is a relative concept to the material development, and they are supposed to facilitate each other: the former is guiding the latter and the latter

The weather station is basically a pole-shape small machine placed outdoor with a small several square meters yard. It was built to collect local climate data for analysis, but the existence can also be seen as revealing the role of state institutions in the process of modernization in rural Yanbian, the administrative power on the territory as well as their responsibilities of protecting local residents from meteorological disasters. Such objects do not only serve their literal functions, but also have more complicated social meanings. They are offered by state institutions and represent advanced technologies which the village community could not produce itself, and the modern lifestyle that emphasizes healthy living and the use of science that the state promotes. Their existence in the village declares which state is in charge of the territory and is responsible for the inhabitants, but in everyday life, the villagers seldom visit those facilities and they became isolated spaces.

Figure 9: Weather station

In comparison to these facilities, a stone monument of revolutionary martyrs located in the south-west of the residential area in Brookside is displayed more explicitly as a national symbol. The stone pillar made of granite is standing on top of a small hill. The pillar is so big, it can be seen clearly even from the farms on the other side of the village. A slope begins at a corner of the

lays out the foundation for the development of the former, which could be understood as a reinterpretation and localization with Chinese characteristics of Marxist theory “base and superstructure”.

residential area and it takes less than two minutes to walk from the residential area to the stone pillar on top of the slope.

Figure 10: Monument and Brookside village

The monument is around five meters high, made of granite and has the shape of a rectangular pillar positioned on two layers of square stone bases. The monument is surrounded by a stone fence. When I first climbed up the hill to the stone pillar in October 2016, a rusty one meter long iron chain was guarding the entrance. I pushed aside some weeds and stepped over the chain to take a closer look at the stone. “Monument of Revolutionary Martyrs (革命烈士纪念碑)” the black inscription reads in Chinese. A red star is positioned on top of the inscription. The base of the monument displays several names in Chinese on the front side. Judging by the family names, the inscriptions probably belong to people of Korean heritage. At that time, I didn’t know what the

monument was for or when it was built, since there was no information inscribed on it other than the names.

After gathering more information on the process of building and maintaining the village monument, the role it plays in nation-building became clearer. As a monument built with prefecture government funds, the construction and maintenance of the imposing stone pillar creates a link between a higher level administration and the borderland village. Through this link state-sponsored narratives are conveyed. But how do the residents react to these narratives?

Local residents may have a different understanding of such state-built symbols. People may perceive and use those spaces differently from the state-assigned functions by the state. In this chapter, I focus on the most prominent state-sponsored object in the village – the monument of revolutionary martyrs. This five-meter high stone pillar was designed to memorize the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. It is an object that represents a state narrative in form of an eye-catching stone.

Revolutionary Narratives and Emerging Inclusive Membership Categories

The stone monument represents the revolutionary narratives that have long been one of the nation-building strategies utilized by the Chinese Communist Party. The utilization of this strategy can be traced back to before it came to power in 1949. The communist party gained early supporters mostly in rural areas, in what has been perceived as the periphery of the country. A significant amount of the population in these regions, particularly in the borderland, self-identified as non-Han Chinese and practiced lifestyles different from typical Han Chinese. The conflicts between them and people who were described as Han were frequently discussed in the early

twentieth century by both the Communist Party and the Kuomintang leaders, and how to govern these populations became one of the central concerns of both political powers.

In the wake of the socialist revolutionary struggles, the CCP increasingly proclaimed itself as a proponent of the liberty and protection of ethnic groups other than Han, which can, for instance, be observed in the *Resolution Concerning the Liberty of Miao Yao in the First Congress of Famer Representatives in Hunan Province* (United Front Work Department 1991: 52) carried out in December 1926. The resolution first acknowledged the conflicts between "ancient ethnic groups" *Miaoyao* and Han in the past. It further advocated revolutions to overturn the existing racial/ethnic hierarchy and welcomed different ethnic groups to join the association of farmers. It also promised to increase the status of minority ethnic groups in the country. As the opposition party, the CCP also urged the Kuomintang government to issue an official order to liberate *Miaoyao* and to guarantee the equal rights in politics and economy between Han Chinese and them.

Figure 11: Resolution Concerning the Liberty of Miao Yao in the First Congress of Famer Representatives in Hunan Province

Resolution concerning the Liberty of Miao Yao
(Dec 1926)

Miaoyao is an ancient *minzu*. Because Han came from the west, they escaped to the mountain areas in *Xiang, Ye, Chuan, Dian, Qian, Gui* and the population has a tendency to shrink gradually. Their life is painful and hopeless. However, this *minzu* are in general farmers who love peace. They have been massacred by Han imperialist rulers in previous dynasties and have been severely exploited domestically by Tusi tribal leaders. Therefore, these peaceful farmers have been living in a dark world. Han people are used to the myth that *Miaoyao* is a cruel *minzu*, so Han do not object if this *minzu* dies out. Liberating weak and small *minzu* is the goal of the revolution of farmers. The association of farmers accepts members regardless of nationalities. It is necessary to do our best to support our compatriots of farmers who are from our country with different ethnicities [...]:

1. Try to make *Miaoyao* join local associations of farmers or help them to organize such

associations.
2. It is forbidden for Han people to occupy *Miaoyao*'s land.
3. Establish basic schools for *Miaoyao*.
4. Han people must not purposely slander or insult *Miaoyao*.
5. Ask the government to eliminates *Miaodong* bandits.
6. Ask the government to release orders to liberate *Miaoyao* and give them the same rights in politics and economy as Han people.
7. Help *Miaoyao* to be liberated from the cruelty and exploitation of Tusi tribal leaders.

Numerous archives issued by the CCP addressing different ethnic groups in China from the pre-1949 era show a similar narrative: although ethnic Han people usually took the role of oppressors, the culprits were described as a small fraction of Han who were mostly categorized as imperialists, warlords, landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists in those documents. In the case of the Koreans, some documents also show the embrace of the Korean-speaking population in revolutions. The following letter to Korean farmers (United Front Work Department 1991: 94) provides an example of this narrative. First of all, the letter acknowledged the conflicts between Koreans and Chinese (also Japanese). Secondly, it specifies the Chinese people who oppressed Koreans as Chinese warlords, landlords, the capitalist class and the ruling party Kuomintang. It further advocates the unification of Chinese, Korean, Russian and Japanese workers and farmers in support of revolutionary and political movements.

Figure 12: A Letter from the Party's Manchuria Provincial to Korean Farmers in Manchuria

A Letter from the Party's Manchuria Provincial to Korean Farmers in Manchuria

Dear Korean farmer friends in Manchuria,

We have already seen how you were expelled from Korean territory, lost your farmlands and became refugees in Manchuria; we have seen you being stroked by the Japanese capitalist

imperialist government, exploited cruelly by Chinese warlords and landlords, deported, banned Korean costumes, shutdown schools, confiscation of farmlands, illegally arrested. In the meanwhile, we have seen more than three hundred Koreans in Guangzhou being massacred by Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). In several places such as Wuhan and Nanjing, many Koreans were recently arrested by the Kuomintang. In fact, no matter who they are, the Chinese Manchurian warlords, the new warlords of the Three People's Principles, all landlords or the capitalist class, they are the same trampling you without offering you any hope of getting help. We are in infinite grief and have sympathy for you, and we would like to be your biggest and final support.

Now we, the party's manchuria provincial committee, which is under the guidance of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, is responsible for leading the Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers, uniting Chinese, Korean, Russian and Japanese workers and farmers to conduct revolutionary struggles [...]

Dear Korean farmers, we are suffering the same pain, we have common enemies, our fighting goals are the same [...]

[...]

Taking down the Chinese and Japanese warlords and the capitalist class!

[...]

Long live the liberty of Manchurian workers, peasants and soldiers!

As indicated in the documents, in order to recruit more supporters and to include people with different ethnic self-identification in the revolution, ethnic boundaries were diluted. The division of people was described as based on social class - a dichotomy between the proletariat (farmers/workers) and the class of oppressors (rulers/capitalists/landlords/warlords). [37] The revolutionary narratives helped to facilitate a new way of distinguishing "us" and "them" based on social class (社会阶级) rather than ethnicity or nationality.

[37] A more specific division of class in China from the communist leaders' perspective please refers to Mao Zedong's articles, e.g. Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society (1926) and How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas (1933).

To a certain extent, the revolutionary narratives had impact on Koreans in Yanbian, which helped the young party to gain supports from the locals according to official accounts of the communist party. Liu Jianzhang was one of the party members who were sent to Yanbian to recruit Koreans in order to facilitate the collaboration between Han Chinese and Korean farmers and workers (Zheng 1985: 7). According to the oral history of Liu, the first secretary of the Hunchun county committee in Yanbian, the people in Yanbian were mainly Koreans in the 1930s and they had a negative impression of Chinese people: "Chinese are bad. People from a big country bully us." According to Liu, however, if the Chinese were members of the communist party, the locals would be very happy to be led by them. He recalled what he heard from the Koreans: "It turns out to be that there are good people among the Chinese. Not all of them are bullying us." To support his account, he tells a story: some Korean families sheltered him when he was chased by Kuomintang. The documentary of his oral history also provides a document written by a Kuomintang official to prove the incident. The narrative of Liu is one typical example of how the communist party retells the revolutionary history after becoming the ruling party of the country. Representing and leading the proletariat in the revolutions at that time is frequently cited as a reason for the victory of the communist party in the Chinese civil war in the post-1949 official narratives.

Institutionalizing the Revolutionary Narratives

After the Chinese Communist Party came to power, revolutionary memories became an important part in the continuous process of nation-building. Several categories related to

revolutionary narratives have been promoted, such as "revolutionary martyrs (革命烈士 or 革命先烈)" and "heroes of people (人民英雄)". Within the government, several departments have been working on creating and maintaining the social meanings of these categories, for instance through institutionalizing the revolutionary narratives in education, official publications such as text books and local chronicles, national history-wiring and so on. Different sectors of the state organizations at different administrative levels use different approaches to hegemonize the revolutionary memories, in order to facilitate the construction of a unified sense of belonging to the young nation. The concrete measures I have identified in Yanbian include the promotion of revolutionary monuments and other revolutionary heritages, the creation of a new festival to memorize revolutionary martyrs, as well as the incorporation of memorials of martyrs into traditional festivals, and the teaching of revolutionary history in school education.

Revolutionary sites and memorial rituals

Monuments are common historic sites in contemporary China and represent revolutionary memories of nation-building. *Revolutionary Sites and Revolutionary Commemorative Buildings*[38] have long been a focus of national history-writing. These sites are one of the six types of heritages on the earliest list of *Major Historical and Cultural Site Protected at the National Level*[39] published in 1961 by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. They are juxtaposed with major historic sites such as the Great Wall and the Peking Man excavation site. From the

[38] The original text in Chinese: "革命遗址及革命纪念建筑物".
[39] The announcement is available on the official website of the State Council: http://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2014-07/21/content_2721152.htm, retrieved 22 Jan 2018.

perspective of Chinese administration, monuments of revolutionary martyrs, former residences of the first-generation leaders and the headquarters of the current ruling party during the liberation and other revolutionary sites are equally important as those historical sites recognized by UNESCO. They take up nearly one fifth of the historical and cultural sites nationwide.

The management of those sites are led by the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the branches at each administrative level. They are also in charge of making regulations and policies related to the martyrs, such as the praise of martyrs and the compensation to the families. According to the statistics announced by the ministry, more than twenty million martyrs sacrificed for Chinese revolutions and nation-building, but less than two million have their names on official records. Therefore, in 2013, the ministry proposed *A Request to Set-up a Memorial Day for Martyrs* to the State Council. Later that year, the State Council submitted the *Bill on the Decision to Set-up a Martyr's Day* to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and 30th Sep became a national Memorial Day.[40] Since then, the state has organized national memorial ceremonies in the national heritage Tiananmen Square. State leaders pay tribute to the Monument of People's Heroes in the center of Beijing every year.

Besides the sites at the national level, numerous monuments are preserved in different regions like those in Yanbian to memorize revolutions and martyrs, especially those which have contributed to the establishment of contemporary China. In Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, stone monuments of revolutionary martyrs are a common sight, particularly in the rural

[40] The news in Chinese: http://news.ifeng.com/a/20140929/42113825_0.shtml, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.

area. There is a saying in Yanbian: "Azaleas blooming on every mountain, monuments of revolutionary martyrs in every village."[41] There are 448 monuments in the prefecture according to a 2017 news report.[42] The monuments in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture at the village level are normally rectangular stone pillars of around five meters, of much larger size at the county and city levels, with inscriptions at the socket. Each monument indicates names of martyrs who were the residents of the village, county or city. The monuments are intended to remember heroes and wars of the past.

Figure 13: Funding to Yanbian monuments

Investor	**Amount (RMB)**	**Number of monuments**	**Average investment per monument**	**Fund Period**
Yanji city government[43]	25.54 Million (including 5.94 million on village monuments)	The City Martyrs Cemetery and 59 village monuments	About 101,700 thousand per village monument	2012-2015
Tumen city government[44]	0.55 million	1	550,000	2013
Longjin city government[45]	7.5 million	300	About 25,000	2013

[41] The original saying is in Chinese: "山山金达莱，村村烈士碑". It was first written by the poet He Jingzhi during his trip in Yanbian in 1986 and became a widely-known quote to describe this region.
[42] The news article in Chinese: "长白山下，民族团结之花常开长盛——写在吉林省延边朝鲜族自治州成立６５周年之际**",** http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2017-09/01/c_1121584452.htm, retrieved 5 Aug 2018.
[43] "Yanji City Invested 25.54 Million in Repairing Monuments of Revolutionary Martyrs". The news article is in Chinese: http://www.yb983.com/news/list/2015-03-16/34209.html, retrieved 20 Jan 2018.
[44] "Head of Yanbian Prefecture China Old Liberated Area Construction Association Gao Yong and His Party Visit Tumen City". The news article is in Chinese: http://www.zhongguolaoqu.com/Article/2017/39359.html, retrieved 1 March 2018.
[45] "The First Cemetery in Long Jing City Will be Completed in November". The news article is in Chinese: http://www.ybnews.cn/news/local/201310/199598.html, retrieved 1 March 2018.

In the last few years, governments at the city level invested a significant amount of funding in the maintenance of these monuments. Besides government funding, several individuals also raised funding for maintaining the monuments. Some examples of the investment of each government and private funding are listed in Figure 13 according to local news reports. In Yanbian, the construction of a monument is typically more expensive than building a residential house in Brookside Village. [46]

In addition, Yanji city government invested 25.54 million on the Yanbian revolutionary martyr cemetery, which is recognized as one of the revolutionary heritages at the national level. The funding was spent on the construction and maintenance of the cemetery and another 59 monuments scattered across the nearby villages. The 59 monuments are the result of removing twenty-eight monuments and rebuilding 34 monuments to include the names of martyrs from the removed monuments. To produce the final outcome of 59 monuments, nearly 6 million Chinese Yuan were spent. This means each monument on average costs 101,700 thousand, which is more than two times of building a village house. Tumen city invested 550 thousand in 2013 on a single monument. This monument at the prefecture level is much bigger and it takes up much more space than village monuments. The Long Jing city government invested 7.5 million in the same year for one 19-meters tall monument and 299 regular size monuments in the city cemetery. The average cost was 25 thousand Chinese Yuan.

[46] Building a house costs 50 thousand Chinese Yuan according to my observation of several houses building process between 2016 and 2017. This cost typically includes the material such as bricks, tiles, cement pipes, doors and windows for the house structure, cost of labor and basic electronics like a washing machine, build-in kitchen cabinet, gas stove and range hood.

None of the news reports provide details about the monuments at the village level. After going through official archives stored at several departments of the prefecture government, I found a file recording the monuments at village level across the prefecture written in the late 1980s. A small section of the document briefly introduces the monument in Brookside Village. To my surprise, the picture of the monument showed a completely different stone pillar with red inscription in Korean instead of Chinese. The Korean inscription says: "Revolutionary martyrs are immortal (혁명렬사영생하리)." On top of the inscription is also a red star. The record indicates a three meters tall monument with a three meters wide and three meters long base that was made of bricks and stones meters (which is smaller than the current). The whole site took up 81 square.[47]

In order to learn more about the re-building process, I decided to reach out to governors involved in the project, but I was surprised to find that governors at the village and county levels seemed to have little knowledge about the reconstruction, or the monuments in general. Although the reconstruction of monuments across Yanbian has been reported by various local media outlets, when I asked the village governors elected into office in the previous year, they didn't seem to be aware of the news or the reconstruction of the monuments. The following ethnographic vignettes report the discussions between me and the governors at different administrative levels about the village monument:

[47] Like the current monument, the old one is also combined with a base and a slim tall stone, but the stone on top had a shape of sword with a pinnacle rather than the square pole of the current design. Under the sword shape pole, a concave square displayed names of revolutionary martyrs.

In an afternoon of early May 2017, I bumped into Song Dong-Sun, the village mayor in his 40s who was born and grew up in the village. We were standing about thirty meters from the small hill with the stone monument on top. We chatted for a while about the busy farming season and the upcoming annual harvest. I pointed at the monument and asked the mayor what that is.

Dong-Sun raised his head, turned to the stone and looked at it for a while, and then he turned around to a senior villager who just passed by and asked: "What is that?" The villager was rushing and Dong-Sun seemed to realize that the villager was busy, so he didn't insist on an answer. Instead, he turned back to me and said he was too young to know about the stone and suggested me to ask older people. "Maybe my parents know," he said, "unfortunately they are in South Korea now."

Later that month, I was invited by Hong Mi-Cha to join a homemade Tofu feast with her family and their guests. Mi-Cha's husband Han Dong-Min held a position in the village government and showed particularly interests in political affairs. Dong-Min told me that he remembered the old monument that I learnt about in the archive through the prefecture government department records:

"Maybe it was rebuilt in 2014? Which year did Xi Jinping come to Yanbian? It was after that," he said.

I: "Why was it rebuilt?"

Dong-Min: "The president came, so the local governments began paying attention to monuments. In our village, the stone of the old monument cracked, so the government paid for a new one."

I: "Which local government? The village government? The county government?"

Dong-Min: "The county government. Oh no, it should be the city government. Yes, the city government. It's a big project, I think only the city government can afford it."

I: "Do you recognize the names?" I presented the picture I took of the names on the current monument.

Dong-Min: "Let me read."

He took my phone and turned to his son who was on a video call. His son was calling Dong-Min's sister-in-law Yu Du who was taking care of her new-born grandchild in Shenzhen, a city 3000 kilometers away. Du has invited me to her house several times during winter. With my help of translating the Chinese names into Korean, Dong-Min and Du identified two names. They told me that one has no descendants and the other one's children went to South Korea. They also said that since currently no descendants of the martyrs live in the village, nobody is going there.

"Maybe some village governors go there to pay respect during Qingming Festival," they said, but I have already talked to three other village governors previously about the monument, and they never mentioned that they would go there.

A couple of days after the Tofu feast, I told the treasurer Song Bo-Mi who moved into the village around three years ago during our lunch at her home about the narrative of the president's visit that caused the reconstruction of the monument. "It's impossible. The new monument must be there for a long time. When did Xi Jinping come to Yanbian? I don't remember the exact year, but I think it's a very recent thing. The monument must have been rebuilt way before his visit." Song said firmly. She was correct about the date of his visit, he visited Yanbian in 2015. However,

as I found out later, the monument written in Korean was replaced by the current one written in Chinese not as early as she thought.

In the following weeks, upon my request, the village governors and other officials from the city government I previously interviewed both helped me to contact different departments at the county level. I was informed that the county government doesn't have any historical records of the village monument, and that they were not involved in the re-building project.

After visiting several departments on both the county and city levels, I finally found the department in charge of the reconstruction of monuments in one of the Cam city government buildings – Department of Civil Affairs in Cam City. Song Bo-Mi accompanied me to the city government. We went to the government building and the security guards asked us for the reason of our visit at the front door. After explaining our intention, he guided us to the office of the department head.

After entering, Bo-Mi recognized the official because they met in other occasions previously, although the official, a male in his fifties, did not seem to remember her in the beginning. She told him that she is the treasurer of Brookside Village, introduced me to him and explained that I was studying the monument in the village. He welcomed us.

After a short chat, he led us into another office full of documents and then left me and Bo-Mi alone with the two officers in the room: a young male in his twenties and a female in her late thirties to early forties. The young officer opened one of the archive boxes and found a file indicating "monuments" containing hundreds of pages of A4 paper.

While he was going through the files and trying to find the record of the monument in Brookside Village, the female officer began introducing the government project of rebuilding monuments to us. It was initiated by the prefecture government. Neither the regional governments nor the locals paid enough attention to the monuments and the stones were in dilapidated condition. A couple of years ago, the prefecture government realized that having old and shabby (破破旧旧) monuments as national symbols may have "a negative social impact (造成不好的社会影响)" according to the female officer, so the prefecture government has allocated funding to governments at the city level to rebuild the monuments.

"I found it." The younger officer handed over the heavy folder to me. The record is titled "Basic File of Monuments of Revolutionary Martyrs" and the location information indicates Brookside Village. It also contains information such as the responsible department, size, category of construction, the name of the officer on duty and the contact of the person, a list of the names of martyrs on the stone and a note. It documents the length of 3.5m, width of 3.5m and the height of 6m. It takes up 55 square meters. The project categorized three types of construction: newly built, repair and reorganization. The monument in Brookside village belongs to the second category "repaired". I identified the name of the person in charge as the former village mayor who moved to South Korea after his retirement. The governors also confirmed later that usually village mayors were responsible for collecting monument information.

There is a note on the record that shows that the monument was built in 1982 and "repaired" in September 2013. However, on the first document I found earlier in the county government, it says the monument was first built in 1956 and rebuilt in 1988. The file also lists the names of

revolutionary martyrs, but it does not include more information other than names in Chinese. This information is also different on the prefecture government record and the city government record. Several names are written in different Chinese characters in the two documents. The prefecture government document has only eight names and the city government document has nine. Each name has three characters. Besides the missing name in the prefecture document, four names are written in different ways but are seemingly describing the same people since the characters are either having similar pronunciation or the character shapes look similar to each other.

"Do you also have records of the people whose names are carved on the stone?" I asked after the male officer showed me the piece of paper with basic information of the monument in Brookside.

"No, we only have the names," the female officer told me, "we worked really hard to make sure the names are correct. Before we rebuilt the monuments, we asked all village heads to confirm with villagers, but some people didn't care at all. What could we do? After building the new monuments, several villagers came to complain that we have carved in wrong names. You know, the names were translated from Korean into Chinese, it was really difficult."

She gave an example of a Korean letter that is commonly used as part of names, but it can be translated into Chinese using two different characters, which leads to inconsistent translation. "Did you help them to change the names after the characters have been carved?" I asked. "Of course, we had to. For us it's just a job, but for some people it's about their family history. They are very serious. We understand their feelings, so we try to help. However, most of the people don't really care about the monuments, which made our work more difficult. We have asked so

many times before we rebuilt the monuments. To be honest, I think maybe some names are still incorrect," she said.

"What is the monument in the village for?" I asked the last question. "Most of the monuments were built for commemorating the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea (抗美援朝). There were not many monuments before the Korean war in this area," she answered. "By the way," she continued, "the government paid for the villagers who have removed the weeds surrounding the monument recently. We hope the payment will encourage them to take better care of the monuments."

The ethnographic vignettes show that the officials I have interviewed have varying understandings and interpretations of the village monuments and the reconstruction projects. The departments of Civil Affairs at the city level play a central role in standardizing monuments across the prefecture. The officials from the departments serve as an intermediary. They were executing state projects in the borderland, and they were also gathering feedback from local residents. They knew the situation on the ground – whether the state-sponsored narratives represented by those monuments have been successfully proliferated among ordinary borderland residents.

The vignettes also revealed the disassociation between different departments and governments at various administrative levels. Although monuments have long been an important site in nation-building and the prefecture government has invested a significant amount of funding, they haven't drawn much attention from governors who were not directly involved in such projects.

The responses I gathered from officials also hinted at the lack of interests in the village monuments among some ordinary residents in rural Yanbian.

Besides the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the branches at each administrative level, which are involved in the rebuilding projects, other actors in Yanbian were also actively involved in building and maintaining the monuments and, in this process, may use the monuments to promote a different historical narratives unrelated to the Korean War. For instance, a senior party member, Jin Chunbian was concerned about that young people forget the anti-Japan war, so after his retirement, he raised funding to build monuments memorizing anti-Japan martyrs from private sectors and government organizations since 2005. He obtained more than ten million Chinese Yuan donation in ten years. Jin was the deputy director of Wangqing County People's Congress (人大常委会副主任), and after retirement he became the director of the county office (县办公室主任) of the China Working Committee for Caring about the Next Generation (中国关心下一代工作委员会), which is usually formed by retired party members, particularly those who previously held positions in state institutions. The committee was established in 1990 and endorsed by the State Council. The mission of the committee is to influence younger generations, and to cultivate them to become "eligible successors of Socialism with Chinese characteristics (中国特色社会主义的合格接班人)". According to Jin, he realized that many children he was in contact with during working in the committee, have never heard about the heroes from this region or their stories in the anti-Japanese war. He also found out that many monuments were in poor condition. Since Wangqing County is one of the nationally designated poverty counties and the county government did not have sufficient budget for investing on the monuments, Jin visited numerous organizations

and enterprises to raise funding. From 2005 to 2015, he helped to build 77 monuments in the county. Besides building monuments, he also published several books to retell the stories of those anti-Japan heroes and the Second World War in the region.[48] His work also contributed to draw attention from the local governments to the monuments. In 2009, Wangqing county government invested more than one million on the country cemetery and invited Jin to be the general counsel of the project. He also wrote the inscriptions for all monuments.[49]

Jin Chunbian, the retired party member who raised more than 10 million Chinese Yuan in ten years for monuments, was a county leader in the state system. He used to be the director or the County Bureau of Culture (县文化局局长), the head of the County Organizational Department (县委组织部部长), the deputy director of Wangqing County People's Congress (县委副书记) and the deputy director of the standing committee of the county people's congress (县人大常委会副主任). After his retirement, he made a lot of efforts to both maintain the monuments and their representation of revolutionary memories, which successfully drew attention from local governments and regained him a position in government projects later. He also received many rewards from the provincial, prefecture and county governments afterwards because of his contribution on reviving revolutionary narratives.

[48] The news article in Chinese, www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2015-08/23/c_1116342275.htm, retrieved 5 Aug 2018.
[49] The news article in Chinese, www.xinhuanet.com/mil/2015-09/28/c_128264237.htm, retrieved 5 Aug 2018.

Monuments and revolutionary history in national education

Another way to institutionalize the revolutionary narratives is through national education. Paying tribute to revolutionary martyrs at the heritage sites is an event that is encouraged by public schools in China. This activity has been combined with a traditional festival nationwide. Qingming Festival, also known as Tomb-Sweeping Day, is supposed to be a family gathering day to visit and clean the tombs of ancestors as well as to pay tribute to them. It falls on the first day of the fifth solar term of the traditional Chinese lunisolar calendar. Therefore, it is usually on 5th April. Qingming Festival used to be a folk festival and people usually go to visit graves of ancestors and pay tribute in the weekend before the actual day of the festival. In 2007, it became a public holiday in China.

In contemporary China, honoring revolutionary martyrs is encouraged to become a part of the traditional festival by various state institutions. Revolutionary martyrs have been promoted by the state and have been narrated and honored as ancestors of all Chinese nationals since their sacrifice is described as an important part of the foundation of the new country. At most elementary and middle schools in China, the schools organize one day field trip outside of the school each semester. A common arrangement of the trip in the spring semester is to visit facilities honoring revolutionary martyrs. Many of those trips have been organized around Qingming Festival.

