

The Complexity of Rural Migration in China

This book examines socio-economic relationships and cultural changes in contemporary rural China, focusing on the experience of a typical Chinese village the working-age population of which has been hollowed out by outbound labor migration.

The volume sheds light on the inherent complexity of peasants' material, economic, and emotional dependency on the countryside, and how these relationships shape their experience of migration and the personal transformation that comes with it. Simplistic binaries such as "traditional" and "modern" are left to one side in favor of a multifaceted approach to understanding the interactions among people, institutions, and the natural environment.

The book will appeal to academics of sociology and anthropology and general readers interested in China's rural society.

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The Story of a Migrant Village

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1 Introduction

1.1 Prologue

Professor Fei Xiaotong says, in his famous work *From the Soil*, that “Chinese society is fundamentally rural.”¹ According to the French anthropologist Marcel Granet, “the countryside is the foundation of Chinese civilization. China’s civilization originated from rural social relations in antiquity. The earliest social relations and rituals grew from ancient rituals.”² What this means is that research into Chinese society cannot but focus on its “rurality,” its “soil”—the countryside and the culture of rural communities. The countryside depicted by Professor Fei Xiaotong existed in the China of the 1930s and 1940s and had three characteristics: 1. Peasants relied on the “soil” for their livelihood. The soil was the lifeline of peasants. 2. Peasant economy dominated the countryside. Most of the produce of the land was consumed by the farmer’s families, instead of being sold at market. 3. The soil is fixed, and the peasants attached to the soil rarely migrated, thus creating a distinctive “rural” community. This community consisted of families and villages, and villages were tantamount to the peasants’ entire world. China in this period was a China rooted in the soil. A number of the classic concepts Professor Fei Xiaotong proposes in *From the Soil*, for instance, “the different mode of association,” “lineage,” “a rule of ritual,” “a society without litigation,” “rule by elders,” and “consanguinity and regionalism,” are all based on the “fixed soil” and a “closed rural community.”

The rural China of today is vastly different from the rural China in the writings of Professor Fei Xiaotong, and I am acutely aware of it every time I visit the village where I conduct my field research. There are three main differences: 1. Members of the village, especially those under fifty, are mostly working as migrant workers elsewhere, and their salaries are their families’ main sources of income. Country people are no longer relying on the “soil” for their livelihood. They have not only left the “soil,” but also the “countryside.” 2. The small number of people who stay behind in the village are mostly engaged in various sideline businesses like village construction contracting, transportation, running shops, or establishing business liaisons instead of working the “soil.” 3. The very few people who stay behind to engage in agriculture are no longer part of the self-sufficient peasant economy. They farm various cash crops, for example

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cotton and mustard greens, to meet market demands. Both the “countryside” and the “soil” Professor Fei Xiaotong described have gone through profound changes. This is no longer a China bonded to its soil.

In the same village, I have observed some increasingly notable patterns: 1. Villagers working as migrant workers invest their income in building new houses in the village. Even though they work in cities most of the year, and only return to the village on rare occasions like the Chinese New Year, they devote themselves to decorating the house and its interior. 2. Even with the massive Chinese New Year travel rush and the higher travel expenses, they return to their home village to celebrate the Spring Festival. Their stays at home range from three to five days, on the short end, to half a month to twenty days, at most. To them, nothing is more important than having a family dinner on New Year’s Eve, no matter the cost. During the Tomb-Sweeping Festival, many villagers return to visit the tombs of their ancestors and pay their respects, especially those whose parents have passed away. They usually spend only a day or two at home, and the sole purpose of their visit is to offer incense and kowtow before the tombs. 3. Important life rituals like childbirth, marriage and funeral are commemorated with formal ceremonies. Take the example of marriage: The house for the newlyweds is splendidly decorated, and the dowry includes a color television, stereo, and even a motorcycle. For a couple who spend most of the year away from the village and only return during the Chinese New Year, these things are hardly practical. There is a message in these phenomena: to the villages, the meaning of life and personal values lie in the “countryside” and the “soil.”

We see both changes and consistencies in the comparison between these village scenes and the rural society in Professor Fei Xiaotong’s work. Since Professor Fei’s time, the Chinese village has experienced the founding of the People’s Republic, the campaign to build the communes, the implementation of the household responsibility system, and massive rural–urban migration. This book explores the characteristics and changes of the rural society through the changing times, and how best to serve the development of rural China.

1.2 Literature review

Research on rurality is generally conducted within two frameworks:

1.2.1 *The tradition–modernity dichotomy*

It is a time-honored practice in sociology to treat a subject as an ideal type and analyze it within the tradition–modernity dichotomy. For example, Comte divides human society into traditional society and industrial society. Spencer distinguishes the military type of society from the industrial type of society. Tönnies proposes the concepts of community and society. Weber articulates the three types of authority. There are mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity according to Durkheim, and Parsons summarizes the characteristics of the traditional society and the modern society. Their analyses are all premised on the traditional–modern dichotomy.

1.2.1.1 Definitions of tradition, modernity, and their connection

Applying the tradition–modernity dichotomy to the research of rurality means defining rurality as tradition, and urbanity as modernity. Some scholars have attempted to define rurality. Xing Kexin defines local awareness as the “peasants’ strong psychological attachment to the soil and rural environment that has nurtured the past generations.”³ To Cheng Xiao, local awareness consists of the various daily awareness formed by a rural population during their shared social activities and historical heritage. Such a set of awareness is distinct from that of any other group, and includes ideals, wishes, emotions, values, social attitudes, mores and other psychological attributes. These attributes are organically formed through collective activities in a culture of poverty. Compared to the psychological attributes among groups with higher education, they display a lack of the mechanism for rational thought, and are characterized by a state of awareness that is above survival instincts but below rational apprehension concerning life, history and society.”⁴ Giddens thinks modernity, the opposite of tradition, refers to “modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.”⁵ “A typical modernity is the product of the democratic revolution in European and American politics. It manifests itself in the aggressive expansion of industrial capitalism in economy, the spread of democratic ideology and the rise of the nation-state in politics, and the dominance of reason in culture.”⁶ Zheng Hangsheng approaches modernity from its relation to tradition, “modernity is understood as the transitive process of society constantly moving from tradition to modern times, and on to newer times, and in the transitive process toward the more modern and the even newer modern, it produces a corresponding new tradition and then a newer tradition.”⁷ Zheng Hangsheng and Yang Min divide modernity into old modernity and new modernity. Old modernity focuses on the conquest of nature and control of resources. It is achieved at the cost of sowing discord between society and nature, society and individual. New modernity makes humanity its primary concern and aims to achieve a win–win situation by creating a harmonious relationship between humanity and nature, and humanity and society. Such modernity minimizes its natural and social costs.⁸ According to Zheng Hangsheng and Yang Min, there are two trends in the development of modernity: the old-style western modernity and the localized modernity of third-world nations. Driven by the idea and mentality of cultural geography, the former aims to conquer the world and lead globalization, while the latter promotes modernity through the strategy of localization, creating an authentic path towards modernity and embracing globalization.”⁹

Although tradition and modernity are located at the two ends of a continuum and exist often in opposition, Zheng Hangsheng offers the profound insight that tradition and modernity cannot be separated and are established as a dichotomy. There is not only contradiction between tradition and modernity, but also mutual absorption and co-dependence. A better approach should be to “develop tradition to serve modernity.”¹⁰ “A society’s development is a transitional process where the dominance of traditional elements is gradually replaced by the dominance of modern elements. Tradition and modernity are inseparable. There is no modernity

