SA Report on the Ethnic PAPs of Xuan’en Dongping & Laifeng Lajitan

HSHDP

(Finalized)

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Table of Contents

Task Team Statement
Summary of the Conclusion
Text:
1 Brief of the Mission
2 General Ethnic Picture
3 Toolkit and Reflections
   3.1 Questionnaires
   3.2 Structured Interview
   3.3 Focus Group Discussions
      3.3.1 Villagers
      3.3.2 Ethnic Groups
      3.3.3 Women
      3.3.4 Local Officials
   3.4 Household Interview
   3.5 Resources Diagram
   3.6 Local Calendar
4 Preliminary Conclusion
   4.1 No ethnic consciousness detected
   4.2 Local ethnic blindness
   4.3 Extra measure outside RAP unnecessary
   4.4 Further delay harmful
5 Testimony
   5.1 Unique construction of ethnic identity
   5.2 Surname identity overriding ethnic identity
   5.3 Random cross-ethnic marriage
   5.4 Identical social structure & practice
   5.5 Participation of ethnic minorities in the projects
6 Analysis: Reasons for good ethnic relations
   6.1 Space-local geography
   6.2 Time-local history
   6.3 Structure-governmental ethnic policy
   6.4 Agency-local manipulation of ethnic identity
7 Supplementary Impressions
8 Final Conclusion & Further Suggestion
   8.1 Reaffirming the previous conclusions
   8.2 More vigorous supervision of RAP formulation and implementation
   8.3 Poverty attacking with ecosystem protection
9 Annexes (in Chinese yet)
   8.1 Administrative and Ethnic Distribution Maps
   8.2 Sample of Photos in the field
   8.3 Sample of Resource Diagram
   8.4 Sample of Local Calendar
   8.5 Sample of Focus Group Discussion
   8.6 Questionnaire with Treated Data
   8.7 Structured Interview with Answers (end)
Statement

1. Commissioned by World Bank Office in China (hereinafter WBOC) and Foreign Investment Division and Planning Commission of Hubei People's Government (hereinafter FIDP), this report is targeted at Xuan'en Dongping (hereinafter XD) and Laifeng Lajitan (hereinafter LL), 2 of the HSHDP subprojects (hereinafter 2-subs) in Enshi Tujia & Miao Prefecture, for identifying ethnic minorities' interests through SA process with PRA techniques. The focus of the assessment is to determine the dimension and degree of 2-subs physical and social impact on the local minorities. Its aim is to ascertain whether extra cautions other than the RAP should be taken for safeguarding the interests of ethnic PAP's in the project area.

2. As the RAPs of 2-subs have due coverage of ethnic information, this survey is but a reinforcement, or an independent assessment, of its ethnic coverage. Since RAP has the highest authority, legitimacy and efficiency for safeguarding PAP's interests, the relevant data of this report should comply with the RAP database.

3. For the convenience of narrating and reading, this report is structured in the form of short text and long annexes. As the amount of annexes is huge, this report cannot put them all into English yet.

4. Although written by ethnologist as an independent party, the survey and assessment was carried out in close cooperation with the resettlement task team of ECIDI (hereinafter EC-team). Therefore, it is the fulfillment to the requirement by the WBOC and FIDP to EC-team and the ethnologist himself (hereinafter the task team).

5. The task team has informed the main points in this report to local people (especially project undertakers and local officials) at the end of survey in each subproject site. However, it still has the obligation to notify the Chinese version of this report to local PAP. For this, the task team relies on FIDP to decide the channel and time. But based on the intensity if the work, the task team is confident that it will be accepted without disagreement.

6. During the survey, Dr. Lin Zongcheng from WBOC, Mr. Zhang Ruqian from Xuan'en, Mr. Wei Lailiang from Laifeng County all rendered tremendous help by imparting expertise and rendering direct assistance. During the data processing, Dr Chen Changping, professor and Dean of Ethnology and Sociology School, CUN contributed his time and expertise. The task team acknowledges their contribution and extends gratefulness to them all. Still, the ethnologist is held accountable for all the direct responsibilities of the conclusion & its consequences. (over)
Summary of the Conclusion

1. Under the guidance of WB OD 4.20 and the other relevant WB policies, a 2-week SA on 2-subs has been carried between Aug.13-27 for measuring the 2-subs's scope and degree of physical and social impacts on local ethnic people and their interests. The purpose is to determine whether additional cautions have to be taken beside the RAP, for safeguarding the ethnic minorities’ economic and cultural interests not to be infringed, their level of livelihood not to be lowered and their social cultural network not to be damaged by the resettlement action.

2. Based on the fieldwork with ethnological/PRA toolkit plus demographic statistics, this report testifies that, despite the fact that over 60% of PAP have been officially identified as Tujia, Miao, Dong, etc since 1979, the local PAP as a group belongs to a local community with identical economic, social-cultural and cognitive structures. No particular vulnerable ethnic group can be detected in the PA area. The local social ecology is in a healthy equilibrium. Local PAP, both the re-settling party and the hosting party, are ethnic blind. This is testified by their daily practice, random choosing of spouse, work sites & partners, especially their mode and style of livelihood. The ethnic identification is resulted from political economic maneuvered by local government and elites for local economic and political benefits. Based on these facts, the report has come to the following conclusion:

A. PA shares one overarching local culture. No ethnic population here has distinctive language, social structure, religion and custom. People on the grass root level find our ethnic discourse foreign and meaningless.

B. No ethnic consciousness has been identified. No remarkable expressive or latent ethnic identity could be detected with all means in the available toolkit.

C. No extra measures should be adopted toward specific ethnic group. As no vulnerable group can be identified, and as all the PAPs enjoy this healthy social ecology, we propose that OD 4.20 should not to be triggered in this case.

D. Further delay is harmful. As all construction within/under the line of inundation has been halted, PAPs are currently at stake and cannot be released until the project is established.

3. Based on this conclusion, this report suggest the following:

A. The RAP formula in 2-subs has covered PAP interests with due adequacy. A detailed formulation, conscientious implementation of RAP will sufficiently satisfy all party’s interests, including the local ethnic interests.

B. Vigorous supervision of the RAP implementation by the ethnic, women, public health, education and poverty-attacking institutions of the local government.

C. Respect the local knowledge/status quo, and avoid further artificial construction of ethnic identities.

D. Offer project-based job-training to local laborers while attaching a quota to each labor-intensive bidding package for hiring them as a measure of empowerment.

4. China’s ethnic landscape is extensive and diversified. This conclusion and suggestion is relevant to the 2-subs PAP only on the grass root level. It does not apply to areas outside Enshi Tujia & Miao Prefecture, at most not beyond the Wulingshan ethnic area composed of Western Hubei, Western Hunan and Eastern Sichuan. Nor is it applicable to civil officials above township level or intellectuals in the higher learning institutions.
Text of the Report
1Time Framework

This survey was implemented during Aug. 5 and Sept. 2, 2000 in 4 stages:

Aug. 5-8: Deskwork composed of collecting data and designing structured interview for identifying PAP's ethnic consciousness, possible vulnerable groups and their vulnerabilities.

Aug. 9-13: Communicating and mutual training with EC-team in Hangzhou and preparing questionnaires for household information including ethnic status, gender, age, language, occupation and education.


Aug. 26-Sept. 2: Processing data and drafting report in Xuan'en(26), Wuhan (27) and Beijing (28-Sept. 2), followed by further deskwork for data-collecting and draft-refining.

2 General Ethnic Picture

XD and LL in Xuan’en (“proclaiming the royal grace”) and Laifeng (“coming of phoenix) as 2 counties belong to Enshi (implementation of royal grace) Tujia and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in western Hubei (North of the Lake) Province. The Prefecture neighbors with Hunan (South of the Lake) to the southeast, Sichuan (the Four River-Valleys) to the west and southwest, and other parts of Hubei to its north and east. Plus Changyang and Wufeng, 2 ethnic autonomous counties in Yichang Prefecture (Hupei Province) to the north, this 30,000 km2 western Hubei ethnic area is populated by 1,767,500 Tujia, 200,700 Miao, nearly 30,000 Dong and other ethnic peoples besides the mainstream Han.