Besides school-organized trips, students are also encouraged to worship martyrs during Qingming. On the Internet, many model weekly diaries written by pupils can be found about visiting facilities of revolutionary martyrs with their parents and grandparents in Qingming

Festival. Some schools also issue a "Student Social Practice Passport (学生社会实践护照)"[50] or a "Red Passport (红色护照)" to every student to visit "National Demonstration Bases for Patriotism Education (爱国主义教育基地)" facilities, which is mostly made up by sites honoring revolutionary martyrs, with free entrance for those passport holders and the adults accompanying the minors on the trip. Upon entry, students get a stamp on the "passport". Some schools require students to collect a certain amount of stamps as one of the requirements for graduation. Such activities have also encouraged by the schools at Maizefield Town. Based on oral accounts of participants of one school event during Qingming and the visual records taken onsite, I have reconstructed the school organized ceremony in memorial revolutionary martyrs in Maizefield Town:

Figure 14: Joining the Young Pioneers in front of Maizefield town monument

In early April in 2017, the Ethnic Joint Schools in Maizefield Town organized a half day field trip to the monument of revolutionary martyrs in the town. The stone monument is about 10 meters tall, 5m wide and 5.5m long and is surrounded by stone fences. The whole facility takes up about 170 square meters. On the front side of the stone is a red star on top and the

[50] For more details please refer to the news in Chinese: http://www.sohu.com/a/149069649_99903657; http://www.jfdaily.com/news/detail?id=54781, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.

inscription "Monument of Revolutionary Martyrs". Under the big vertical writing, a horizontally placed rectangle contains more than one hundred names. On an official record I found in the city government, it indicates that the monument honors revolutionary martyrs from four villages in Maizefield Town.

After taking school shuttle buses to the monument, some pupils were wearing red scarves (红领巾), clenching their fists and taking an oath in front of the monument to join the Young Pioneers (少年先锋队), which is an common organization for children operated by communist parties in many countries.[51] *During the ceremony, two students presented a circled with colorful flowers made of paper. On the center of the wreath is the Chinese character 奠, which means libation. Two white banners were on top of the wreath (花圈). One says "revolutionary martyrs are immortal (革命烈士永垂不朽)" and the other one is the inscriber the town schools.*

Figure 15: Pupils presenting wreath to the town monument

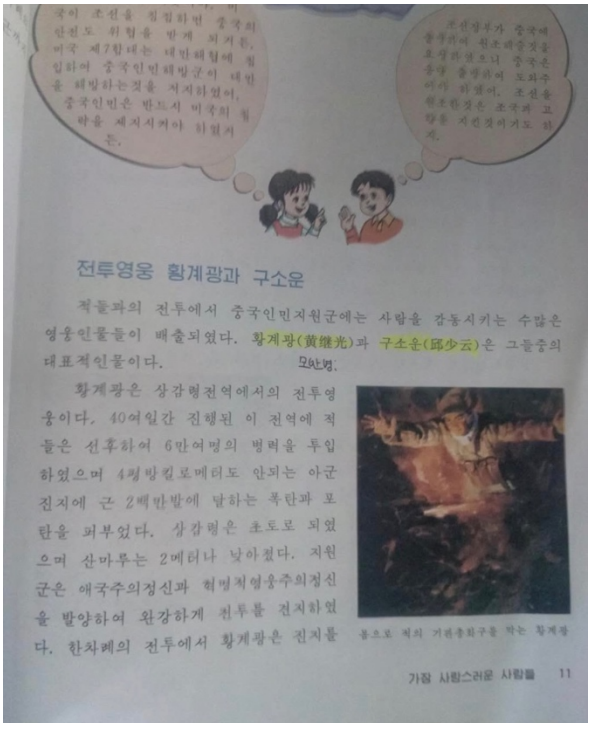
This account of a school field trip to pay tribute to the martyrs is a typical event organized by public schools annually during Qingming Festival. Instead of separately honouring the

[51] In normal cases in China, most pupils become a young pioneer at elementary school. Since under most circumstances, getting top scores in class and actively participating in school activities and services lead to greater opportunities to join the organization earlier than other classmates, in junior grades of elementary schools joining the young pioneers usually leads to these pupils being viewed as model students. After turning fourteen, the young pioneers who are evaluated as model students, which are usually measured by their school exam performance, have opportunities to join the Communist Youth League (共产主义青年团), which is another organization for adolescents led by the communist party.

ancestors of each family, the education institutions embedded revolutionary narratives in local customs, and the rituals held in front of the monuments created a new form of ancestors – the heroes that sacrificed their life during past armed conflicts. The rituals encouraged school students to be grateful to the martyrs by establishing a narrative that views the present as contingent on their past sacrifice. This contingency is visible in the promotions of slogans such as "without the blood sacrifice of the revolutionary martyrs, we won't live today's happy life".[52] By honouring the martyrs together, the school kids, regardless of ethnic identification, are assigned a new inclusive membership category – "the descendants of revolutionary martyrs (革命烈士的后代)".

Besides the annual ceremony at the monument, other forms of school activities exist to encourage students to learn revolutionary narratives, including poetry recitation contests and blackboard drawings related to the topic of honoring martyrs. The legacies of revolutionary martyrs also appear in school textbooks. One example can be found in the middle school textbook of Chinese History (중국력사) for ethnic minority Korean students that is collaboratively edited by People's Education Press, a publishing house under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, and Yanbian

Figure 16: Yanbian middle school textbook



[52] The original text in Chinese: "没有烈士们洒下的鲜血，就没有我们今天的幸福生活。"

Education Press. Two national martyrs Huang Ji-Guang (황계광) and Qiu Shao-Yun (구소운) who died in the Korean War are mentioned in the textbook. It described how Huang hurled himself in front of a machine gun and used his own body to blocked enemy fire, which gained his comrades time to advance and occupy a strategically important position. Qiu Shao-Yun appears as part of a similar heroic story. His uniform was set on fire by a bomb when his squad was ambushed. To avoid exposing his comrades, he stood still and did not scream while he died in the blaze. Huang and Qiu's heroic stories are available in textbooks in both Chinese and other languages of ethnic minorities. Every citizen who has received middle school education in China is required to read these stories.

Besides public schools and state-owned publishers, the Yanbian military division also takes part in national education. It hosts various events that invite students to a military camp where they engage in military training. For instance, according to a report[53] on the newspaper *China National Defense*, during the summer holiday of 2004, twenty-six pupils and middle school students were selected across Yanbian to experience the life of borderland soldiers. During the training, students received patriotic education at monument facilities, were showed pictures of revolutions and martyrs as well as taught stories about the martyrs.

Regulation and proliferation of revolutionary narratives

Revolutionary narratives are on one hand regulated and restricted by the government and, on the other hand, their proliferation is promoted and facilitated. In 2017, the 5th session of the

[53] The news in Chinese: http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2004-08-02/07403265193s.shtml, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.

12th National People's Congress (第十二届全国人民代表大会第五次会议) added the 185th order to *General Provisions of the Civil Law of the PRC* (中华人民共和国民法总则): "Anyone who harms the name, portrait, reputation, or honor of heroes and martyrs, insofar as it hurts the public interest, will bear civil liability."[54] Imposing this kind of regulations and legal restrictions related to revolutionary narratives can be seen as a reaction towards debates on online media that were critical of textbook stories related to martyrs and other representations of national heroes. For example, related to the story of Huang Ji-Guang, internet users wrote that it is impossible a human body would be able to block machine gun fire because the bullets would push a person away. Some posts also questioned whether a person could burn to death without making any noise. Such posts let to heated debates on Chinese forums and upset other Internet users, particularly the older generations who participated in the Korean War. Some users accused the young doubters of lacking "revolutionary spirits (革命精神)", saying they are not able to imagine the determination of real soldiers.

The government also actively promotes the proliferation of revolutionary narratives. For instance, in early 2018, another news story emerged that reported how frontier guards in the borderland visited monuments of revolutionary martyrs in the villages on their patrol routes, and talked to the villagers about the monuments and their knowledge of the local revolutionary history.[55]

[54] The regulation in Chinese: http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/china-first-step-towards-adoption-of-a-new-civil-code/, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.
[55]The news in Chinese: http://www.legaldaily.com.cn/police_and_frontier-defence/content/2018-01/19/content_7452458.htm?node=42660, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.

The state also encourages non-governmental organizations and individuals to take part in the proliferation. The stories of revolutions and wars appear not only in school history textbooks, but also in other kinds of non-government publications that are considered important written materials of local history. For instance, a large part of the *Yanbian Historical Accounts of Past Events* (延边文史资料) edited by the local Political Consultative Conference is about revolutions and wars, particularly praise the contribution that the ethnic minority Koreans made and their firm loyalty to the communist party and the Chinese nation. Local scholars also actively write "the glorious history" of how ethnic Koreans firmly supporting the leaders of the Chinese communist party during the pre-1949 revolutions and wars (Kim 2016: 128). Some local scholars told me that they have higher chances to obtain state research funding and that it is easier to get published if they conduct projects on anti-Japan war history. An informant told me that this is particularly true when the Sino-Japanese relations are frosty, but when the two states were getting along well, such projects seemed to have not received much attention from state funding and that no journals were interested in publishing these studies.

In summary, it can be observed the state is utilizing various legal, educational and financial measures to both regulate and promote revolutionary narratives. Furthermore, it is also important to emphasize that various extra-governmental actors may voluntarily become involved in these measures and they, at times, even utilize such narratives in ways that are not aligned with the intentions of the government or to pursue their own goals and needs. Moving away from the top-down perspective, the next section will explore how ordinary rural Yanbian residents perceive the monuments and the narratives they are intended to represent.

The Monument in Everyday Life of Brookside Villagers

After I had a closer look at the monument in Brookside village during the first week of fieldwork, I got interested in what role the monument plays in the everyday life of villagers. What is the monument for? Who are the people whose names are written on the monument, and what do the villagers know about them? The following ethnographic vignettes present discussions about the village monument between me and several Brookside villagers.

Song Hei-Ran 's house is not far from the hill where the monument of revolutionary martyrs is located. It was one day in late autumn 2016, we were squatting in her garden and I was helping her to clean dry chili on the concrete floor, which she had just harvested from her front yard. It was the first few weeks I entered the village and I showed a great interest in everything I saw.

Figure 17: Drying vegetables and chilli in late autumn

When I saw the towering stone, I have learnt from my previous fieldwork experiences that never assume anything to be anything based on the knowledge of a researcher. Although I went up to the hill before and saw the inscription "Monument of Revolutionary Martyrs", I still wanted to explore if local residents have other understandings of the stone, so I pointed at the stone and asked Song Hei-Ran:

"What is it?"

She looked up to the hill and said: "A stone for memorials."

"What is it a memorial for?" I kept asking.

She thought for a while and didn't answered until she flipped over a couple more chilis: "Maybe the Japanese..... you know the Japanese were here, right? There was a fight. Many people died. So maybe it's for this."

Figure 18: Brookside monument

In the evening, An Yun, a neighbour, stopped by and delivered some fresh eggs her hens just laid. She was raising chicken in her front yard, whereas Hei-Ran only had a variety of plants in her front yard. An Yun regularly brought fresh eggs to Hei-Ran in exchange for different kinds of vegetables. Hei-Ran took the eggs and invited An Yun to stay for a little chat. Hei-Ran told An Yun: "The student asked me about the stone. You went to school so maybe you know more." An Yun was living in the city most of her life and moved into the village after her retirement about ten

years ago. Since she has the highest educational degree, could speak fluent Mandarin Chinese and was traveling a lot across China for business when she was young, Hei-Ran and her friends tend to seek for her suggestions. Many villagers did not read or speak Chinese and many of them explained the lack of Chinese proficiency with their poor family background. They didn't have an opportunity to go to school. However, An Yun shook her head and said she had no idea since she did not grow up in this village.

In the coming weeks, I was waiting for people to mention the monument in daily conversation, but it never happened. I began asking different people I met in the village about the monument by pointing at the stone from a far distance. I got different answers: to memorize the martyrs who died in the anti-Japan war (항일 전쟁, 抗日战争), the Korean war (조선 전쟁, 抗美援朝) or the Chinese Civil war (해방전쟁, 国共内战). Depending on the language in which the conversations took place, the terms for past conflicts sometimes also vary significantly. For example, the term Korean War "조선 전쟁" (literally Choson War) is commonly used in Korean, whereas in Chinese the term the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea (抗美援朝) is commonly used to describe this conflict. The different terms possibly indicate that this historical event is characterized quite differently in Chinese and Korean discourses. For instance, some Korean-speaking informants have mentioned to me that the Korean War is a historical event related to grievance and pain for them. A male informant from Yanbian once expressed his sorrow to me. He told me that every time he watches a movie about the Korean War, he feels deeply distressed: "This is a war that has torn apart my motherland. It tore apart our Korean ethnic group (조선민족)." He also said that he wished Chinese movies on the subjects would reflect

more on the terrible consequences of wars rather than only focusing on praising how brave the national army was. Another villager told me that the village monument stone was built for all the heroes who died here, no matter in which war.

"Do you recognize any name on the stone?" was usually my second question. "What? There are names? I didn't notice. I don't think I have heard about the names." The answers I got from different villagers are consistent on this matter. It occurred to me that most of the villagers didn't know what was written on the monument. In fact, during my stay, I found no evidence that shows that the monument is frequently visited by the villagers.

Figure 19: Old Brookside monument

Later I found the prefecture government record of the old monument with inscription in Korean. I took a picture of the record, and presented the picture during a village gathering. After having a look at the old monument, most of them said: "Right! Right! There was a stone like this, but it's gone now."

"When did it disappear?" I asked the crowd surrounding the person who held my phone. "It must be a long time ago." One of them answered and the others nodded. Still, nobody recalled any name on the monument.

An afternoon in May 2017, Hei-Ran invited me to watch a video recording of her sixtieth birthday in 2006.[56] *I almost screamed when I saw the monument in the background of her house on television: it was the old monument, with inscriptions written in Korean. It also looked much smaller than the current one. This meant that the old monument was rebuilt quite recently, after 2006. It also meant that the language of the inscriptions on the monument had changed from Korean to Chinese after it was rebuilt.*

Figure 20: Hwangap birthday ritual, son carrying mother on his back from home to the car

A range of different understandings of the monuments by the Brookside villagers were revealed in the ethnographic vignettes. Local narratives related to the monument collected during my fieldwork show different interpretations of the national symbol. According to the Cam City Department of Civil Affairs records, most of the monuments in Yanbian were built for commemorating the Korean War, but few villagers knew that this was the "official" use of the monument.

[56] The 60th birthday, called *hwangap* in Korean or *huajia* in Chinese, is a traditional way of celebrating the accomplishment of a cycle of the lunar calendar. Having a big celebration for the 60th birthday is a common practice in the region.

Although the village monument did not seem to play a significant role in the everyday life of Brookside villagers, revolutionary narratives more generally appeared on different occasions, festivals and ceremonies, and were embraced by the villagers under certain circumstances. For instance, on the International Women's Day in 2017, female villagers were invited to dance at a county celebration event. A couple of days before the performance, An Yun's husband went to Yanji city and borrowed several sets of costumes of *the Red Detachment of Women* (红色娘子军) from his acquaintance who used to work for an art troupe.[57] One set of the costumes includes a light blue cap, middle sleeve shirt and pair of long trousers. There is a red star on the cap like the red star on top of the village monument. On 8 March, eleven ladies wore the costumes and went to perform in the county event. They did not perform the original ballet dance or any plots of the play storyline, rather, they wore the costumes to perform an ethnic Korean dance.

On another occasion, a performance where people were wearing Korean traditional costumes and performed communist-style shows took place in the center of another city in Yanbian in October 2016. Local retired residents formed a dance group and were invited to perform in the city center. Most of the program was traditional Korean dances or songs. According to my observations, many of the largely Han Chinese audience (who mostly did not understand Korean) probably perceived this show as a performance of ethnic Korean culture. However, most of the Korean songs at the event were actually praising the Chinese nation or the Communist Party, and

[57] *The Red Detachment of Women* is a Chinese ballet major dance, which was particularly popular on the national stage during the Cultural Revolution. The ballet depicts the legacy of a female troop in the communist revolution. It premiered in 1964 and was part of the entertainment program to welcome the former U.S. president Richard Nixon to China in 1972.

many of these songs were communist classics with a familiar melody that also have Chinese lyrics. For instance, one song was a duet titled *Benevolence of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao* (공산당과 모주석의 은덕일세). A male and female singer were wearing *hanbok* and singing in Korean, but the lyrics were about their gratitude to the communist party and the first chairman of the People's Republic of China. I found this performance surprising, because this was the first time I heard a song written in Korean about the Chinese Communist Party. The jovial atmosphere at the event made me realize that apart from the language barrier, the Korean and Chinese speakers were both enjoying this song, and many probably were able to guess what the song was about due to the familiar melodies.

Figure 21: Dancing performance in Yanbian

In Brookside, similar Korean songs appeared at different moments in the everyday life of villagers. For instance, several times when I entered a house, the family was leaving the TV on and these songs were played on local channels. A small part of the villagers also listened to radio and the local music station played these songs. Once I observed the villagers gathering in the Elderly's Association, a place where the elderly often come together in the village, they sang revolutionary songs on Karaoke. Generally speaking, I observed that the older generations were more interested in this type of songs, whereas the younger generations usually consumed South Korean music. I am curious to know what music the villagers will be listening to in the years to come, for now, however, it can be said that the revolutionary songs still dominated the public space in the village. Throughout my stay in Brookside, I heard villagers performing these songs every now and again.

Discussion: The Brookside Monument as Affordances

The main questions this chapter is aiming to address are what the village monument represents, what actors were involved in meaning-making of the object, whether the villagers were part of the actors, who the other actors are and to what extend the meanings they created were received, accepted or rejected by the borderland villagers, when the monument occurred as part of their activities. As a fieldworker, I tried to seek for the answers without imposing a hypothesis, but rather by letting findings emerged out of the field by interacting with local residents. In the second step, I also combined these observations with archival records gathered from local government branches.

Monuments of revolutionary martyrs and the narratives they represented in Yanbian are simultaneously part of and play different roles in various local lifeworlds. In the previous section, I have presented different actors involved in the process of proliferating revolutionary narratives and different uses of the stone to achieve different agenda. Drawing on what Brubaker et al. (2006: 13) have described as: "Nationhood and nationalism, wrote Eric Hobsbawm, are 'dual phenomena': they are 'constructed essentially from above', yet they 'cannot be understood unless also analysed from below, that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people.'" Departing from this insight, this section explores the roles and practices related to the monument from different perspectives. The top-down perspective is concerned with oral accounts of government officials and archival records. The bottom-up perspective mainly focuses on ordinary residents in rural Yanbian. The discussion also explores the dynamics between the actors from above and from below, and outlines actors who are oscillating between two and conveying messages both from above to below and from below to above, such as officials at the city level government, borderland frontier soldiers, non-government organizations, and other local elites like historians specialized in writing local history, or those who Brubaker called "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs" (2002: 166).

Actors from above using the stone

To understand why and how revolutionary sites have drawn attention from the administration, we need to first look into what role revolutionary narratives serve in nation-building, particularly in relation to ethnic minorities in the borderland regions. The previous

section *Revolutionary Narratives and Emerging Inclusive Membership Categories* showed that since the Chinese Communist Party was still the opposition party in the 1920s, revolutionary narratives were used as a discursive construct.[58] In the periphery of the country, the party was using the category of "participants in revolutionary struggles" and it was designed to embrace people who were identified as different ethnicities or nationalities. For instance, in Yanbian, the party talked about conflicts between different social categories and described two opposing sites as the proletariat and the oppressors. However, the oral account of Liu Jianzhang, the first secretary of the Hunchun county committee in Yanbian, also revealed that conflicts were largely ethnically framed in local society at that time, particularly as conflicts between Koreans and Han Chinese. Therefore, using the revolutionary related discursive construct and emphasising the conflicts between different social classes could also be seen as an attempt to reinterpret conflicts drawing on the concept of class struggles and to divert the attention on the tensions interpreted as between ethnic divisions. The discursive construct based on revolutionary narratives and social categories popularized during that time are still significant today and has been institutionalized by state organizations at different administrative levels. More and more non-government organizations and individuals took part in these political projects.

After the party came to power in 1949, one of the central concerns in nation-building of a new China led by the Communist Party was how to transform people with different ethnic identifications into one national group. The national group-making aimed at transforming a

[58] Drawing on Fox and Miller-Idriss (2008) and Calhoun (1997), a discursive construct refers to the view that "nations are constituted largely by [these] claims themselves, by the way of talking and thinking and acting that relies on these sorts of claims to produce collective identity, to mobilize people for collective projects, and to evaluate peoples and practices" (Calhoun 1997:5).

Chinese national category into a Chinese national group or increasing levels of Chinese national groupness (Bourdieu 1991; Brubaker 2002: 170-171). Building revolutionary monuments across the country and using them to proliferate the discursive construct based on revolutionary narratives can be seen as one of the political project in national group-making. Various state organizations took part in building and maintaining the monuments and the institutionalization of the discursive construct.

Figure 22: Overview of different top-down actors related to the monument

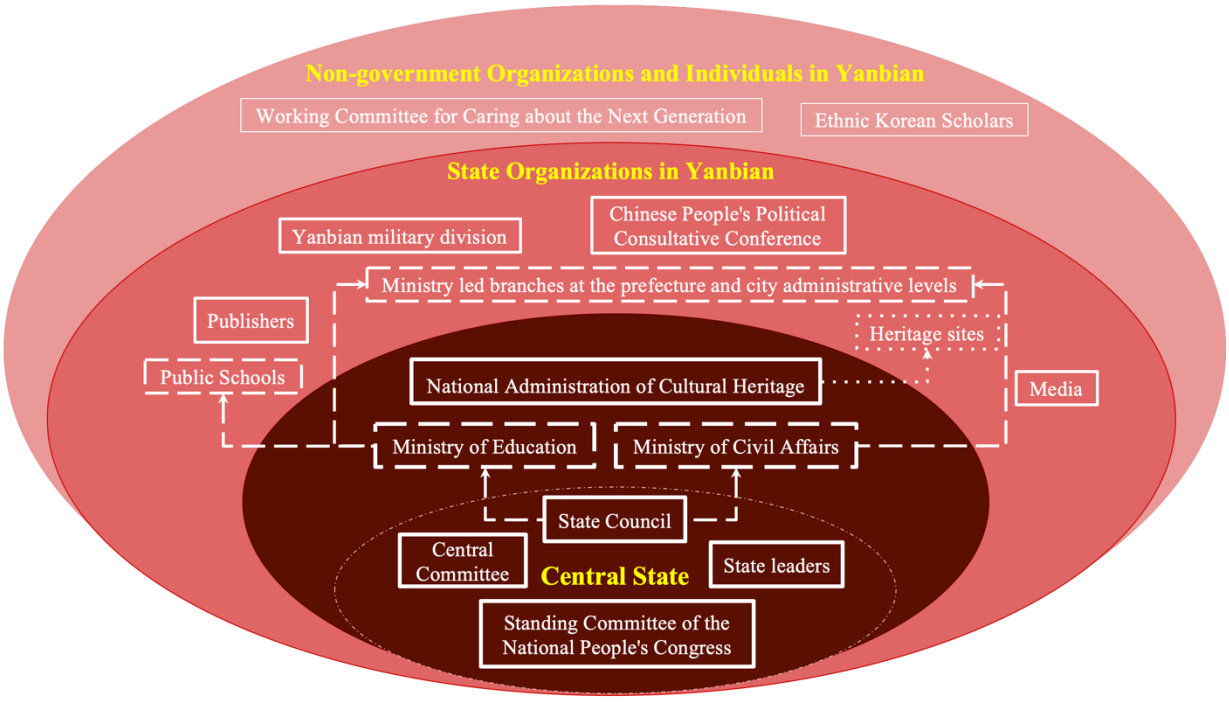


Figure 22 presents some of the actors involved in these political projects in details – as part of these processes, different actors from above can be viewed as several layers of governmental

organizations with the central state at the center, and the ethnic minority autonomous prefecture government directly related to it at the relative periphery. Apart from the different layers of government organizations, several other actors exists that are not strictly part of the government, but under certain circumstances contributed to proliferate the revolutionary narratives (see Figure 22 outer ring). These non-governmental organizations or individuals in Yanbian include some ethnic Korean historians, the Working Committee for Caring about the Next Generation and Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Some of the actors listed in Figure 22 also had direct contacts with the so-called ordinary borderland residents.

Various actors used the monuments to do things. The enormous stones built across the country could be perceived as building what Gibson (1966; 1986) described as affordances – object possibilities for action – all over the young nation. Different stone monuments have different affordances for manipulation. Different actors "use" the monument differently – each to achieve different goals. Some affordances are "designed", others emerge in the process.

The stone monuments provide a possibility for hosting rituals to memorize the revolutionary past, which can be seen as the discursive construct of the national mythology. For instance, both the state leaders paying tribute in Tian'anmen Square on the national Memorial Day and the school trip to the town monument during Qingming described in the previous section of *Institutionalizing the Revolutionary Narratives* were examples of the continuous usage of the category "revolutionary participants" and the further construction of "descendants of revolutionary martyrs" to embrace younger generations in the country. Instead of creating ethno-national mythology based on immemorial history in many European countries (Ben-Amos 1993; Čolović

2002; Nora and Kritzman 1996), the monuments in China were built to memorize more recent events, particularly the revolutions and wars that were decisive in the establishment of the People's Republic of China. As Rigney (2018) pointed out: "Being based on the shared ancestry of a particular group and by definition already constituted in the past, it cannot be extended to newcomers". Instead of honouring the ancestors based on ethnogenesis of Chinese, which was mostly Han Chinese-centric mythology, the Communist Party created a new form of ancestry – revolutionary martyrs.

In ethnic minority regions, such as in Yanbian, revolutionary narratives represented by the monuments across the prefecture can be seen as a mean to construct a category that aims to include all residents regardless of their ethnic identifications. Instead of emphasizing ethnohistory, it endorses revolutionary mythology as the shared past that defines the present and the future of the borderland residents. Rituals organized at the monument facilities further imposed these categories on the participants, which can be also seen as displaying symbolic power of modern states (Bourdieu 1977). Paying tribute to revolutionary martyrs during Qingming Festival and other occasions in front of those tall stone monuments made the school teachers, students, frontier guards and other ritual participants experience what Durkheim described: "by shouting the same cry, saying the same words, performing the same action in regard to the same object that they arrive at and experience agreement" (1995[1912]: 231–2).

Besides the possibilities of hosting rituals, the monuments also afford possible interaction between different actors from state institutions and ordinary borderland residents. In the case of the village monuments in Yanbian, the oral account of the city government officials showed that

the monument afforded the communication between officials in the city government, village mayors and villagers. The monument provides a possibility to the officials to become a link between the above and below. While the officials had direct contacts with the villages, they could be seen as representing the government, promoting monuments and proliferating revolutionary narratives; also, they knew the situations in these villages and reported back to the government. Another example mentioned in the previous section were the frontier soldiers visiting village monuments and asked villagers about local revolutionary history, which can also be seen as an action of making the state and the monument stones visible in these villages as well as encouraging the villagers to be more familiar with the revolutionary frame.

Even the revolutionary categories were "initially remote from prevailing self-understandings, they may be taken up by cultural and political entrepreneurs and eventually reshape lines of identification" (Brubaker 2004: 34). Although the monuments were built by the state with designed meanings, the form of monuments also affords other possible actions initiated by other actors. Many local elites helped to establish the discursive construct centered on the stone monuments and the revolutionary martyrs. The narratives of armed struggles and the collaboration between Han Chinese and ethnic Koreans in the revolutions and wars were not only advocated by state institutions, but later also have been adopted and promoted by some ethnic Koreans, particularly scholars and intellectuals who in this case act as what Brubaker (2002: 166) called "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs". Ethnic Koreans and Han Chinese fighting side by side did not only appear in the early documents as a mere propaganda, the stories of collaboration were rewritten repeatedly in historiographies, particularly by some ethnic minority Korean scholars. The roles of

ethnic Koreans in anti-Japan struggles in the second world war, their loyalty towards the communist party during the Chinese Civil War and their joint contribution to the establishment of the People's Republic of China have been lively retold in plentiful publications after 1949 and ultimately became an important part of the official narratives of nation-building. However, although local elites adopted the revolutionary frame to advocate the inclusion of ethnic Koreans in the national category, in many cases they chose a particular part of historical events to remember, which sometimes could be different from the state-initiated narratives. For instance, according to the city government officials, most of the Yanbian monuments were designed to memorize the Korean War, but the recent large scale of building monuments initiated by the retired party member Jin Chunbian were intended to remind people of the anti-Japan War. As the protagonists of promoting revolutionary narratives and national conflicts, most of the individuals like Jin Chunbian and other ethnic Korean historians repeatedly advocated a sentiment related to anti-Japan struggles rather than the Korean War. China-Japan conflicts were chosen to be remembered, while the struggles between the nations during the Korean War – China and North Korea on one side, the US and South Korea on the other side – were left out from the narratives. As Whitmeyer (2002) said, "elites create the means for its expression, and take advantage of that expression". What can be observed in the case of the Yanbian monuments is that the monument played a role in the proliferation of different revolutionary narratives by different actors. The state organizations designed the monuments to remember the Korean War, but other actors utilized them to memorize anti-Japan struggles. The state created the means for its revolutionary expression, but what happens in the end, the ethnic Korean elites may or may not take advantage of this state-initiated expression.