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to speak of if there is no tradition, and vice versa. Each is defined by the other, and each develops with the other. The dynamic between tradition and modernity should be approached from the relationship between the ‘growth of modernity’ and the ‘invention of tradition’.”¹¹

1.2.1.2 Peasants and migrant workers: a study on the transition from tradition to modernity

In the historical process of modernization, the rural landscape changes from a closed one to an open one. The peasants arrive in the city as migrant workers, and gradually become modern. In the city, the migrant workers adjust their mental and behavioral habits in reference to the urbanites to be finally assimilated into the urban society and achieve a set of mentality, mores, and behaviors different from that of a traditional rural society. The process of achieving modernity is an ongoing one. Zhou Xiaohong’s study on the “Zhejiang Village” in Beijing shows that the urban experience effectively counters the localism, conservatism, egalitarianism, isolationism, and utilitarianism of the peasants and stimulates the rapid development of their modern personality and mentality. Zhou believes that “urban space and urban civilization can endow a person with the basic characteristics of modernity.”¹² Research by the famous American sociologist Alex Inkeles shows the significance of industrialization in the transformation of traditional culture and the formation of modern culture. He has noted that the experience of working in factories has the effect of instilling in people values associated with modernity.¹³ Many scholars emphasize the importance of population mobility in the acquisition of modernity. Guo Zhenglin and Zhou Daming studied a natural village in Southeast China where most of the farmers work as migrant workers. They conclude that migrant work proves consequential to the farmers becoming modern. “In an underdeveloped rural community, migrant work in the city provides the main avenue and motivation for the farmers to experience industrial civilization and a modern way of life, thus making them more modern.”¹⁴ Cai Zhihai thinks the farmers’ transition to the modern man starts in the process of migration, where they develop abilities, familiarize themselves with the commodity economy, reconstitute their social networks, and learn about institutional culture and behavioral norms.¹⁵ To farmers who have broken through the geographical barrier, modern urban culture exerts a gradual influence on them, nurtures their adventurous spirit, commercial and market awareness, furnishes them with a much richer social experience and strengthens their competitive edge. Experiences with different urban occupations help develop their ability to manage complicated interpersonal relations and establish expansive social networks outside their hometowns. They learn to capture and process information, hone various vocational skills, and expand their horizons.”¹⁶ This phenomenon illustrates the increasing competitive edge and modernity of the migrant workers and contributes to their rejection of traditional ideas.

The process of the migrant workers becoming modern in the city is a process of adaptation to urban life and resocialization. Zhu Li considers the adaptation of the migrant workers to urban life as a continued socialization of adults in a new

environment.¹⁷ “Migrant workers need to meet three basic conditions to successfully integrate into urban society: a relatively stable job, a lifestyle that is similar to that of their urban counterparts, and shared social values with the urbanites. These three conditions speak to the adaptation on three levels: economic, social, and cultural and psychological.”¹⁸

1.2.1.3 Manifestation of an incomplete acculturation

Despite disintegrating rurality and increasing urbanity, many migrant workers fail to assimilate. Their urban socialization remains incomplete, and rurality still features prominently in their urban communities. Research has shown the weakening attachment of migrant workers to agriculture and the rural landscape, and their reluctance to return to their rural communities. Meanwhile, they are also not truly adapted and assimilated to the urban society.¹⁹ “The interactions between migrant workers and urban residents are often subject to strong limitations, namely, superficiality and inward orientation. On the one hand, the interactions between the two groups are often limited to business transactions with little emotional exchange. Such communications often lack depth and serve obvious utilitarian purposes. On the other hand, migrant workers often socialize with specific groups, mainly people from their hometowns or other rural regions. When in need, they more often than not ask help from their fellow countrymen.”²⁰ When studying the migration and information channels of the first-time migrant workers, Cai Fang learns that most of the migrant workers rely on personal networks in their migration, such as blood relations, family networks, and locality-based networks. Joining such networks minimizes the risk and cost of migration, and 75% of the migrant workers first learn of migrant work opportunities through such networks.²¹ Cai’s research shows that the social resources migrant workers draw on mostly come from these networks, instead of the market or the government.²² When migrant workers are met with difficulties, their first inclination is to be self-sufficient. Only when the solution to their problems is beyond their abilities do they seek other help. Family networks and locality-based networks, which constitute a homogenous group that they themselves belong to, are their first choice for seeking help.²³ Research has shown the close connection between the occupational choice of migrant workers and their hometowns. A Beijing-based research shows that male migrant workers from Jiangsu and Hebei often work as bricklayers, carpenters, and plumbers. Male migrant workers from Henan often work in cleaning services, foundries, and recycling. Male migrant workers from Shandong are mainly vegetable wholesalers and retailers. Female migrant workers from Jiangsong are often textile workers, assembly workers, and small business operators. Female migrant workers from Anhui are often maids, housekeepers, and domestic cleaners. Female migrant workers from Sichuan and Northeast concentrate in the entertainment and restaurant industries. In general, migrant workers from economically developed regions often establish their own small businesses, while migrant workers from poorer regions often operate restaurants or small businesses that advertise their hometown specialties. Given the correlation between occupation and hometown, “urban villages” like

“Anhui Village,” “Zhejiang Village,” “Henan Village” and “Xinjiang Village” have sprouted up in Beijing.²⁴ Such phenomena illustrate the migrant workers’ dependence on blood-based or locally-based networks in choosing their occupations. As primitive social capital, such networks contribute to the existence of a conspicuous “dual community” within the urban space.²⁵

1.2.1.4 Analysis of the rurality among urban migrant workers

Scholars often approach the incomplete assimilation of migrant workers to urban life and their retained rurality from the aspects of social institution and personal limitation.

- (1) Social institution: Although the binary of urban–rural social structure is gradually disintegrating and individuals are gaining more freedom in personal development, there is no denying that the extant social institution still creates systematic barriers for migrant workers living in the city. Such barriers make it difficult for migrant workers to access urban economic, political, and public service resources that they are entitled to, and further keeps them outside the mainstream social networks.²⁶ The institutional barriers migrant workers are subjected to exist in economics, politics, culture, social security, education, social networks and even public space.²⁷ Such barriers deny the migrant workers’ access to institutional resources and force them to seek help from rural networks based on blood and locality. Shen Yuan’s research shows that the migrant workers’ dependence on rural social networks instead of urban institutional resources does not mean the migrant workers are particularly adept at utilizing social relations. Rather, they have little to rely on except the previously established rural networks.²⁸
- (2) Personal limitation: In addition to institutional reasons, migrant workers’ personal limitations are an important factor in their incomplete assimilation and rurality. Limited education, backwards ideas and values, conservative lifestyle, and the lack of skills make it difficult for migrant workers to qualify for a position in the premier labor market. They often lose out in job market competition due to their limited education and have no choice but to engage in “informal employment” that is unstable and pays little. Such employment status is detrimental to the migrant workers’ spending power, development of personal relations, education, and living space, leading to self-imposed isolation during personal interactions. At the same time, migrant workers are under the strong influence of rural ideas and cultural mores. They know little about laws and regulations and are inarticulate in the rhetoric and practice of legal protection and are thus vulnerable.²⁹ Such personal limitations contribute to their preservation of rurality.