Historically, western Hubei, western Hunan, and eastern Sichuan shares Wuling Mountain, constituting a multiethnic cultural area with forefathers of Dong, Miao, Tujia as natives, and with Han as a steady flow of immigrants since the Ming Dynasty (10-17 century). Before that, the immigrants from the central plain was checked by a Song Dynastic Treaty with Local Chiefs which specified that “No Han should enter into the mountain-valley and no Man’s (southern barbarians) should float out from the forests”. After 1949, especially after the 1950s’ nationwide ethnic identification, western Hunan, after a strenuous petition and argument with the central government that resulted in a number of scholars and local elites labeled as rightist or ethnic nationalists, Western Hunnan achieved the Tujia-Miao (in place of the previous solely Miao) Autonomous Prefecture in 1957. But western Hubei (Enshi) and eastern Sichuan (nowadays eastern Chongqing Municipality) did not become ethnic autonomous until 1983. Therefore, western Hunan is actually the ethnic template of western Hubei characterized by denser Tujia and sparser Miao population. 1958-1976 was the time when China became ideologically radical. After 1978, when China began to adopt open policy, its ethnic policy becomes more practical and accommodating accordingly. The fluctuation of historical demography of Tujia in Laifeng County (neighboring with Longshan county, Hunan Province, that has part of LL PAP) faithfully reflects this trend:

1957  43,579  (encouraged by the Western Hunan counterparts)
1964  24,309  (discouraged by the radical policy)
1982 92,466 (encouraged again by the open policy after 1978)
2000 113,500 (after the campaign by local government)

Following is the Enshi ethnic population in 1982, 1 year before it became ethnic autonomous but 3 years after the revival of ethnic identification:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total figure</th>
<th>ethnic figure</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Tuja</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Miao</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>other ethnic</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3251614</td>
<td>1278540</td>
<td>39.32%</td>
<td>1070587</td>
<td>32.92%</td>
<td>177573</td>
<td>5.46%</td>
<td>30359</td>
<td>0.93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From then on, more local people have been identified as ethnic and the current percentage is still getting higher. (A national census has been launched in Nov. 1st, 2000, but the specific result is not published until today <March, 2002>, probably misleading because too many local officials intentionally hide the population increase under their administration for ducking admonition.)

The lag between 1958-1978 has the following connotations. First, western Hubei (and eastern Sichuan) had been exposed to the mainstream culture longer and stronger than western Hunan, so it did not initiate the demand for ethnic identification. Secondly, ethnic identity is flexible according to circumstances. 3 historical events contributed the ethnic flexibility in Western Hubei. 1), The feudal dynasty since 1501 had ruled that local feudal lordship could not be inherited unless the heirs were proved having sound Confucian education. This was carried out to the extent that the biggest Tujia local lord in Rongmei, Western Hubei, once tied his son to a pig trough for food as a punishment for his negligence of the education. 2), During the Anti-Japanese War (1937-1945), the KMT Hubei Provincial Government, together with its major educational institutions (over 20 at the high school level and above) retreated to Enshi for temporary provincial capital. This event integrated the local traffic, education and culture deeper into the mainstream society. Thirdly, from 1957 to 1978, local people(s) lived their common life without ethnic identification for over 20 years.

With this in mind, we are to approach the ethnic dimensions of the 2-subs as a part of Hubei Provincial Governmental Strategy for alleviating poverty in this mountainous multiethnic area.

2.1 Xuan'en

Xuen'en is 45 km to the south of Enshi, Capital of the Prefecture. Enshi as a middle-sized city and the capital of the ethnic autonomous prefecture could be reached from Wuhan by 2-days on waterway, one day by car or one hour by aero plane from Wuhan, capital of Hubei Province. In pre-modern times, 3-5 days were needed for covering that distance (about 400 KM). Laifeng is the southern neighbor of Xuan'en (83 km to the south of Xuen'en). It borders with Longshan County, Hunan Province, across the You River as a border line, where 1/3 of LL's PAP find their home. Both LL and XD are in the Mountain, and both require 2-3 hour drive from the county seats (Zhushan to XD and Fengxiang to LL) to the dam site.

Xuan'en has a territory of 2740 km2, with 10.15% arable land (most on the mountain slope). The average population density is 110/km2. The altitude distribution of its territory is as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Above 1200m (sea level)</th>
<th>Between 800-1200m</th>
<th>Lower than 800m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.01%</td>
<td>47.74%</td>
<td>26.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population per km2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Above 1200m (sea level)</th>
<th>Between 800-1200m</th>
<th>Lower than 800m</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42 (9.9%)</td>
<td>88 (38.1%)</td>
<td>218 (52%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1982 national census revealed 15 ethnic groups in Xuan'en. The ethnic
minority population was 184,267, 62.9% of the total:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tujia</td>
<td>129,479</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han</td>
<td>108,695</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao</td>
<td>41,542</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dong</td>
<td>11,397</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

XD RAP has reported that current Xuan'en population is 336,642, with 64.9% ethnic (39.2% Tujia, 12% Miao and 13.1% Dong). It has also indicated that in the past 18 years, the proportion of ethnic minority population against the total has increased nearly 10%, with the Dong identity as flexible as Tujia. The historical demographic data of Xuan'en is collected as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Household</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>5,915</td>
<td>40,685</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1775</td>
<td>33,777</td>
<td>150,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792</td>
<td>39,562</td>
<td>160,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>34,108</td>
<td>167,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>34,851</td>
<td>181,182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>16,630</td>
<td>99,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>19,268</td>
<td>120,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>19,300</td>
<td>119,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>32,800</td>
<td>152,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>67,800</td>
<td>301,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td></td>
<td>336,642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The current township household registration (local urban household) in the county is only 8.6%. That is to say, Xuan'en is still a rural county. The newest data and its ethnic structure, including those of PAP, are reflected in RAP 2.2.2 & 2.2.4.

2.2 Laifeng

The territory of Laifeng is 1,580 km², with 16% arable land (mainly along the You River Valley). The average height of the county is 680m above the sea level, with 78% above 800m. The 2000 total population in the county is 301,845. Among them, nearly 198,000 are ethnic minorities (113,500 Tujia, 84,7 Miao, 500 Dong), that is 63.5% of the total. Following is the physical distribution of local the population:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>800 or lower</td>
<td>206,431</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>197 per km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800—1200</td>
<td>30,396</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>114 per km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200 or higher</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>19 per km²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Longshan, Hunan

Total population 519,872
Ethnic 325,017
Tujia 251,646
Miao 68,308
Dong 137
Others 4,300

PAP in Longshan is included in LL PAP and constitutes about 1/4 of the total. The following narration will combine the 2-subs together.
Geographically, Xuen’en is higher than Laifeng. It is the central mountain in Xuanen that watersheds the 2-subs. The Zhongjian River of XD runs northeastward into the Qingjiang River that converges with the Yangtze River near Yichang City. The Youshui River of LL runs southward to Hunan, joined with the Lishui River, and ends in the Dongting Lake as a reservoir for containing the Yangtze floods.

In 3 PA counties housing the 2-subs, Tujia and Miao constitute the bulk of ethnic minorities, as well as the bulk of total population. The local discourse goes that Tujia is native, while Miao, Han and Dong are immigrants from different directions at different times. It says that Miao and Dong are mainly from Guizhou, Guangxi and Hunnan in the south, while Han are either from the eastern Hubei, or the southeast Hunan and Jiangxi.

Despite the fact that all the surnames in spoken and written forms are similar to those of the Han, local chorography/recordings pay great attention to the surnames of people(s), for it is related to ethnic identity. They all proclaim that Qin, Tan, Tian, Xiang, Ran, Bai and Peng are the authentic native Tujia. About 50 other surnames are regarded as immigrated Tujia from northeast Guizhou and western Hunan.