From above, what can be observed is that the stone objects across Yanbian as affordances provided the possibilities of different actions. As I have shown, top-down forces are not a coherent or consistent entity, rather, various actors within or closely related to the state organizations sometimes may utilize the monuments to proliferate different revolutionary frames. Furthermore, we cannot properly appreciate the variable meaning and saliences of these stone objects in the nation-building project by only studying from "above" – its state-sponsored discursive constructs or elite manipulation (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 554). It is equally important to identify other actors from "below": "For the frontierpeople […], official history is only one among various available vernacular historicities whose sources may include distinct senses of time – influenced by temporally distended migrations to the frontier – or life beyond official history, for example before a revolution at the political centre has reached the frontier, or before a frontier invasion has affected the history-producing centre" (Pulford 2017).

The use of the monument and revolutionary frames from below

The government paid for the monuments and rebuilt them and the state was one of the leading actors in the project, but if "nationalism is the project to make the political unit, the state (or polity) congruent with the cultural unit, the nation. […] The targets of these endeavours are the people themselves: to make the nation is to make people national" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 536-537). The stone object has to be related to the accomplishment of congruence. To study the role of the stone in nation-building, it is necessary to go beyond perceiving it as "simply the product

of macro-structural forces", but to study "the practical accomplishment of ordinary people" engaging (or excluding) the stones in routine activities.

Related to the theme of this study, nationalism and ethnicity, I am specifically interested in observing the emergence of the stone objects and revolutionary narratives in the practical accomplishment of rural Yanbian ordinary residents engaging in routine activities, i.e. everyday life in Brookside Village. How, then, does this five-meters-high stone become related to the nation? To explore this question, I have been doing the following:

1. I explore when and where the monuments were mentioned and what discursive constructs emerged with them. What I have found and presented in previous sections is that revolutionary categories are assigned to the monuments, but do the villagers legitimate, reject or appropriate these categories?

2. I have been observing the emergence of revolutionary sentiments that were performed and produced as part of social events. "What is the revolution" becomes "when is the revolution" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008). When and how the monument came to matter in certain moments for different people? When do they perform "revolutionaryness" with cultural, ethnic and national traits?

When is the monument?

The previous section *The Monument in Everyday Life of Brookside Villagers* mainly showed two perceptions of the villagers – firstly, the Brookside monument was not a frequently visited site by the villagers in their everyday life; secondly, different villagers had a range of different interpretations and a lot of them were quite far away from the meanings assigned by the

prefecture government. Several factors may have contributed to these perceptions, such as lack of rituals hosted at the monument facility, language barrier, different understandings of the Korean War and the concept of ancestor that is based on kinship was still prevailing in the village.

Different from monuments at town level, such as the Maizefield Town monument where town schools conducted "patriotic education (爱国主义教育)" and Qingming rituals, village monuments were seldomly selected as a space where state organizations host ceremonies. Grand government events were usually hosted at the city level cemeteries. Town schools usually pick monuments near the town center to host Qingming related rituals. Such ceremonies have "the power to charge the monument with a special meaning" (Ben-Amos 1993). The lack of rituals at the Brookside monument can be seen as a lack of special meanings assigned by the state. But there is more.

The recent actions taken by the prefecture and city governments related to the village monuments were the repairing and rebuilding project. The archival record documented in the 1980s showed a range of different shapes, sizes and designs of monuments across Yanbian, and a lot of them had inscriptions in Korean. After the project of rebuilding monuments across the prefecture in 2013, the monuments in Yanbian were standardized in terms of design and inscription language. For instance, the Brookside monument had Chinese inscription, and the ethnographic vignettes showed that senior villagers had difficulties with reading the content. The standardization of village monuments may have accidently distanced the national symbols from the villagers because of the language barrier. Many of them were not aware of the names inscribed on the stone

showed that they either did not pay much attention to the stone or they could not understand the meaning of the inscriptions.

However, what can be observed here differs from what Brubaker observed in Transylvania, "one cannot be socially recognized as Hungarian without speaking Hungarian" (Brubaker et al. 2006: 239). Speaking only Korean did not hinder the villagers to claim membership of the Chinese National category. Rather, many of them interpreted it as lack of education. For instance, many villagers have mentioned that because of their poor family background, they couldn't even finish elementary school. While encountering other villagers who could speak a certain degree of Mandarin Chinese, people who did not speak the language usually attributed the ability to their educational degree. The changing inscription of the village monument from Korean to Chinese did not draw much attention from the villagers, which may indicate that they were used to live in an environment full of Chinese characters that they did not read. Furthermore, the villagers commonly refer to Mandarin Chinese as *hanjokmal* (*ethnic Han language,* 한족말) rather than *Putonghua* (普通话, standard Chinese). The latter is a more usual way to describe Mandarin Chinese in other parts of China, particularly in non-ethnic minority regions. Framing Mandarin Chinese in ethnic terms can be seen as evidence that the villagers did not attribute national membership category to the particular language. Rather, they framed Mandarin as a language spoken by ethnic Han. This indicates that, instead of dealing with the issue of not speaking the national language, they commonly framed their lack of proficiency in Mandarin as not being able to speak the language of another ethnic group in the same country.

Although the lack of Chinese proficiency did not hinder the villagers to claim membership under the national Chinese category, speaking another language rather than the national language usually triggered another question based on linguistic ideology (Irvine and Gal 2009). One possible reason that the state sponsored narrative of the Korean War represented by the village monument was not commonly adopted by the villagers is that different discursive constructs related to the particular historical event were created by the Chinese, North Korean and South Korean states.[59] The villagers were able to access three state-sponsored narratives because of language and geographical convenience, and these narratives related to the Korean War considerably vary across the three countries.

Brookside villagers living within 10km from the North Korean-Chinese border had relatively frequent interactions with North Koreans compare to the rest of the country. In recent years, many of them travelled back and forth between South Korea and Yanbian for job opportunities (details will be given in Chapter 6). Many also have relatives in both Koreas and they commonly perceive the Korean Peninsula as the place of their ancestral origin. Frequent cross-border interaction, transnational ties and life experiences in different countries provided a much richer understanding and complicated sentiment toward the Korean War. Villagers also had unauthorized mean to access live TV shows from South Korea. Due to these geographical and linguistic factors, Brookside villagers had access to contradictory historical narratives sponsored by the three states.

[59] In contrast to more or less aligned narratives of the past on historical textbooks in European countries after pan-European organizations such as the European Union's decades-long effort in rewriting history to accommodate a European standpoint, countries in Northeast Asia have yet to agree on broadly consistent historical narratives.

Besides state-sponsored narratives, families play a critical role in mnemonic socialization because it is "the very first thought community in which we learn to interpret our own experience" (Zerubavel 1996:286). On one hand, the villagers according to the state-sponsored narratives are the descendants of revolutionary martyrs who sacrificed their lives to the independence and establishment of the new political regimes of both China and North Korea; on the other hand, there are families related to them in a primordial sense of blood ties on both North Korea and South Korea, and the oral accounts showed that the Korean War is probably a painful memory to many borderland Korean-speaking residents. However, in the narratives sponsored by the Chinese state, the particular war was remembered as a success because China did not lose to foreign powers including the US. However, the ethnic frame appears to prevail among borderland Korean-speaking residents. Talking about this particular event, a popular description is: "this is a war that has torn apart my motherland. It tore apart our Korean ethnic group".

Two things are noteworthy here. The misalignment between the understandings of the villagers and the state-sponsored narratives was revealed by the discrepancy regarding how the Korean War should be narrated. Secondly, a relatively low acceptance of the social category "revolutionary martyrs as commonly honoured ancestors of all people in contemporary China" has been observed among Brookside villagers. The oral accounts showed that some villagers thought that if no family ancestors were honoured by the village stone monument, they didn't need to go there, which means that they may not embrace the narrative that "the heroes who sacrificed their life to the establishment of the new China are the common ancestors of all Chinese people". The village monument has not been actively incorporated into village Qingming rituals. Most of the

villagers still only visited their ancestors' graves during Qingming. Furthermore, the stories of the martyrs have seldom mentioned in daily conversation according to my observation. The village kids were more familiar with the revolutionary narratives presented on textbooks and promoted by other school activities, but they did not show better understanding of the village monument that is located just outside their home.

When is the revolutionary frame?

The stone seems deserted because it is positioned at the edge of the residential area, and during my stay, I observed that Brookside villagers did not frequently visit the stone. The villagers also might not talk about the monuments much, but does it really mean it is insignificant? The neglect of the stone in everyday life is not the full story, because "most of the time, the nation is not something ordinary people talk *about*; rather, it's something they talk *with"* (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 540). They might not talk about the stone, but as explicated in the ethnographic vignettes, the revolutionary frames represented by the monument appeared in talk. Therefore, the neglect of the state-sponsored meaning of the monument does not equate to the failure of proliferating revolutionary narratives, rather, even though most of the villagers could not accurately articulate the particular historical event – the Korean War – the state assigned to the monument, they still used revolutionary frames to explain the stone. They did not actively talk about the stone, but when they were asked about it and felt they had to provide an explanation of the stone object, they immediately adopted discursive constructs related to revolutionary narratives.

The villagers also did not show much concern about the assertion of such a big object in their everyday life space, even though many of them did not understand the inscriptions. One possible explanation is that the linguistic ideology of Yanbian Korean was constantly reshaped to align with the state (Irvine and Gal 2009). To overcome linguistic barriers caused by the lack of Chinese proficiency, as discussed earlier in this chapter, many local elites have adopted the Chinese state narrative and reproduce it in numerous publications, arts and other forms of products in both Mandarin Chinese and Korean. Furthermore, the Communist revolutionary narratives are also common in the North Korean discourse, and the anti-Japan sentiment related to the Second World War is also popular in both North and South Korea. The Chinese state-sponsored narratives were not always contradictory to the Korean states-sponsored narratives. It was observed that the meanings of the past shared by the Chinese and Korean states, such as the anti-Japan narratives, were more commonly adopted by Brookside villagers.

Participant observation of local everyday talk reveals the occurrence of the revolutionary frame in ways that are not simply descriptions of the revolutionary past; they are simultaneously constitutive of that revolutionary past, bring into existence of a collective memory that includes some and excludes others (Bourdieu 1991:223). The deployment of these narratives in art forms such as singing and dancing has become a popular cultural schema in local events. For instance, when revolutionary frames were discursively invoked in the local events in the town and city center, revolutionary narratives became national stories; shared revolutionary past became national past shared by both ethnic Koreans and Han Chinese. The revolutionary frame consists of the meaning of the nation and transcended the divisions along ethnic lines, rather, it creates a new form to

express sentiment, and the shared sentiment created the shared past, and the believe of having a shared past ultimately constructed a sense of belonging to the same country.

Although the revolutionary frame was commonplace during festivals and rituals, the influence of the related discursive constructs varied among different generations. During my stay, the event hosts and village gathering organizers were mainly the generation who were familiar with songs and dances related to the revolutionary narratives. However, the younger generation has been observed to show less interest in these forms of art products. This raises a question for future exploration – will the revolutionary frame be sustained in the future?

Concluding Remarks

Bringing historical sites into the study of everyday nationhood adds a new dimension to the investigation of the political intention and effects of heritage sites in nation-building. In contrast to national heritage sites that are placed at the center of political power or in tourist hot spots, where the state is directly and continuously assigning meanings to them, the monument investigated in this chapter is placed in the village, in the midst of the everyday life of the rural borderland residents.

As affordances, the stone objects across Yanbian provided the possibilities of different actions, and various actors within or closely related to the state utilized the stones to proliferate different revolutionary frames. The state used revolutionary narratives to create social categories related to the revolutionary past, such as “the descendants of revolutionary martyrs” to construct a sense of belonging to the nation. Monuments of revolutionary martyrs in Yanbian can be seen as

an effort of the Chinese state to incorporate ethnic minorities. Various state organizations took part in the project and proliferate the narratives in different fields, such as education, publication, media and so on. Other actors working with the state organizations also took part in the proliferation of revolutionary narratives, but the particular historical events they chose were sometimes different from the state. For instance, most of the monuments built by the state in Yanbian were designed to memorize the Korean War, but some local historians and other individuals relate the stone objects and the revolutionary frame to the anti-Japan war and martyrs.

The proliferation of state-sponsored narratives from above to below was not always successful. When the intended audience from below is involved in different scales of mnemonic tradition, the particular narrative about a particular historical event sponsored by one political power did not catch on. The monuments of revolutionary martyrs represent the mnemonic tradition constructed by the modern Chinese state, but the mnemonic tradition of local families in the Chinese-North Korean borderland villages are jointly constructed by borderland residents, many of which have personal experiences related to the Chinese and both Korean states. The particular village monument honoring the Korean War did not become a frequently visited spot or an important ritual space, possibly due to the discrepancies between the Chinese state-sponsored narratives and local understanding of the war. In many communist countries, museums and monuments displaying anti-imperialists narratives worked well (Tappe 2011). But the anti-imperialist (the US) narratives this village monument represents also involved South Korea – the perceived ancestral homeland of many residents. This produced complicated sentiments.

Although most of the revolutionary narratives facilitated the sense of belonging to the Chinese nationhood in Brookside Village, the national frame was not commonly adopted while it contradicted the ethnicized narratives. It has been observed that some villagers utilized a "silent" form of resistance to such controversial narratives – neglect. As a Communist Party-led country, political ideology plays a crucial role in governance and is strictly managed by the state. In the process of nationalization, the state is constantly creating and sponsoring many narratives, which sometimes do not seem credible to the residents. Borderland residents appear to be provided little space to critically engage with such narratives.

Some state-sponsored revolutionary narratives were neglected, while other narratives were commonly adopted in rituals and everyday interaction. Despite of the neglect of the particular historical narrative, the stone monuments were asserted in everyday life space of the villagers. Even though they might seem insignificant and deserted, in terms of affordance, they might or might not be used, but they are lasting potentials for extraordinary events of national awareness, or in the words of Mosse (1975): "This is everyday life characterized not by its banality, but rather by the ordinary individuals who people it. Indeed, these events do not belong to the realm of the ordinary; rather, by definition, they are extraordinary events. They occur infrequently, punctuating the monotony of life at regular, fixed intervals as contrived occasions for the crystallization of national awareness." The villagers did not show a high degree of acceptance of the official narratives related to some particular historical events such as the Korean War, to a certain extent, they have adopted the practical category "descendants of revolutionary martyrs" and occasionally

appeared to express sentiments through events such as artistic performances that are topically related to the socialist revolutionary struggles of the nation.

The intended audience – "the ordinary", just like the forces involved in the project from above were not a coherent or consistent entity. Rather, "the ordinary residents" have diverse characteristics. Some of the villagers were more actively consuming and reproducing revolutionary frames in festivals and rituals, while others showed less concern. Also, it can generally be observed that the younger generation seems to be less engaged with these narratives, and it remains unclear how the situation will develop.

Contrary to this trend, however, it has been observed that state organizations have increased their efforts to proliferate revolutionary narratives and an increasing number of activities involving the stone objects has been observed. How these developments will play out in the coming decades remains to be seen and many aspects of the role of the stone monuments in the nationalization and ethnicization of borderland residents in everyday life are yet to be explored.

CHAPTER FIVE – ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ETHNIC-MINORITY REGIONS: REWARDS OF BECOMING NATIONAL AND ETHNIC

This chapter discusses incentives for "becoming national" and "becoming ethnic" from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. As part of the processes of nationalization and ethnicization, the residents of Yanbian choose the nation and choose their ethnicity. And vice versa, they are chosen by the state as members of a nation and members of an ethnic minority group.

> *"Institutions can also offer their claimants material rewards: the incentive to be (or become) national […] For the ordinary people encountering these institutions, national and ethnic attachments just became worth something. Institutional configurations that offer material rewards according to national or ethnic criteria encourage their claimants to view nationality or ethnicity as a resource that can be strategically deployed (or concealed or manipulated) to secure access to these rewards" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 543).*

The chapter focuses on two events that I observed during my stay in Brookside. First, an ongoing legal dispute about the fate of the once largest village enterprise that is now on the verge of bankruptcy. Second, home visits by a state organization to evaluate the eligibility of the villagers to claim social welfare benefits. These two events in the village can be seen as grassroot manifestations of larger state projects related to ethnicization and nationalization. The most important of these country-wide projects by the central state is the *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People* (兴边富民) that was an important part of the 11th (2006-2011) five-

year plan in China.[60] It offers subsidies to establishing enterprises specifically in borderland regions and provides financial aid to residents in these regions. The second is the national project of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* (精准扶贫), a new approach to poverty reduction that was carried out nationwide that came into effect in 2013. This chapter is mainly concerned with the perceptions of the local government officials who carried out these projects on the ground and the ordinary borderland residents who were targeted by these two projects. I explore a number of questions related to the impact of economic aid and state subsidies as part of the process of ethnicization and nationalization of borderland residents. These questions were specifically:

1. How do the villagers perceive a failing government-subsidized enterprise? What actors are involved and how are they described?
2. How is poverty alleviation enacted in the village through home visits? How are these visits conducted on the ground and how do the villagers participate?

Background: Economic Development in Ethnic Minority Regions

As briefly discussed in the first chapter, since the late Qing dynasty, increasing interaction with the West introduced the concept of race to China. The consciousness of Chinese as a race was popularized, which has led to efforts among Chinese elites to revive the greatness of this race, or

[60] The project was first proposed by the State Ethnic Affairs Commission in 1998 and was jointly implemented by the National Development and Reform Commission and the Ministry of Finance in the following year. The project specifies which fields need to be developed, such as infrastructure, industries that utilize local natural resources and cross-border trading. In 1999 it was carried out in "136 border counties, prefectures, cities and city regions of 9 provinces, i.e. Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Liaoning Province, Jilin Province, Heilongjiang Province, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Yunnan Province, Tibet Autonomous Region, Gansu Province and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, as well as 58 border farms of Xinjiang Production and the Construction Corps of the Army" (http://www.ccprjournal.com.cn/news/8913.htm).

minzu (民族). The fear of "national subjugation and genocide (亡国灭种)" was repeatedly expressed by the elites. For instance, Sun Yat-sen mentioned this term many times in his speeches and writings. Different political powers promoted different ways to save the country and save the Chinese race. The leaders of different political powers advocated their own beliefs and means. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China both claimed that their approach was the most suitable to develop the country, strengthen the Chinese people and lift the nation out of perceived "backwardness". On the other hand, they accused each other as "traitors of the Han people (汉奸)". Both parties were trying to prove that they would be the right leaders to bring modernization to the country and lead the people to a brighter future.

After the Communist Party came to power in 1949, a range of indicators of modernization became a central focus of the state, such as economic, technological and scientific advances. The first National People's Congress in 1954 set a goal to "achieve four modernizations" that was promoted nationwide. The "four modernizations" refer to modernizing agriculture, industry, national defence, as well as science and technology. In this sense, all "four modernizations" were tied to economic development of these different sectors. The communist party leaders set-up several five-year plans to achieve these goals. Leading the people across the country to achieve modernization, economic growth and development in other fields became an important part of official narratives of nation-building in the new China. Emphasizing development and overcoming backwardness were laid out as goals for all people in the new China and under this banner people were meant to come together under the leadership of the party. The following ethnographic vignette shows the influence of these slogans among borderland residents in Yanbian:

In mid-October 2016, temperatures dropped sharply in rural Yanbian. It was my first weekend in Brookside Village. Some Korean-speaking urban residents from the Yanji city arrived in the village for a planned hiking trip, but then they found out that it was too cold to stay outdoor and they abandoned the plan. One of the hikers is a friend of the village mayor and another hiker has relatives in Brookside, so they decided to have lunch in Brookside and came visiting my host family instead.

"What are you learning at school these days?", a male hiker in his fifties suddenly turned to me during lunch. I was going to tell him that I study sociology although I was not certain if that was what he wanted to hear. Before I could respond, he continued: "We learnt about the realization of the 'four modernizations (四个现代化)', so what do you learn these days?" I was not expecting this question and responded with an expression of surprise. Then he continued to explain that when he was at school, his generation had to learn about the realization of the "four modernizations" and that it was the first step to ultimately achieving the communist cause in China. Then he told me that he thought that the "four modernizations" are now already realized and he was wondering what the next step would be, and what the younger generations, the successors of the communist cause, are learning at school about that.

This vignette explicates that narratives related to modernization were once pervasive in the national education in Yanbian and that it is a common view among many residents that the state is the principal facilitator of economic development. Notably, the state never officially announced

that the "four modernizations" have been achieved, however, the central government seems to have stopped promoting them actively. Similar "developmentalist" narratives have also been documented in various other countries, especially in those with a communist past. For instance, Comaroff and Comaroff observe that "the Russian state was deploying economic power for political ends and political power for economic ends" (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009: 132).

After 1949, the Chinese Communist party carried out numerous nationwide projects that focused on developing the national economy.[61] National projects in the 1950s and 60s such as *People's Communes*, the *Great Leap Forward* and slogans such as "Surpassing the UK and catching up with the US" (超英赶美) have consistently emphasized the party's goal of leading the country to prosperity and developing even the most remote regions. A large part of these underdeveloped regions are inhabited by ethnic minorities and they make up about 60 to 70 percent of the national territory. The abundant natural resources in some of these regions have been described as "a concrete foundation upon which the minorities can expand their economies and cultures", but "also an important basis upon which China can realize socialist modernization" (He 1990: 2).

The "economic reform and opening-up" (改革开放) policy introduced in 1978 brought an economic boost to China but also increased regional differences between rural and urban, coastal and inland, periphery and centre. In recent decades, the borderland regions drew the attention of the central government for a number of reasons. Unauthorized cross-border migrant activities came

[61] A notable exception to this was the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) that was focusing on political struggles at the expense of economic development.

into focus, border disputes between China and neighbouring countries cropped up, and ethnic conflicts occurred in the borderland inhabited by the so-called cross-border ethnic minorities. In the case of Yanbian, the presence of South Korea and North Korea also creates more challenges to local governance, particularly when the neighbouring countries, where many borderland residents have kinship ties to, could offer hopes of a better life – North Korea once had a more developed economy than Yanbian, however, since the 1980s, South Korea has gradually become far more prosperous.

In 1999, several departments in the central government jointly drafted and carried out the *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People* (兴边富民行动), a large-scale project targeting specifically the borderland regions with the goal of developing the local economy and to achieve "lasting governance and stability (长治久安)". Previous studies of the project mainly outlined its importance in Western China (Jin 2007). Few studies focus on Yanbian and if so, they mainly examined economic effects and implementation issues regarding the project (Du 2013; Jiang 2012; Zhu 2001). To my knowledge, no existing studies in the field of nation-building have been conducted on the Yanbian region in particular. The project's impact on nation-building, everyday nationhood, and ethnicity is yet to be explored. To this end, this chapter focuses on the grass-root implementation of the project in Brookside Village and examines two concrete measures in the village related to the project from a top-down and bottom-up perspective: the (mis)management of a "Dragon Head Enterprise (龙头企业)" in Brookside Village and home visits by government representatives that evaluate eligibility to receive social welfare subsidies as part of the national *Precision Poverty Alleviation* (精准扶贫) program that came into effect in

2013. “Dragon Head Enterprises” are enterprises that receive extra funding from the state with the aim to encourage companies to establish businesses specifically in rural regions, create employment opportunities and boost the local economy. Both, this enterprise and the home visits, are measures related to the overarching project of *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People* (兴边富民行动) that is designed by the central state to bring economic incentives and benefits to the borderland residents in the form of employment opportunities and social welfare subsidies. But what is the situation on the ground?

First Event: The Dragon Head Enterprise in Brookside

In Brookside village only one enterprise has been given the title “Dragon Head Enterprises in Agricultural Industrialization (农业产业化重点龙头企业)” by the Jilin Provincial Government: a company that built a deer farm to produce various products used in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). The following fieldwork vignettes recount my two visits to the facility and shed light on how it is perceived by residents of Brookside.

After arriving in Brookside, I was wandering around and, after I left the residential area heading north, I discovered a long wall isolating a large area. I could not see inside. I walked along the wall and it took me about five minutes to reach an entrance. In front of a locked side gate, I discovered a more than three meters tall and five meters wide billboard displaying a picture of a group of deer. The title read “Jilin Province Standardized Demonstration Area of Deer

Breeding (吉林省梅花鹿养殖标准化示范区)", endorsed by the Jilin Provincial Bureau of Quality and Technology Control (吉林省质量技术监督局) in July, 2010.

It took me another five minutes to arrive at the main entrance with two signs in Korean and Chinese. I looked through the gate, but I could not see anybody and nobody responded to my calls. I also couldn't see, hear or smell any deer. It looked deserted and I eventually decided to walk back to the residential area of the village.

A couple of days later, I received a pile of official document about the village that I requested from the village government. One document described the walled space as a deer farm complex, the largest local business. The document indicates that the size of the deer farm is around 160 thousand m², which is even larger than the whole residential area in the village.

Figure 23: Billboard displayed at the side entrance

Figure 24: Main entrance of deer farm

After learning that the deer farm was part of Brookside, I asked around, trying to find out more about it. Most of the responses I got from villagers were: "It was a deer farm, but there are no more deer." They told me that the deer died or escaped. For the coming couple of weeks, I did not learn anything more from the villagers.

It was a chilly morning when I visited Kang Ju-Yong, a male villager in his 70s. I was interviewing him about land contracts. He told me that he lent all his farmland to Han Chinese farmers. Mentioning Han farmers, he suddenly seemed to remember something and went on to tell me: the Brookside villagers are very carefully selecting who can move into the village. In recent years, many farmers have been moving south from Heilongjiang Province. "We don't want random people, we want to preserve our culture, so we are very careful about letting outsiders move here, especially Han Chinese." He told me that the villagers have an agreement to only accept new settlers if they are ethnic minority Koreans. "The Han Chinese may steal our land," he said, "They settle and then they never leave."

Ju-Yong's sudden agitation drew my attention to this particular narrative. Later on, during other interviews, the topic of Han Chinese residents in Brookside came up again and again, sometimes triggering whole stories related to the deer farm and revolving around Han Chinese businessmen who came and stole land from the villagers. Notably, most of the villagers did not show much concern about the deer farm itself, they considered it as merely another failed attempt to develop the economy in the village. They said it is common to have businessmen come in with big investments but that many fail in the end. Some villagers said that Han Chinese businessmen come to Brookside village because of "the good air, good water and good mountains we're having

here". These are businessmen with ties to the upper levels of the government and they have easy access to the village land. Although the deer farm project failed, the company still occupies the space. "The land was ours," they said, "the village government is now trying to get it back".

Later on, I learned more about the issue from the village mayor. I talked to him about his plans to develop the local economy and he suddenly brought up the deer farm: "The land of the deer farm is ours, you know. We are going to get the land back. We, the village government, are suing the company now."

I found out that, about ten years ago, a company proposed to build a deer farm in the village. It gained support from the upper-level government and the plan was that the enterprise provides employment opportunities for Brookside villagers, increasing the average annual income of the villagers to more than 10,000 RMB over three years. The company signed a ten-year land lease contract with the former village government (the current government was elected in 2016) and, after obtaining the land from the village, the company received large amounts of funding from the government as well as a loan from a state-owned bank. However, the enterprise failed.[62] *According to several governors I interviewed, the deer farm owners never really make efforts to take good care of the deer: "They didn't put their heart in it," they said. After a while, all the deer were either dead or fled. Some current governors also suspected that the village elderly who made*

[62] According to the current village government, 2016 was supposed to be the end of the contract, but the company suddenly told them that the contract was in fact 20-years instead of 10 and refused to return the land to the village. The newly-elected government asked the elderlies working in the former village government about the situation and sought for the contract to prove the return date, but the former governors said that it has been too long ago and they couldn't find the contract. The company insisted that the contract was signed for twenty years. The current government tried to contact governors at upper level but they never got any responses. They began wondering if the owners of the company had supporters in the upper-level government since the company successfully applied for a government subsidy to build the farm.

the deal with the company, signed the contract in exchange for receiving money from the company ten years ago. They said that this may also explain why the elderly remained silent when the current government was taking the company to court. "The old village head moved to South Korea. We can't rely on him," they said.