In reality, the preservation of rurality and rural networks based on blood and locality both facilitates and restrains the migrant workers’ existence and development in the city. “On the one hand, rural networks provide the migrant workers with economic and spiritual aid and help them to quickly establish themselves in

the city. Such basic protection saves the migrant workers from falling victim to the process of urbanization. On the other hand, continuous dependence on such networks keeps the migrant workers tethered to their sub-standard socioecological environment, their traditional ideas and petty peasant mentality, making it difficult for them to identify with and assimilate into the city.”³⁰

1.2.2 Cultural framework

1.2.2.1 Research on rurality

Professor Fei Xiaotong’s *From the Soil* is a piece of classic research on rurality from the cultural perspective. In this book, Fei proposes a set of classic concepts, including the differential mode of association, personal mores, lineage, a rule of ritual, a society without litigation, rule by elders, consanguinity and regionalism. Given the popularity and significant influence of the book, I will only give a perfunctory introduction to these concepts.

The differential mode of association. Fei Xiaotong thinks that while the “organizational mode of association” dominates in the western society, the “differential mode of association” dominates in rural China. “Each organization has its own boundaries, which clearly define those people who are members and those who are not. That much is always clear. The people in an organization form a group, and their relationship to the organization is usually the same. If there are differences among group members or distinctions among ranks within the organization, these would have been agreed upon earlier as part of the rules of the organization.” Our social structure, however, is “different from that of the West. Unlike bundles of straws, where all straws in a bundle are alike, social relationships in China possess a self-centered quality. Like the ripples formed from a stone thrown into a lake, each circle spreading out from the center becomes more distant and at the same time more insignificant.”³¹ “The Confucian school stresses *renlun*, and what is *lun*? To me, insofar as it is used to describe Chinese social relationships, the term itself signifies the ripple-like effect created from circles of relationships that spread out from the self, an effect that produces a pattern of discrete circles.”³² *Lun* stresses differentiation, and order based on classification. The “differential mode of association” has four distinct characteristics. First, it is centered on the “self” and cohered through natural, i.e., biological ties. Second, the social spheres are highly elastic, with the “self” as the discrete center fanning out into a web-like personal network. Third, human networks conform to hierarchical differentiation. Different relationships occupy different positions in the hierarchy of social order. Relations between those above and those below, the noble and the base, the exulted and the mean, and the old and the young follow strict patterns. Toward the intimate, there is only intimacy; toward the respected, only respect. Fourth, the personal nature of the personal/informal relationships. The “different mode of association” aptly sums up the two key features of rural China: the vertical hierarchical order, and the elastic differentiation between horizontal networks centered on the self.³³ Under the mode of differential association, social relationships spread out from the self as the center, resulting in an accumulation of personal

connections. Therefore, social morality makes sense only in these personal connections. In the traditional Chinese system of morality, there is no concept of “love” such as that which exists in Christianity—universal love without distinctions. It is even harder to find ethical principles linking individuals with groups. The absence of an organizational morality can be seen even more clearly in the conflict between the public and the private spheres. The traditional moral system was incapable of producing a comprehensive moral concept. Therefore, all the standards of value in this system were incapable of transcending the differential personal relationships of the Chinese social structure. A society characterized by a differential mode of association “embraces no ethical concepts that transcend specific types of personal/informal relationship,” “general standards have no utility. The first thing to do is to understand the specific context: Who is the important figure, and what kind of relationship is appropriate with that figure. Only then can one decide the ethical standards to be applied to that context.”³⁴ The application of moral standards and laws in China is an elastic practice based on the relationship one has with others.

In addition to Fei Xiaotong’s “differential mode of association” and “organizational mode of association,” Liang Shuming’s theory of an “ethics-based society” and an “individual-based society,” as well as Francis L. K. Hsu’s “context-based” and “individual-based” responses also stand out as influential theoretical frameworks.³⁵ The central argument of Liang Shuming’s theory is that China is an ethics-based society, and this is the theoretical foundation for his rural reconstruction campaign. If the contemporary western society is an individual-based society where classes have conflicting interests, the traditional Chinese society, in contrast, is one that is “ethics-based and occupation-oriented.”³⁶ Liang Shuming considers “western society to be a multi-dimensional one, where the interactions between individuals and groups are society-oriented. The individual is defined in response to the group. Individuality is expressed on the backdrop of a group identity. Different from the western society, the Chinese society is flat. There is little tradition of organizational life. In this society, all social organizations, from the family to the state, are governed by the ethics of social relations. Social relations are interpersonal relations, or privatized social relations, which present great obstacles to the formation of public awareness and public space. Individuality dissolves, while at the same time the public space is privatized. In maintaining social order, subjecting social relations to the regulation of ethics means inspiring self-cultivation in individuals instead of imposing external regulations on human behaviors. Therefore, religion is replaced by morality, and law is replaced by ritual.”³⁷ Jin Yaoji defines the Chinese society as a relationship-based one. If the central tenet of the individual-based western society is “reason,” then the fundamental tenet of the Chinese society is “relationship.”³⁸ The ideas of “ethics-based society,” “situation-centered response,” and “relationship-based society” all share some subtle similarities to Fei Xiaotong’s “differential mode of association.”

Lineage. “Family” is the most basic group in Chinese rural society. In the rural society, family does not have a strict boundary, and can expand, as needed, by incorporating ever more distant categories of relatives. For Chinese families, the

route of expansion is patrilineal; it incorporates only those from the father's side of the family. With few exceptions, families do not include daughters-in-law and sons-in-law at the same time. Structurally, Chinese families are lineages. A lineage expands out from the household family base. The Chinese family is a medium through which all activities are organized. The size of the family depends on the extent of the activity being organized. The main axes of the family are between father and son and between mother and daughter-in-law. These are vertical, not horizontal, relationships. The husband-wife relationship plays a minor role.³⁹

A rule of ritual. Chinese rural society is a society ruled by rituals. The fact that a society is ruled through an etiquette established by rituals does not mean that people in that society are gentle and refined. Ritual etiquette does not convey that notion of manners—of being “cultured” or “benevolent” or even of “nodding to people you meet.” With ritual etiquette, one can kill others, and one can be utterly barbaric. Rituals are recognized behavioral norms. If one behaves according to the rituals, then one's behavior is correct and proper. Ritual norms are maintained by tradition, and tradition is accumulated social experience. In this environment, people do not keep track of the change of dynasties. They live the same life generation after generation, trusting only their own experience and that of their parents and grandparents. If you act within that experience, you will have luck; if you don't, you will have problems. Therefore, people grow up in awe of tradition. “A ritual is not something that is carried out by an exterior force. Ritual works through the feeling of respect and of obedience that people themselves have cultivated... Ritual is obviously different from law and even from what we normally call morality. Law restrains people by setting external limits to action, and morality is sustained by public opinion...”⁴⁰

A society without litigation. In rural societies, all aspects of life and personal/informal relationships are governed by specific rules. All the actors in this society have been familiar with the rules since childhood, and they take those rules for granted. Their long education since childhood has turned these exterior rules into interior habits. The force to maintain rituals comes not from the outside but from the inside, from one's own consciences. Therefore, this social order pays a great deal of attention to self-cultivation and self-restraint. Ideally, in a society ruled through rituals, everyone will abide by the rules voluntarily, so that all exterior supervision is unnecessary. Understanding the rituals is everyone's responsibility, and any litigation is shameful, because it indicates a lack of proper education.⁴¹