It is said that Miao immigrated to this area in the mid-Qing Dynasty (18th century) from northeastern Guizhou and western Hunan as refugees against the official reform of the local lord system. But surnames as Li, Huang, Su, Zhang proclaim themselves native. Shi, Long, Feng, Yang are Qing Dynasty refugees, so they live in higher mountains nowadays and retain their own Miao identities, including speaking language and ethnic endogamy. Other Miao surnames as Zhang, Long, Shi, Wu, Yang and Liao were immigrants in the late Qing Dynasty and thus have lost their language and custom. It is the last category of Miao that we find live in the lower PA area in mixed community with other ethnic groups.

The original home of Dong is in the mountainous juncture of Hunan, Guizhou and Guangxi. Nowadays, they are identified by surnames as Yang, Wu, Yao, Long, Huang, Qu, etc. As said, these surnames are overlapped in different ethnic groups and we can find all of them in local Han households. This explains why they contact and marriage randomly in ethnicity, but strictly along the demarcation line of surname (same surname marriage is regarded as breaking the incest taboo).

In the PA (or IP) area, which is naturally in the valley and mostly along local high ways, all PAP speak the same language, engage in the same livelihood, practice the same customs, worship nearly the same gods and ghosts, and share the same social, political, education and public health system.

3 Toolkit & Reflections

The survey is conducted in the field with the following toolkit:

3.1 Questionnaire

All the 1368 PAP households, including 789 (the interview shows 790, resulted from a jumped number) in XD and 578 in LL, are covered with the usual demographic items of all the household members. The main concern is the correlation between ethnic status and school education, occupation and cross ethnic marriage. All data have been in-put into the WinWord excel. The EC-team and an independent demographic expert on the CUN campus have processed the same set of data with Excel and SPSS separately. The hypothesis is that it has the potential to reveal the
general picture of all the PAPs. But for the current purpose, suffice it to cite the following computation as evidences:

Background data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total PAP (Male Female)</th>
<th>Ethnic Minority % (Tujia Miao Dong or Other)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XD: 3062 1636</td>
<td>1426 1389 45.4% 1045 174 170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL: 2438 1270</td>
<td>1168 1864 76.5% 1531 329 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ethnic correlation with rural/urban household registration)

Rural Han Tujia Miao Dong

| XD | 96.7% 96.4% 98.3% 97.1% |
| LL | 96.5% 98.6% 97.9%       |

Ethnic correlation with education (represented by the middle above against illiteracy)

Middle education above Han Tujia Miao Dong

| XD | 34.55% 36.65% 40.80% 39.41% |
| LL | 36.20% 35.80% 48.60%        |

Illiteracy Han% Tujia% Miao% Dong%

| XD(total 428) | 17.15 14.55 14.37 14.1   |
| LL(total 270) | 9.4 11.3 11.9             |

For the same dimension, XD RAP table 2-6 is cited for cross-checking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of PAP</th>
<th>Han</th>
<th>Tujia</th>
<th>Miao</th>
<th>Dong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XD</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%, Illiteracy (and semi)</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All sets of data show some different percentage between ethnic groups. But taking the divergence of group size into consideration, the discrepancies can be ignored. In summary, there is no significant correlation between ethnicity, education and occupation represented by the type of household registration.

As for cross-ethnic marriage, the picture is complicated and is directly subjected to the size of household owners in each group. Moreover, as EC-team and Professor Chen computed independently, with different ways of data-treatment, the results have some discrepancies.

EC-team’s computation was along the line of single/multiethnic households:

| XD Total 789 (4 groups) | mono-ethnic 594 (including 30 singles) | 60% of the total |
| LL Total 578 (in 3 groups) | mono-ethnic 277 (including 5 singles) | 48% of the total |

Prof. Chen’s computation was along the line of ethnic endogamous/exogamous couples:

| XD 789(4) no-spouse 85(12.5%) Ethnic endogamy 441 couple | 55% of the total |
| LL 578(3) no-spouse 72(10.8%) Ethnic endogamy 274 couple | 47.4% of the total |

No matter EC-team’s 40% multiethnic households in XD and 52% in LL, or Prof. Chen’s 45% ethnic exogamous marriage in XD and 52.6% in LL, the rate is high enough for indicating good (or nearly ethnic blind) relations between different ethnicities. Both are far from 100%. But in light of the ethnic structure of the PAP, and remember the PAP are peasants living in a rural settlement pattern which
certainly influence the options for finding spouses, no hand with muffled eyes can produce a 100% cross ethnic couples. The ethnic structure of the data treated is as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>XD Han 1,603</th>
<th>Tujia 1,045</th>
<th>Miao 174</th>
<th>Dong 170</th>
<th>Total 3,062</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LL Han</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>Tujia 1,531</td>
<td>Miao 329</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total 2,438</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another way to view the ethnic landscape is to calculate those households with ethnic minority members. That is to take the Han endogamous couple 260 (33%) out from the XD 789, and 42 (7.3%) from the LL 578, and regard the no-spouse as insignificant, then the ethnic households should be 67% in XD and 92.7% in LL.

**Reflections:** Questionnaire with detailed criteria for ethnic identity is nearly impossible in a quick survey, and it is destined to have mistakes. On Aug. 24th in LL, I worked with an old village doctor in late 50s. He graduated in 1960s from Enshi medical school and could fill in the form and answered to our interview without our explanation. (In fact, he turned down my explanation in order to show that he understood well what we were doing). He said his family had 10 members, a couple and 8 children. 4 of his kids are Tujia because his current wife is surnamed Xiang, an unmistakable Tujia one. 4 of the grown up children (later we came to know that were 2 young couples) were born by his late Han wife, so they are Han. Siblings with multiethnic identity constitute an interesting case and I wanted to cite it as a case in the report. But before that, I had to hand it to the local official in charge for assortment according to the regulation as well as for respecting their help and cooperation.

When all the 578 questionnaires collected several days later, I tried to hunt out the doctor's for half an hour in vain. I asked the EC-team for help and for explanation. They concluded that the local cadre in charge of the collection must have taken it out and replaced it with 3 separate ones, because the 2 married couples had been lumped by the old doctor into his own. In that way, the number of households wouldn’t tally with 578 in household registration and in RAP. The local government for protecting arable land had stipulated in 1985 that from then on, each household with a family of 5 is limited to 150m² and 180m² for those over 5 for curtilage. So the separation is for the interests of the old doctor (and his married children) if the consequential compensation took place. This case shows that PAP has their own way of accounting a household that is emotionally important. But the state imposes a format that is economically meaningful. For this reason, some of the data we collected by folkway has to be modified by the official way for the sake of economic compensation. But in this way, many mistakes could rise from the conversion and much treatment has to be added before any meaningful calculation.

Another limitation is time. In the field, we could only conduct 15-20% of the total, either questionnaire or interview. The rest had to be entrusted to local cadres. As a result, enormous extra treatment has to be added before computing logically. So, what we can expect from it is the trends reflected by the percentage instead of exact figure, because each survey and computation will result in some discrepancies.

### 3.2 Structured Interview

Structured interview was attached to the questionnaire. It contained a set of 30 questions in 6 to 7 categories (LL interview was modified/simplified after the work in
XD): language, family life, kinship & marriage, social contacts, religious beliefs, ethnic relations, etc for diagnosing PAP's attitude toward the project and their ethnic identity. The process was similar to the questionnaire, except the computation is much easier. Remember the number of households is 790(a jumped number) in XD and 578 in LL and see the answers:

1. How did you know the project?
   A. From public notice  B. From local cadre  C. By hearsay
   XD 125 518 5
   LL 293 198 87
   (Comment: This indicates that XD officials are more prepared for the project. But it may also due to the fact that LL PAP are dispersed in 2 provinces across the river)

2. What's the difference between your ethnic group and other groups?
   A. Lifeway;  B. Social organization  C. Religion  D. All  E. No difference
   XD 0 0 0 0 790
   LL 0 0 0 0 578

3. What's your inconvenient after resettlement?
   A. Water  B. Herding  C. Cultivating crop  D. Gathering  E. Graveyard  F. None
   XD 3 5 4 3 0 775
   AGrain  B. Water C. Firewood D. Cash-earning E. School F. Hospital G. Unknown yet
   LL 1 0 3 0 1 0 572
   (Comment: The multiple choices for LL were adjusted for catering to local way of classification and for more concrete answers.)