During the cause of my investigation, many villagers repeatedly referred to the business men as Han Chinese, telling me how Han businessmen stole their land. Later on, I came across legal documents issued by the local high court that stated the credentials of the parties involved in legal disputes on the issue. On the documents, the ethnic category of the owner was stated as ethnic minority Korean. I asked the village mayor: "Is the owner of the deer farm Han Chinese?" He looked surprised and responded: "No, he is ethnic minority Korean." He wondered how I got this idea and told me that, in his opinion, usually only ethnic minority Koreans could get such projects endorsed by the government. He added: "The owner of the deer farm did hire some Han Chinese as workers, however."

I revisited the main entrance of the deer farm several times but did not encounter anybody. In February 2017, after I talked to several villagers about my interest in the deer farm and they eventually took me there. To my surprise, the walled complex included not only a deer farm, a smaller fish farm and a resort but also a brewing workshop. The whole place seemed deserted but after walking around for a bit I eventually encountered a guard.

Curious about why a closed-down enterprise still has guards on duty, I asked about his work: "I work here because our boss stores deer antler wine here. There are no deer but the alcohol is very valuable. The basement is full of alcohol. The boss presents the wine as gifts to

politicians in the region." He said there were more people working here before when there were still animals around, but since there are no more deer to be taken care of, the boss sent all the workers away and only kept guards to look after his wine. The boss sometimes comes by to pick up some of the alcohol for his "friends in politics (当官的朋友)".

Figure 25: Inside the deer farm

He told me that in spring the complex will be re-opened to tourists for fishing and hiking and that, when the weather is warmer, there will be more visitors and the farm will be more lively

again. On our way back to the village, the villagers who accompanied me to the farm told me that the two guards are both Han Chinese, but they did not mention what they thought the ethnic identification of the owner was.

In spring 2017, the complex was indeed reopened but I did not observe the lively scenes that the guard described. The village governors seemed to carefully monitor the situation at the farm. During several gatherings, they were exchanging information about what they knew about recent activities at the facility. Everybody seemed quite interested in what was going on at the facility. For example, there were several times I went to the town or city with different governors and on our way they asked the drivers who drove pass by the facility every day if they had observed anything of interest going on at the farm. After the town school organized a trip to visit the facility, I observed how the governors asked the students from Brookside about the trip and what they saw inside the facility.

When my fieldwork ended the village government was still trying to negotiate a deal with the company. The latest update on the negotiation, in June 2017, was that the village government was offered to get a share of the farm, but they refused the deal because they wanted to get the whole property back and run the farm themselves.

This vignette shows that the Dragon Head Enterprise was depicted rather differently by different groups of people in the village. From the village government's perspective, the failed deer farm enterprise was marred by collusion between the former village government, businessmen from out of town, and upper-level politicians. According to the guard, the owner of the deer farm

had personal relationships with politicians in the urban region. However, many villagers had a different understanding of what happened to the deer farm without deer. They repeatedly described the land dispute as a conflict between ethnic Koreans and ethnic Han.

The ethnographic vignette clearly shows that the state-subsidized enterprise was in a bad shape. Envisioned as a "Dragon Head Enterprise" that creates employment and bolsters the local economy, it has failed, and is now engulfed by legal disputes and on the verge of bankruptcy. The case of deer farm without deer in Brookside illustrates that, in practice, the allocated funding has likely only benefitted several village elites, ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and government officials in the region. Notably, the deer farm's failure has impacted village life in ways that go beyond economic factors. Local residents have come to describe it as a case of immoral Han businessmen coming to the village, buying up and mismanaging local resources – in the villager's words, stealing their land.

Another event I observed in Brookside is also related to state-funded economic development and can in fact be seen as a measure to deal with the rampant problem of mismanaged dragon-head enterprises in the region – home visits by officials as part of the national *Precision Poverty Alleviation* (精准扶贫) project.

Second Event: Home Visits and Precision Poverty Alleviation

The concept of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* was first brought up by the government in 2013. The term *Precision* is used to differentiate this model from former approaches that emphasized "broad irrigation (大水漫灌)". These are approaches where the funding is allocated

to the county level to facilitate the establishment of companies in certain regions. The deer farm can be seen as an example of this "trickle-down" approach.

The implementation of the new approach to poverty alleviation that emphasizes "precision" varies across the country. In Jilin Province, for instance, it has become an important part of the longstanding *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People*.[63] Located close to the North Korean-Chinese border, Brookside villagers count as both a rural borderland population (边境农业人口) as well as an ethnic minority population (少数民族人口). Due to these properties, it is a typical location that gets priority when applying for investment funding, interest rate discounts or sometimes even interest rate waivers. However, given the relatively easy access to funds, many sponsored projects have failed in Yanbian. The Brookside deer farm without deer reflects a common problem with the former model – businessmen from the city and village elites utilized such prioritized locations to gain easy access to large funds from the government, but the funded projects often suffer from economic mismanagement, such as in Brookside. After a while, many of these projects are abandoned but the land is still in the hands of companies. The local villagers do not only fail to benefit economically, but also lost access to large parts of the land that previously belonged to the village. The deer farm without deer in Brookside may be an extreme case in that it completely failed. In other cases, such enterprises manage to sustain themselves economically, but even that does not guarantee that the ordinary villagers in the vicinity actually

[63] An example is the new policy of "*Jilin Province Implementation of the Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People and the Implementation of Precision Measures to Benefit and Enrich People*" (吉林省推进兴边富民行动实施精准化惠民富民措施).

benefit from such projects.[64] The ordinary borderland residents often do not receive any benefits for the subsidies in the region, which also means that government-promoted slogans such as that the state "takes care of borderland ethnic minorities (关心边疆少数民族)" did also do not credibly arrive in the borderland households. [65]

In 2013, the new model of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* (精准扶贫) was introduced. Two schemes announced in 2014 outline the new approach "Precision Poverty Alleviation: The "Work Plan of Poverty Alleviation, Development and Setting-up Files" (扶贫开发建档立卡工作方案)[66] and "The Implementation Plan of Building-up Precision Poverty Alleviation Work Mechanism" (建立精准扶贫工作机制实施方案)[67]. The schemes require the identification of the poverty households to be more precise. Previously, this population was usually classified at the county level and the evaluation of the poverty reduction progress was based on the overall situation of a county. The new schemes require the local governments to set up a file for each poverty household

[64] Although this poverty alleviation approach also identified poverty households, but the process was lacking efficient monitoring. Previously, the identification process relied on village governments and in many cases the village governors classified villagers who are their relatives and close friends as the recipient of subsidy, sometimes at the cost of those in need. Significant amounts of funding did not arrive at poverty families.

[65] For example, in 2018, Xiwen Chen, the former director of Central Rural Work Leading Group talked about his experience while conducting work on revitalizing the rural regions : "When the central government proposed to building a new socialist countryside, I conducted research in rural areas. An old lady told me that the village secretary said building a new socialist countryside means that 'if you have money then build a house, if you have no money just paint the walls'. This way of implementing policies has been formulated during the planned economy system, which made many people work for making a show for the governors at upper levels, rather than working for the benefits of the ordinary people (之前中央提出社会主义新农村建设，我曾经下乡去调查，有位大嫂就说，支部书记讲新农村建设是'有钱盖房、没钱刷墙'，我听得哭笑不得。这是长期以来计划经济体制下形成的工作方式，导致很多人做事不是给老百姓谋福利，而是做给上头看)." In "Former Director of Central Rural Work Leading Group: I have read the popular articles about returning to the rural during the CNY, but the stories may not be representative", *Southern Metropolis Daily,* retrieved 31 May 2018, https://m.mp.oeeee.com/a/BAAFRD00002018031470849.html

[66] The policy is announced on the website of the State Council Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development: http://www.cpad.gov.cn/art/2014/4/11/art_27_22097.html, retrieved 31 May 2018.

[67] Ibid: http://www.cpad.gov.cn/art/2014/5/26/art_50_23765.html.

and record their income as well as housing, education and health metrics. These files help to track whether their situation improves over time.

In Yanbian *Precision Poverty Alleviation* is carried out by departments in both the government and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the city level. The officials from these departments are required to visit the village several times every year to learn about the situation of the villagers. During my stay in Brookside, I have encountered such home visits by the officials several times. The following section describes such a home visit, focusing on the interaction between officials and villagers as well as different perceptions of the visitors and the visited.

A cloudy morning in May 2017, several premium sedan cars stopped in front of the village government office. More than twenty people stepped out of the cars and swarmed into the small village office. The village governors welcomed the visitors from the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of Cam City. "We should pair up. Each team should have a Korean-speaking officer since most of the villagers can't speak Han Chinese." The officials split into teams of two or three and went out to visit every household in the village.

"You should come with us", an official said to the village treasurer. "I don't think it's a good idea. If I am there, the villagers won't tell you their real income. They don't want me to know," the treasurer responded. The official nodded and, after pairing up, the groups went into different directions and each group covered the households in different parts of the residential area.

During the visitors arrival, I observed several villagers leaving the Association of the Elderly (老年协会), the building right next to the village government office and a common gathering place. After seeing the cars arrive, they went back home and informed others on their way: "The government people are here!" It was late spring and most of the villagers were at home taking care of their livestock or gardens.

Bringing along several forms to fill out, the officials went from house to house. They checked the residency register and asked questions such as: "How much land do you own?", "Are you farming the land yourself or did you rent it out?", "How much rent do you get from it?" A Chinese-speaking officer asked the questions and filled in the forms and another officer was translating between her and the Korean-speaking villager.

"Why are you collecting such information?" I asked one member of a group in the process of interviewing a female villager in her seventies. She told me that they are trying to figure out which family are to be categorized as "poverty households".

"How do you measure?" I asked.

"Poverty households have an annual income of less than 3300 RMB per person." The official answered.

"Is she qualified?" I looked at the villager who was interviewed.

"No. She's not. She rents out her land and gets at least 4000 to 5000 RMB per year," she said, "even if her income is less than 3300 RMB, she has children. In this case the children should support her. We usually check the income first, and then check whether they have children."

"Only if they don't have children they can get subsidy?" I asked.

"Most likely, but if kids are disabled and are classified as not capable to work, we will subsidize both the children and the parents. This village has two cases like this," she answered.

Before lunch, the officers finished all the home visits and the village government collected all the forms containing the information from each household they visited.

I had an appointment with an official in the city that day and the visitors from the city agreed to give me a free ride to Cam city. On the way back, the officers exchanged their experiences interviewing different households: "The villagers thought that we're the government. I told them we are from the consultative conference, not the government, but they still called us the government. They can't distinguish." They also discussed several village governors and tried to figure out information about them. After arriving, we had lunch together.

I observed them talking about the home visits. Explaining why the visits are necessary, one officer said: "If we rely on the information collected by the village government, villagers who are really poor may not get the subsidy. Village mayors sometimes put families on the list that they have ties with."

Another office responded: "But even if you do home visits, the villagers can still hide their valuables and tell you that they are very poor and they need the subsidy."

"I am not saying that doing home visit will completely remove the families who are not supposed to receive subsidy from the list, but at least we can make sure that the families that are really poor will get it. You can really tell whether the family is poor by visiting their house. There are families claiming that they're poor, but they're not, you can just tell by being there. But you can identify the villagers who are poor. Before, making the lists was completely in the hands of

the village mayors and they sometimes did not include the families that are poor because they allocated the quota to their relatives or friends."

Another female officer said: "Some villagers complained that it's unfair that the subsidy is only given to some people in the village. They are thinking that if they see somebody getting the subsidy, they want it, too. If they don't get it, they think it's not fair to them. They don't think about whether or not they meet the requirement. To them, either everybody has to get it, or nobody should get it."

The next day, the officials returned to the village and brought hundreds of flowers in pots. They invited the villagers to work together to move the small flowers from the pots to a public space. Asking them what they are doing, the officials said that they are not only responsible for the poverty households, they also need to take care of the public spaces in the village.

In the week following the home visits, poverty alleviation became a popular topic during the village gatherings. Most of the villagers were positive about the home visits and they were happy about the improvements to the village environment. Most of them appreciated the flowers, but the feeling did not last long. After a couple of days, most of them walked by without paying attention to the colourful plants anymore. I asked some villagers whether they got any subsidy after the home visit. Many said things such as: "I have nothing to do with poverty. It doesn't concern me." Most of them said they did not apply for any subsidy. Rather, they found it embarrassed to be classified as a "poverty household".

People kept talking about the subsidies but eventually forgot about flowers. During several gatherings I collected various opinions. Some applied for the poverty households but were rejected: "I was told that I am not eligible because I went to South Korea for five years."

Others said: "It's so unreasonable to ban people from the project because they have kids. Even if my kids have money, it doesn't mean that they will take care of me." "I am so upset. I am mad at the village head, you know? It's the village government's responsibilities to report poverty households to upper levels of the government, but the village governors are doing nothing. They are not fulfilling their jobs. The village head asked me to go visit the city government and apply for it myself."

Later, I also asked the village mayor about poverty alleviation and he said: "several villagers came to me and asked me to apply for poverty households for them. I told them to apply themselves. I know that there are mayors in other villages who classified households not according to the standard. I don't want to do that, so I asked them to do the application themselves. To be honest, they are not qualified, I know. And I am fighting for the village to have no families categorized as poverty households at all by next year. We don't have poor villagers in Brookside." The village treasurer provided a similar account: "If we measure strictly according to the nationwide standard, there is no real poverty in Yanbian. This region is not poor."

The new approach of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* has certainly impacted life in Brookside. It appears that the various involved institutions did put more thoughts into how to maximize the effect of the allocated funding as well as how to achieve political goals related to

the borderland's "lasting governance and stability". However, the ethnographic vignettes also revealed instances of distrust between officials from the city and the village as well as tensions between villagers and village governors.

Besides rather obvious political intentions related to the nationalization of borderland residents that is actually documented in the wording of the project itself, I have observed other less explicit effects of the home visits, which were not clearly stated as goals of the project. For one, the home visits under the name of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* helped to facilitate surveillance of the rural borderland residents. Also, it appears that another important part of the home visits is to recruit new communist party members and to facilitate the establishment of party branches in the villages.

According to the oral accounts of villagers from both Brookside and other parts of Maizefield Town, unauthorized activities at the Chinese-North Korean border were once commonplace. It was certainly easier to cross the national border formed by a river during these days. I have learnt of several cases of North Korean nationals coming to the town by various unauthorized means. I interviewed several villagers who have sheltered such migrants and some of them even hired them to farm their land. I was told that some of them eventually married local villagers. I heard of wedding dinners and family ceremonies, but I was also told that it was impossible to obtain marriage certificates. In recent years, however, the border control was tightened. Due to the lack of legal identifications in China, most of the North Korean citizens who used to live in Maizefield either found their way to South Korea or were reported to the frontier guards and sent back to the other side. In the last decade, unauthorized crossing-border activities

appear to have decreased, but still exist. As a "side effect" of the now regular home visits by officials, the sheltering of unauthorized cross-border migrants has certainly also become more difficult.

Another aspect of the home visits is that they enable the enforcement of all sorts of government regulations. For instance, during my fieldwork it was common in Brookside to use unauthorized satellite TV equipment through which the villagers would watch South Korean TV. In April 2017, this equipment had to be removed after the village government was informed of a new regulation coming in from the prefecture government. According to one villager, the removal order came into place as a consequence of the deterioration of the South Korean-Chinese relations after the deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) in South Korea. The home visits brought officials from the city government to the village and into the villager's homes. Once there, they may inspect whether or not regulations are effectively carried out. In this sense, the home visits can potentially be used for surveillance and law enforcement purposes.

Another possible implication of the home visits that it enables to visitors to inspect the local party branches or, such as in Brookside, facilitate the establishment of a local branch in places where they are yet to be set up. What happened in Brookside is that, in 2018, the organization in charge of implementing the poverty alleviation measures changed. The responsibility was shifted to a new government branch that also had the right to establish party branches.[68] This branch eventually initiated the establishment of the Brookside communist party branch.

[68] In 2018, a city government department took over the implementation of the *Precision Poverty Alleviation* in the village from the previous organization (政协). One possible explanation of this change is that it is a measure to prevent collusion between village government and city government departments.

In more detail, what happened in Brookside is this. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the large exodus of residents led to an insufficient number of party members in the village to form a party branch. Recruiting new party members and encouraging the villagers to join the party became an important mission of the new department that supervised *Precision Poverty Alleviation*. I found a wrinkled piece of paper with a title *Posts for Non-occupational Party Members in Brookside* posted outside of the village government that documented the current party members in Brookside.[69] Three posts and a description of their job duties were announced on the whiteboard:

Figure 26: Posts for non-occupational party members in Brookside

Post Type	Post Duties	Num
Civil Dispute Mediation	1. Timely mediation of disputes within families and between neighbours; 2. Resolving various kinds of conflicts between the village and the town, between villages, between ordinary residents and governors; 3. Encouraging and assisting families that want to petition (信访户) and aid them to solve problems within the village.	2
Supervision of Environmental and Health Issues	1. Assisting in occasional examination of and protection of the water conservancy, water and electric facilities, repair of defective facilities, hinder people from damaging the equipment[70] and to report the incidents that cause serious consequences to the related departments of the town government. 2. Aid the promotion of a clean town and village, regular inspection of the village appearance and focus on resolving issues such as blocked roads, clogged drains, poor sanitation and litter in order to improve the village appearance. 3. To supervise the disposal of the "three wastes"[71] and to report incidences in a timely manner and to formulate suggestions to solve these issues.	2

[69] Besides the village government that, at the village level, consists of both party and non-party members, there are another administrative positions that are only assigned to party members. Those posts are designed for members who are holding non-leading positions in the party (无职党员) and who make up the majority of the party members and mostly concentrate in large and medium-size enterprises, rural area and grassroot party organizations. They are considered as representing the image of the party in daily life. Original text in Chinese: 创新无职党员发挥先进性的途径, retrieved 31 May 2018: http://theory.people.com.cn/GB/49150/49151/4105741.html.

[70] There were people stealing electric cables and selling it as waste metal.

[71] It commonly refers to waste gas, liquid waste and solid waste.

Publicity of Policies and Culture	1. Assisting the village governors in publicly promoting the party policies and regulations of rural areas and to deepen the guiding principles, policies and measures to reform the villages; 2. Investigate whether the decision-making in the village is aligned with the overall concepts, policies and regulations and report violations of the current guiding principles and policies; 3. Lead the elimination of unhealthy influences and support healthy energies, to advocate positive, healthy, civilized new lifestyles and assist in organizing recreational activities beneficial to the public.	2

I wanted to find out more about the current whereabout of these party members and tracked down the names of the villagers on this sheet. They all left the village. They were either in South Korea or urban China, which left Brookside without a party branch.

As part of their efforts to recruit party members, the supervising department also occasionally hosts events called "Thematic Party Day Activities" that promote the communist party in the region. For instance, on International Women's Day in 2018, the department organized a celebration. The title of the event was "Celebrating the Lantern Festival and welcome the Women's Day, the party and the people hand in hand and stay true to the original aspiration (欢度元宵迎妇女节，党群携手永葆初心)" was printed on a red banner in the village (see Figure 27). According to pictures and videos I saw, the villagers were wearing Korean costumes and performed Korean traditional dances and the attending officials sang songs in praise of the communist party.

The department in charge of the home visits also hosts activities that promote the communist party and facilitates the establishment of new party branches, so-called party-building activities (党建). The home visits as part of *Precision Poverty Alleviation* conducted in Brookside are intertwined with these activities.

Discussion: Economic Development and Becoming National and Ethnic

These two events that I observed during my stay showed that political and economic power are closely related in Yanbian. My observations indicate that state-initiated economic development measures are intertwined with nation-building. The state actively utilizes economic incentives to create an environment in which nationalization takes place. For instance, the options given to the residents to apply for subsidies come with the condition of accepting and opening up personal spaces to home visits, and is tied to satisfactory performance during these visits. Notably, during all the visits I observed, I have never encountered that the visitors were rejected entry to a villager's homes. In fact this would be an unlikely move, something which one just does not do, it simply seems to be something out of people's minds. In this sense, no "choosing" seems to be involved in the choice that people are given. That people become involved with the state as part of the poverty alleviation projects is only ostensibly a choice and this shows that everyday nationhood, i.e. the complex relations between the residents and their government in everyday life is something much more pervasive. "Nationhood operates as an unselfconscious disposition: it underwrites people's choices without becoming a self-conscious determinant of those choices" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 544; see also Bourdieu 1977: 166; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 54–67; Foucault 1995[1977]: 177–84).

Specifically, three aspects of economic incentives in everyday nationhood are discussed here. I present evidence that financial aid and borderland governance are intertwined in Yanbian. I argue that economic development policies serve a dual purpose of both fostering the local

economy and fostering the recognition of the communist party as “joining hands with the people to stay true to the mission” (党群携手永葆初心) (see Figure 27).

Figure 27: Celebration of the International Women's Day in Brookside under the banner of "joining hands with the people to stay true to the mission”

I found that local “party building activities” (党建) are intertwined with how the government conducts to economic development projects in the region. I also further explored the related choices that residents and governors made and how these choices were framed. Here, I observed that ethnic frames were frequently invoked as part of nationalization and that different actors used them to different ends. For instance, the state actively promotes the use of ethnic frames as part of economic development and encourages both the commodification of ethnic Korean culture and ethno-tourism. All of these three aspects are now discussed in more detail.

Intertwining financial aid and borderland governance

After the initiation of the "economic reform and opening up (改革开放)" policy in 1979 the overall economic development of the country picked up pace, but regional differences between rural and urban, coastal and inland, borderland and the rest of the country remained significant. The *Action Plan to Vitalize the Border Areas and Enrich the People* can be seen as a measure to tackle this. As the name of the plan suggests the principal goal is to "vitalizing the border areas" and economic development is the mean for this end.

A large number of the borderland residents targeted by the policy are cross-border ethnic minorities who share cultural similarities, ancestral roots and languages with the people living on the other side of the border. Their sense of belonging is influenced by the living condition of two countries. Residents may choose to leave and settle in other countries in the vicinity that they share cultural traits with – such as the large scale exodus of Yanbian residents to South Korea.

Another issue is territorial integrity. Along the Russian-Chinese border, for instance, the Russian borderland features numerous larger towns and cities, but on the Chinese side only a few villages are scattered along the border. Such disparities have been perceived as a potentially threat to the Chinese state's territorial integrity and influences the governance of such territories.[72]

For these reasons, economic development projects in Yanbian are clearly designed to enhance stability of the region through providing incentives to the people to stay where they are. The establishment of the deer farm in Brookside was a typical outcome of this. In Jilin Province,

[72] An example in Yanbian please see Kim 2017

the establishment of this kind of company was encouraged under the slogan “each county has one industry, each village has one product (一乡一业，一村一品)” and “Dragon head enterprises” were chosen that produce these products were expected to bring “technologies, training, information and market opportunities to farm households through ‘radiation driven’ (辐射带动) development” (Schneider 2017). However, as discussed previously, in many cases only a small number of people among the local elites seem to have been benefitting from such projects. When the deer farm was first built, the company promised to offer Brookside villagers job opportunities and increase the annual income per villager to 10,000 RMB. Nothing of this happened.

Later, *Precision Poverty Alleviation* was introduced as a measure to tackle such issues. The introduction of home visits by government officials has led to an increase of direct interaction with villagers. Files were set up for each household and their progress in overcoming poverty was tracked. Now, each poverty household is allocated funding directly, a measure that may reduce the interception of funds by local elites since the subsidies are not provided to them anymore. The overall increase of interaction between the people and the government also led to new ways of how political messages can be disseminated. For instance, the slogan “stay true to the mission” (不忘初心) was popularized. It adheres to the self-portrait of the communist party promoted during the early days of the socialist revolution “as the representatives of the proletariat”. Such slogans now reach the ordinary people more directly due to their increased contact with government officials and it shows how deeply intertwined nation-building and party-building (党建) are.

Another purpose of home visits: Party-building and surveillance

I have presented evidence that the approaches to develop borderland economy also led to new means to conduct in nation-building and party-building in the ethnic minority regions. In fact, that this is a goal of the project was stated by some of the architects of the project themselves: "[The action plan is] to further enhance patriotic sentiment and strengthen unity between each ethnic group during the development," Yang Jianqiang, the deputy director State Ethnic Affairs Commission told a reporter[73], "[...] Because the *Action Plan to Vitalize the Border Areas and Enrich the People* actively does practical things for the people of each ethnic group in the borderland regions, solves their difficult problems, facilitates the development of economy, society and ethnic unity in ethnic regions. The people of every ethnic group kindly praise the plan […] as a benevolent project of the Communist Party of China."[74] Similar narratives that relate economic achievement and the role of the party are also common on the media. The officials in the borderland regions know of this dual purpose to simultaneously develop the local economy and enhance the influence of the Communist Party in the borderland regions, particularly among ethnic minorities. For instance, the Secretary of a Jilin Provincial Party Committee described the action as an opportunity to "bring the ethnic policies of the party to every family of ethnic minorities."[75]

---

[73] http://www.gov.cn/zwhd/2007-06/18/content_652065.htm 国家民委副主任杨健强："在发展中进一步增强爱国主义情感和加强各民族大团结"

[74] ibid: "正是由于兴边富民行动，积极为边疆各族群众办实事，解难题，以此促进民族地区的经济社会发展和民族团结，边疆各族群众亲切地称颂兴边富民行动是中国共产党的"德政工程""

[75] Original in Chinese: "把党的民族政策送到少数民族千家万户", http://mw.jl.gov.cn/zt_mw/xbfmxd/xbfmdt/201401/t20140126_1610480.html, retrieved on 8 Aug 2018.

As a one-party state, in contemporary China, nation-building is largely intertwined with party-building (党建). The nationalization of ethnic minorities involves fostering the recognition and support of the communist party. The governance at each administrative level is realized by a dual-governing system: state institutions and party branches (see Blair 2016 for details).[76] For instance, the village governors elected by local residents are supposed to jointly rule the village with party appointed representatives, but the lack of members prevented this dual administrative system to be set up in Brookside, which was perceived as weakening the influence of the party there. Political projects are routinely injected into economic development projects and various slogans and banners are repeatedly used to emphasize how much the party cares about the villagers.

Also, as discussed previously, the frequent home visits could potentially be used for surveillance and to remind the villagers to be more careful that their behavior and complies with government regulations. In this sense, the government uses both, care and control, to enhance political legitimacy in the frontier regions. But there is more to it.

In return for their increasing support and recognition of the party, some villagers appear to expect to be increasingly taken care of by the state. Most of the villagers in Brookside did not qualify for subsidies according to the village treasurer, but nonetheless the villagers commonly voiced believes that they are to be taken better care of by the state. As discussed by the officials in the city consultative conference, some villagers thought that it is unfair if only some people receive

[76] Another instance is the different role of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. As a political advisory body, it is not part of the government, but it is a state institution. In practices, when the communist party carried out policies like *Precision Poverty Alleviation*, this conference executed the policy as a department under the control of the communist party.

the subsidies but not everybody. Particularly among the Brooksiders whose children were working abroad, some of them think themselves as "left-behind elderlies", they said it is the responsibility of the government to take care of them because they chose to stay in the rural borderland and contributed to maintain the population there. It has been observed that, a stronger enforcement of surveillance and control measures by the state can lead to increasing expectations among the villagers to be taken care of in return. And "taken care of" primarily appears to refer to financial aid and material gain.