Rule by elders. When discussing educational power, Fei Xiaotong also discusses dictatorial power and consensual power. Dictatorial power is a power that suppresses any resistance, and consensual power arises out of mutual agreement. Educational power is neither dictatorial nor consensual. It neither arises from social conflicts nor springs from social cooperation. Educational power emerges in the process of establishing an orderly succession in society, a power generated through education. In a relatively static society, culture is stable. There are very few new problems. Living consists primarily of following a set of traditional recipes. In a society completely regulated by tradition, there would be no politics,

just education. Every older person possesses the power to teach and to impose a culture upon every younger person. This is a rule by elders.⁴²

Consanguinity and regionalism. Consanguinity means that people's rights and obligations are determined by kinship. The social positions determined by consanguinity are not subject to individual choice. Consanguinity is a stabilizing force. In stable societies, a tie to a specific place, or regionalism, is no more than an extension of consanguinity and cannot be separated from it. The closeness in space reflects the closeness in consanguinity. Geographical location is socialized space. This combination of consanguinity and regionalism is what communities, in their original sense, were all about. Commerce cannot exist in an intimate consanguineous society. Although exchanges do take place in such a society, people exchange with *renqing*, an intuitive sense about the appropriate levels of reciprocity, by giving gifts to each other.⁴³

Professor Fei Xiaotong describes a rural China of the 1930s and 1940s. Since then, profound changes have taken place in every aspect of rural life. Some scholars have embarked on new paths of exploration to understand the contemporary rural China and Chinese farmers. Among these studies, *New Rural China: Notes from Field Research in a Transitional Rural Society* by He Xuefeng stands out. He proposes several new concepts in the book, for example, semi-society of acquaintances, which differentiates itself from Fei Xiaotong's "society of acquaintances." He considers a particularly small village, where residents are familiar with each other, to be a society of acquaintances. At the level of administrative villages, however, farmers are not necessarily well acquainted with each other, making such a village a semi-society of acquaintances.⁴⁴ He also introduces the concept of "rationalized human relations" to Liang Shuming's idea of the traditional Chinese society as an ethics-based society, and Fei Xiaotong's society with a differential mode of association. Reason has entered rural life, infusing formal relations with a human touch, and informal relations with more rationality. Furthermore, if conditions allow, formal relations are converted to informal relations. The rationalization of human relations has many manifestations: breakdown of lineage, increasing importance of affinal relations, targeted visits to relatives and friends, expansive friend networks, treating friends like family, emotional distancing between siblings, deterioration of rural elder care, rationalization of procreation, separate households of parents and children, decline of traditional customs and rituals, and many more.⁴⁵ While He Xuefeng's work approaches the new changes in rural culture from the perspectives of rural governance and rural reconstruction, Professor Lu Yilong puts forward the concept of "post-rural China." Post-rurality suggests that while the original rural social structure continues to exist, its socioeconomy and culture have come under the influence of modernity and are displaying some characteristics of modernity. Rural residents are no longer "country," but are increasingly "modern." The mobility of the rural populations has also changed from being relatively static to highly mobile and uncertain. Networks in a society of acquaintances continue to be expanded and utilized.⁴⁶ Lu's work approaches the changes in rural China through the analysis of the differences between the traditional and the modern rural China.

1.2.2.2 Revival of the clan and festival culture

Since the reform and opening and with the implementation of the household contract responsibility system, as well as the relative loosening of the ideological control of the state, some rural customs and practices that the state used to consider as “superstitious” and “feudal,” like the building of temples and ancestral shrines, have revived, and so have traditional festivals. Scholars have conducted some research on this phenomenon. Research by Zhou Daming and Gao Chong shows that one of the important manifestations of clan culture is the ancestor libation ceremony. To express their spiritual unity with their ancestors, all clans in a village build their respective ancestral shrines. The once-indifferent attitude toward the clan is now reviving, as evident in the maintenance and reconstruction of the ancestral shrines, the annual libation ceremony and feast, the offerings at the ancestral tombs on the Tomb-Sweeping Festival, and the growing influence of the clan elders.⁴⁷ The clan meetings to discuss the reconstruction of ancestral shrines are in fact local political activities by the local communities to re-establish symbolic order and community awareness. Although the locals ground the rationale behind these activities in the official ideology since the 1980s, they are in fact re-establishing the historical continuity of the internal order within the clan and the village. These activities constitute a process of reproducing and implementing a long-established structure at a specific historical moment.⁴⁸

1.2.2.3 The confrontation of urban culture and rural China in migration

The entrenched urban–rural binary structure has molded the city and the countryside into two distinct societies, each having its own culture and social rules. Such immobility confines the farmers’ life to certain geographical locations, contributing to the localism of the rural society. To deal with economic pressure, the rural population gravitates towards the city, and tries to put down roots in the urban society. They are inevitably confronted with culture shock.

In Sociology, cultural shock is described as “a feeling of anxiety and depression that occurs when an individual encounters an unfamiliar culture for the first time.”⁴⁹ As “newcomers,” when faced with a urban environment that is both “strange” and “curious,” migrant workers to the city are both “impressed” and anxious. To new immigrants from rural regions or small locales, a city is a world that is unknown and unpredictable to them. They cannot live only within a social network of acquaintance, but have to establish, invest in, and manage new relations according to the rules of the city, so they can make friends, seek marriage alliances, and make business exchanges. For those who have entered the urban society, they no longer exist in a single, homogeneous, and stable rural social network, but a complicated, heterogeneous and variable one.⁵⁰ Rural migration to the city not only involves a geographical relocation and changes in social roles, but also a spiritual migration, where farmers transform their rural ideas, behavioral norms and life-style into urban ones. They experience and participate in a cultural environment

that is completely different from that of rural China, and the impact of “culture shock” leaves them both at a loss and unable to resist, leading to the gradual disintegration and deconstruction of their traditional way of life and values.⁵¹

1.2.2.4 Review of extant scholarship

These research findings are no doubt inspirational, and they provide the foundation of the research detailed in this book. Under closer scrutiny, however, the research designs show some weaknesses.

Within the research framework of tradition–modernity, tradition and modernity are the bookends of a continuum and possess the same level of significance in theory. However, studies on rural migrant workers focus more on modernity, and treat tradition as either a background or a point of reference. Neglecting the role of tradition is one of the weaknesses of these studies. Second, within the framework of tradition–modernity, researchers take it for granted that with economic development and social transition, a society naturally moves from tradition toward modernity, in that the society will become less traditional and more modern. Tradition and modernity are put in opposition, and the movement along the continuum is unidirectional. Such an understanding simplifies the dialectical relationship between tradition and modernity. Even in the studies that emphasize the role of rurality in the rural migrants’ survival and development in the city, they still conclude that such rurality acts as a barrier to the migrant workers’ assimilation process in that close-mindedness, a characteristic of rurality, keeps migrant workers confined to their limited social networks based on blood and locality. These studies advocate replacing rurality with urbanity to transform rural migrants into true urban residents. Third, equating rurality with tradition, researchers often focus on the backward and outdated aspects of rurality and ignore the study of tradition—how traditional resources are explored and recycled and the significant role of rational elements within tradition in promoting modern development.