4. Which ethnic group do you want your children marry into/with?
   A. Tujia  B. Miao  C. Dong  D. Han  E. Others (self choice)  F. Anyone
   XD 2 0 0 0 0 788
   LL 0 0 0 0 0 578

5. Who do you most likely borrow money from if in need?
   XD A. Relatives 278 B. Neighbors 220 C. Friends 154 D. Own Group 3 E. Government 97
   LL A. Relatives & Friends 543 B. Neighbors 13 C. Own Group 0 D. Government 19
   (Comment: LL choices adjusted)

6. What religion do your ethnic group believe in your village? (LL choices adjusted)
   XD. A. Buddhism 1 B. Taoism 1 C. Christianity 3 D. Local folk religion 786
   LL A. Monk 0 B. Taoist 2 C. Ancestor 328 D. Cannot say clearly 248

7. What is the force in your opinion that influences the life of your group most?
   A. Gods and spirits  B. Ancestor  C. Government  D. Science and Technology
   XD 1 0 11 778
   LL 1 2 7 568

8. Which ethnic group does this project benefit most? (LL choices adjusted)
   A. Tujia  B. Miao  C. Dong  D. Han  E. Whoever close  F. Whoever far away  G. All
9. Which ethnic group members find better job in this place?
   A. Tujia  B. Miao  C. Dong  D. Han  E. Others  F. Depends on personal ability
   XD 0 0 0 0 1 789
   L L 0 0 0 0 0 578

Following 3 questions were added to LL only.
10. Who is in charge of money in your family?
    A. Man 110  B. Woman 237  C. Both in discussion 231
11. Do you feel ethnic factors affect a person’s intelligence or a family’s prosperity?
    A. Yes 2  B. No 576  C. Never think of 0
12. Do you consider your partner’ ethnicity in marriage, in making friends or in work?
    Yes: 1  No: 577

Reflections: Again, this interview was conducted partially by village cadres. But the task team has 7 members strong in XD (EC-team 5, Dr. Lin and the ethnologist). Even in LL, we had 4 pairs of own hands (EC-team 3 and the ethnologist). So, we in the field had actually interviewed at least 15-20% household owners face in face. That was close 250. If the answers still look so unanimous, we cannot but admit that PAP do share similar views, and that resulted in the irrelevancy of ethnicity with division of labor, education and marriage. The same conclusion has been demonstrated by the questionnaire data.

3.3 Focused Group Discussions

Both counties’ officials understood and agreed that we as independent SA team should talk to PAP directly in their absence. In return for their trust, we did not require the avoidance of village cadre as community member and promised them a report of the main points for cross-verification.

With this mutual understanding, all the discussions were conducted by the task team, with the absence of county and township officials. The disadvantage was the time of our presence. August (lunar calendar July) is the busiest local season. Corn and rice are ripe for harvest. Migrant workers are afar from home (surplus young laborers amounting to 1/5 of the total population, most between 18-40, 1 for each household in average, most are off in coastal Guangdong, Zhejiang and Shanghai).

Most participants of group discussions are middle-aged or old people, including married woman with children and village cadres. We organized all kind of focused groups: villagers (both resettling and hosting villages), ethnic groups, women, local officials and project undertakers. The 16 group discussions (9 in XD and 7 in LL) involved 212 (125 from XD, 87 from LLL) PAP with all local ethnicity:

- Villagers, Ethnic, Elders & Host 10: XD 5 & LL 5.
- Woman, 1: XD
- Local officials and project undertakers 5: XD3 & LL 2.

The first category addressed the problem of the old. Most said they would do
whatsoever benefiting their young. A few in Baifusi village, site of LL expressed worries for lacking of able bodies and hope government (their understanding of project undertakers) should organize hands to help them in removing their house, because they either have no child or the young ones as migrant labors are currently not at home.

3.3.1 Villagers

Villagers group involves woman, old and the ethnic participants. It divided into resettling and hosting ones. The only latter kind we held was in multiethnic Luluba, a village 5 km away to the northwest of Zhongjianhe (dam site), on its way to the county seat 63km away. Most of them descended from immigrants in the past 200 years. Nowadays, each villager has 2-3 Mu of arable land, twice as much as that of the local (county) average. Their problem is short of irrigating water to heighten the unit productivity of paddy rice. They extended welcome to the new settlers, expecting them to bring money for improving infrastructure and facility to let in irrigating water for converting dry land into paddy one. As for the rest, all villagers’ discussion resulted in the following points:

1) Welcome the project as an opportunity for improving living conditions or enhancing income by developing fishery culture or tourist services.
2) Eager to see the project start because both government and themselves have suspended investment to real properties in the prospective inundated area.
3) Strongly want to be sure that the compensation should come into their own hands fully, timely, directly and not to be intercepted by the local officials.
4) Younger PAP demands a resettlement in town or close to it. Most expect to start small business rather than till the land. Some even vision to selling tea (water) to the tourists if they do not have money for a better business. Older PAP care land more. PAP on the Longshan side (Maojiang and Yangjia village, Guitang town, Hunan Province) of LL demand a facility (bridge or ferry) to cross a brook for tilling land once the water level heightened. They also demand a caution to protect the slope land that will not be inundated, thus no compensation, but close to the heightened water surface and therefore in the danger of being flushed and washed away (i.e., induced impact with the dam construction). No one raised demands in ethnic relevance.

3.3.2 Ethnic Groups

No separate/single ethnic group discussion was held because no single ethnic group village was found. However, we asked the following set of question to all the ethnic participants.

Is there difference in livelihood between ethnic groups in your village?
No. (A few mentioned 1 or 2 folk festivals unique to their own group).

Does rich or poor households correlate with ethnicity?
Unanimously no. (Some said it's a matter of location of your village or number of able bodies in the household.)

Do you have common place/site for ethnic gatherings in the village?
Mostly no. (LL cited a temple with Tujia gods shrines, outside PA area.)

Whether children from certain ethnic group perform better in school than others?
Unanimously no.
Is there ethnic group in your village abler in making money than others?
    Unanimously no
Any ethnic group treats woman better or worse than other groups?
    Unanimously no.
Do you consider ethnic identity in arranging marriage for your daughter?
    Unanimously no.
Do people from different groups find their jobs differently in the coastal area?
    Your joking!
Then, why there are different ethnic groups?
    Most said not know. Some smarter ones said kids could get 10 extra points in entrance examination to higher learning institution. Some said they were told to register so.
What is the difference between Miao, Han and Tujia in the end?
    Most said not know. Some said because their forefathers were from different places.
Do you have any ethnic demand or difficulty in RAP?
    Unanimously no
Reflections: "Unanimously no" means no verbal disagreement was heard on the spots. The ethnologist personally tried to raise the question in dialects, in mandarin, earnestly, casually, or jokingly on different occasions for inviting different answers. But all participants regarded this kind of question ignorant, irrelevance or simply foolish. That was the local "ethnic" mindset we could read.

3.3.3 Woman
All group discussions had woman participants. Most women showed interests only to their direct family concerns, such as their children’s future employment or some small property was not registered in the compensation list. It was difficult to organize an exclusive women group discussion for it needs the accompanying local official’s good will and good reputation. We had one in Zhongjianhe, XD in the evening of Aug. 16th. 11 participants aged 20-50 were gathered. Most have a small shop or restaurant on the seat of township (a bigger village on the crossroad). We briefly recorded their opinions as following:

1). Woman’s function in family life.
    Women in this place manage the family. Major things are decided by discussion with husband. As a small business manager, the money earned should be put in family and should not keep private (personal) money. If you want help your own maternal family, you should discuss with your husband. There are conflicts between couples, but more oral than physical skirmish.