Different uses of ethnic and national framing

Besides nation-building and party-building, another aspect that drew my attention is the use of ethnic frames during various occasions by different actors. The particular use and the intentions behind it varied significantly. When the state used ethnic framing, the commodification of ethnic culture was encouraged and the economic development policy was usually based on ethnicized categorisation of the residents. The guidelines to develop the borderland economy frequently advocate the utilization of "ethnic cultural resources" in industry-building and tourism.[77] In other regions of China, the specific measure was to develop ethnic minority cultural tourism (e.g. Cornet 2015; Du 2015). I observed the ethnicization of economic development, industry and tourism in Yanbian. This means that the state encourages "ethnicized" production of "ethnic minority specialty commodities (少数民族特需商品)".[78] These ethnic cultural products

[77] An example can be found in the 13th five-year plan released by the Chinese State Council: http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2017-06/06/content_5200277.htm, retrieved 8 Aug 2018.
[78] Please refer to the 13th five-year plan.

are usually some form of regional specialty that can be marketed to tourists as well as for cross-border trading, such as deer antler wine in the case of the Brookside deer farm. The geographical location of Yanbian, especially its vicinity to the Korean Peninsula, provides access to two potential markets for such local products. I have observed that Yanbian businessmen actively label products using elements of traditional ethnic Korean culture and sell them on the Korean markets. The other way around, this ethnoculturalization of products also attracted investment from the Korean Peninsula to Yanbian. For instance, in 2016, many villagers were hired by a South Korean company to take care of a ginseng farm. The ginseng was to be sold in Korea.

The use of ethnic framing not only applies to commodities but also to people. Ethnicity can become a form of cultural capital for local elites to bargain with the state. The state has a long tradition in nurturing and relying on "ethnic minority cadres (少数民族干部)" to govern autonomous regions (He 1990: 7). Since the state has established preferential policies toward ethnic minorities, "ethnic capital" can be used by the residents as bargain chips to negotiate with the government (Zhou 2005). As so-called ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, the businessmen who successfully applied for the state funding to build the "Dragon Head Enterprise" were all categorized as ethnic Korean. In fact, according to the village mayor, they actually have to have this status to stand a chance to get such grants. In practice, the resources that are specifically allocated to ethnic minorities in the borderland often end up in the hands of these ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, a very small number of people that effectively use their ethnic minority status.

Ethnic frames also occur in the daily conversation of the ordinary villagers in diverse ways. When conflicts emerge, ethnic frames are sometimes used to make sense of them, as for instance

in the case of the deer farm land dispute. The villagers often described the people in charge as "Han businessmen" even though they might not be classified as such. Other villagers have voiced concerns about the increasing number of Han-speaking settlers in the area, and said that this may influence the preservation of their traditional Korean culture. Tensions between Korean-speaking and Chinese-speaking residents have been observed at various occasions. The motivation to preserve traditional culture is also interesting from an economic angle. In terms of the ethnocultural economic development model that is encouraged by the state – if Brookside is no longer a Korean-speaking village, it may lose its status to produce and market Korean cultural specialty products and become less interesting for ethno-tourists who seek to experience "authentic Korean culture".[79]

Although conflicts between different groups of residents occasionally occur, this does not seem to influence a common sense of belonging to the nation and their recognition of the state in general, possibly in part due to local party-building efforts. For instance, the following ethnographic vignette explicates how the villagers use ethnic and national frames as part of everyday conversations:

In May 2017, some villagers formed a dance troupe to participate in the Cam City Plaza Dance Competition (广场舞比赛). Initially they only prepared a traditional Korean dance, but later they were also required to perform another dance that was assigned to them by General Sport Administration of China. More than half of the dancers refused to perform this dance because they

[79] More state-initiated economic development policies used ethnic framing that may reinforce the boundary between the Korean-speaking and Chinese-speaking populations in the rural borderland. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

considered it to be a Han-Chinese dance. "Han dances make you open your legs like this," said a villager, mocking the dance and expressing her embarrassment of making such a move. The dispute led to arguments between villagers who wanted to perform the dance and other who refused. The villagers willing to perform the Han dance began practicing in spite of the disapproval. During the practice those who refused to participate began laughing and making fun of the dancers. Then the quarrels suddenly came to an end after one of the disgruntled performers of the Han dance said angrily: "What's the matter with Han people (한족 사람)? Xi Jinping is also a Han." The laugher stopped and, followed by a stretch of silence, the rehearsal continued.

This vignette shows that ethnic framing is a common practice in Yanbian and it also shows that this framing of ethnic differences is situational and does not appear to infringe on a larger sense of belonging to the nation. In the larger Chinese discourse ethnic minorities are often portrayed as part of an "ethnic competition schema" (Brubaker 2004: 44), but, notably, this does not seem to include the party leaders. As part of party-building, both the state media and officials proliferate narratives that such views would simply not be appropriate to apply to the highest party leaders. Similar to revolutionary narratives, party leaders are depicted as guiding the economic development of the proletariat and set up an image of them that escapes the polarization between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities. To a certain extent, the adoption of such narratives can be observed among the borderland residents. Slogans such as "the party leading all regions in China to get rid of backwardness and achieve modernization" offer a new schema where the national frames incorporate the ethnic competition schema. This can also be observed in practices such as

rewarding the title of "Model Ethnic Minority (模范少数民族)" to the ethnic-minority Koreans in China. On one hand, referring to ethnic Koreans as a model minority marks them as different from other Chinese people and potentially reinforces ethnic boundaries, but the narrative also situates the Korean-speaking population within the national frame and makes them part of the Chinese nation. The term "Model Ethnic Minority" has readily been adopted by the Yanbian residents. Many villagers have voiced positive sentiments in relation to it and are proud of their economic achievements as a group. "Our Korean Autonomous Prefecture developed earlier and better than other minority regions in the country" was a phrase that repeatedly cropped up during my interviews. Adopting this "honorary title", they also consent to be positioned within the Chinese national frame to a certain extend.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter provides a detailed account on how ethnicization and nationalization are intertwined with economic incentives in Yanbian. The nation-building project in China is related to the ethnic consciousness of being Chinese. Historically, different political powers have been competing to offer their own methods to "revive" the country. After coming to power in 1949, the Communist Party of China continued to utilize "developmentalist" narratives and increasingly focused on "supporting the underdeveloped regions" to stabilize its governance of ethnic minority regions.

In *Ethnicity, Inc.*, Comaroff and Comaroff describe China (like Russia) as an extreme variant of Nationality, Inc., which "seek to fuse market liberalization with highly centralized

governance" and pushes "government-as-business to unprecedented levels" (2009: 131). Starting from this point, this chapter explores the relationship between nation-building and state-lead economic development in Yanbian. Two events that occurred during my fieldwork were discussed in the chapter – the mismanagement of a "Dragon Head Enterprise" in the village and home visits by officials related to the implementation of *Precision Poverty Alleviation*. Both are related to the overarching project *Action Plan to Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People* that has been carried out in the national frontier regions since 1999. Carrying out the action plan in Yanbian, local governments, local ethnopolitical entrepreneurs and villagers all played different roles in the process and developed different understandings of these measures. Each of these involved parties used ethnic frames to different ends in relation to the failed village enterprise – the deer farm without deer. The central state used ethnic frames to encourage borderland residents to produce ethnocultural commodities to boost the regional economy and to market these products in the "co-ethnic" neighboring countries. On the other hand, several local governors and businessmen, the "ethnopolitical entrepreneurs", took the opportunity and utilized their ethnic minority status to access state funding allocated to ethnic minorities. However, in practice, they cooperated with people who controlled different resources, such as political power or financial resources in the region and formed a new interest group based on common interests beyond ethnic boundaries. In contrast, the villagers described the failed enterprise and the ensuing land dispute using ethnic frames.

Later on, new measures were taken to avoid the interception of economic incentives by ethnopolitical entrepreneurs. A new borderland economic development project was introduced,

Precision Poverty Alleviation, and home visits by officials were conducted as part of it. My findings show two potential political intentions of these home visits that are not stated in the project directly: party-building and possible surveillance of rural borderland residents. The newly introduced home visits to the village households are not only a mean to better allocate the state funding but can also be seen as a measure to increase the influence of the party in borderland villages. The new measure promoted a positive image of party leaders, but also led to conflicts between local government at both the city and village levels and the villagers. Furthermore, the increasing surveillance helped the party to tighten control over the borderland but contributed to a trend that some villagers expect more support from the government and led to increasing demands to "be taken good care of" by the party.

My findings show that, under the umbrella of nation-building, various specific measures are carried out by the state in rural Yanbian, and I present a detailed account of how different state organizations and other actors involved in the project participated in the process. The organizations "can be formally or informally arranged according to national logics. These institutions present those who encounter them with a menu of nationally defined options" (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 542). Notably, the villagers did not seem to be concerned with how the bureaucratic system works, what policies the central government has been implementing and how it is conveyed through the administrative levels. In daily conversation, they only appeared to be concerned about the village governors, possibly because this is the state actor they can actually directly influence. The state existed in their narratives as an rather distant entity, referred to such as "the government (정부)", "the government people (정부 사람)" or "the state leader(s) (대통령/国家领导人)". This leaves

a lot of space for other actors to create and reshape meanings associated with the nation as it appears in everyday life.[80]

Nation-building in contemporary China is largely intertwined with party-building. On one hand, it continues the "class route to nationhood" (Tønnesson 2009) by continuously emphasizing the role of representing a certain class as the "proletariat". On the other hand, party-building constructs a positive image of the party leaders and offers new categories of belonging that can sometimes transcend ethnic identifications.

The state uses economic incentives that provide options to the people to become national. However, sometimes these trajectories set up for the residents can lead them to make choices that were unforeseen by those who designed them. The establishment of an ethnicized economy increased the income of many Brookside villagers, but it also ultimately opened up opportunities for them for a "return migration" to the Korean Peninsula. The shrinking population has become a serious problem in the region. This will be explored in the next chapter. I examine how the Yanbian government has been dealing with this issue and follow Yanbian residents to their most popular emigration destination: South Korea. I further investigate cross-border migration and present oral accounts of the people who chose to leave the nation their ancestors once "chose".

[80] "The nation in this sense is a way of seeing, doing, talking and being that posits and sometimes enacts the unproblematic and naturalizing partition of the world into discrete ethnocultural units. It is not (only) a topic of talk, but also a culturally available schema that can be discursively deployed to make sense of other topics of talk, explain predicaments and order social difference." (Brubaker, 2004; Gamson, 1992; Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 540)

CHAPTER SIX – GOVERNING EMIGRATION AND THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCES OF YANBIAN RESIDENTS

In recent decades, a large number of Yanbian residents left the region. In this chapter, I not only provide a detailed account of how the government tackled this problem, but also follow some Brookside residents to their emigration destination: South Korea. I examine the process of how local kinship and ethnic network emerge that facilitate migration activities, and how different state organizations influence the formation and development of such networks.

The main theme of the chapter is the discussion of "ethnic capital" that emerges in relation to the migration experience, utilized by the cross-border travellers. I argue that a large portion of the population has been "using their ethnic ties", i.e. their membership of the Korean-Chinese ethnic category, to realize their "return" to the Korean Peninsula, offer to seek job and business opportunities there. Previous studies on the Chinese ethnic minority Koreans mainly focused on how they utilize ethnic ties to enter South Korea (e.g. Hong et al. 2012; Song 2009) or how they use such ties to enter the labor markets in other countries and ultimately settle down in the U.S. (Kim 2018) and Argentina (Bialogorski 2010). In contrast, this study focuses on the situation in the sending society, rural Yanbian.

Studies on the relationship between ethnic capital and migration mainly discuss how immigrants strategically utilized existing ethnic ties in the receiving society to migrate and used ethnic economic enclaves to achieve their goals at the emigration destination (Borjas 1992; Shah

et al. 2010; Zhou and Lin 2005). I investigate the sending society. Specifically, I describe the realization of ethnic capital and examine factors that influence it, such as state policies of both China and South Korea.

The chapter addresses the following issues: where did the Brookside emigrants go? Why did they decide to leave? How did they achieve migration? How does this large exodus influence government policies in Yanbian? How do the involved governments regulate such cross-border ties? How do the emigrants react to new policies designed to attract them to return to Yanbian? How do emigration and return migration impact Brookside local society, particularly the use of ethnic and national categories in everyday life and grouping practices?

Background: The Demographics of Yanbian

Historically, Yanbian received large numbers of migrants from the Korean Peninsula from the late 19th century to mid-20th century, but today its population is shrinking (see Figure 28). In recent decades, from 1949 to 2003, the population in Yanbian has been continuously growing according to population census conducted by the local governments at various administrative levels. But then, from 2003 to 2005, the population decreased for the first time and then roughly stabilized from 2006 to 2009. Since 2010, however, the population in Yanbian has continuously been dropping. In 2017, the population was smaller than in 1992.

Figure 28: Population features in Yanbian (1949-2017)

Year	Population	Agricultural Population (%)	Non-Agricultural Population (%)	Ethnic Korean (%)	Han (%)
1949	835278	83.4	16.6	63.36	34.57

1952	854431	72	28	62.01	35.8
1957	984728	60.2	39.8	59.09	39.01
1962	1221725	59.1	40.9	50.04	48.22
1965	1356489	56.5	43.5	46.82	51.22
1970	1546153	58.6	41.4	44.46	53.68
1975	1683137	59.3	40.7	42.24	55.95
1978	1756938	58.3	41.7	40.68	57.52
1980	1813791	54.2	45.8	40.41	57.79
1981	1840982	53.1	46.9	40.51	57.61
1982	1873819	52.5	47.5	40.27	57.45
1983	1891965	51.4	48.6	40.53	57.37
1984	1912430	50.3	49.7	40.53	57.37
1985	1927842	48.8	51.2	40.53	57.37
1986	1953181	48.1	51.9	40.73	56.92
1987	1978271	47.3	52.7	40.81	56.62
1988	2003043	46	54	40.7	56.65
1989	2041758	45.2	54.8	40.85	56.46
1990	2069562	44.7	55.3	40.54	56.65
1991	2091260	43.9	56.1	40.45	56.71
1992	2111797	43.3	56.7	40.05	56.96
1993	2138379	41.8	58.2	39.96	57.08
1994	2154703	40.9	59.1	39.67	57.38
1995	2175888	40	60	39.52	57.56
1996	2184543	39.4	60.6	39.33	57.81
1997	2183771	38.7	61.3	39.18	57.99
1998	2184375	38.2	61.8	38.94	58.2
1999	2185597	37.8	62.2	38.76	58.34
2000	2184502	37.6	62.4	38.55	58.54
2001	2187858	37.2	62.8	38.4	58.7

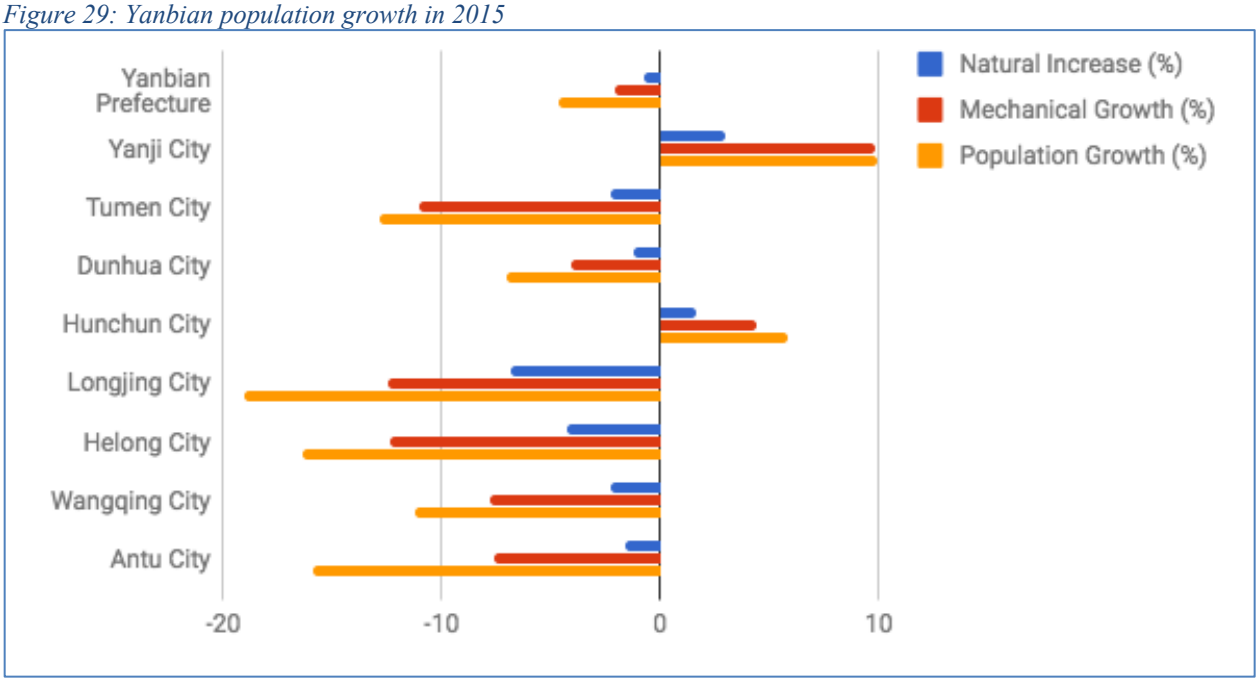
2002	2187736	36.8	63.2	38.12	58.98
2003	2185660	36.3	63.7	37.93	59.11
2004	2177126	35.6	64.4	37.69	59.29
2005	2175194	35.3	64.7	37.53	59.43
2006	2177966	34.9	65.1	37.27	59.65
2007	2180383	34.1	65.9	37.04	59.75
2008	2187025	33.8	66.2	36.84	59.89
2009	2178579	33.6	66.4	36.73	59.92
2010	2190763	33.5	66.5	36.57	60.01
2011	2185937	33	67	36.5	60
2012	2182059	32	68	36.52	59.98
2013	2149707	32.1	67.9	36.36	59.83
2014	2145753	32.4	67.6	36.27	59.86
2015	2135757	29.7	70.3	36.22	59.86
2016[81]	≈2120000	30.8	69.2	35.8	-
2017	2101400	30.69	69.31	36.04	59.92

Two major factors that have led to this development are the low fertility rate and emigration. For instance, in 2015, the natural increase rate was 0.74% and the mechanical growth rate (subtracting the emigration rate from the immigration rate) was -2.1%. The total growth rate was -4.68%. This is significantly lower than the sum of the natural growth and mechanical growth, possibly because many people emigrated without informing the local government (China Statistics Press 2016). The data also shows that in the same year, only Yanji and Hunchun (the two biggest

[81] The data from 1949 to 2015 is based on the Yanbian Yearbook (2016). The data of 2016 is based on a report from Jilin Provincial Government website, which rounded up the number and it did mention the percentage of Han: http://www.jl.gov.cn/sj/sjcx/nbcx/gdzs/201703/t20170317_2476328.html. The data of 2017 is also from the same website: http://www.jl.gov.cn/sj/sjcx/nbcx/gdzs/201804/t20180412_2897161.html.

cities) regions have had a positive population growth rate. The other six administrative divisions have been shrinking by more than 7%.

Figure 29: Yanbian population growth in 2015



Besides the total population, two other demographic figures also show negative trends: the percentage of the rural population and the ratio of ethnic minority Koreans compared with other ethnic groups. The population census in China uses the urban-rural classification scheme to divide the whole population into two categories: agricultural population (农业人口) and non-agricultural population (非农业人口) before 2015 and urban population (城镇人口) and rural population (乡村人口) since 2015. The percentage of the agricultural population and the ethnic minority Koreans almost continuously dropped since 1949. The ethnic minority Koreans were the majority of the

region's population in 1949, making up more than 63% of the whole population. In 2017, they make up merely 36.04%.

Notably, the ethnic Korean population has been decreasing despite the fact that the "one-child" policy has been only applicable to Han Chinese since the 1970s. Ethnic minorities were allowed to have two children under normal circumstances.[82] Another factor besides the low birth-rate is emigration. In recent decades a significant number of Yanbian residents, particularly from the rural region, have decided to settle elsewhere.

Emigration in Brookside

The residents of Brookside Village are classified as agricultural population and more than 95% are ethnic Koreans. In recent years, the village population has been dramatically shrinking. A village government record showed that as of October 2016, more than 61% of the long-term residents were above 60-years-old, which is the age threshold commonly used to classify "elderly" (see Figure 30).[83] Besides the low birth-rate of this population, the emigration of villagers is an important factor of this trend. Where did people go? And why did they choose to leave the village?

Figure 30: Brookside village population features

Birth Year	**1920-29**	**1930-39**	**1940-49**	**1950-59**	**1960-69**	**1970-79**	**1980-89**	**1990-99**	**2000-09**
Population	1	7	26	14	17	2	1	0	4

[82] Even though the one-child policy did not officially apply to ethnic Koreans, a number of studies indicate that ethnic Koreans actually "voluntarily" and "actively" followed China's one-child policy even though they were legally allowed to have more than one child.

[83] For example, according to the Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of the Rights and Interests of the Elderly: "the elderly referred to in this Law are citizens at or above the age of 60."

Where did people go?

Brookside Village is a borderland village located within 10km from the Chinese-North Korean border, it historically served as a transit hub for people flowing into today's China from the Korean Peninsula. More recently a reverse trend can be observed. Most of the emigrants from Brookside are currently living in South Korea. The second most popular destination are large Chinese cities all over the country.

The migration to South Korea began in the late 1980s. The rapid economic development in South Korea since the 1970s gradually increased the gap in average income and life quality between Yanbian and South Korea. The introduction of television in Yanbian in the 1980s opened up new ways for the villagers to learn about the situation in South Korea, which gradually increased access to a new understanding of this country beyond the state-sponsored narratives related to the Korean War. Some villagers recalled their changing impression of South Korea. According to oral accounts, watching the Seoul 1988 Olympic Games was one of the significant turning points that changed the villagers' perceptions of the country from seeing it as a colony ruled by the United States to an independent, modern and wealthy nation. Kang Ju-Yong, a villager in his eighties, described the shift like this:

"We used to think that South Koreans are suffering because we learnt that it's a colony of the United States. And then in 1988, we watched the Seoul Olympic Games and we didn't see any Americans. We used to think that there must be many Americans on the streets. South Korea must be colonized, but it wasn't the case. We only saw Koreans on the street and the country looked

wealthy and modern. It is not a colony of the U.S., rather, it is a rich country completely built by South Koreans themselves!"

Another factor that increased ties to South Korea is that, in the wake of the economic reform in China since 1978, the planned rural agricultural production system organized in people's communes changed to the "household responsibility system" (家庭联产承包责任制) in the early 1980s, which offered villagers more opportunities to run small businesses. Some villagers made a small fortune that enabled them to travel abroad. Along with the establishment and normalization of the diplomatic relations between China and South Korea, visits of ethnic Korean-Chinese nationals to South Korea increased in the 1980s. Eventually some of these visitors with a short-term visiting permit (usually three months) decided to overstay and took up work in South Korea. In the 1980s and 1990s, South Korea had a family-based visa policy. Invitations from South Korean citizens that provide proof of blood ties were crucial for the villagers to obtain access to visiting visas. In order to enter South Korea, some villagers tried to contact their relatives in South Korea and asked for invitations for family reunions. Many established contact (mainly via post mail) with relatives in South Korea in the 1980s and later tried to find work in South Korea. Other villagers who lost contact with their relatives in South Korea or traced their family ties to North Korea found other ways to enter the country such as through marriage or fake kinship claims. Through marriage with a South Korean citizen, these villagers were able to migrate to South Korea, which opened up opportunities for other family members to obtain visiting visa. For instance, Chang Dong-Jun, a villager in his sixties, recalled how he went to South Korea in 1996:

"*I received a call from a friend who was living in the city. He said there are two South Korean men traveling in China and they want to find Korean-Chinese wives. My second daughter was single so I brought her to my friend's home. They met there and chatted, and then they found each other suitable. They got married in China soon after and my daughter and I have both applied for visas to South Korea. She moved to South Korea to live with her husband. My wife and I have applied for visiting visa to attend her wedding. The visa was three months. We stayed until the visa expired. Then we didn't know how to apply for extension. I worked illegally in South Korea for 11 years afterwards. I came back to China and my daughter sent me invitations again and again, but I couldn't get a new visa to go to South Korea for many years because of my previous illegal stay.*"

Some villagers who could not get in touch with their relatives in South Korea or had no blood ties in South Korea paid for human brokers. These agents then tried to identify people with the same family names in South Korea to send invitations to the villagers in their name. Such services were expensive and sometimes put the migrants in danger, because the migrants sometimes ended up under continued control of the agents in South Korea and many had to work under precarious conditions to repay their debts. Some were coerced to become involved in job they were initially not willing to take up and their families in Yanbian may be threatened if they tried to escape.

Eventually, South Korea began issuing visa to "overseas co-ethnics" in the 1990s, but the Korean-Chinese were excluded as only Koreans who left the Korean Peninsula after the establishment of the Republic of Korea qualified. Possibly the exclusion of Chinese nationals

involves domestic and diplomatic concerns at the time (Song 2014). However, the need for the South Korean state to deal with this population already inside the country increased. A number of local humanitarian organizations, especially churches that provided shelter and legal support, fought for more rights for this population. Eventually, possibly also due to labor shortage in South Korea, the South Korean government began recognizing Korean-Chinese as overseas Koreans in the first decade of the new millennium and began issuing F-4 visas.[84] This visa, that only targets this specific population, allows Korean-Chinese to engage in most employment activities and grants a stay of up to two years. Since the introduction of the F4 visa, the villagers only needed to provide their Chinese citizen identity cards that indicates their ethnic category as "Korean" to apply for the visa. A proof of relatives in South Korea or an invitation letter were not required anymore. In fact, at that time, other overseas Koreans with other nationalities still need to provide records of family history or other proof to prove their Korean heritage.[85]

In China, the media and many lay observers usually explain the decrease of the ethnic Korean population of China with the increase of emigration to South Korea, but largely neglect another factor: the migration of this population from the rural borderland to urban areas within China. This internal migration appears to often be tied to educational achievements in the Chinese education system. Those farmers in the village that pursue higher education beyond middle school have good access to new occupations. Within Maizefield Town, the highest educational institution is a middle school. This means that those who attend high schools or technical secondary schools

[84] The official definition of Overseas Koreans and related visa regulation please refer to: http://www.immigration.go.kr/HP/IMM80/imm_04/imm_0407/imm_407010.jsp

[85] I have interviewed a Russian citizen and a U.S. citizen with Korean heritage in South Korea. They both complained that it is more difficult for them to be recognized as Korean descendants than the Korean-Chinese.

have to leave the borderland. After completing their education, many villagers stay and find jobs in the cities. Villagers who attended technical secondary schools may take up jobs as technicians or work in factories. There are also cases of villagers who married people from the cities who came to rural Yanbian to work. During the cultural revolution, this group called the "youth sent to the countryside (下乡知青)", were mostly school graduates from urban China who were sent to stay in rural regions for a prolonged period of time and participated in agricultural production.

A small number of villagers also began doing business in North Korea. Previous studies showed that a significant number of ethnic minority Koreans crossed the border and moved to North Korea in the 1960s, particular during the great famine in China (Kim 2016). However, I did not identify such cases in Brookside. Most of the cross-border movements to and from North Korea seem to have taken place after the economic reform. After 1978, many villagers began to engage in various sorts of cross-border business, such as transportation services or livestock, food and textile trading. Several villagers confirmed that they or their family members used to trade with North Koreans. For instance, Song Mei-Ran mentioned that:

"My father died before I went to school. My mother raised me and my siblings alone. My sister and I didn't finish elementary school because my family could only afford one person's education, so we left the opportunity to the youngest brother. My mother used to go to North Korea a lot to trade with North Koreans. We had better cloth, shoes and that stuff so she brought those things to North Korea and sold them there. She also bought seafood such as pollack over there and sold it here."

Song Ji-Hun, in his sixties, told me his experience in North Korea:

"I went to North Korea frequently in the 1990s. I went to Pyongyang by bus and I slept on the bus for days. My friends and I went together and we bought things back and sold them in China. I also went to Rajin frequently a couple of years ago. They (North Koreans) had good stuff before, but not anymore, so I stopped bringing back things..."

Other villagers mentioned that their relatives crossed the border and brought goods for them to sell in China. A villager told me that her first pair of high heels was from her relatives in North Korea in the 1980s and that, at that time, North Korean shoes were considered fashionable in Yanbian and high heels were harder to get at the local markets. The geographical location of the village made it possible to travel to North Korea and the cross-border trading activities helped the villagers to earn money. Besides interactions with states on the Korean Peninsula, the villagers also told me that they know of some people who went to Russia, Japan and Italy through agencies.

Why did they leave?