Since Fei Xiaotong’s classic study on rural China, there has yet to be another systematic study on the subject using the cultural framework. The extant studies on the culture of rural China exist in various fields in a fragmented form. For example, anthropologists have studied the revival of festivals and clan culture, political scientists have studied rurality for the purpose of rural governance, and sociologists have addressed the necessity of abandoning rurality for the farmers to assimilate in the city.

This project aims to improve on some of the incompleteness and weakness of the existing studies. The questions that inspire this study are as follows: given the reality of China, should rurality, which is agricultural in nature, be abandoned? Is the evolution from rurality to urbanity a simple, linear process? Is there any other more complicated path of evolution? Rurality that arises from a time-honored agriculture culture is gradually disappearing as something out of step with the times. Is there any possibility of exploring the rational elements in rurality to serve modernity? How does the rural society, with its dual nature of closeness and openness, decide its developmental path? It was with these questions in mind that I embarked on the project.

1.3 Research plan

1.3.1 Subject of study

1. Concepts: Rurality refers to the accumulation of specific behavior norms, cognitive habits, and values based on the “fixed soil” and a “closed rural community” over a long period of time. The origin of the rurality lies in the “fixed soil” and the “closed rural community.” The extended concept of rurality incorporates a variety of aspects. For the purpose of the study, I approached rurality from the following six aspects: family awareness, interpersonal relations, social order, village authority, festivity and celebration, and life rituals.
2. The mechanism and logic of institution and market’s impact on rurality. The specific question is how the different combinations of institution and market (the combinations of institutional rigidity and market absence, gradual institutional elasticity and expanding market, adaptive institution and developed market) affect the occupations of rural residents (occupation is divided into two types—agricultural and nonfarm. Agricultural occupation is further divided into subsistence agriculture and marketized agriculture. Nonfarm occupation is further divided into migrant work in the city and nonfarm rural industries). The diversification of occupation has changed the relation between the rural residents and the soil, as well as the rural landscape, leading to the transformation of rurality.

The following graph illustrates the research framework on institution-market impact (Figure 1.1):

1.3.2 Theoretical foundation of the study

This study is conducted from the perspective of social transition theory and social mutual-construction theory.

Social transition theory refers to the transitive process of a society from traditional to modern. To be specific, it is a process of moving from an agrarian, rural, closed, and semi-closed traditional society to one that is industrialized, urban, open, and modern. As a whole, it is a process where a society dominated by traditional elements transitions to one that is dominated by modern elements. This process, however, includes the transition from tradition to modernity, as well as from modernity to tradition; there is the transition from tradition to tradition, as well as from modernity to modernity. All these complicated and interwoven transitions are taking place in the contemporary People’s Republic of China and make up the most distinct feature of the Chinese society in rapid transition. The complexity of the Chinese society’s transition also lies in the fact that it is not only a transition from the pre-modern to the modern, but also from an old modernity to a new modernity.⁵²

The fundamental question sociology aims to address is the relationship between individual and society. Theoretical and empirical studies in sociology to explore the operation and development of a society are all based on the factual findings

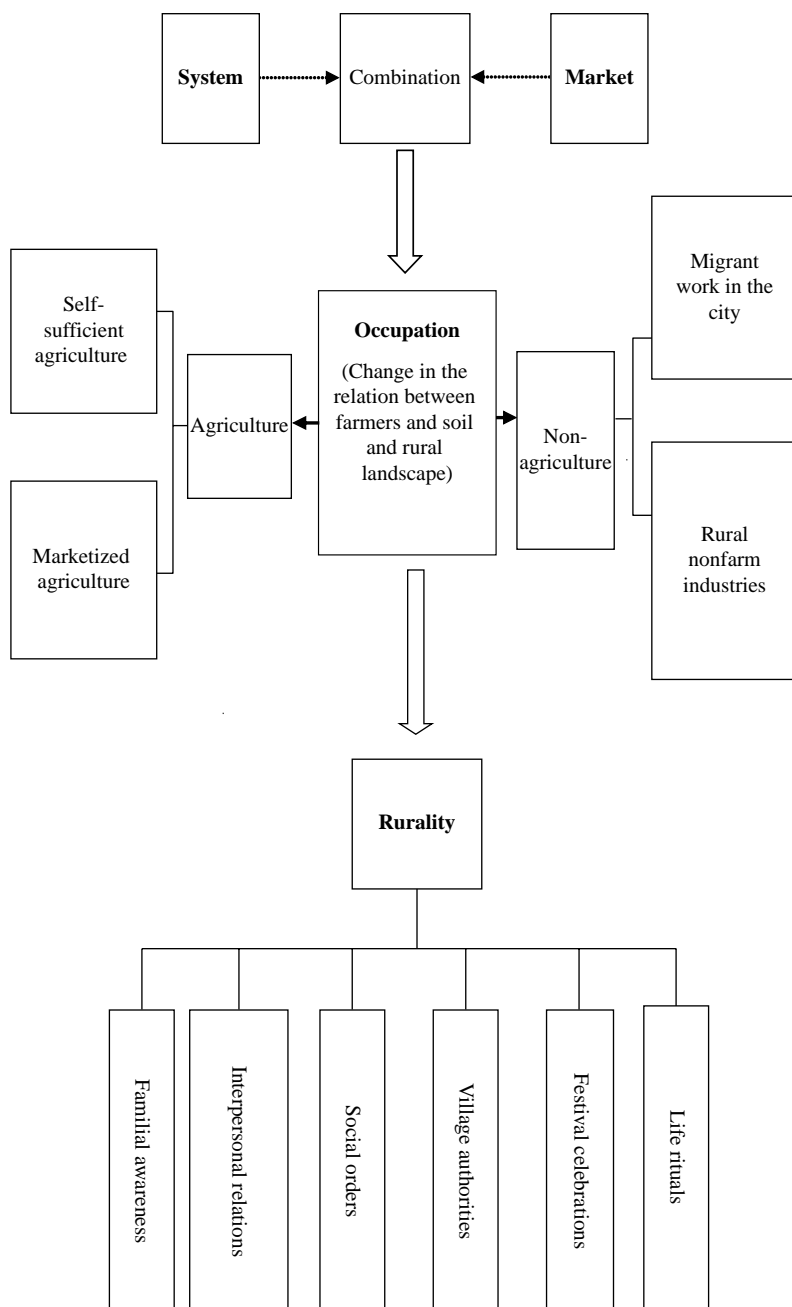


Figure 1.1 Research framework on institution-market impact.