2) Women’s organization
    Women’s federation is the only one. It organizes party on March 8. Otherwise, it routinely eliminating illiteracy or doing family planning. There are some women cadres in local government.
3) Social activities

Usually men attend public meetings. But in recent years, men go migrant work, so women play their part and also have to till the land. If woman goes out, man manages the family. Nowadays, women have to manage both land and family. Migrant woman laborers usually work in shoe factory, or as household maids.

4) Concerns for infrastructure

School and hospital should be restored after resettlement. The distance should be as close as before. Medical facilities should be improved. The current hospital in the town has no X-ray equipment and major operation has to be transferred to county hospital (63 km away, 2-3 hours drive, poor road condition). The medical network is OK. County hospital offers tour medical check for women annually. Village has a clinic. Delivery is usually in the town hospital. New way of life has to be learned by and by. Why not built the dam higher? (Note: more people want to be resettled).

5) Ethnicity.

You see ethnic differences only on TV. Farmers here share daily routines and the common way of life. We do not know what is ethnicity. The difference between 2 generations is more drastic than that. People of different groups eat same food and dress same clothes, but the old have different taste from the young. Regional differences are also bigger than ethnic ones. Today’s society admires ethnic minority. It is only a matter of 10 extra points for students. We see from TV that in Guizhou and Yunnan, ethnic minorities have different cloths and are more capable of singing and dancing. It is not here. The only ethnic difference here is in the Spring Festival, some people eat festive food in the morning, some in the afternoon. This is either due to ethnic customs or due to the efficiency in preparing food. (One of them has been individual businesswoman since 1984).

6) Questions and answers

Why some people poorer than others? Isn't it due to ethnic difference?

More people, less land and less grain result in poor life. That has nothing to do with ethnic grouping.

Does engaging in individual business have anything to do with ethnicity?

Doing business is better than tilling land. But people in the village can raise pigs and do other things. There is no ethnic difference. Individual business has nothing to do with ethnicity.

Which ethnic group gets rich easier in this place?

Each group has the poor and the rich. It has nothing to do with ethnic group.

Which group is more capable of earning and saving money?

It is related to personality and knowledge, not to ethnic group.

Which group’s women are more hardworking?

There are a few ethnic groups here. Each has the capable and the incapable.

Which ethnic group do you want your children marry into/with?

All the same. No particular choice. So long as they both will and their parents agree. We marry daughter out of this township, but also take bride from other places.

Any disease related to specific ethnic group in this area?
No. It is a matter of locality, not ethnicity.

What is your greatest concern on this project, as a woman?

It has been rumors of this reservoir/project for years. It has worn me out. I have expected the resettlement since I was young, but I am nearly 50 now. It is my hope to remove earlier and living a better life sooner. Our life has become better. But compare with the developed area, the gap is huge. It is shameful. Building of the reservoir will benefit younger generations at least. Now you have seen the primary school, the drinking water is so bad. It is harmful to pupils’ body and brain. We also expect a kindergarten, and the programmed telephone line. The telephone here is so far from village, and so old a set with handle. It is slow and expensive. Cost me 32 RMB for 10 minutes.

Reflections: This is the composition of 11 female voices. It reflects women's general attitude toward the XD. We felt self-conscious for asking misleading questions as listed. But no female PAP went astray. This indicates their knowledge, and thus the local education level, as well as their sharing of common information with the mainstream society.

3.3.4 Local Officials and Project Undertakers

Usually, 3 discussions of this kind were held in each county. The first is for narrating our purpose. Our counterpart was a team of county leaders and managers of the local Hydroelectric Development Company. The second is for hearing local situation, mainly from ethnic affairs commission, women federation, public health bureau, education bureau and office for aiding the poor. All are governmental organs that we thought closely related to the benefit PAP. The third is our report and their critics of the SA result (key points) before our leaving. From these discussions, we heard the following:

1) The 2-subs are in one cultural area. The network of education and public health is in good shape. Absolute poverty here according to Chinese standard is a matter of household or village, not on overall level. Ethnic Affairs Commission (EAC) is in good function with following powers to enhance the affirmative action toward individual ethnic members beside the benefit of regional autonomy:
   A. Higher Education. 10 extra points to higher or professional/vocational education for ethnic candidates if their ethnic status reaffirmed by EAC.
   B. Education allowance: EAC has annual 300,000 RMB budget for ethnic education allowance. It is divided into 150,000 for subsiding ethnic schools and 150,000 for specific ethnic poor families to afford their kids' education.
   C. Medical Allowance. EAC has annual 300,000 RMB budget for local medical allowance. It is divided into 150,000 for ethnic hospital allowance and 150,000 for covering medical cost of difficult ethnic patients.
   D. Other functions of EAC include supervising the carrying out of ethnic policy (affirmative action) toward the ethnic people and obtaining more preferential treatment from the higher government for them.

2) Ethnic policy and guaranteeing mechanism. PAPs have community interests and identity overriding the ethnic ones. There is no major ethnic conflict in local history. Even in the feudal times, there was no discriminate policy toward any ethnic group, positive or negative. In pre-modern time, there was a riot against
foreign church in Enshi. During the Anti-Japanese War, Hubei provincial government retreated to Enshi and gave an impetus to the nation-building process. Since 1949, common progress and development have been priority of governmental work. Since 1983, Hubei Provincial Government has given strong support to this ethnic area and a series of joint-administrative meetings have been held in this prefecture.

3) About the project. It is an impetus to the benefit of all ethnic groups. It can promote the solution of ethnic issues. Ethnic issue is a political one in China resulted mainly from poverty and all governmental officials pay greatest attention to it. In this place, resettlement action caused by economic development will not result in social issue, even less in political one. There would be no resistant or interfering element for the 2-subs. Ethnic population in the area amounts to over 60. The project is an opportunity for promoting employment, tourism, fishery culture and other tertiary industry. It will transform resource advantages into economic ones. Financial capacity of both government and local household will be enhanced. At the eve of China’s developing its western region, it offers an opportunity to learn advanced ideas, methodology and management. Therefore, county governments regard this project as crucial. All projects have benefit and risk sides. So long as the benefit side overwhelms, we should carry it out. This is the essence of governmental work. We are confident that under the guidance of WB policy, the negative effect will be reduced to minimum. Enshi is located in juncture between east and west China. We are determined to make the project a model one and make it a training workshop for the oncoming nation-wide thrush of developing west China.

4) PAP's power, right and will. PAPs have power to supervise the project. Ethnic PAP can lodge their complaints to the EAC. They all have a strong will to see its initiation. This project represents their interests and reflected their will to grasp the opportunity for development. In this project, people’s will is identical with governmental work and the later is identical with WB policy. But currently, PAP's level of livelihood is not high. It is not realistic to expect a through improvement by this single project. Local government will also formulate relevant policy and measures to create better living space for PAP.

5) Urgency of the project. It has been brewed for years and capital construction in the prospective inundated area, including school, hospitals and telecommunication construction has all been suspended. We put their construction budget aside and invest it to those on the high mountain. This is a kind of their deposit. When the resettlement is fixed, we will return their due for capital construction. We also advice PAP not build new houses for avoiding unnecessary lost and for reducing the difficulty of mobilization. Some young PAPs even postpone their wedding for this reason. So we are under the pressure from the PAP.

3.4 Household Interview

After each discussion or questionnaire conduction, we visit a few households as side-activity. No much new information yielded. The time was too short for winning their trust for a meaningful discussion. Moreover, the PA area is suffering a brain-drainage with the ablest absent from home as migrant workers. In another sense, traditional livelihood/subsistence is loosing weight in the mind of local PAPs.
3.5 Resource Diagram

This is usually an opener for group discussions. No much information except for a few complaints for their small property not being registered in RAP survey (especially in Wachangba, Baifusi, LL), such as their piled stone edge to protect the yard on the slope, etc. Remarkable is that fact that some PAP’s paddy land might be larger in area that the government registration (they had reported less for paying less tax). Therefore, compensation has to be based on field measurement, not on accounting books. As for the acreage of dry land on the steep mountain slope, it is a matter of estimation even for the owners themselves.