I further investigated the motives and accounts of the villagers left Brookside and settled in urban China or South Korea. Some eventually returned to Brookside and others did not. These questions often triggered long stories, usually related to turning points in their life. Here I present oral accounts collected both in Brookside Village and South Korea:

Oral account 1. Chang Dong-Jun in his 60s:

It was a cloudy afternoon in May 2017, I was invited by Chang Dong-Jun whom I got to know at a village event. We had coffee with his wife Han Mi-Sun at their house. While Dong-Jun was preparing the coffee, he asked me if I would prefer to have Maxim coffee, a well-known coffee brand in South Korea.

"I brought the coffee back from South Korea."

"Oh, you have been to South Korea?"

"Yes. The coffee is from South Korea," he said. I asked him why he went to South Korea and he began telling the whole story of how he eventually decided to go to South Korea in the mid-1990s.

After Dong-Jun finished elementary school, he learnt electric soldering and woodworking at a young age and began building houses in the village. Later, he became a driver and started a chartered bus business. His service didn't only serve passengers, but also transported agricultural products. The business grew fast and he later hired three drivers and owned one bus and two tractors in the mid-1980s. The business helped him to become one of the earliest households with an annual income of ten-thousand yuan (万元户)[86] *in the village. The business was growing until an accident happened. A tractor was turned over while carrying goods, killing the driver. Dong-*

[86] The term represented very wealthy family in the 1980s in China. For example, in People's Daily (11 May 1984), a report used this as a measurement: "We should see that, currently the regions and farmers that are really prosperous are rare, households with ten-thousand yuan annual income are exceptional (应该看到，现在真正富裕起来的地区和农民还是少数，'万元户'还是个别的)."

Jun paid ten thousand Chinese Yuan to the family as compensation and, because of the accident, stopped running the transportation business.

In 1986, one year after the Da Tang Hunchun Power Plant was established in the nearby borderland between Russia, North Korea and China, he found another business opportunity: coal mining. He used the saving earned from the transportation business to invest in a coal mine. At that time the state was not regulating coal mining, he said. People could rent coal mines as long as they have sufficient funding. He established a coal mine near Brookside Village and hired more than thirty workers. In the beginning, all the coal was sold to the power plant in Hunchun. However, the coal from the Maizefield Town area was of low quality and once coal from Heilongjiang Province entered the market, his business struggled. He heard that in another county the coal was of better quality and decided to abandon the coal mine in Maizefield Town and moved along the border to find better coal. The first two years, he tried mining at two locations without finding any suitable coal. He tried the third mine and finally found some. The third mine produced more than 300 tons and the locals were excited. Welcome ceremonies were held for his coal mine business and the locals were helping to sell the coal.

Earlier, during the time as a Japanese colony, the region was already mined. The third mine was built close to an abandoned mine by the Japanese. After the coal was dug out, underground water had filled up the empty spaces and the old mine was holding large quantities of water. Unaware of this, they kept mining closer and closer to the water. Eventually the water broke through a thin wall and drowned five workers. He was interviewed by the police and ended up paying 10 thousand Chinese Yuan compensation to each family and without any court sentence.

After the fatal accident, he returned to Brookside Village and stayed at home for a while. The Brookside village secretary said he later claimed to have found a spot in Brookside where the coal is good. As the only person who was experienced in running a coal mine, he was invited by the secretary to contract the land from the village. He refused in the beginning because of the former accident and said he used up all his savings after the accident. The secretary persuaded him to get a loan from the bank and promised him to help with 70% of the interest rate. The rest belonged to the village production brigade. He tried, but couldn't get a loan from the bank because of the previous accident. Only, after the secretary representing the government put in a guarantee for him, he finally got 100 thousand Chinese Yuan. They began to set up the facilities but soon found out that the quality of coal was not good enough and decided to establish the mine at another location in Maizefield Town, close to an existing, state-run coal mine. After days of negotiation and contacting many people, he finally got permission to mine that spot, but was warned that he would be fully responsible for the coal mine if they insisted to mine that place. Unfortunately, another accident happened right after he was allowed to start mining. His nephew fell from a well when he was trying to explore the mine. He tried to hide the accident but it was in 1994 or 1995[87]*, and the state had tightened the regulations on coal mining across the country. All fatal accidents had to be reported to the central government. The coal mine had to close down soon after.*

"I thought that I am doomed here. It's time to leave," he said and went to South Korea to work.

[87] The informant couldn't remember the exact year.

Dong-Jun's narrative about why he eventually chose to migrate to South Korea shows that he made this decision after trying all means he could think of to make a fortune in Yanbian. He decided to emigrate only after he was in a rather desperate situation, so when his daughter got married with a South Korean citizen, he took the opportunity and moved away. Such narratives of migration as a difficult choice appear to be common among those who left. Many said they migrated after losing hope to make a living in Yanbian or to pursue better income in South Korea. This theme also appears in the oral account of Han Chan-Ri, a female villager who first migrated within China and eventually settled down in South Korea.

Oral Account 2. Han Chan-Ri, in her 40s:

During the dry and hot summer of 2018, we were sitting in the living room of her apartment on the highest floor of a condominium in South Korea. Outside of the window shimmers the skyline of the newly-developed district of a South Korean city that has undergone rapid industrial growth. She invited me to try the shellfish she just made. Watching her putting a piece of shellfish with a layer of mozzarella into her mouth reminded me of when I was watching a South Korean cooking show together with her mother back in Brookside Village a year ago. While the chef was spreading mozzarella on a dish on TV, her mother commented that she did not understand "why on earth people would eat things like cheese" – cheese is not part of Yanbian "traditional" cooking.

Chan-Ri has been in South Korea for more than 15 years now, but South Korea was not her first migrant destination. In the early 1990s, she moved to her husband's hometown in another city within Yanbian after they got married. She got pregnant pretty soon but she did not stay long

in the new home the couple bought because of a swindle. Her husband was promised to obtain a working opportunity in a Southeast Asian country by an agency but it turned out to be a fraud and the family was tricked most of their savings – 20,000 RMB.

"My son was so small, we lost almost everything I had, so I had to make money."

Yanbian did not offer her the salary she expected, but she spoke only basic Chinese and her highest educational degree was middle school, which made job-hunting outside of Yanbian difficult. The boom of South Korean firms coming to China began right after two countries formally established relations in 1992. Along with the rapid growth of South Korean companies in coastal cities came many Korean style restaurants, which are often owned by ethnic-minority Koreans who prefer to hire their co-ethnics. Chan-Ri began her journey by working in such Korean restaurants in different cities in China for more than half of a decade, but the salary was low and she wanted to move on. Once she got in touch with an agency who could help her to get a visa to enter South Korea, she immediately took the chance and her monthly income working in a similar restaurant was almost seven times of what she made in China.

Like Dong-Jun, Chan-Ri also encountered financial hardship and chose to leave Yanbian to pursue a better income. I have asked both emigrants in South Korea and return migrants in Brookside Village about their migrant experiences. Every respondent gave me a completely different story about why they eventually left the village, but an underlying pattern was evident: they encountered some form of trouble, often financial difficulties, that led them to leave. The term "opportunities" often appeared in such narratives. Things like "There are no opportunities here"

or “that place (migrant destination) offers more opportunities” were frequently mentioned. Another common phase to describe Brookside Village was “there is nothing for me to stay”. Sometimes it is not only about jobs or economic opportunities, but about family relations. For example, Hei-Ran’s husband passed away and the same year, her daughter found out that her husband who was working in Italy had an affair there. They said they were too sad to stay in Brookside and decided to go to South Korea to leave the sad memories behind.

The way respondents described the migration process was two-fold. When they talked about the migrant destination, it was usually related to economic opportunities, which, to a certain extent, is similar to what Bialogorski’s study (2010) reports on Chinese ethnic Koreans in Buenos Aires, Argentina: “The principle reasons to migrate have been mainly economic: to obtain fast progress, to generate a capital in order to go back later to the country of origin, or to get a better life standard trying their luck in different contexts.” In this case, in addition to economic opportunities, family issues also seem to play an important role. Figure 31 summarizes my observations among current and former Brookside residents regarding migration destination, occupation, reasons and means of migration:

Figure 31: Basic features of emigration from Brookside village

Confirmed Destinations (beginning with the most popular)	South Korea, Urban China, Japan, Russia, Italy
Occupations after migration	Dishwasher, waiter, farmer, factory worker, construction worker, Christian missionary, office clerk, carpenter, electrician, truck driver, trader
Main reasons to emigrate	Pursue a better income, family issues, accidents at work, education, marriage
Means of migration	Marriage, human brokers, labour agency, education, claim “ethnic compatriot” status (to South Korea)

Governing a Shrinking Population and the Migrant Experiences

During fieldwork I observed the implementations of prefecture government measures to counter the emigration issue and the shrinking population in general. More specifically, most of the prefecture policies were designed for tackling the significantly shrinking ethnic minority Korean population in Yanbian. The prefecture government has developed and tailored several national policies to the region. The following discussion focuses on the changing population policies and the implementation of two projects - *Return Migrant Entrepreneurship* (返乡创业) and the *Construction of a New Socialist Countryside* (社会主义新农村建设). The projects that are designed to coping with the shrinking and aging population in the region, particularly among ethnic minority Koreans can be roughly categorized in two types: preferential policies to increase the birth rate and subsidies related to agricultural production that aim to attract emigrants to return to the rural area.

Encouraging reproduction and return migration

In May 1963, the prefecture government formed a Family Planning Commission which marked the starting point of the implementing of national policies related to family planning in the autonomous prefecture. Several policies were carried out in the following decades. As of the mid-1980s Han Chinese family were generally only allowed to have one child. If at least one parent is an ethnic minority, the family is allowed to have two children instead with the second child to be born at least 8-years after the first (生育间隔). If both partners are ethnic minorities, the family is allowed to have two children within 4-years. In 2009, the *Population and Family Planning in*

Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Trial was carried out in the region and these regulations were eventually loosened: if both parents are ethnic minority Koreans and count as agricultural population, the family can now have up to three kids. If one parent is an only child, they are also allowed to have two children. If one person has a borderland rural *hukou* (the system of household registration in China), they are allowed to have two children. The regulation of "pregnancy spacing" (restricting giving birth to a second child within a certain span of time) was not mentioned in the new policy.

In Dec 2012, another policy was proposed that only targets ethnic minority Koreans, *The Population Development Ordinance of Ethnic Minority Koreans in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture* (延边朝鲜族自治州朝鲜族人口发展条例) in the first session of the 14th People's Congress of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. The deputy of the prefecture standing committee Jin Shuo-Ren proposed this new ordinance, saying that "the ethnic Korean population has exhibited a decreasing trend in our prefecture. However, ethnic minority population and composition are the objective foundation to realize regional autonomy of ethnic minorities as well as one of the important factors to realize autonomous rights. They are the guarantors of our prefecture to enjoy preferential policies toward regional autonomy of ethnic minorities given by the state."[88]

The ordinance was passed in the People's Congress at the prefecture level but still had to be endorsed by the central government at upper levels to be implemented. The proposal included a number of items that all aimed to increase the birth rate of ethnic Koreans. It proposed to

[88] The original text in Chinese. Retrieved 31 May 2018: http://www.ybrd.gov.cn/rdxw/news/2012-10-22/1321.html

compensate ethnic Korean families 1000 Chinese Yuan per month for fifty months if they have a second child. Besides compensation for having a second child, the ordinance also encourages ethnic minority Korean families to have a third kid. Furthermore, new preferential policies for ethnic minority Korean families were proposed that would allow those who have a second and third child to get 10% extra benefits from medical insurances until the second or third kid reaches the age of 18 . Also, the second and third children are guaranteed three years free pre-school education and are to be exempted from accommodation, tuition and textbook fees during the nine-year compulsory education (this has only been applicable to the first child before). Those families would also be prioritized when applying for entrepreneur funding, business license, public welfare positions etc.

The ordinance also proposed to establish an *Ethnic Minority Korean Population Development Foundation* (朝鲜族人口发展基金会) to raise funding both domestically and abroad. It also proposed preferential policies targeting ethnic minority Korean students studying outside of Yanbian in order to encourage them to return to Yanbian after graduation and was designed to encourage ethnic minority Koreans from other parts of China to move to Yanbian.

After the ordinance was passed at the prefecture level, it was handed in to the provincial government and later to the National Health and Family Planning Commission of the People's Republic of China. However, the National Health and Family Planning Commission later declined the proposal alongside growing criticism of the scope of the preferential treatment of ethnic minority Koreans in the proposal. It replied that “it is inadvisable to draft population development ordinances targeting a specific ethnic group. Our prefecture is advised to make the *Ethnic Minority*

Koreans in Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture from an overall and long-term perspective, to implement comprehensive policies, to guide population mobility, to facilitate reasonable distribution, and to continue safeguarding the frontier, to enrich, strengthen and maintain the necessary population density in the borderland region, to coordinate the balanced development of the population and of economic and social resources and of the environment."[89]

The current population policy was implemented by the Jilin Provincial Government in 2016 and stated that both ethnic Koreans in Yanbian and other residents living in the border counties are encouraged to have three kids. Ethnic Koreans in Yanbian do not enjoy preferential treatment.[90] The unsuccessful proposal illustrates that the prefectural and central government at times appear to have diverging concerns. For Yanbian governors, the sustainability of the Korean autonomous region appears to be of paramount importance, but the central government possibly does not emphasize this in the same way.

In 2017, an ethnic Korean scholar who spent most of his life in Beijing and who specialises in studying ethnic minority policies of different eras gave a talk at Yanbian University. His talk attracted a large audience, possibly due to his involvement in the central government. "I was always sitting in the first row when we had meetings regarding ethnic minority issues with President Xi Jinping," he told the audience in the very beginning of the meeting. The audience mainly consisted of three groups: professors, students and local governors. Then he went on and

[89] Original text in Chinese: "不宜针对特定民族制定人口发展条例，建议我州从全局和长远的视角制定《延边朝鲜族自治州人口发展条例》，采取综合性政策，引导人口有序流动，合理分布，不断安边富边实边，使边境地区始终保持必要的人口密度，统筹好人口与经济社会资源环境的协调发展".
[90] Full text of the policy is in Chinese, retrieved 31 May 2018, http://www.jl.gov.cn/hd/zxft/szfzxft/zxft_2016/jlsrkyjhsytl/

summarized the currently policy orientation as “to talk less and to do more”. Here “less talking” refers to avoiding open discussions of potentially sensitive topics such as assimilation that may trigger resistance from ethnic minority circles, and “to do more” refers to taking increased measures to dilute “ethnic consciousness” with every mean and to ultimately realize “ethnic fusion”. It remains unclear whether this indeed accurately captures attitudes towards so-called ethnic minority issues, but this professor’s account certainly represents one of the political camps that is involved in policy-making at the central level.

The construction of the new socialist countryside

Another project that brought changes to Yanbian is the *Construction of New Socialist Countryside*, a project carried out nationwide since the fifth plenary session of the 16th CPC central committee in 2005. This project is usually carried out in conjunction with the project “Return Migrant Entrepreneurship (返乡创业)”. In ethnic minority regions, the policy encourages the establishment of industries and entrepreneurship based on “ethnic traditions”[91].

One part of the *Construction of New Socialist Countryside* in Yanbian was the removal of houses in dilapidated condition and merging almost deserted settlements into new communities. Similar to the *Action Plan to Vitalize the Border and Enrich People* discussed in the previous chapter, such measures usually prioritize ethnic minorities when implemented in borderland regions. In Yanbian this large scale renovation project started from those village that are

[91] Original text in Chinese:“《意见》还要求，抓好《鼓励农民工等人员返乡创业三年行动计划纲要（2015－2017年）》的落实，打造一批民族传统产业创业示范基地、一批县级互联网创业示范基地。”

predominantly occupied by ethnic minority Koreans. People who left the region but their *hukou* was still in rural Yanbian have to return to Yanbian to apply for the subsidies to rebuild their village houses. This mainly applies to emigrants to foreign countries who are still Chinese citizens because internal migrants usually changed their *hukou* to another place in China and settling elsewhere. In the villages of ethnic minority Korean and Han Chinese the house renovation project usually only applies to ethnic Korean households.

For instance, this was the case in Valley village not far from Brookside. This village has three settlement areas and is located on a slope. Two ethnic minority Korean settlements are located at the lower end, separated by a highway and next to an abandoned coal mine and its worker dormitories. The Han Chinese settlement is located along the slope. As of early 2018, after the subsidies to rebuild residential housing came into effect in rural Yanbian, the two ethnic Korean settlements were almost completely rebuilt but the Han settlement were not included in the project.

I interviewed both officials involved in this project and villagers from Valley on the matter and their explanation for this unequal development in the village was that this is not based on ethnic differences, but rather the interpretation was based on the different *hukou* composition of the villagers. The majority of population in Valley Village was ethnic minority Koreans before the coal mine was established. Later on, however, after the factory was completed, mainly Han Chinese were recruited from other provinces in China and many moved to the village. The earlier settlers were registered as “agricultural population” but the ethnic Han Chinese who moved to the village to work in the factory were classified as “workers”. The local government officials explained that the renovation policies and other related subsidies are only targeting people who

count as the former, which effectively excludes most of the Han Chinese in Valley Village from the project and the subsidies. I also discussed this with a Han villager from Valley, and he agreed to this explanation and also added that this was because the "ethnic minorities need extra help".

Another important part of the *Construction of New Socialist Countryside* is the reform of the local healthcare system. The general lack of healthcare resources is a major issue that sets apart urban and rural regions in China and to tackle this problem the Yanbian government carried out several policies to reform the system in recent years. For example, the public hospital at the center of Maizefield Town offered the elderly (above 60-years-old) who are classified as "agricultural population" annual physical examination for free. The examination covers basic items such as blood pressure, CBC, urinalysis, liver function tests, kidney function test, blood sugar and lipids tests, ECG and medical ultrasound.

The *Construction of New Socialist Countryside* also includes measures to encourage ethnic minority Koreans working outside of Yanbian to return to the rural area in Yanbian to develop agricultural production and other businesses. In 2015, Jilin Provincial Government announced the *Enforcement Advice on Supporting Migrant Workers Returning to their Hometown and Starting Entrepreneurship* (吉林省人民政府办公厅关于支持农民工等人员返乡创业的实施意见)[92] and as of 2017, the new policy attracted some 13,000 people to return according to a news report.[93]

[92] Original text in Chinese: http://www.jl.gov.cn/xxgk/zc/zffw/szfwj/jzbf/201512/t20151231_2136301.html, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.
[93] Original text in Chinese: http://www.xinhuanet.com/photo/2017-05/11/c_1120958040_3.htm, retrieved 12 Aug 2018.

For instance, the current mayor of Brookside went to South Korea in his early 20s and worked there for more than one and half decades. A couple of years ago, possibly encouraged by the recent policies of developing the rural economy in Yanbian, he returned to Brookside and began several agricultural projects such as black fungus cultivation and blueberry farming. He was elected as village mayor in 2016. Since he returned to the village, he has been planning to develop the local economy and he came up with many ideas, such as to developing a tourism industry in the village. Many of his ideas were supported by other relatively young villagers who want to make a living in the village. Some of them joined the village government and worked together on such ideas. The newly elected village government identified two features of Brookside that may attract tourists: the well-preserved ethnic Korean folk culture and the attractive natural landscape. Since most of the residents in Brookside Village are ethnic Koreans, Brookside Village has the potential to be promoted as a "model ethnic minority Korean community", showcasing ethnic minority Korean cuisine, dances and songs, traditional Korean houses. To this end, the new village government is currently trying to encourage villagers to host tourists and cater to the needs of the visitors by selling traditional Korean dishes to their guests.

During my stay, I observed that the "return migrant entrepreneurs" often struggled to realize their plans. For instance, it was difficult for the village mayor and other return migrant entrepreneurs to carry out their plans because of the following reasons – the difficult processes of applying for government funding and the lack of manpower. For instance, a proposal to build hiking tracks in Brookside initiated by the village mayor got stuck as complicated bureaucratic procedures cropped up and I never saw the plans coming to fruition. The administrative territory

of Brookside Village includes a few mountains and parts of a small river that occasionally attracts hikers, which led the new village government to propose a plan to building hiking tracks that connect two mountains in Brookside Village to other hiking paths built by the government department at the city level in 2017. The village government asked for more than ten million Chinese Yuan fund. However, due to previous collusion scandals involving the village government level, the governments at upper level became very cautious to provide larger sums for such projects and the application was rejected. For instance, in early 2017, the mayor of a village near Brookside was under investigation for corruption. The official announcement related to the case stated that the village mayor had misappropriated about 100 thousand Chinese Yuan of government funding for personal use. The funding was allocated to the village government as part of the prefecture wide project of *Vitalize Border Areas and Enrich the People* that was discussed in the previous chapter. However, a popular version of what happened that circulates among the villagers and local governors was much more dramatic. They say that the amount of money that was misappropriated was more than one million Chinese Yuan and that the village mayor and some other village governors involved in the case , in order to avoid further investigations, burnt all the evidence in form of account books together with a large amount of government documents related to financial situation of the village. However, no official statement confirmed the second narrative. Notably, similar rumours about corrupt village governments are frequently circulated in the rural area and governors at the city level are aware of such narratives and became rather cautious when evaluating new proposals from village governments. The background and reputation of the village mayors have become an important factor in the decision-making at the upper government level. During

my last visit to a government department at the city level in charge of funding applications from Brookside Village Government in June 2017, the officials told me that they were now not only accessing the proposed project but also run extensive background checks on the village mayors.

Besides the tedious processes of applying for funding from upper government levels, the village government also faced another issue: shortage of labor. After a field trip to several model villages in other provinces, which were titled "model villages of rural economic development" by the state, the village mayor told me in late 2016: "The farmers there are working very hard, even the elderly who are above 60-year-old, they are still farming. How can such places not have good economic development? In contrast, our ethnic Korean elderly here enjoy life too much. On one hand we Koreans are too fond of amusement, on the other hand the elderlies are spoiled by the remittance they get from overseas. They think they have enough money, so they are having fun every day, they don't want to work."

On another occasion, the village mayor also mentioned that he visited many Brookside villagers in South Korea and was trying to persuade them to move back to the village: "The national policies are favouring the 'agricultural population' now. In South Korea they are working hard for other people, but if they come back they can become entrepreneurs." The mayor's narrative shows that the regional government is indeed actively trying to motivate people to come back to Brookside. But is it working? And what are those saying that actually came back in comparison to those who settled elsewhere? The next section explores this question further.

Emigrants and return migrants in Brookside

When I asked people from Brookside who already settled down in South Korea whether they ever considered returning without specifying that I refer to Brookside in particular, they usually assumed the question is whether they would return to China in general. “No, I don’t want to go back. I don’t know what to do there,” a female respondent in her forties said. She had several part-time jobs in different restaurants and her monthly income was about 250 million Korean Won. She usually took one day off every week and worked more than ten hours a day throughout the week. With this job, her income in South Korea was more than eight times than that of a comparable job in Yanbian – certainly a reason to stay.

I went on and asked my informants about her opinion on the recent preferential policies toward the “agricultural population” in Yanbian. Most of them did not show much interests. When I told them about other recently returned villagers who had some success as entrepreneurs back in the village (e.g. the village mayor), several respondents showed their doubts and distrust of the village government. They suspected the return villagers, particular those who hold positions in the village government, of fraud and other collusion-related behaviour. Although they were not able to give any concrete example of this, they believed that these return villagers must have formed some kind of shady shared-interest group and that it would be very hard for all others to accomplish something similar. They said that the preferential policies and subsidies usually only benefit a handful of smart individuals and that there is generally no fair play, therefore the new policies did not seem to be of much concern to them.

Generally, hardship related to the underdeveloped infrastructure and the strenuous peasant life in Brookside motivates many villagers to leave. It can also be said that although the Chinese state-initiated projects did not attract a large number of labour to return to Yanbian, but they seem to have made some residents embracing a more positive view of the future of their hometown and of the country in general. Some children in South Korea who left their elderly parents in Brookside Village told me that "it is good to live in Chinese Villages nowadays" mainly citing the free physical examination and basic medical insurance. "It is very expensive to see doctors in South Korea," some of them said. The rural medical reform in China seems to ease their worries (and possibly guilt) to leaving their parents behind.

Such new implementations may not be sufficient to attract villagers in South Korea to return to Brookside or Yanbian, but became cited in their narratives of political views. Economic opportunities and quality of life are the most persuasive reasons for many to stay in South Korea, but surprisingly many praised politics in China and considered South Korean politics to be chaotic. "Four former South Korean presidents are in jail now. Have you ever seen this happened to any Chinese leaders?" A male villager in his forties asked me in South Korea, citing just one of many similar narratives I have encountered on the topic while interviewing Brookside villagers in South Korea. The next section will reveal the unsuccessful implementation of some policies aiming to increase the quality of life in rural Yanbian, but Brooksiders mostly saw the measures by the Chinese state as a gesture of good will towards ethnic minorities. The pro-Chinese political attitudes can also be seen as a coping strategy in relation to the discrimination and feelings of isolation that some of them encountered in their everyday life in South Korea.

Generally, it seems that many Brookside villagers in South Korean encountered arguments related to different political opinions and feelings of being discriminated due to low socio-economic status in daily life in South Korea (Song and Tsunoda 2016). “Although we are relatives, but I don’t like to hang out with them. Chinese and South Koreans are not the same (중국 사람이 한국 사람이랑 안 똑같애),” Chan-Ri once told me. She felt uncomfortable during many occasions interacting with her relatives in South Korea, such as during weddings and other celebrations. She thought that South Korean relatives think the relatives from China are poor, so she felt that although they are being nice to her, but it was superficial. She thought that, deep down, the South Korean relatives looked down on their relatives from China. However, these feelings of discrimination were not unique to emigrants in South Korea, but also by emigrants in Jilin Province. For instance, a female student studied in Changchun once told me that she felt embarrassed to speak Korean outside of Yanbian. She said people would look down on people who speak Korean and speaking the language is associated with low socioeconomic status and lack of education.

On the other hand, some Brookside villagers occasionally also associate their relatives in North Korea with low socioeconomic status. For instance, a villager once told me why the senior members in the family lost contact with their relatives in North Korea in the 1990s: “My family stopped visiting our relatives in North Korea at a certain point, because… I don’t know if it’s because “when a man is poor his ambition is not far-reaching (人穷志气短), every time my parents went to North Korea the relatives kept asking for money and goods. It became a burden to my family, so my parents stopped going there.” In such narratives, socioeconomic status played an important role in the building and maintaining (or not) a social network based on kinship.

Another observation regarding informal social networks of Brooksiders in South Korea, that could be seen as a consequence of the social environment immigrants encounter is: Most social networks of Brookside villagers largely consist of their relatives. A possible explanation of this is that the villagers' families have one-after-another chain migrated to South Korea in the over the past decades, and that this pattern hinders many to build up social networks beyond their family ties. Besides, in village life, most of the people in their social network were also relatives, which is different from urban society where education and occupation offer more opportunities to establish social relationships with non-relatives. Many Brookside villagers kept moving from place to place, following job opportunities, and this may make it difficult to develop relationship with people other than their longstanding ties to relatives. Many ended up reproducing their former social networks in Brookside in South Korea and remain closest to their extended families after migrating.

The housing subsidies have attracted some villagers return to Yanbian. It seems that the villagers who chose to come back mostly do so to retire rather than to re-join the local labour market as workers or entrepreneurs. During my stay in Brookside in 2016 and 2017, several villagers in their 60s and 70s returned to the village. Some of them came back to build new houses (e.g. Dong-Jun and Hei-Ran), some of them returned because of tightened visa requirements in South Korea.

In spring 2017, some of those who returned once again participated in agricultural production after having worked in restaurants and factories in South Korea for many years. However, many found it hard to adapt back to the life as farmers that they lived for decades before

they went to South Korea. For example, hiking into the mountains to find edible plants is a common activity after a rainy day during spring. Several wild plants (e.g. bracken fern) can be sold on urban markets. After picking the plants, they are dried and packaged and then merchants would come to buy them from the villagers to sell them in China and overseas. Several villagers went into the mountains almost every day for an entire month and they made a small fortune out of this, but some of those who returned to Brookside now found this kind of work too tiring. After just one trip, they decided to stop collecting plants in the mountains for good. “Bye-bye, never see you again,” some returned villagers waved their hands at the mountain after we returned from a hiking trip and had just reached the bottom of the mountain. Maybe the money they could make out of the strenuous job was not worth the effort for them.