on the relationships between individual and society. Therefore, the construction of sociology theories and empirical research are always more or less related to this fundamental question.⁵³ Social mutual-construction theory takes the relationship between individual and society as its fundamental question, and explores the mutual-construction and covariance between the two major agents of social action. In particular, it describes the facts and experiences of the individual–society relationship in contemporary China. In short, social mutual-construction theory is a sociology theory on the mutual-construction and covariance between individual and society—the two major agents of social action.⁵⁴ Mutual-construction acts on the essential relationship between agents, in that the agents of social relations construct and shape each other. Social mutual-construction theory addresses several characteristics in a mutual-construction relationship: the heterogeneity of agents, the spatio-temporal multi-dimensionality, the duality of the construction itself (subject and object, subjectivity and objectivity, the external social structure and the internal mental structure of the subject) and their symbiosis, the simultaneity, correspondence, covariance during the mutual-construction, and the unpredictability of the mutual-construction outcome. Covariance refers to the corresponding states of change of the agents of social relation during the process of mutual construction. Mutual changes always correspond to each other. This is to say, the changes happening to the agents of social relation during mutual construction happen simultaneously and correspondingly. Simultaneity and correspondence do not mean absolute sameness and bijection. There are also differences and conflicts. Both congruous changes and conflicts are basic forms of covariance and different aspects of the same process. But the theory focuses more on the congruous changes and treats conflicts as the necessary path to congruity. This is to say that social mutual-construction theory is a theoretical framework that addresses the process where multipolar mutual-construction takes place between agents of social action to establish a covariant relationship.⁵⁵ The basic outline of the theory is that individual and society represent the duality of the interconnectivity in a human community: the individual is the basic unit of a society, and society is the mode of existence of individuals. A community is composed of individuals, and the relations between the individuals constitute a society. The development of human community is a process of the evolving individual-society relations. Both ontologically and methodologically, the theory establishes the simultaneous and covariant mutual-constructive relationship between individual and society, forsaking a selective approach that focuses on either the individual or the society. This is the premise and the foundation of the whole theory.⁵⁶ Social mutual-construction theory takes the individual-society relationship as a continuum and studies how it functions as something that is essentially intermediate and transitional. The theory analyzes the relationships between individuals, individual and group, between groups, individual and society, individual and state, and society and state.⁵⁷

There are two standards in choosing a theoretical framework: adaptability and explanatory power. Social transition theory and social mutual-construction theory meet these standards for this study. This project is based on the research materials gathered in a village where migrant work is the main income source, and

illustrates the changes taking place in the rurality of the villagers' life. The most important time period in this study is when rural residents went to the city en masse to seek work. The process of migration itself is a process of change, where a closed, backward rural village transforms into a market-oriented, non-agrarian, and prosperous village. Furthermore, such a transformation is unprecedented in both scale and depth. Changes in rurality include transplantation, deconstruction, reconstruction, and many other processes. They demonstrate the complicated dialectical relationship between tradition and modernity. Social transformation theory is well suited to explain these processes. The reason rurality is going through the changes—transplantation, deconstruction, and reconstruction—is because the essence of rurality, “soil” and “rural community” are going through changes. This is to say the relationship between the rural residents and their “soil” and “community” is going through profound changes. Rural residents are gradually freed from the “fixed soil” and the “closed rural community”. They are physically leaving the soil and the community to engage in nonfarm labor or marketized agriculture. These profound changes arise from the intense changes in the individual–society relationships, which moves from detrimental mutual construction, to primarily beneficial mutual construction, and then to harmonious beneficial mutual construction at higher levels. The process of change is a process where the institutions are reformed and perfected, the market continues to develop, and the individuals display more and more agency and initiative. This is the essence of the social mutual-constructing theory, and the theory is well-adapted to explain the process.

1.3.3 Research methodology

Sociology methodology is a multi-level, multi-perspective, comprehensive system. It is often divided into three parts: methodology, research method, and specific research plan and technique. There exist two schools of methodology in sociology research: positivist methodology and interpretive methodology. Positivist methodology believes social science research should look to natural science research and studies social phenomena and their relationships as if they were natural phenomena. Interpretive methodology believes studies of social phenomena and social actions by humans should take into consideration the particularity of human beings, the differences between social phenomena and natural phenomena, and the subjectivity of the researchers. In Max Weber's words, one needs to apply “interpretive understanding.”⁵⁸ The research method refers to the specific form the research takes or the specific type to which the research belongs. While quantitative research is typically featured in positivist methodology, interpretative methodology relies on qualitative research. There are four major sociological research methods: surveys, experiments, field research, and textual analysis. The first two are used in quantitative research, while the latter two are more common in qualitative research. Quantitative research and qualitative research are both methods adopted in sociological research, and neither is superior to the other. They serve different purposes in the study of social phenomena. Which method to adopt not only depends on the personal interests of the researcher, but also

on the specific subject of research. Methods and techniques refer to the various information gathering methods, material analysis methods, and specific research procedures and techniques, like surveys, interviews, observation, statistical analysis, and qualitative analysis.

In practice, most research falls somewhere between the two schools of methodology, with some incorporating more positivist research and some more interpretative research. Practically speaking, it is impossible to treat research simply as the accumulation of data, or an analytical monologue. It must be the combination of the two. Pierre Bourdieu has warned against the “methodologism,” which has the inclination to separate reflection on methods from their actual use in the scientific day-to-day carrying out of research.⁵⁹ My research is a qualitative one. The qualitative research method requires the “in-depth research in a natural environment over a substantial period by means of immersion, open-ended interviews, participant and non-participant observation, textual analysis and case studies. Qualitative research is often inductive in nature. The research collects first-hand materials in the location of the study, approaches the actions and opinions of the subjects of the study through their perspectives, formulates a hypothesis or theory based on the materials collected, and tests the hypothesis or theory by examining its falsifiability or the correlation between the variables. The researcher is the main research tool, whose personal background, relationship with the research subjects, and the manner in which these elements impact the research process and results must be taken into consideration. The research process is an important part of research results and must be recorded and reported in detail.”⁶⁰

The materials gathered for this project come from research conducted at an administrative village in Anhui Province. Therefore, this research should be considered a case study. Conducting a case study is like conducting an anatomical operation on a sparrow. Such a study aims to learn about the “internal relationship between various parts within a social structure” and the “conditions for the establishment of the structure.” A case study does not choose its sample randomly. The village chosen for the study might not be representative of all the villages in China, but it should be representative of a certain type of village and has inferential significance. In this case, the village is representative of villages in central China where migrant work is the main source of income. The purpose of a case study is to study representative cases and to gain a detailed, profound, and comprehensive understanding of certain subject or phenomenon. Such understanding leads to qualitative (or quantitative) apprehension and is an especially useful research method in sociology studies. A case study is often employed in conjunction with descriptive research, exploratory research, and causal research.⁶¹

Case study is a controversial method among researchers, considered by many to be “unrepresentative,” “unreliable,” and lacking in explanatory efficacy because of the small sample size. In fact, the goal of a case study, is not to make universal generalizations on the basis of findings about a specific subject. Their strength lies in their ability to yield microscopic insights about the interactions between individuals, individuals and groups, or between individuals and culture, politics, and economic mechanisms from the micro level.⁶² “Case studies yield qualitative understanding, and the cases studied are not meant to be statistically

representative, but prototypical for purpose of qualitative analysis. Rejecting case studies on this ground, therefore, can only be fundamentally based on a blatant misunderstanding of the logic of the method. Case studies do not aim to produce generalizations based on the findings about individual cases, and so do not lend themselves to statistical inference, but only to qualitative analysis, which generate theoretical extrapolations. In a case study, the sample case is supposed to be typical, not representative. The two are different.”⁶³ The sample used in a case study does not represent overall facts. The key to choosing a typical sample is not to raise the number of sample studies, but to have a clear idea about what the sample should be typical of. The conclusion of a case study can be generalized and applied to other cases under certain circumstances. Due to the lack of “universal representativeness,” the conclusions reached through case studies cannot be applied across diverse categories, but only to other cases within the same “genus,” as it were. The key to secure the representativeness of the case study lies in identifying a group consisting of cases that are homogenous to the case studied, either in nature or in format. This is a process of delineating the standard of applicability. How do we achieve this? One way is to divide a heterogeneous whole into different strata based on one or more stratified variables, turning this heterogeneous whole into several relatively homogenous “strata” or “types.”⁶⁴