3.6 Local Calendar & observation

Local calendar is Virtually identical in 2-subs. All their narrations begin with traditional lunar 24 of the 12th month (a week before the Spring Festival, late Jan or early Feb), the time when they prepare for the Spring Festival. PAPs are busy all year round because the local climate is favorable. Potato, wheat and rape can grow in winter. They even have a minor harvest season of rapeseed (for cooking oil) in spring while planting the rice. The 7th (August) month is busy until the 9th. Then, 10th to 12th are relatively slack. People arrange marriage and build new house in these 3 months. Over 90 percent of their festive activities are identical with mainstream culture of southwest China. (The ethnologist personally spent spring festival in Western Hunan nearly every other year as a son-in-law to a Tujia household in a county town).

Observation

Taking opportunity on road talking with drivers and observing the topography is an important way to collect overall information. Following impressions are resulted from it:

1. The social topography is similar to other mountainous areas in southwest China, except the access is more difficult (requires longer time). However, the satellite TV antenna on the roof of over 10% rural households strongly indicates their equal sharing of basic information. Handsome township school buildings indicate the importance attached to education by local people and government. Family planning as a means of combating poverty is practiced as vigorous as in the central plain. It is also an indicator of local government efficiency and local modernity.

2. Surplus young laborers are leaving home as migrant workers to Guangdong, Shanghai, Beijing and even to Xinjiang. They go because the price of agricultural product is low. Currently, raw rice grain is less than 20 cent USD (1.5 RMB) per kilo. They go also because they have no language and no much cultural obstacle. Some have got rich and become boss for this effort. Some have abandoned land and resettled out. People here are hardworking and are especially welcome in Zhejiang by small shoe-making workshops. So many young people have gone that local policemen find themselves idle because the young have brought public security cases with them away into the city or east China.
4. Conclusions

Based on these facts, the report has come to the following conclusion:

4.1 **PA shares one overarching local culture.** No ethnic population here has distinctive language, social structure, religion and custom. Therefore, they on the grass root level find our ethnic discourse foreign and meaningless.

4.2 **No ethnic consciousness has been identified.** We could not detect remarkable expressive or latent ethnic identity with all means in our toolkit.

4.3 **No extra measures should be adopted toward specific ethnic group.** As no vulnerable group can be identified, and as all the PAPs enjoy this healthy social ecology, we strongly propose no artificial extra measure be adopted.

4.4 **Further delay is the only negative affect.** As RAP survey has been launched, and as all construction within/under the line of inundation suspended, PAP are currently at stake and cannot be released until the project initiation.

5. Testimony

This conclusion is hard to reach and is against our original hypothesis (as shown in the questionnaire and structured interview). It puts so much at stake that further evidences of innocence have to be provided. We cite the following:

5.1 **Unique construction of ethnic identity**

XD and LL located in Enshi as the only ethnic autonomous prefecture in Hubei. Ethnic autonomous place has the following advantages:

1. More flexible policy catering to the local situation;
2. Lighter tax burden;
3. More financial subsidies, including 5% overhead for annual local budget;
4. Affirmative actions in governmental campaign, such as alleviating poverty.

These advantages drove the Western Hubei Prefecture into an ethnic autonomous one. Ethnic autonomy requires a number of qualifications. The most important is ethnic population percentage. Since 1980s, 33% is the minimum for any new application to be approved. Ethnic identification of local people along the personal or household ancestry line is the way to produce higher percentage of ethnic population. This identification is carried out by higher/provincial governments under the supervision of the State EAC and Ministry of Civil Administration, both are responsible for affirmative actions. In short, the Enshi way of ethnic identification is a matter of tracing surnames:

1. Tracing the ethnic status of some surnames in neighboring counties. As soon as the Cultural Revolution was over, Laifeng close to Western Hunan achieved its autonomy, for copying Western Hunan ethnic template by tracing surnames, such as Peng, Tian, Xiang for Tujia and Shi, Long, Zhang, Yang for Miao.
2. Tracing ethnic status of certain surnames in their home provinces. Those who do not share local ethnic surnames could trace their roots back to their home provinces. If the hometown happened to be ethnic autonomous and their surname was designated as ethnic, they are recognized so.
3. Tracing the surname of bilateral parental kinships. If one side has ethnic identity, you could apply for it, but one of your parent has to change into an
ethnic one before you can follow the suit.

4. Cross ethnic marriage. Children of multiethnic couples can choose either ethnic identity by parental decision before they reach 18 years old. Between 18-20, the young can make his/her own decision. After this, ethnic status becomes fixed, until another round of marriage and childbirth.

Given the bizarre picture of local ethnicity, it is not difficult for native people to find some links to certain ethnic roots, unless one's parents were newly immigrated from central China and without children for weaving new marriages ties. The benefits for an individual to have ethnic identity are as following:

A: As candidate of civil official on the township level and up, it is optimum for promotion, because it helps to satisfy the requirement of ethnic regional autonomous regulations

B: Being a candidate for higher learning institution, it grants 10 extra points on top of the earned credit. Once on campus, he or she is easier to get subsidies or scholarship.

C: Being an ethnic couple with rural household registration, 2 children instead of the mainstream 1 could be produced.

D: Once difficult to afford the kids' education, you can apply for special subsidy from the local EAC. The same goes for covering major medical cost.

Of these benefits, A, B and C are well known to all the local population and D a new one in the past 2 or 3 years. The affirmative actions extend to all ethnic minorities instead of specific one or two groups. It is the reason why ethnic people in PA area do not pay much attention to which ethnic group they do belong. The government stipulated that anyone who applies for the affirmative actions should go to EAC for a certification first, for preventing abuse. This is regulation is also a reflection of local ethnic flexibility. As we all know, in more sensitive area with distinctive ethnic culture, abusage or pretending to be a member of an ethnic minority group is nearly impossible.

5.2 Cross ethnic marriage

We asked a favor from Laifeng Civil Administrative Bureau for the statistics of 1999 registered marriage with ethnic identification, with the following result:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laifeng County as a whole</th>
<th>Manshui</th>
<th>Baifus town or township</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han=Han</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han=Miao</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Han=Tujia</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tujia=Tujia</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tujia=Miao</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miao=Miao</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1999 was randomly chosen for convenience. Manshui and Baifusi as 2 PA townships have all marriage types, indicating ethnic blindness. Among 1923 marriages, 1280 are cross ethnic, close to 2/3, close to the ethnic population percentage against the total. No preferential tendency except the cross ethnic marriage itself can be identified. 2/3 cross ethnic marriage results in 2/3 multiethnic
households. Both multiethnic and ethnic endogamous constitute ethnic households (those with ethnic minority members). That is 1923-373=1612. Taking the local kinship system into consideration, the whole population will be ethnic minorities. A personal history narrated by a Tujia Professor from Baojing County, Western Hunan coincides with this trend. In a 2001 book entitled *Tujia People and Culture*, Professor Luo tells us that his lineage has 54 members in 4 generations. Among them, a woman adopted/fostered by a Han household before 1968 has become a Han. Other 8 Han women married into his Tujia lineage have become Tujia. 2 Miao women by marriage have also become Tujia. Another 2 newly married Han men into the lineage remain Han yet (p34). Generally speaking, the local population is in the process of becoming ethnic with the time and the opening policy. For this reason, we suggest no measure toward any specific ethnic group should or need to be taken.

5.3 Clan (Surname) identity overriding ethnic identity

PAPs of the 2-subs are not child of Eden. They do have a strong sense of identity. That is surname. Surname identity in PA is widespread because in local practice, people with same surname do not marry, either from the same or from different ethnic group. For example, the ethnologist’s surname is Zhang, so he automatically become the maternal uncle of the children from all the Zhang women of his generation, regardless of Han, Tujia, Miao or Dong. All the Li males of his generation in PA are his child’s maternal uncles because of his wife’s surname. On several occasions in a field, a driver Li in XD Tujia took pains of forcing alcohol into his own stomach for him to prevent his brother-in-law from overdrinking and losing his face.