The returnees also rented out their land to other peasants, mostly to Han Chinese who moved down South from Heilongjiang Province. In recent years, more and more people came South from rural Heilongjiang Province where the temperature can drop to around -40 and the winters are even longer than in Yanbian. Although the returnees did not farm their own land anymore, but some were hired by a village governor. The mayor collaborates with a local pharmaceutical factory which rented land from local farmers to cultivate medical herbs. These enterprises hire many farmers including Han Chinese and ethnic Koreans from all over the town to transplant the herb sprouts from pots to the farmland. After beginning the work, however, several returnees quit the job right after the first day, citing health issues such as back pain, sore legs and thighs. One returnee who kept working on schedule found her lips bleeding on the third day, but she still kept working till the last day of the project. She went to see a doctor right after

and it took her almost two weeks to fully recover. The medical fees were higher than the salary she received for her hard work.

Generally, the rather strenuous peasant life is characterized by tiring farm work, which is partly due to the underdeveloped infrastructure. In chapter 4, I have briefly described the unstable electricity and water supply in the village and irregular transportation in winter. Furthermore, the small clinic in the village that was built as part of the medical system reform seems closed. According to the village government records, a doctor is supposed to be on duty there on weekdays, but I never saw any. The villagers have to go to the town or the city to see a doctor. The oldest resident in Brookside Village, who was living alone, one day slipped on the icy pavement in front of her house and broke her hip. It took the village mayor one hour to send her to the nearest hospital and to find a doctor trained to deal with this kind of injury. During Chinese New Year in 2017, Hei-Ran's daughter came for a visit and brought her granddaughter along for the first time. They originally planned to stay a couple of days, but after staying in the village for only one day, the three-years-old granddaughter kept crying and complaining about the cold. The mother was so worried that the little girl would catch a cold and that it would be difficult to get treatment or medicine in the village. Eventually they shortened their visit and left early in the morning of the next day.

The free physical examination offered by the town hospital brought positive changes for some of the elderly and has led some to pay more attention to a healthy lifestyle with more time spend on exercising. For example, some villagers decided to drink less alcohol after getting to know that their livers are not in good condition. Although the medical care in the town hospital

has improved, the villagers still face many challenges when they get sick as the hospitals nearby do not have many specialists.

Those villagers who are familiar with healthcare in both Brookside and South Korea said that Brookside offers only basic healthcare compared to South Korea but that it is considerably less costly or even free. For instance, in 2017, Kang Dong-Ha and Song Min-Ji (a couple both in their seventies) moved to South Korea to stay with their children because Min-Ji was sick and the family thought that she could get better treatment in South Korea. In contrast, a female respondent in her twenties I interviewed in Seongnam, South Korea, in 2016 told me a different story. She said that they were urban residents in China and that her parents just returned to China for medical treatment because they had better access to medical resources in their hometown of Shenyang city. The two opposite stories show that the accessibility to medical resources can significantly vary in both countries and across different regions in China.

Discussion: The Management and Utilization of Ethnic Capital

The people of Yanbian who are classified as ethnic Koreans can be seen as "a multitude of individuals and organizations who pursue a particular political project by invoking a notion" of groupness. Various actors work together to maintain this group (Brubaker 2004; Malesevic 2006). An important top-down organization in service of the project is the prefecture government that proposed policies to safeguard this group in Yanbian and protect it from dilution and assimilation. Ordinary group members utilize various features of their membership category to realize migration

to South Korea, such as obtaining for-members-only visa. Prefecture government officials rely on their membership to develop their political career in China and access exclusive posts.

In short, being classified as "ethnic-minority Korean" provides a form of "ethnic capital" to its members that emerged from both the overall government apparatus of Yanbian as an administrative construct as well as the migration experiences of Brookside villagers (Borjas 1992; Kim 2018; Zhou 2005; Zhou and Lin 2005). Ethnic capital is "the interplay of financial capital, human capital, and social capital within an identifiable ethnic community" (Zhou and Lin 2005). This form of capital facilitates ethnic networks and mobility, both socially and physically. For many, emigration and return migration in Brookside only become possible through the existence of informal network that mainly grew under the umbrella of kinship and ethnicity, but that are maintained and developed by state organizations in both China and South Korea.

Drawing on Zhou (2005), "the value of social capital emerg[es] from local social ties […] that can facilitate access to resources conducive to mobility" (2005: 140). Migration from and to Brookside shows that, the value of ethnic capital is jointly defined by not only the local social network, but also the regulations and policies from above, i.e. actors outside of the ethnic community in Brookside. Ethnic capital is not only conducive to social mobility but also to cross-border mobility (Kim 2018). The ethnic minority status in China can be seen as a source of capital in local lifeworlds, and the state enhances this through preferential policies that provide extra support to members. Such top-down factors add value and maintain this form of ethnic capital. In addition, members can also draw on the South Korean state that has provided them "external membership" in the recent years through issuing visa based on co-ethnicity criteria (Kim 2016).

This adds additional value to this particular ethnic membership category and therefore contributes to their ethnic capital.

Ethnic capital and politics

The policies discussed in this and the previous chapter revealed concerns of the Chinese central state regarding the shrinking population in the borderland. The state allocated funding specifically to ethnic minorities and the conditioned access to such grants further increased the ethnic capital of members. Furthermore, the preferential policies toward ethnic Koreans proposed by the Yanbian Prefecture Government can be seen as an attempt to consolidate their ethnic minority status. As discussed in the previous chapter, China has a long tradition of relying on "ethnic minority cadres (少数民族干部)" to govern ethnic minority autonomous regions. Therefore, this capital does not only contribute to the development of ethnic-minority Koreans as a whole, but also has significant impact on the social mobility of local ethnic minority politicians.

Notably, the scope of where the ethnic capital of this group is applicable is limited. For instance, the female student from Yanbian who studied in outside of the autonomous prefecture in Changchun expressed concerns of racial discrimination when she spoke Korean in other parts of the country. This shows that the status of ethnic minority Korean was not a form of capital to her but rather something to hide. In South Korea, however, a different trend can be observed. Along with the increasingly welcoming immigration policies targeting overseas co-ethnics in South Korea, it gradually became easier to settle there. According to Kim (2018) "settlement in other fast-developing urban and industrial centers within China was no less challenging than settlement

in South Korea". Many Brookside villagers took this chance and moved there to work, making use of their external membership in the process.

In summary, the Chinese central state, the Yanbian prefecture government and the South Korean state have all been making policies that simultaneously affect the Korean-Chinese ethnic capital. However, the realization of this capital is situational, conditional and in most cases bound to specific location and administrative organizations. For instance, Brookside emigrants had to return to the village in person to apply for the subsidy to renovate their houses.

Also, the Chinese and South Korean states assigned somewhat diverging meanings to the group and their capital. The Chinese state perceives their Koreanness as a Chinese ethnic-minority characteristic, while the South Korean state uses it to define their status as overseas co-ethnics. Therefore, when the Yanbian residents realize their ethnic capital in different countries, they are interacting with different political power. In China, the utilization of Korean-Chinese ethnic capital as defined by the state organizations requires the recognition and acceptance of their status as an ethnic minority. Simultaneous with the use of the capital comes the proclamation of this ethnic minority group as part of the nation.

As ethnic capital is tied to territories and organizations, migrants are not always able to utilize it. For instance, many Brooksiders in South Korea could not benefit from the *Return Migrant Entrepreneurship* and the *Construction of a New Socialist Countryside* projects, but the gesture still mattered to them and influenced their perception. Here, the added value to their ethnic capital has a symbolic meaning and such feelings of "being taken good care of" may certainly

contribute to positive views of the Chinese state, and ultimately affect their perception of nationhood.

Ethnic capital and mobility

As I have shown, various actors from above and below both contributed to define the value of Korean-Chinese ethnic capital. I argue that, in Yanbian, this ethnic capital is conducive to both upward social mobility within China and cross-border mobility to South Korea and beyond. The previous chapter discussed how the owner of a "Dragon Head Enterprise" utilized his ethnic minority status to obtain government funding. In fact, his membership of this group is what enabled him to access the necessary funds, he was literally cashing in on his ethnic capital. That chapter also discussed that the minority status is an important source for local politicians to climb up the political ladder within the Korean Autonomous Prefecture. Within this organization membership of this group is without doubt vital to ascend to higher posts.

As of cross-border mobility, the oral accounts of several Brookside emigrants revealed that all paths to South Korea are related in one way or another to their ethnic ties. Dong-Jun and Mi-Sun first had the chance to go to South Korea because their daughter married a citizen there. Chan-Ri managed to enter South Korea because an agent helped her to get an invitation letter who claimed to be her long-lost relative in Korea. Once in Korea, the life that the early Brookside emigrants encountered was often tough and many were left in legal limbo and eventually sent back to Yanbian. Those who managed to stay mostly utilized or created family ties. They managed to connect with the emerging informal networks created by other Korean-Chinese and some South

Koreans who were profiting from such ethnic networks for various reasons. Their Korean-Chinese ethnic capital emerged from these networks and ultimately may have contributed to adjustments of national policies that target this group in both China and South Korea.[94] Although Brookside villagers in South Korea did not cluster in specific areas (e.g. such as Incheon Chinatown or Daerim-dong), they still formed a distinct ethnic community rather than fully assimilating into local Korean society. One aspect that certainly contributed to this is communication technology that transformed parts of their social network from an actual community into an online community. Smartphone apps such as WeChat and KakaoTalk connected Brookside villagers across the country and helped them to stay in touch with each other and circulate job opportunities and other information through those platforms. Many public pages on WeChat keep Brooksiders up to date about new policies in South Korea that concern them, and they frequently shared the articles on their social media. Notably, in contrast to this, as presented earlier in this chapter, the real-world interaction of Brookside villagers is more limited to their relatives and kinship ties and this is seemed to form their primary social network in South Korea.

Most Brookside villagers did not develop a high level of personal relationship with local South Koreans. Instead, sometimes their occupations (factory workers and farmers) led them to opportunities to interact with immigrants from Southeast Asian countries, such as India, Vietnam and the Philippines. During leisure time, however, the villagers spent most of the time with their relatives from Yanbian according to my observation. I have also observed the importance of kin to Brooksiders in their narratives. For instance, a female informant in her forties posted pictures

[94] An example of the implicit exclusion of Korean-Chinese in South Korean migrant policies please see Kim 2018:6.

of all her cousins and siblings' children and grandchildren on WeChat and commented: "Our clan's future (우리집안에 미래들)." Several oral accounts mention that this is due to disparity in socio-economic status, which shows that while people do group together according to ethnic group formation, other factors such as SES, different nationalities and the perceived general degree of economic development of a country all can be factors that weaken or even break the linkages between ethnic group members. This is also applicable to networks based on kinship, which are often described as even closer and stronger ties.

Ethnic capital and group formation

According to my observation, ethnic capital largely contributed to the construction and maintenance of ethnic boundaries between ethnic Korean and Han Chinese in contemporary rural Yanbian. Ethnic divisions appeared in many domains, such as occupations, residential conditions, infrastructure of different ethnic villages and education. Occupational stratification was observed in Maizefield town and the occupations of residents usually reflect their belonging to a certain ethnic group. Previous studies on income disparities between ethnic minorities and Han Chinese elsewhere in China have found that Han Chinese on average have a higher income compared to ethnic minorities in the same region (e.g. Hannum and Xie 1998; Wu and Song 2014). In Yanbian the situation is reversed.[95] Human capital (i.e. speaking Korean) and social capital (i.e. kinship ties

[95] For instance, the ethnic minority autonomous region Xinjiang has experiences a rising educational gap between Han Chinese and ethnic minorities in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regions after the economic reforms, which contributed to an occupational stratification that positioned significantly more Han Chinese in high-status occupations (Hannum and Xie 1998). The labor market is largely segmented along ethnic categories and local Han Chinese on average often have better income within the same economic sector compared to ethnic minority Uyghur (Wu and Song 2014).

to both North Korea and South Korea) opened up opportunities to many ethnic Koreans to trade with North Koreans (especially in earlier decades) or to work in South Korea. It is less likely for other borderland residents to access these opportunities. During my stay, senior Brookside residents mostly lived off their savings or remittance from the children without having to take up full-time employment. Most of the occupations that do not require an educational degree (e.g. nanny, domestic helper, plumber, electricians and carpenters) in Maizefield were taken up by local Han Chinese and other ethnic minorities such as ethnic Mongolians. Generally, the occupational hierarchy is structured along ethnic boundaries. The higher economic status of ethnic Koreans also influenced how other residents perceive this group. For instance, Han Chinese workers usually associate ethnic minority Koreans with "being rich and generous". For example, a Han villager from a nearby village who worked as an electrician and plumber said:

"The Korean-Chinese are so generous! I was changing a water tap for an old lady. I asked her which tap she wants and I gave her several quotations. She readily decided to get the most expensive one. The tap costed more than a hundred Chinese Yuan. She just spent the money without a second of hesitation (眼睛都不眨一下)."

These differences between ethnic Koreans and other ethnic groups were not only facilitated by informal social networks that emerged from the kinship and ethnic ties, but also created and reinforced by some state and prefecture policies. As discussed earlier, it became easier to distinguish an ethnic Korean settlement from a Han Chinese settlement because the *Construction*

of a New Socialist Countryside prioritized ethnic Korean communities. The project that rebuilt large parts of the rural borderland residential area did in this sense further the residential segregation and reinforced the differences. Similar segregation is commonplace in the education system. The schools in Maizefield divided students into different classes based on language. Ethnic Korean students studied in Korean and the other students studied in mandarin Chinese.

In ethnically circumscribed universes, choices are usually made according to non-ethnic criteria – since the day Brooksiders were born, they did not actively chose to socialize with other ethnic Koreans in the village or other ethnic Korean students at school, they chose them because they were there. Such choices are not necessarily explicitly ethnic, but "can structure the trajectories of future choices in ways that reinforce" Koreanness as a salient idiom of belonging (Fox and Miller-Idriss 2008: 544).

Boundaries based on different ethnic capital also occur between ethnic Koreans and other ethnic minorities in China. The opportunity to access a more developed labor market on the Korean Peninsula (North Korea was also once more developed than Yanbian) is unique among all cross-border ethnic minorities in China, which distinguishes ethnic Koreans. Also, in Yanbian, other ethnic minorities are less visible and exhibit a higher degree of integration into the Han community. From the perspective of ethnic Koreans, the ethnic boundary appears not between Han and ethnic minorities, but rather between ethnic Koreans and the rest. As I have shown, different political projects increased the Korean-Chinese ethnic capital and contributed to the crystallization of a new ethnic group in its own rights – the Chinese ethnic minority Koreans in Yanbian.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter presents a detailed account of the emigration from Brookside village and addresses an underexplored aspect of migration - how the sending society deals with a large exodus of people. It further explores how the emigrants react to a range of new policies and how they reshape their perception of nationhood. Ethnic capital emerged from the migration phenomenon as a central theme – different actors from above and below are involved in defining capital related to the Korean-Chinese membership category and both tangible economic resources and intangible ethnic resources emerge from this (Brubaker et al. 2006; Zhou and Lin 2005). Many Brookside villagers who are eligible to claim membership of this ethnic category utilized its ethnic capital to achieve upward mobility in China and cross-border mobility to South Korea.

From above, the Chinese state and the Korean states are simultaneously defining properties of Koreanness, but the realization of ethnic capital is usually bounded to the country and in many cases Brookside villagers had to choose between different forms of capital provided by different state organizations. Sometimes the categories initiated by one state are advanced or reshaped by another state. For instance, to gain support among the Korean-speaking population in Yanbian and to develop the borderland economy, the Chinese state - to a certain extent - tolerates the preservation of ethnic minority culture and created a state-sponsored ethnic minority category. As discussed in Chapter 5, this ethnic Korean culture was sometimes viewed as a form of capital to facilitate the development of local economy. However, the rigid ethnic minority category can lead to crystallization of new or strengthening of existing ethnic groups and (accidentally) makes it

more convenient for the members of this minority category to claim "external membership" in the two Korean states (Kim 2016).

As part of migration to South Korea, cross-country informal networks emerged under the umbrella of kinship or ethnicity. Which network to use – kinship or ethnicity – was largely influenced by the policies in the receiving countries. Brookside villagers actively utilized such networks to travel to South Korea and North Korea and to enter labor markets and establish businesses. Despite rigid border control, such networks helped them to commute and trade across borders by both authorized and unauthorized means. Sometimes this ethnic capital enables Brookside villagers to form or join a new community beyond rigid national borders.

The ethnic capital offered the ethnic minority Korean exclusive opportunities to achieve better economic achievement compared to other borderland residents who belong to other ethnic categories, which contributed to reshaping the socioeconomic structure in the region. The ethnic capital of minority Koreans contributed to the upward socioeconomic mobility of a whole ethnic minority population in the borderland, but their economic achievement also reinforced boundaries between ethnic Korean and other ethnic communities.

In South Korea, the migrant experiences and politics in China continue to shape how Brookside emigrants perceive nationhood. Although the general impression is that they are incorporated into mainstream society and practice grouping based on larger ethnonational categories, taking a closer look at the social networks of many Brooksiders offers a new insight – the people they seem to spent most of their leisure time with are mostly their relatives and the people they rely on the most are often members of their extended families.

Although Brookside villagers did not concentrate in specific areas in South Korea, they maintained a sense of community through the use of communication technology. This transforms their social networks and its attached ethnic capital into a form of ethnic community that is less tied to a physical location and mainly takes place online.

Notably, the trend of ethnicized preferential policies is less visible on the national level in China. The central and prefecture governments sometimes display divergent opinions towards how much priority should be given to the ethnic minorities and ultimately, how to govern the autonomous prefecture. Notably, the larger administrative structure is designed in a way that clearly subjugates the autonomous regions and the prefecture level administration as all proposals related to "ethnic issues" need to be endorsed by Beijing before coming into effect. In summary, it remains to be seen how these new trends affect the Korean-Chinese ethnic capital and their officially recognized minority status that it is crucially based on. It is uncertain what the future hold for both the group and the category.

CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSION: POLITICAL NATIONALIZATION, ECONOMIC ETHNICIZATION AND SOCIAL FAMILIZATION

This dissertation extends the theoretical research about nationhood and nationalism as a dual phenomenon from both above and below and examines nationalism and ethnicity as processes of nationalization and ethnicization. Three sub-themes emerged during a multi-sited fieldwork in the span of three years: 1. Historical sites and nation-building; 2. Economic incentives, nation-building and ethnicization; 3. Ethnic capital, migration and governing people crossing-border. To facilitate nationalization in the ethnic minorities, the state presents itself in different forms and asserts its influence in the everyday life of rural borderland residents, but the vernacular understandings of the state-built historic sites and the chosen narratives, the economic policies and implementation usually go beyond the original intentions of the designers. Sometimes the residents admire the presence of the state, sometimes they neglect it. Most of the time, they use it, particularly as an expression of sentiment.

The first presence of the state that emerged during the study were stone monuments situated all across the prefecture. In chapter 4, I re-conceptualized these monuments as representations of state-sponsored narratives, objects participating in everyday life and rituals, multitude of designed and emerging affordance possibilities. I built on and further extended Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman's theory *lieux de mémoire* (1996) to the everyday life context. I re-examined the relationship between historical sites and nation-building in an everyday life setting and set out to

shed light on not only the political purposes of the state, but also the reaction of the intended audience, which was previously largely neglected in the discussion.

From above, the findings show that the monuments of revolutionary martyrs in China represent one typical meaning the state assigns to the Chinese national category – a shared revolutionary past. The monuments honouring the wars and revolutions led by the Communist Party across the country represent a narrative that was advocated long before the party coming to power. While competing with other domestic political power before 1949, the Chinese Communist Party self-portraited itself as "the representative of proletariats" and created a new inclusive category based on revolutionary narratives to gain support and unite people across the country. The inclusive membership category based on revolutionary advocacies and class struggles to a certain extend contributed to the coming to power of the Communist Party. After 1949, the shared revolutionary past became an important part of nation-building narratives, represented by the revolutionary heritages across the country. The process of institutionalizing the narratives through education, media and publications has been presented in details to show how *lieux de mémoire* is constructed in practice. I argued that, as part of this process, monuments as affordances were utilized by different actors involved in state organizations to achieve various goals, and such achievements were not always consistent with the state intention. For instance, a lot of those revolutionary narratives are adopted by some local elites to legitimize the minority's status in China.

From below, many songs about the revolutions, wars and praising the communist party leaders have been written in Korean and are frequently sang by the villagers. Because the Yanbian

Korean discourse has been largely structuralized to be aligned with the Mandarin Chinese discourse, particularly the historical narratives about the revolutionary past, the finding suggests a new perspective to rethink the relationship between nationalism and language. Language has long been considered as a crucial basis for individuals to claim national membership, but lack of Chinese proficiency did not hinder the villagers to "feel Chinese". To a certain extend the multi-ethnic classification project in China also tolerates linguistic diversity in the country. On the other hand, the villagers blame the lack of Chinese proficiency on their poor family background and the missing part of school education in their life.

The second finding from below offers insights to when the nationalization process based on *lieux de mémoire* fails – when the historical event involves other countries and the audience has access to other narratives. The village monument represents a war involving three countries that the villagers are related to – China, North Korea and South Korea. Although Chinese national and ethnic Korean are "fixed categories", the meanings attached to the categories are not only shaped by the Chinese state but also the two Koreas. Nationalization through revolutionary memory mostly works well except for when it clashes with ethnicized memory.

The third finding is a new form of resistance to the state narrative – silent neglect. As an authoritarian regime, ordinary people are not offered much space to openly protest. Therefore, rather than openly protesting against the narratives contradicting their understanding of the Korean War, the residents developed a silent form of resistance through negligence and forgetting.

Another form of the presence of the state emerged as economic incentives. In chapter 5, I conceptualized economic development policies and the implementation as (symbolic) "gestures"

of the state that is beyond actual economic benefits, and as ethnic and national frames among the residents that emerge as part of local manifestation of the state. I also presented that nation-building and party-building are largely intertwined. In the Chinese case, this means not only Nationality Inc. and Ethnicity Inc., but also Party Inc. (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). To construct a sense of belonging among the ethnic minorities toward the nation, the state works on fostering recognition and appreciation of the communist party as well as admiration of and obedience to party leaders. The state allocates subsidies to borderland residents that at the same time serve to carry out the message that the party cares for ethnic minorities.

Nationality Inc. in China has been applied to gain support from ethnic minorities and to increase their sense of belonging to the nation, but the preferential policies in practice reinforced ethnic boundaries. The government encourages ethnic Koreans to produce products with "ethnic characteristics" as a selling point as well as to use ethnic ties to facilitate cross-border corporation. Preferential economic policies toward ethnic minority successfully (in most cases) facilitate the nationalization of the borderland residents, but also widen the gap between ethnic Koreans and the rest in Yanbian. The ethnicized economic model is not only encouraged by the state, but also adopted and developed by borderland residents.

In this process, different actors have been using ethnic and national framing differently in a way to meet their own goals. For instance, some local elites, the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs, actively use ethnic framing to claim benefits from the state and many realized individual upward mobility. On one hand, they use such claims to represent a larger population in the borderlands to bargain with the state. On the other hand, their grouping practices are usually based on interests

beyond ethnic boundary. However, the ethnic framing, particularly reflected in "ethnic competition schema" was prevailing in other villagers' narratives. Conflicts were frequently framed ethnically.

This dissertation also addresses an under-explored aspect of migration – the governance of emigration. In chapter 6, I conceptualized ethnicity as a form of capital to facilitate (re)migration. Different political organizations define (and sometimes contest) the value of this form of capital and influence everyday grouping practices. I also presented that ethnic communities of immigrants are shifting into a digital form along with the increasing popularity of the Internet usage among Yanbian emigrants in South Korea.

The highly ethnicized economic model in the borderland helped the residents to develop more contacts with foreign co-ethnics. Also, the ethnic classification by the Chinese state accidently provides a convenient way for the population to claim external membership in the two Korean states that can be used to leave the country, which brings challenges to the borderland administration.

The first finding shows the different governing logics between the central and regional governments. Two governing bodies are involved and their aims and practices are not always aligned. The central government is concern with the stability of the country as a whole and particularly in the borderland regions and the stable population; the prefecture government has more concerns. On one hand, they need to demonstrate their loyalty to the nation as a whole; on the other hand, they need to make sure that they preserve the prefecture as an autonomous region. People were nationalized in order to be ethnicized, they were ethnicized in order to be nationalized.

This creates complex dynamics of how these top-down actors interact with the local populations. Until today, the ethnic minority status brings about more advantages than it is a glass ceiling for most of the borderland residents. Furthermore, although many national policies did not achieve their original plan or the claimed effects, they facilitated the recognition of the state from emigrants.

The third finding, related to migration ,is that the rural migrants from Yanbian in South Korea rely on extended family-based networks more than on broader ethnic networks. Besides grand narratives with national and ethnic categories, taking a close look at the primary network of the villagers uncovered the significance of extended families in everyday life group formation, which may be further re-enforced by emigration to South Korea. The social life of emigrant villagers in South Korea is largely formed by extended family members, which urges analysts to be careful and to avoid over-ethnicized immigrant communities. Particularly in East Asian countries where social network is largely shaped by extended families, the Brookside villagers' social network in South Korea suggests a more careful distinction between "ethno-national categories" (Wimmer 2004) and familized network in analyzing immigrant social life. However, the emigrants also show that they benefit from ethnic network in a non-traditional way – a digital ethnic community. The use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) transforms migrant social networks into a form of ethnic community that is less tied to a physical location and mainly takes place online.

This dissertation provides a new explanation of the long-standing puzzles of the ethnic minority Koreans in China, who may utilized membership claims of being Korean and Chinese at the same time or neither but distinguishing Korean-Chinese, and in reverse, whom are perceived

as Koreans by other borderland residents in interaction, but are perceived as Chinese at the same time in South Korea. Previous studies frame the Chinese and Korean identities as political and cultural, but the Brookside case shows a dichotomy based on politics and economics – economic status distinguishes them from other Yanbian residents, while political orientation differentiates them from South Koreans. The dissertation further gives details on how the political nationalization and economic ethnicization take place in everyday life as a joint project from both above and below. National projects are not necessary to succeed in order to realize the political intention, rather, the display of caring for the ethnic minority sometimes is already sufficient to facilitate a sense of belonging to the nation among rural borderland residents.

While my study was conducted in Brookside Village, it is not simply a study of Brookside, or Yanbian; it is a study of the everyday workings of nationhood and ethnicity in a setting marked by intensive advocacies of group formation from various actors under the umbrella of national and ethnic terms (Brubaker et al. 2006). This dissertation has largely been drawing on the theoretical tradition represented by "everyday nationhood and ethnicity", "ethnicity without groups" and "ethnicity as cognitions". I have provided a constructivist and nongroupist account of ethnicity and nationalism in China (Yanbian), this approach shows that the constructivist accounts are also applicable to regions often described as with more stable, rigid and deeply rooted national and ethnic identifications (i.e. Koreaness and Chineseness).

The application of this research approach in the Chinese-North Korean rural borderland study also has found some new aspects that advance these approaches. First of all, "the ethnopolitical entrepreneurs" are not a fixed group, rather, every member has the potential to

become one. “The ordinary” and “the elites” need to be perceived as categories rather than in groupist terms. To acknowledge the flexibility of members to shift between two categories, the researchers also acknowledge the active role every member can play in the formation of groups. Actors are not only from “above” and “below”, but actors could also be oscillating between “top-down” and “bottom-up”. Secondly, the cognitive turn in ethnicity and nationalism does not mean a drastic departure from classical work in this field. I have presented that heritage sites, one of the classical focus on nation-building studies could also be an actor to be included in the everyday enquiry and how it is involved in changing national and ethnic framing. Thirdly, I argue that the state needs to be studied as a complex structure with numerous actors with different goals, so the outcome of constructing the national belonging is uncertain; the presence of the state could have many different forms, e.g. symbols and manifestations of policies. Fourthly, the investigation of nationhood and nationalism from above and below needs to go beyond everyday life – the researchers need to stay long enough and wait for unsolicited appearance, not only daily routine, but also rituals. Last but not the least, national and ethnic categories could co-exist rather than being mutually exclusive as ethno-national contention – Nation-building could incorporate different ethnic affiliations and the latter could assist in the facilitation of the former.