Nancun Village in Anhui is an ordinary village. Nothing about it makes it stand out among villages in central China (or in most of the villages in western China). Its value as a study subject also lies in the fact that there exist numerous villages just like it. Its commonality makes it representative. This is a principle that researchers on rural China should well remember. As in experiments, the more specific the design is, the larger number of controlled variables there are, and the farther away the experiment is from reality. In the expansive Chinese midwest, most of the villages share strong similarities with Nancun Village, and that is why I considered Nancun as a representative and finally choose it for the case study of the project. The history of Nancun is a commonplace one in the history of China. By commonplace, I mean that happenings like that of Nancun have happened in many other Chinese villages as well (albeit with different details). As for economic development, Nancun is neither at the top nor the bottom among Chinese villages. It is nothing other than a run-of-the-mill village in midwest China. Therefore, the experiences of Nancun provide at least a point of reference for the study of rural China, to be compared to or even criticized.

Given the huge expanse of rural China, during social transition villages are becoming increasingly heterogeneous. Roughly speaking, I put villages under the following five categories: (1) Super village; (2) Rural–urban fringe or urban village; (3) Village that develops its traditional natural and cultural resources, i.e., tourism, and prospers; (4) Village where migrant work is the main income source; (5) Primitive village that has yet to go through any of the above changes. There are many extant studies on the above-mentioned types of villages. Zhe Xiaoye’s study on “super villages,” Li Peilin’s study on urban villages, and Li Fuqiang’s study on Pinganzhai represent studies on the first three types of

villages. Zhe Xiaoye chose three villages—Liancun Village, Fengcun Village, and Pancun Village—as representatives of super villages. Liancun Village is representative of villages with a “collective ownership system” that develop along the “Sunan Model”; Fengcun Village is representative of villages with a “shareholding system” that develop along the “Zhujiang Model”; and Pancun Village is representative of villages with a combined ownership system that develop along the “Jinjiang Model.” The development of super villages is endogenous in nature, and it has become a representative path of village industrialization and poverty eradication. The goal of the village residency system is to control the influx of the external population and the outflow of village resources. Obtaining village residency means gaining access to a number of privileges, like employment, village welfare, subsidies, resource distribution, access to land for factory building, entitlement to shareholding and dividends, etc.⁶⁵ Li Peilin has studied 22 urban villages in Guangzhou City (he names them collectively as “Yangcheng Village”), and concludes that Yangcheng Village is a “village without farmers.” With substantial dividends from collective shares and housing rental income, the villages live comfortably. Although problems with sanitation and safety still exist, they are made economically well to do from the dividends and rental income.⁶⁶ Li Fuqiang proposes a “Pingan Model” based on his study of Pinganzhai in Longji Town, Guangxi Province. The village utilizes their arid rice paddy terraces and ethnic culture to develop tourism and service industry. They have broken out of the trap of agricultural involution and now prosper by monetizing their “poverty.” In fact, these three types of villages are the exception rather than the norm among Chinese villages, since they all require certain conditions for their development, like a good geographic location, rich traditions, or cultural or natural resources. Most of the Chinese villages belong to the latter two categories. Eventually, with socioeconomic development, the primitive villages of category five will only exist in theory since they will inevitably develop into one of the other four types of villages. It is likely that they will develop into villages where migrant work provides the main income, since this kind of development has the lowest requirement on village resources. Nancun Village is representative of this type of villages. Its development is “externally driven” by migrant villagers working in the cities and the money they generate. The study of this type of village is particularly important and meaningful.

This study employs observation, interview, oral history, and textual analysis as its methods.

Observation is a widely used research method. Observation is used to gather basic social information and primary sources in social sciences through direct sensory perception and recording.⁶⁷ Through purposeful and planned observation, one can learn about a society in its natural state and gather more truthful and reliable materials. This study observes customs like ceremonial customs at the Chinese New Year, the Tomb-Sweeping Festival, weddings, funerals, and the changes of customs through time. It also observes the building projects the migrant workers undertake in the village, the changing contents of dowries, and other phenomena. These observations shed light on where the migrant workers

ground their life pursuits and values—in the village or in the city, and how much rurality remains in their life.

The interview is the most common information gathering method and has been in use for the longest time. It is one of the most important methodologies in sociology research. The interview process is a face-to-face social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, and the interview is the product of such interaction. Given the method of communication, interviews can be divided into direct interviews and indirect interviews (for example, phone interviews). Given the number of interviewees in each interview, interviews can be divided into individual interviews and group interviews. Given the control level of the interview process, interviews can be divided into structured interviews and non-structured interviews.⁶⁸ The interview method is more flexible and adaptive. Its strength lies in the fact that it is easy to conduct, and by engaging the interviewee in an in-depth interview, the interviewer can obtain reliable and valid information. As inspiration to each other, the communication between the interviewer and the interviewee helps deepen the analysis of the research topic, sometimes resulting in unexpected information and revelation. This study employs semi-structured interviews, and targets two kinds of interview subjects: village elders, who are either older villagers who possess rich knowledge of the village or elderly village cadres, and migrant workers from the village. The village elders are interviewed on the history of the village during the time period between the founding of the People's Republic of China and the beginning of the work migration to the cities. They are asked to elaborate the details and address the changes in family awareness, interpersonal relations, social order, village authority, festivity and celebration, and life rituals. Long interviews with the village elders usually result in a plethora of useful information. The migrant workers are further divided into different categories based on occupation (income) and age. They are asked to talk in detail about their life in the city, interpersonal relations, their understanding of their identities, and how their life pursuits and values—in the village or in the city, led them to explore changes in their rurality during their migrant life, and the reasons behind such changes.

Oral history. The subject of the study is an ordinary village, and I can only find official reports submitted by the village officials to the town government in recent years. There are no older materials available. In a village that has few written records, oral history is an effective way to obtain information. Oral history is orally transmitted history from the subject of study to the researcher in an appropriate setting. Direct participation in the historical events and personal experiences add authenticity to oral history. Such history is a personal account of society and events at a specific time and place. It recounts personal experiences and emotions. Oral history tends to transcend sex and age differences, and is highly valued by anthropologists. It is distinct from written history, and research using oral history has its own rationale and logic.⁶⁹ Having conversations with village elders on their past lives, and with migrant workers on their experiences in the city, is a process of information collection. The village in this study is a place I am familiar with, and I have witnessed and has his own

memories of many events that happened in the village in the past twenty some years. These are stored in the my “mental database.” Strictly speaking, a significant portion of the information acquired during this study comes from my years spent in the village.

Textual analysis. I gather as much as possible of the various reports and statistics the village has submitted to the upper-level government in the past few years to gain a comprehensive picture of the situation. At the same time, I also turn to documentation on the town and county where the village is located as background information to better understanding the subject of the study.