We knew before structured interview that each local ethnic group contributes civil officials to the local government, as required by the ethnic autonomous law/regulation. But when asked “whether you know there is cadre in local government from your ethnic group”, many PAP shake their heads. By further inquiry, we find most who responded in this way had confused our ethnic group (Minzu) with their clan or kinship (Zongzu, Qinzu or Jiazu). This is another indicator of their weak ethnic identity. If ethnic identity is strong, local people would certainly pay more attention to whether they have representatives in the local government, as many cases in other ethnic parts of China.

5.4 Identical local culture

Tracing ethnicity by surname, cross ethnic marriage and surname identity overriding the ethnic one are the cores of identical local culture. It is due to the fact that from language, religion to daily practices, people communicate with each other without ethnic/cultural hindrance. Another evidence is that migrant workers from PA to other part of China do not suffer from much cultural shock, be they are from Miao, from Tujia, or from Dong.

5.5 Natural participation by local ethnic people in the 2-subs

Ethnic minority PAP’s participation of the project and the RAP is guaranteed both by the size of population, the local blindness of ethnicity, and the ethnic autonomous regulations for official organization. An immediate example of this is the
ethnic composition of the 2-subs leading body, both as the Development Company and Office for PAP Resettlement (hereinafter OPRP). In the first case, Mr. Gu Ming, general manager of LL is a Miao. His two colleagues are also from ethnic minority. Luo, general manager of XD is a Miao and majority of his team is composed of ethnic minorities. In the second, the OPRP case, we have counted the ethnic percentage of both and found Tujia, Miao and Dong constitute over 60%. Noteworthy is the fact that OPRP in its initial composition did not consider ethnic status at all. It just drew members from functional governmental organs as Land and Real Estate administration, Public Security, Civil Administration, Hydro-electric Bureaus etc. Organs as education bureau, public health bureaus and women confederation were “naturally” excluded. XD OPRP even did not include commission of ethnic affairs. Given all these randomness, ethnic composition is naturally appeared as over 60%, equal or higher than its population percentage (due to the enforcement of autonomous regulation in routine official/professional selection). Our coordinator in XD, Mr. Zhang Ruqian is a Miao, deputy Chairman of Xuan’en People’s Congress. His counter part in LL, Mr. Wei Lailiang is a Han, second generation of an army officer from Henan Province. But Wei has taken a Tujia wife and produced a Tujia son. Penetrating down to the village level, the participation of ethnic minorities is intensified with the higher ethnic PAP density. To sum up, ethnic minorities in the 2-subs area not only can participate, but also make decisions in the RAP action.

6. Analysis

Sensitive ethnic relations have all kinds of specific reasons, but an insensitive one has only general ones. We divide the general reasons for local good ethic relations into four categories: space, time, structure and agency.

6.1 Space—Local Geography

Enshi is located in the northeast corner of Southwest China’s ethnic area that covers Guizhou-Yunnan, Hunan-Guangxi and Western Sichuan. It is also the juncture of core ethnic and core Han area, between central China plain and Sichuan basin. For this reason, it takes migrants from both sides. When the flows of people met in the locality, they formulate a common culture. Cultural geographically (represented by language, food style and clothing), Enshi resembles Sichuan more than Hubei. Moreover, 2-subs are along the rivers valleys. It is a universal fact that mountain separates people while water intermingles them. Xuan’en does have a group of Miao (one of the three categories) who still practice ethnic endogamy and still have their own language. But they are on the higher mountains and far off from the river bound PA area.

6.2 Time—History

Historically, there was no major ethnic feud or ethnic uprising. Even in the feudal era, the local lords copied the great cultural tradition (royal style) and promoted surname identity rather than ethnic ones. As mentioned in 3.2, the shrines in one temple off PA worshipped by Tujia still has surname in front of their titles: Overlord Peng, Braveman Tian and High Official Xiang. History also obliged this area
assimilated the great cultural tradition earlier. Since Ming Dynasty (14-17 century), the inheritance of local lordship was preconditioned for Confucian education. It was also since the Ming Dynasty that local lord in the area contribute army to the central government for “national” defense and was praised time and again by the Royal Court. This strengthened the displacement of local ethnic languages by a mandarin one for the sense of local pride. In modern history, besides the Anti-Japanese front of the retreated National and Hubei government, Enshi as a poor mountain area was also a communist revolutionary base. All these promoted its integration with the mainstream China in the past half a century. Finally, Enshi as an ethnic autonomous prefecture was not established until 1983, when the discourse of Minzu (as ethnic group) in China shifted from the class-conflicts oriented to an economic-development oriented one. One of the benefits of this time lag is that no sectarian conflict involving ethnicity has resulted in the “revolutionary” years and no new ethnic resentment has resulted.

6.3 Framework of central governmental ethnic policy

The current Chinese Governmental ethnic policy practiced in PA is a positive factor for good ethnic relations as well.

1). Constitution of PRC. The general principle stipulates that China is a unified multiethnic nation. Ethnic equality, solidarity and common progress are the legitimate basis of all policies and practices toward ethnic minorities. Ethnic discrimination of any kind is strictly prohibited. Ethnic regional autonomy is practiced in ethnic compact area. Chapter 5 of the Constitution specifies the organizing principle of legislature and administrative bodies in Ethnic Autonomous Area. It prescribes the quota of ethnic civil officials and that, being sanctioned by the State Council, an ethnic autonomous region is entitled to organize its own public security forces.

2). The Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy of PRC (1984). In the 6 chapters and 66 articles, this basic law stipulates the power, rights and obligations of ethnic autonomous area. Chapter 6 obliged upper government to help ethnic autonomous area financially, materially and technologically for developing its economy, society and culture. This law is now under modification by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. More specific stipulations for implementing and protecting ethnic minority rights could be expected in light of the current accommodating atmosphere.

3). State Council's Circulation for Carrying out the Law of Ethnic Regional Autonomy (1991). As the LERA is more or less an abstract framework, and this framework sometimes counter-check some contents of the universal/national laws and regulations of China, this State Council Circulation especially tells how to understand and implement it specifically.


The Regulation stipulates that EAA (Ethnic Autonomous Area) with the approval of upper government can suspend resolutions, decisions, directives, and instructions
of the upper government if it does not cater to local conditions. The application for approving the suspension must be responded within 30 days. It also specifies various aspects for helping EAA. The support of small hydropower stations in EAA is especially listed.

   It stipulates the composition of legislature and governmental organs must include ethnic members equal to their population percentage. Head of the government must be ethnic minority. Other working departments must furnish ethnic minority as much as possible.

6) Hubei Provincial Opinions for Enhancing Development and Aid-the-Poor in EAA
   This is a directive by CPC Hubei Provincial Committee and Provincial People’s Government. It mobilizes the society to give support to EAA development.

7) Regulations for Identification of Ethnic Status of Chinese Citizen (1985?)
   This is a document issued by the Ministry of Public Security and Civil Administration. It is a kind internal criterion for ethnic identification. It is issued time and again because so many people were applying for ethnic minority status for the sake of affirmative action that real minority rights might be infringed. It set up standard and due procedures, such as you have to have one of your parents identified as ethnic minority before you can be identified so, if you refer to one of your grand-parent ethnic status for your identification.

8) Enshi Prefecture Ethnic Affairs Commission’s Measures for Ethnic Status Administration (1988). This is the specification of 7) in accordance to local circumstances, mainly for checking the abuse of ethnic preferential policies.

9. CPC Hubei Provincial Committee’s Opinion on Accelerating the Development of Enshi Prefecture (1984). It allows 5% additional fee on top of the annual budget of the prefecture.