Future studies may explore the everyday nationhood and ethnicity of the ethnic Koreans in different locations in Yanbian and expand the population to urban residents as well. The ethnic minority Koreans living outside of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture may also offer additional insights regarding the nationalization and ethnicization in China and beyond.

REFERENCES

An, Huachun. 1994. "Analysing current issues of ethnic minority Koreans from the history of ethnic minority Korean with family name Piao (cong "piaoxing chaoxianzu" de lishi kan dangjin chaoxianzu de ruogan wenti)." Pp. 20-34 in *Studies on the history of Chinese ethnic minority Korean 2*. Yanji: Yanbian University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso Books.

Batory, Agnes. 2010. "Kin-state identity in the European context: citizenship, nationalism and constitutionalism in Hungary." *Nations and Nationalism* 16: 31-48.

Banac, Ivo. 2000. *The national question in Yugoslavia: origins, history, politics*. Cornell University Press.

Bankston III Carl L. and Jacques Henry. 2000. "Spectacles of Ethnicity: Festivals and the Commodification of Ethnic Culture Among Louisiana Cajuns." *Sociological Spectrum* 20(4): 377-407.

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Bell, Daniel. 1975. "The Revolution of Rising Entitlement." *Fortune*, April.

Ben-Amos, Avner. 1993. Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism. *History and Memory, 5*(2): 50-81.

Bialogorski, Mirta. 2010. *Chinese Koreans (Chosunjok) in Buenos Aires: their ethnic identity and ties with the Korean community and Argentinean society Korean Routes of Migration*

in the Americas. Joint Research Project I (2007-2009) for the Korean Studies in the Americas. University of California, Los Angeles.

Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. Sage.

Biswas, Bidisha. 2010. "Negotiating the nation: diaspora contestations in the USA about Hindu nationalism in India." *Nations and Nationalism* 16: 696-714.

Blair, John G. 2016. "The dual governing system of the People's Republic of China." *Journal of Public Affairs*, *16*(2): 111-117.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2008. "Citizenship and immigration: Multiculturalism, assimilation, and challenges to the nation-state." *Annual Review of Sociology* 34.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "Structures, Habitus, Power: Basis For a Theory of Symbolic Power". In R. Nice (Trans.). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology, pp. 159-197. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511812507.006

———. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. London: Sage.

Brekhus, Wayne. 1996. "Social Marking and the Mental Coloring of Identity: Sexual Identity Construction and Maintenance in the United States." *Sociological Forum* 11:497–521.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2002. "Ethnicity without groups." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie* 43.2: 163-189.

———. 2006. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Harvard University Press.

———. 2009. “Ethnicity, Race and Nationalism.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 35:21- 42.

Brubaker, Rogers and Jaeeun Kim. 2011. "Transborder membership politics in Germany and Korea." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 52(1): 21-75.

Brubaker, Rogers, Mara Loveman, and Peter Stamatov. 2004. “Ethnicity as Cognition.” *Theory and Society* 33(1): 31-64.

Brubaker, Rogers, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox and Liana Grancea. 2006. *Nationalist politics and everyday ethnicity in a Transylvanian town*. Princeton University Press.

Cahan, Jean Axelrad. 2018. “National identity and the limits of constructivism in international relations theory: a case study of the Suez Canal.” *Nations and Nationalism*, doi.org/10.1111/nana.12423.

Calhoun, Craig. 1993. “Nationalism and ethnicity.” *Annual review of sociology* 19(1): 211-239.

———. 1997. *Nationalism*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2003. Calhoun, Craig. “‘Belonging’in the cosmopolitan imaginary.” *Ethnicities* 3(4): 531-553.

Cathcart, Adam. 2010. “Nationalism and ethnic identity in the Sino-Korean border region of Yanbian, 1945–1950.” *Korean Studies 34*(1): 25-53.

Chen, Chun-sheng. 2007. “Population Issues in the Local Social History Study – a Case Study of Boundary between ‘Chaozhou People’ and ‘Hakka People’”. *Shantou University Journal (Humanities & Social Sciences Bimonthly)* 23(2):73-77.

Chen, Yinque (陈寅恪). 1997. *Draft Outline of Tang Political History (唐代政治史述论稿)*: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House (上海古籍出版社). China Statistics Press 2010. *Sixth Chinese Population Census*. National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China. Retrieved 16 Dec, 2015 (http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/).

Choe, Hyun. 2006. "National Identity and Citizenship in the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 19(1): 84–118.

Choi, W. G. 2001. "The Korean minority in China: The change of its identity." *Development and Society*, 30: 119–141.

Chung, Yuehtsen Juliette. 2014. "Better Science and Better Race? Social Darwinism and Chinese Eugenics." *The History of Science Society* 105:793-802.

Coakley, J. 2018. "Primordialism' in nationalism studies: theory or ideology?" *Nations and Nationalism* 24: 327–347. doi: 10.1111/nana.12349.

Cohen, Abner. 1969. *Customs and Politics in Urban Africa*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Čolović, Ivan. 2002. *The politics of symbol in Serbia: essays in political anthropology*. Hurst.

Comaroff, John L., and Jean Comaroff. 2009. *Ethnicity, Inc*. University of Chicago Press.

Conzen, Kathleen N., David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli. 1992. "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U.S.A." *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12: 3-41.

Cornet, Candice. 2015. "Tourism development and resistance in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 52: 29-43.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. 1990. "Thinking about ethnicity in early modern China." *Late Imperial China* 11(1): 1-35.

Csergő, Z. and Deegan-Krause, K.. 2011. “Liberalism and cultural claims in Central and Eastern Europe: toward a pluralist balance.” *Nations and Nationalism* 17: 85-107.

Della Sala, Vincent. 2016. “Europe’s odyssey?: political myth and the European Union.” *Nations and Nationalism* 22: 524–541.

Dicks, B. 2017. “The Habitus of Heritage: a Discussion of Bourdieu's Ideas for Visitor Studies in Heritage and Museums.” *Museum and Society* 14(1): 52-64. Retrieved from https://journals.le.ac.uk/ojs1/index.php/mas/article/view/625/588

Dikötter, Frank. 1992. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*: Hong Kong University Press.

DiMaggio, Paul. 1997. “Culture and cognition.” *Annual review of sociology* 23(1): 263-287.

Douglas, Jack D. 2017. “Understanding everyday life.” *Everyday* life*: Reconstruction of Social Knowledge*: 2-44. Routledge.

Du, Guochuan. 2013. "Minzuxue shijiaoxia xingbianfumin xingdong de shishi chengxiao yanjiu (民族学视角下兴边富民行动的实施成效研究)”. Master Thesis. Yanbian University.

Du, Chunmei. 2015. “Manufacturing Naxi’s original ecological culture in contemporary China.” *Asian Ethnicity* 16(4): 549-567.

Durkheim, Emile. 1995[1912]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: The Free Press

———. 1960. *Montesquieu and Rousseau: Forerunners of sociology.* University of Michigan Press.

Edensor, Tim. 2002. *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Eriksen, Thomas H.. 2010. *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological perspectives (3rd edition)*. New York: Pluto Press.

Falk, John H., and Lynn D. Dierking. 2000. *Learning from museums: Visitor experiences and the making of meaning*. Altamira Press.

Fang, Weigui. 2002. "Discussion on Ethnicity, Nation and China in the History of Contemporary Thoughts (論近代思想史上的 "民族", "Nation"與"中國")". *21st Century* 4.

Faure, David. 1986. *The Structure of Chinese Rural Society: Lineage and Village in the Eastern New Territories*, Hong Kong.

———. 1989. "The Lineage as a Cultural Invention: The Case of the Pearl River Delta." *Modern China* 15(1):4-36.

———. 2007. *Emperor and ancestor: State and lineage in South China*. Stanford University Press.

Faure, David and Liu Zhiwei. 2000. "*Clan and local approbation—Ideology foundation of patriarchal development in southeast China during the Ming and Qing dynasties*" (宗族与地方社会的国家认同——明清华南地区宗族发展的意识形态基础)". *Historical Research* 2000(3): 3-14.

Fei, Xiaotong. 1980. "On the Issues Related to Our Country's Nationality Classification (guanyu woguo minzu de shibie wenti)." In *the Social Sciences in China* 1: 147-162.

_____. 1997. "Investigating Ethnicity: My studies and views of ethnic groups in China." *Journal of Peking University* 2: 4-12.

Flere, Sergej, and Rudi Klanjšek. 2016. "Construction and reification in nation building: The case of Yugoslavia fully explained?." *Ethnicities* 16(6): 842-868.

Fox, Jon. E.. 2017. "The edges of the nation: a research agenda for uncovering the taken-for-granted foundations of everyday nationhood." *Nations and Nationalism* 23: 26–47.

Fox, Jon E., and Cynthia Miller-Idriss. 2008. "Everyday nationhood." *Ethnicities* 8(4): 536-563.

Freedman, Maurice. 1960. "Immigrants and associations: Chinese in nineteenth-century Singapore." *Comparative studies in society and history* 3(1): 25-48.

Gans, Herbert. 1979. "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Culture in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2(1): 1-20.

Gao, Bingzhong. 2001. "Folk Rituals and State Presence." *Journal of Peking University (Beijing Daxue Xuebao)* 38(1):42-50.

Gao, Fang. 2009. "Language and power: Korean–Chinese students' language attitude and practice." *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development* 30(6): 525-534.

Gao, Fang and Jae Park. 2012. "Korean-Chinese parents' language attitudes and additive bilingual education in China." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33(6): 539-552.

Gao, Fang, and Jae Park. "Korean-Chinese parents' language attitudes and additive bilingual education in China." Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 33, no. 6 (2012): 539-552.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

———. 1982. "The Way We Think Now: Toward an Ethnography of Modern Thought." In *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 35(5): 14-34.

———. 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology.* Basic Books.

———. 1999. "'The pinch of destiny': religion as experience, meaning, identity, power." *Raritan: A Quarterly Review* 3: 1-15.

———. 2000. "Deep play: Notes on the Balinese cockfight." *Culture and Politics*: 175-201. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gibson, James J.. 1966. *The senses considered as perceptual systems*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

———.1986. *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. Associates, Inc. (Original work published 1979)

Gladney, Dru C. 1998. *Ethnic identity in China: the making of a Muslim minority nationality*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Glazer, Nathan, Andrew M. Greeley, Orlando Patterson, Daniel P. Moynihan. 1974. "What Is Ethnicity?" *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 27 (8): 16-35.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA, US: Harvard University Press.

Greenwood, Davydd J.. 1989. "Culture by the pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization." *Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization.* Ed. 2: 171-185.

Gries, Peter Hays. 2005. “The Koguryo controversy, national identity, and Sino-Korean relations today.” *East Asia* 22(4): 3-17.

Hannum, Emily, and Yu Xie. 1998. “Ethnic stratification in Northwest China: Occupational differences between Han Chinese and national minorities in Xinjiang, 1982–1990.” *Demography* 35(3): 323-333.

Hao, Shiyuan. 2004. “中文“民族”一词源流考辨 (a Textual Research of the Evolution of the Chinese Term “Minzu”).” 民族研究 *(Ethno-national Studies)* 6.

He, Jiancheng. 1990. “China’s Policy on Nationalities.” Pp. 1-30 in *Koreans in China*, edited by D. S. Suh and E. J. Shultz. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 2012. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Hong, Yihua, Changzoo Song and Julie Park. 2013. “Korean, Chinese, or what? Identity transformations of Chosonjok (Korean Chinese) migrant brides in South Korea.” *Asian Ethnicity* 14(1): 29-51.

Huang, Shuping. 1999. “广东族群与区域文化研究 (Guangdong Ethnicity and Regional Culture Study).” 广东高等教育出版社 (Guangdong Higher Education Press).

Hung, Chang-tai. 2006. “空間與政治：擴建天安門廣場 (Space and Politics: Expanding Tiananmen Square)”. Pp. 207-259 in *兩岸分途：冷戰初期的政經發展 (Parting Ways: Politics and Economics across the Taiwan Straits since 1949)*, edited by Chen Yung-fa. Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica.

Isin, Engin F. and Bryan S Turner. 2002. *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*. Sage.

Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal. 2009. "Language ideology and linguistic differentiation." *Linguistic anthropology: A reader*: 402-34.

Jackson, B. 1975. "Black identity development." *Journal of Educational Diversity* 2: 19-25.

Jian, Zhixiang. 2006. *Zuqun guishu de ziwo rentong yu shehui dingyi (Self-identity and Social Definition of Ethnic Belonging)*. Beijing: Nationalities Publishing House.

Jiang, Yanhua. 2012. "xinshiji xinjieduan minzu jingji zhengce dui dongbei yanbian diqu jingji fazhan de yinxiang yanjiu (新世纪新阶段民族经济政策对东北沿边地区经济发展的影响研究)." Ph.D dissertation. Minzu University of China.

Jimenez, Tomas R. 2004. "Negotiating Ethnic Boundaries: Multiethnic Americans and Ethnic Identity in the United States." *Ethnicities* 4:75–97.

Jin, Jingyi. 2007. "A Historical Investigation on the Issue of Korean Officers and Soldiers in Chinese Army Returning to Korea." *Collected Papers of History Studies* (3):52-61.

Joppke, Christian. 2003. "Citizenship Between De- and Re-Ethnicization." Russuell Sage Foundation Working Paper Series #204.

Karner, C. 2007. *Ethnicity and everyday life*. Routledge.

Karp, I. 2012. *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of museum display*. Smithsonian Institution.

Kasinitz, Philip, John H. Mollenkopf, Mary C. Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway. 2009. *Inheriting the city: The children of immigrants come of age*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Kim, Jaeeun. 2016. *Contested Embrace: Transborder Membership Politics in Twentieth-Century Korea*. Stanford University Press.

———. 2018. "'Ethnic capital' and 'flexible citizenship' in unfavourable legal contexts: stepwise migration of the Korean Chinese within and beyond northeast Asia." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1440489.

Kivisto, Peter and Ben Nefzger. 1993. "Symbolic Ethnicity and American Jews: The Relationship of Ethnic Identity to Behavior and Group Affiliation." *Social Science Journal* 30: 1-12.

Lagerwey, John. 2007. "State and Local Society in Late Imperial China." *T'oung Pao* 93.Fasc. 4/5: 459-479.

Laitin, David D.. 1998. *Identity in formation: The Russian-speaking populations in the near abroad*. Cornell University Press.

Lamley, H. J. 1977. Hsieh-tou: the pathology of violence in Southeastern China. *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, *3*(7): 1-39.

Lampe, John R. 2000. *Yugoslavia as History: Twice there was a Country*. Cambridge University Press.

Lankov, Andrei. 2007 *Yanbian: Korea-in-China*. The Korean Times. Retrieved 16 Dec, 2015 (http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinon/2010/01/166_12290.html)

Lawler, Steph. 2008. *Identity: Sociological perspectives*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2007. *Re-Envisioning the Chinese Revolution: The Politics and Poetics of Collective Memories in Reform China*. Stanford University Press.

Li, Aihua. 2016. “Nationalism and Ethnicity: Korean-Chinese Academics’ Views on China’s Multi-Ethnic Nationalism.” *The Journal of Northeast Asian History* 13(1): 143-160.

Li, Meihua. 2012a. “Research Review of the Korean Chinese National Identity.” *Journal of Dalian Nationalities University* 14(2): 97-102.

Li, Xiantang. 2012b. “The Starting Point and the Generating Process of Tianxia View (“天下观”的逻辑起点与历史生成).” *Academic Monthly* 10.

Lin, Yaohua. 1963. “On the use and translation of ‘minzu’ (关于“民族”一词的使用和译名的问题).” *Historical Research (历史研究)* 2: 171-190.

Liu, Yishi. 2009. “Constructing Ethnic Identity: Making and Remaking Korean-Chinese Rural Houses in Yanbian, 1881–2008.” *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review* 21(1): 67-82.

Liu, Zhiwei. 1997. *Between the State and Society: Study on the lijia Service System in Guangdong during the Ming and Qing Dynasties(在国家与社会之间: 明清广东里甲赋役制度研究)*. Sun Yat-sen University Press.

Ma, Guoqing. 2017. "明确的民族与暧昧的族群——以中国大陆民族学、人类学的研究实践为例 (the Clear Minzu and Ambiguious Ethnic Groups: A Case Study of the Research Practices of Ethnology and Anthroplogy in Mainland China)." *Journal of Tsinghua University (*清华大学学报*(*哲学社会科学版*))* 3.

Ma, Rong. 2000. “On the Definitions of Minzu (关于‘民族’定义).” *Journal of Yunnan University of the Nationalities (Social Sciences)* 17(1): 5-13.

———. 2004. “A New Perspective to Understand Ethnic Relations: Depoliticizing of Ethnic Minorities.” *Journal of Peking University* 6: 122-133.

———. 2007. “A New Perspective in Guiding Ethnic Relations in the 21st Century: ‘De-politicization’ of Ethnicity in China.” *Asian Ethnicity* 8(3): 199–217.

———. 2010. “The Soviet Model’s Influence and the Current Debate on Ethnic Relations.” *Global Asia*, Seoul 5(2).

———. 2016. “How to Understand the Concept of “Cross-Border Nation”. *Open Times*, 6: 199-211.

Malesevic, Sinisa. 2006. “Book Reviews: Rogers Brubaker, Ethnicity without Groups.” *Nations and Nationalism* 12(4): 699-715.

Mao, Zedong. 1991. *China Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party.* People’s Publisher.

Martin, Michael F. 1992. “Defining China's Rural Population”. *The China Quarterly*, 130: 392-401.

Massey, Doreen. 1995. “Places and their pasts.” *History workshop journal*. No. 39. Oxford University Press.

McDonald, Jason J.. 2007. *American Ethnic History: Themes and Perspectives.* Edinburgh University Press.

Miller-Idriss, Cynthia. 2006. “Everyday understandings of citizenship in Germany.” *Citizenship studies* 10(5): 541-570.

Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The sociological imagination*. Oxford University Press.

Moreno-Almendral, Raúl. 2018. “Reconstructing the history of nationalist cognition and everyday nationhood from personal accounts.” *Nations and Nationalism*, doi: 10.1111/nana.12427.

Mosse, George L. 1975. *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism & Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Howard Fertig.

Mullaney, Tom. 2010. Seeing for the State: the Role of Social Scientists in China's Ethnic Classification Project. *Asian Ethnicity* 11(3): 325-342.

———. 2011. *Coming to Terms with the Nation: Ethnic Classification in Modern China*: University of California Press.

Nagel, Joane. 1994. “Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture.” *Social Problems* 41(4): 152-176.

Nash, Manning. 1996. “The Core Elements of Ethnicity.” Pp. 24-28 in *Ethnicity*, ed. by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nora, Pierre, and Lawrence D. Kritzman. 1996. "Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past. Vol. 1: Conflicts and divisions." *Trad. Arthur Goldhammer. New York: Columbia UP*.

Paik, Wooyeal, and Myungsi Ham. 2012. "From Autonomous Areas to Non-Autonomous Areas: The Politics of Korean Minority Migration in Contemporary China.". *Modern China 38: 110–133.* 38:110–33.

Polese, Abel. 2011. “Language and identity in Ukraine: Was it really nation-building?.” *Studies of Transition States and Societies* 3(3):36-50.

Patterson, Orlando. 1975. “Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Stud” in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Peng, Yingming (彭英明). 1985. “A Primitive Exploration of Minzu Concept and History in Our Country - a Dialetical Understanding of Stalin’s Minzu Definition (关于我国民族概念历史的初步考察——兼谈对斯大林民族定义的辩证理解).” *Ethno-national Studies (*民族研究*)* (2).

Piao, Changyu. 1990. “The history of Koreans in China and the Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture.” Pp. 44-77 in *Koreans in China, edited by* D. S. Suh and E. J. Shultz. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Piao, Guangxing. 2010. “The National Identity, Ethnic Identity and Ethnic-group Identity of the Korea-going Korean Laborers from China.” *Journal of Yunnan University of Nationalities (Social Sciences)* 27(3): 41-47.

Piao, Jinhai. 2001. “On the Practice of the Chinese Communist Party’s Ethnic Policy in the Areas of the Korean Nationality in Northeast China during the Period of the New-Democratic Revolution.” Etho-national Studies 6.

Piao, Jinhai and Jiang Zherong. “The Confusion of Mobility: The Diversification of Chinese Korean Identity in Transnational Mobility.” *Guangxi Ethnic Studies* 3: 18-25.

Picard, Michel, and Robert Everett Wood, eds. 1997. *Tourism, ethnicity, and the state in Asian and Pacific societies*. University of Hawaii Press.

Pulford, Ed. 2017. “On Northeast Asian Frontiers of History and Friendship.” Ph.D dissertation, King’s College, University of Cambridge.

Qi, Jinyu. 2008. *Historical Memory and Identity Reconstruction: A Historical anthropology of Tu Nationality Identification*. The Academy Press.

Qu, Tongzu. 1961. *Law and Society in Traditional China*. Paris: Monton.

Quan, Li. 1993. *Chinese Ethnic Korean Studies 2*. Yanbian University Press.

Quan, Li and Li Hongxi. 2001. “A tentative discussion on the issue about the historical social status of Chinese ethnic minority Koreans (Shilun zhongguo chaoxianzu zai lishi shang de shehui diwei wenti).” Pp.232-265 in *New Century, New Quest (sae segi sae tamgu)*.Yanji: Yanbian People’s Press.

Rao, Zongyi. 2005. *Chaozhou Chorography (潮州志(册 7, 民族志·客家·潮州))*. Chaozhou Chorography Office.

Rigney, Ann. 2018. “Remembrance as remaking: memories of the nation revisited.” *Nations and Nationalism* 24: 240–257. doi: 10.1111/nana.12388.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*, 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sang, Bing. 2017. "The Interaction Betwen Sun Yat-Sen and the Abdicated Qing Royal Family in 1912: The Qing Royal Family’s Choice of Their Identity." *Journal of Historical Science* 1:64-78.

_____. 2012. "中国的“民族”与“边疆”问题." *Journal of Sun Yat-sen University (Social Science Edition)* 52(6).

Sautman, Barry. 1997. “Myths of Descent, Racial Nationalism and Ethnic Minorities in the People’s Republic of China,” in The Construction of Racial Identity in China and Japan, edited by Frank Dikötter: 75-95.

Schermerhorn, R.A.. 1970. *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research*. The University of Chicago Press.

Siu, Helen F. 2016. *Tracing China: A Forty-Year Ethnographic Journey*. Hong Kong University Press.

Smith, Anthony D.. 1986. *The ethnic origins of nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

_____. 2008. “The limits of everyday nationhood.” *Ethnicities* 8(4): 563-573.

Song, Changzoo. 2009. ‘‘Brothers Only in Name: The Alienation and Identity Transformation among Korean Chinese Return Migrants in South Korea.’’ Pp. 281-304 in *Diasporic Homecomings: Ethnic Return Migration in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Takeyuki Tsuda. California: Stanford University Press.

_____. 2014. “Engaging the diaspora in an era of transnationalism.” *IZA World of Labor*.

Song, Changzoo, and T. Tsunoda. 2016 “Diasporic return, homeland, hierarchy, and identity: experiences of Korean diasporic returnees in South Korea.” *Nomos* 39: 91-116.

Stalin, J. V.. 1913. *Maxism and the National Question*. Prosveshcheniye.

Sui, Dongsheng. 1995. “The Establishment and Development of Chinese System of Preferential Policies and Compensation to Family Members of Revolutionary Martyrs.” *Military History*, 3: 14-16.

Sun, Chunri. 2009. *The Migrant History of Chinese Ethnic Koreans.* ZHONGHUA Book Company.

Sun, Chunri and Piao Xingzhen. 2000. “Dual Citizens of Northeast Chinese ethnic Koreans in the Republic of China.” *Dongjiang Journal* 4.

Sun, Shirley. 2012. *Population policy and reproduction in Singapore: Making future citizens*. Routledge.

Sun, Yat-sen. 1924. "Dr Sun Yat-Sen: Policy of Country Salvation (Speech in Catonese) 30th May 1924 in Guangzhou, China." Retrieved 16 Nov 2017 (https://archive.org/details/dr_sun_yat_sen_1924).

Tai, Pingwu. 2004. “Language policy and standardization of Korean in China.” In *Language Policy in the People’s Republic of China*: 303-315. Springer, Dordrecht.

Tappe, Oliver. 2011. “From revolutionary heroism to cultural heritage: museums, memory and representation in Laos.” *Nations and Nationalism* 17: 604-626.

Thatcher, Mark. 2018. “Introduction: The state and historic buildings: preserving ‘the national past’.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 24: 22–42.

Tønnesson, Stein. 2009. “The class route to nationhood: China, Vietnam, Norway, Cyprus–and France.” *Nations and Nationalism* 15(3): 375-395.

Van den Berghe, Pierre L.. 1981. *The Ethnic Phenomenon.* New York: Elsevier.

Wang, Shengjin. 2002. "Research on the Japanese Immigration to China’s Northeast Area in the Period of Japan' S Occupation in Korean Peninsula." *Northeast Asia Forum* (3):3-7.

Wang, Xi-en. 2010. “The Foundation of the Investigation for the Identification of Nationalities.” *Ethno-National Studies* 5: 1-15.

Weber, Max. 1968. “Basic Sociological Terms.” Pp. 3-62 in *Economy and Society*, edited by G Roth and C Wittich. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2004. “Does ethnicity matter? Everyday group formation in three Swiss immigrant neighbourhoods.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(1): 1-36.

_____. 2008. “The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory.” *American Journal of Sociology* 4: 970-1022.

Wu, Xiaogang and Xi Song. 2014. “Ethnic stratification amid China’s economic transition: evidence from the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.” *Social Science Research* 44: 158-172.

Yancey, William C., Eugene P. Ericksen, and Richard N. Juliani. 1976. “Emergent Ethnicity: A Review and Reformulations.” *American Sociological Review* 41: 391-403.

Yang, Philip Q. 2000. “Theories of Ethnicity.” Pp. 39-60 in Philip Yang, *Ethnic Studies: Issues and Approaches*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Yin, R. K. 2010. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish. [electronic resource]*. New York: Guilford Publications, Inc., 2010.

Yoshino, Kosaku. 2007. “Minzoku.” *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*.

Zerubavel, Eviatar. 1997. "Social mindscape." *An invitation to cognitive sociology. Cambrdge, MA.: Harvard University Press.*

Zhang, Xiaojun. 2004. "Symbolic Land Right and Cultural Economy:A Case Study of Diachronic Land Right at Yangcun Village of Fujian Province." *Social Sciences in China* (3):121-35, 208.

Zheng, Wanhao. 1985. “The First Communist Party Secretary in Hunchun County is Liu Jianzhang(中共珲春县委第一任书记是刘健章).” *Hunchun Historical Accounts of Past Events(珲春文史资料第一辑)*: 1-20. Political Consultative Conference of Hunchun County, Jilin Province(政协吉林省珲春县委员会).

Zheng, Zhenman and Chen Chunsheng. 2001. “State Consciousness and the Inheritance of Folk Culture (国家意识与民间文化的传承——《民间信仰与社会空间》导言).” *Open Times* 2001(10).

zhonggong zhongyang tongzhanbu (United Front Work Department of the Chinese Communist Party), ed. 1991. *Minzu Wenti Wenxian Huibian (a Collection of Archives on Minzu Issues)*: zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao chubanshe (Central Party School of the Communist Party of China Press).

Zhou, Min. 2005. "Ethnicity as social capital: community-based institutions and embedded networks of social relations." *Ethnicity, social mobility and public policy: comparing the US and UK*: 131-159.

Zhou, Min, and Carl L. Bankston III. 1994. "Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: The case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans." *International migration review*: 821-845.

Zhou, Min and Mingang Lin. 2005. "Community transformation and the formation of ethnic capital: Immigrant Chinese communities in the United States." *Journal of Chinese overseas* 1(2): 260-284.

Zhu, Zaixian. 2001. “xingbianfumin xingdong yu kuajie minzu yanjiu. (“兴边富民行动”与跨界民族研究)” Xingbianfumin yu shaoshuminzu fazhan – dishici quanguo minzu lilun zhuanti xueshu taolunhui lunwenji (兴边富民与少数民族发展——第十次全国民族理论专题学术讨论会论文集).