1.4 Gathering of research materials

1.4.1 Background of the case under study

I have named the village under study, a village where migrant work is the main income source, Nancun Village. Nancun has one village committee, 46 villager groups, one clinic, 1125 families, and has a total population of 4857, of whom over 3000 are able laborers. The average annual income in the village is about 4500 yuan. The village markets aquatic produce like turtles, yellowhead catfish, mandarin fish and crabs brand-named Yellow Lake. The agricultural produce of the village includes cotton, black sesame, melon seeds, and lotus seeds, etc. Nancun villagers have different family names, and natural villages under the Nancun administration usually form around one family name. Nancun is geographically remote, and there is only one paved road leading to the nearby town and county. The village committee office is 23 km from the county seat, and 9 km from the nearest town. Nancun has 2850 mu of farmland, including 2000 mu of paddy fields and 850 mu of drylands. Given the large number of rivers in the region, all the natural villages are located on higher land for safety in the case of flood. As migrant work becomes widespread, Nancun families have seen great increase in income. Many built their houses next to the paved road in the village for convenient transportation, or in anticipation of opening a family shop in the future. There are also some villagers who are successful migrant workers that chose to leave village life completely, and purchase residences in the nearby towns, the country seat, Anqing, Hefei, or even other provinces.

Farmland in Nancun Village is fertile with ready access to irrigation. The main produce of the village is rice, cotton, peanuts, rape, sweet potatoes, etc. But given the low price for agricultural produce, income from agriculture only makes up an exceedingly small part of the family income. Most of the families in the village rely on income from migrant work. The poorest families in the village are often those with no family members engaged in migrant work. The ones left behind are mostly old people and school-aged children. Even the young and capable laborers remaining in the village rarely rely on agricultural work for income. They are engaged in various side businesses, like running a fish farm, transportation, small retail businesses, or construction. There are abandoned less-fertile tracts of farmland in the village, untended and covered in weeds.

Table 1.1 The list of some representative cases of migrant workers in Nancun Village

<i>Case number</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Current occupation</i>	<i>Brief history of occupation</i>
1	Female	Farmer	Was a lifelong farmer. Her daily activities were confined within the county or even the village boundary. (Passed away in 2013)
2	Male	Farmer	Was once the head of a villager group. He is knowledgeable about the past and present of the village, has a close relationship with the cadres in the village and in town. He is highly esteemed in the village. He does not do migrant work, nor farm, but runs a small family shop in the village.
3	Male	Village cadre	Was once the accountant for the village committee. Now is a member of the village committee. He is knowledgeable about the past and present of the village.
4	Male	Farmer	Farming is his main occupation. He had worked as a migrant worker in Shanghai and Jiujiang. Now he spends most of his time planting cotton, and occasionally leaves the village for migrant work.
5	Male	Private business owner	The three are brothers. All started as farmers and worked as village ironsmiths on the side. In the early 1990s, the three left the village as migrant workers, and eventually all entered a clothing company in Shanghai. They resigned in 2002. Xwp started a hat business with a partner. The business went well and in 2012 he was able to open a hat factory on his own. Xwr helps Xwp with the management of the factory. Xws does timber business, which yields a considerable income.
6	Male	Timber resale business	
7	Male	Management	
8	Male	Stone mason	He learned masonry after graduation from middle school and works on various construction sites in different cities.
9	Male	Stone mason and contractor	He learned masonry after graduation from middle school and works on various construction sites in different cities. With the help of his cousins (the two cases below), he became a contractor for small construction projects, and works as a mason on the side.
10	Male	Contractor	These two are brothers, and they are also cousins with Xqh mentioned above. They started as farmers, then worked as migrant masons. After a few years, they developed a business in subcontracting small construction projects, from residential houses to roads and bridges. It is a very profitable business.
11	Male	Contractor	
12	Male	Seamster	Left the village after graduating from middle school to work as a seamster in different cities. Most of the time he is employed by a factory, occasionally he takes personal tailoring assignments on the side.

13	Male	Tile salesman	Did various kinds of migrant work after graduating from middle school, including masonry, tailoring, fruit selling, etc. Later, with the help of his brother-in-law, he became a tile salesman in Guangdong Province and made a decent salary. In 2013, he moved to Hefei City to continue his tile business.
14	Male	Construction material salesman	These two are brothers. Both became migrant workers after graduating from middle school. They worked as seamsters in many different factories and cities. With the help of his brother-in-law, Xhf started working as a construction material salesman and makes good money. He brought Xhs into the business in 2010 to work together with him. They split in 2012 to work independently.
15	Male	Salesman	
16	Male	Sell recycled machine oil	The two are brothers. Sgh started as a farmer, then procured a brick factory in town. He went to work in Suzhou later, and soon developed a business idea of buying recycled factory oil for resale. It was a profitable business. He gradually handed the business to his son since 2013. Sxh started a farmer too, while working as a carpenter on the side. He became a migrant worker doing carpentry later. As his brother grew successful at the machine oil business, he joined his brother. He quit the business in 2014 and became a migrant worker in Shanghai.
17	Male	Migrant worker	
18	Male	Shop owner	He opened a family shop in the village after graduating from middle school and works as a butcher on the side. He moved to the county seat in 2012, and no longer runs the family shop in the village.
19	Male	Sell recycled machine oil	He was idle for a few years after graduating from middle school. Later he entered a sewing factory as a worker, followed by a few more years of idle time after resignation. Later, he started selling recycled machine oil.
20	Male	Farmer with side businesses	He has tried his hand at various side businesses and has worked as a migrant worker many times. His side businesses include fishing, selling fish, selling coal, buying and selling cotton, etc. He also farms.
21	Male	Rural construction worker	These two are brothers. They started as farmers, then became migrant workers working as masons. Later Xgx returned to the village to work for a construction team, and Xgy followed to join him. The rural construction business experienced a decline after 2013, and the brothers started sporadic migrant work again, while taking on masonry work near the village.
22	Male	Rural construction worker	
23	Male	Businessman	

1.4.2 Research trips

I have been gathering and sorting materials in the research field systematically, resulting in a rich collection of textual materials and a basic research and analytical framework. During the October holiday in 2009 (the Mid-Autumn Festival happened to fall during October that year, and some migrant workers returned to the village to visit in-laws), I conducted a week-long research study. During the 2010 Chinese New Year holidays, I conducted another 20-day research study. The research took the format of semi-structured interviews, and both research trips yielded rich material. During the summer break in 2010, I also gathered material on some migrant workers working in Hefei City. I also obtained archival materials from the Nancun village committee, the town government, and the county government as background information for the research. In January and March 2008, I spent a total of one week with a migrant worker working in Suzhou city, gained first-hand information on their work, living conditions, and social and recreational life. More supplemental research was conducted during the summer break in 2014 (July and August) and the 2015 Chinese New Year holidays. These trips focused on following up with certain research subjects and gathering information on new developments, like funerary reform, village governance, etc. During the course of the study, I have engaged with various research subjects, and the following is a list of some representative cases (Table 1.1).

I would like to point out here that the information gathered on the cases above only make up an exceedingly small section of my database. A significant section of the database comes from the accumulated experiences of my daily life and interactions with the villagers in Nancun Village.

Notes

- 1 Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, *s zhongguo: shengyu zhidu* 乡土中国:生育制度 [Rural China: the reproduction rule] (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 6.
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