    The essence of it is mobilizing the whole provincial resources to give strong support to the development of Enshi as an ethnic autonomous prefecture. It put forward 38 measures, including give priority to Enshi in arranging capital enterprises and construction projects, and actively looking for joint-venture partners for it. All bank’s loaning size to Enshi should be 20% larger than provincial average. Trying utmost to arrange more foreign aid projects (think of the case of 2-subs). Earmarking 300,000 as education fund, 150,000 as medical fund for each county annually. (More detailed information has been provided in a separate research on the framework of China Law toward the ethnic PAP).

In essence, all the policies/regulations/laws are oriented to economic benefits and treat all ethnic minority groups equally. This contributes to the ethnic blindness of the PAP on the grass-root level.
6.4 Agency-Local Manipulation

Ethnic minority enjoys more assistance from the State with less economic obligation or lighter pressure for being culturally remolded. The central or provincial government affords this for the sake of national unity and social stability, a normal game of reciprocity. There are two rules to play the game with different consequences. First is positive feedback, or mutual gratefulness. Second is crying baby gets more milk. In the first case, more people could share the benefits. In the second, the spoils are exploited by the elites. The PA local government and people jointly play the game according to the first rule. They understand social stability and atmosphere of solidarity benefits all. Therefore, so long as the area enjoy affirmative actions, they do not press much for single group identity. They can afford this also because in the past 20 years economic development, people and government are continuously getting well off. This renders them a mindset apt to change and some strength to withstand the thrust of the project.

In the end, PAPs of 2-subs are ethnically less vulnerable than we expected. Therefore, RAP can adequately safeguard their interests and exploit the opportunity of development by their own hands. It is also a fact that overkill measures would produce side effects.

7. Supplementary Impression

1). All PAPs regard the project as positive for improving their community and family life.

2). Most interviewees filling the questionnaire had difficulty in figuring out their own ethnic status, even more so for their spouse. We have to ask the same question more than once and they often consult each other before giving an answer. 9 out 10 answers made by referring to surname. This shows that ethnic identity for PAPs is a matter of reasoning or guessing by the circumstantial “force” of our presence.

3) While the questionnaire based on nuclear household may result in a remarkable number of “pure” ethnic households, majority PAP families in the extended sense are multiethnic. The more couples in different generations in one family, the more ethnic households. This fact reduces the probability and significance of statistical delineating the scope and degree of affect along ethnic lines. In the end, PAP in this 2-subs is one community, not many.

8. Final Conclusion and Further Suggestions

Conclusion.

Based on the fieldwork and demographic statistics, final conclusions and recommendations were reached through comparatively analyzing and combining the summarized outcomes from each of the field survey methods as follows:

- The questionnaire surveys summarizes that there is no significant correlation between ethnicity, education, occupation, and livelihoods. As for marriage, there are 45% ethnic exogamous marriages among the PAP in Xuan’en and about 53% in Laifeng. This result in a higher percentage of multiethnic households. Among them, the Ha-Minority marriage households are about 40% of PAP in total.
- The structured/household interviews explained that PAPs share similar views that
lead to the irrelevancy of ethnicity to the local division of labor, education, marriage, and wealth, as demonstrated by the questionnaire. In addition, there is no indication of specific adverse impacts the project would be brought about on the minority component of the resettlement or host communities, as distinct from general impact on the communities as a whole.

- The focus groups discussions illustrated that the ethnic population do share an overarching culture with other local people. They do not have distinctive languages, religions, and customs. There is no ethnic consciousness identified in relation to this project. There is no vulnerable ethnic group identified. All the PAP enjoy a common healthy social ecology in general and all are to bear the project impacts on the same footing. Currently all PAP fully understood the project and its impact, and they are eager to have it for their own interests (to grasp some opportunities to develop household livelihoods, to be released from suspension of local construction under the inundation line, etc.) while arranging a satisfactory resettlement.

In sum, although more than half of PAP (58%) were officially identified as Tujia, Miao, and Dong, it did not alter the fact that they belong to a local community, Han or minorities alike, with the same economic, social-cultural, and cognitive structure. This could be testified by both their physical and mental behaviors in community lives, such as their daily practice, folk communication, random choosing of spouse, working sites, work partners, etc. The ethnic identification since 1979 resulted from operation by local government and elite, and not from common people’s ethnic consciousness. It was evident that ethnic minority groups in and around the project areas already well entered into, or more correctly, held sway of the mainstream of local society. In addition, in the grass-root life no vulnerable ethnic groups detected in the project areas. The local social ecology was in healthy equilibrium to all ethnic groups. By the same token, there also was no ethnic minorities identified who would suffer from specific impact distinct from general project adverse impact on the communities as a whole.

The Bank’s policy towards indigenous peoples, spelled out in OD 4.30, aims to safeguard the interests of “social groups with a social and cultural identity distinct from dominant society that makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the development process.” Based on the foregoing facts, this definition does not apply to the ethnic minorities in the project-affected area. As summarized by the SA report, it is hard to see Tujia, Miao or Dong vulnerable in the development process in the two project areas any more than the Han.

Moreover, compare with the definition of indigenous people in OD 4.20 as the benchmark document of this SA, Tujia, Miao, and Dong minorities in the project share the following features:

1) They are not self-identified and identified by local others as members of a distinct cultural group;

2) They do not use an indigenous or separate language, often different from the national language. In fact, their common language has the very Sichuan vernacular as that of Deng Xiaoping’s hometown that dominates in Southwest China.
3) They do not present the customary social and political institutions.
4) They are not primarily subsistence farmers. While grain production is mostly consumed locally, many households grow fruit which is sold. The only thing relating to the OD 4.20 definition that applies to the minorities in the project areas is that they are indeed closely attached to ancestral territories and to the natural resources in these areas. But this also applies to the local Han, and to most people in most places in rural China.

In a practical sense, the question is whether the minorities in the project areas are in need of special considerations in addition to those spelled out in the laws of the PRC and Hubei Province. Those most vulnerable in the development process are the people affected by the project resettlement, the PAP. All of the PAP, Han and ethnic minorities alike, will face the disruption of resettlement in an equal degree. The challenge to us is to minimize and mitigate these impacts. That should be dealt with in the RAP. Finally, there hence does not appear to be a case for an Indigenous People Development Plan over and above the RAP in this project context.

However, the SA still recommended that, because the project is located in a poverty and historically multiethnic area, a poverty attack and culturally sensitive resettlement becomes essential for project implementation. The PAPs ability to benefit from the project depends upon a detailed and properly implemented RAP that is responsible for turning resettlement into a development opportunity. A community development plan with the multiethnic characteristics is hence highly recommended in response to local ethnic groups' demands for livelihood enhancement. To use the project opportunity, this plan should address village development as a whole in striving against poverty in all social, cultural, and economic regards, instead of partially and separately remediying the resettled household livelihoods. In light of the community-based development, this plan should also stresse village reconstruction through native participation from all ethnic groups, in order to assure that it is culturally appropriate for local needs, and can be followed up by all the ethnic groups.

**Suggestion**
1. This SA report strongly emphasizes the importance of a vigorous supervision of the RAP formulation and implementation by WBOC and local PA. Therefore, representatives from women federation, public health department, education bureau and ethnic affairs commission should have direct involvement of the supervision.
2. In light of the experience gained from the more sensitive ethnic area such as Tibet and Liangshan Yi Autonomous Prefecture, a project-based job-training to local laborers while attaching quota for hiring them into specific labor-intensive bidding package is a good way to empower local poor people, both for their active participation and for equipping them with better techniques for later job-seeking in the process of urbanization.
3. Finally, a vigorous consultation with local PA multiethnic officials on all levels would have most fruitful and satisfying solutions for poverty attacking, for they have been considering it day to day for year and year. (end)

8.1 Photos of work in the field
8.2 Administrative and Ethnic Distribution Map of Enshi Prefecture
8.3 Samples of Resources Diagram
8.4 Samples of Local Calendar
8.5 Samples of Focus Group Discussion
8.6 Questionnaire with treated data
8.7 Structured Interview with Answers