ETHNIC GROUPS AND MIGRATION IN SHANGHAI*

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ABSTRACT

This paper introduces ethnic groups and migration in Shanghai. It also brings in a new concept- "ethno-cultural capital"- which is used to explain how a specific migration group that returned from Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps uses ethnic culture to gain social and economic capital in Shanghai.

提要

本文简要介绍了上海的族群与移民情况。上海的族群可分为区域性族群、海外华人及台港澳同胞、少数民族和长期旅沪外国人。本文启用了一个新的概念——族群文化资本（ethno-cultural capital）。在个案分析中，本文用该概念解释了新疆建设兵团返沪人员如何利用族群文化来获取社会与经济资本。

INTRODUCTION

Shanghai is an ethnically diverse and multicultural metropolis; however, the cultural expression of ethnicity is often complicated. As a migrant city, the population is comprised of ethnic groups from all over China and the world. From the constructionist approach, "culture" and "ethnicity" are common products in an immigration city like Shanghai. In 2008, there was a 6.42 million "floating population" in Shanghai, which is roughly 34 percent or over one third of the total population (18.88 million) (Huang 2010).

Since Barth's seminal paper "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" (Barth 1969), anthropologists have focused on the ethnic boundary: how people organize themselves to form an ethnic group and how people categorize and distinguish themselves from others (Tan 2004:91). In a certain field of power, people try to obtain some kind of power by means of ethno-culture capital. In 1977, the economist Glenn Loury introduced the concept of "social capital" in his paper "A Dynamic Theory of Racial Income Differences" (Loury 1977). In 1980, Pierre Bourdieu used the concept of "social capital" in sociological and anthropological analysis. In his paper "The Forms of Capital"(1986), Bourdieu distinguishes three kinds of "capital": economic, cultural, and social. The term "ethno-cultural capital" in this paper is an extension of Bourdieu's "social capital." Chinese American sociologist Zhou Min adopted "ethnic capital" to analyze the Chinese of Chinatowns in America (Zhou 1995, 2006; Zhou and Lin 2004). In Wang Dingding's (2006) summary, the term "capital" has three main dimensions: the material dimension, the social relations dimension, and the spiritual dimension.

The "capital" involved in this article is the "social relations dimension." In today's globalized context, a variety of urban populations exist within the world's big cities. Here, these different populations forge social relationships and establish certain ethnic cultures on the basis of their social capital.

In sum, we define "Ethno-Cultural Capital" as a kind of social relationship and network based on the same social and cultural backgrounds. Such capital is characteristic of groups who originate from outside the metropolis but who, once based in the city, develop social relationships according to their particular ethnic affiliations. Ethno-cultural capital is the social network of a people. This paper

tries to show how and why ethno-cultural capital forms the basis of social relationships and networks in a city. Most interviews and examples in this paper are from the cases of *Luxun* Park and *Zhabei* Park in Shanghai, China.

TABLE 1: Marriage Registration in Shanghai, 1991-2008

YEARS	BETWEEN SHANGHAI RESIDENTS (COUPLE)	BETWEEN SHANHAINESE AND MIGRANTS (COUPLE)	RATIO (%)
1991	94,617	5,112	5.40%
1992	93,867	6,336	6.75%
1993	83,210	7,254	8.72%
1994	85,572	8,380	9.79%
1995	81,245	8,748	10.77%
1996	86,622	12,253	14.15%
1997	85,003	14,295	16.72%
1998	75,816	13,988	18.45%
1999	89,913	17.916	19.93%
2000	89,523	19,444	21.72%
2001	89,582	21,609	24.12%
2002	92,448	25,628	27.72%
2003	105,459	30,895	29.30%
2004	123,037	39,734	32.29%
2005	100,297	35,903	35.80%
2006	162,663	55,994	34.42%
2007	117,825	42,979	39.02%
2008	138,981	53,214	38.29%

MPI, for his invitation and full support to visit Gottingen, German.

Source: Statistics Annals, The Shanghai Civil Affaires Bureau

ETHNICITY IN SHANGHAI

Ethno-regional groups. There are many ethno-regional groups in Shanghai, such as the Subei, Ningbo, Hakka *(Kejia ren),* Hokkien *(minnan ren),* and so on. Chart 1 shows the number of registered marriages between Shanghainese and migrants.

According to Huang Fengfang's statistics (Huang 2010:26), most migrants are from Jiangsu, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces. Chart 2 shows the top ten provinces with migrant marriages in the Huangpu District of Shanghai from 2002 to 2008

Foreigners: Shanghai has a population of over 18.8 million (2009), and among the residents of Shanghai there are over 152,000 foreigners. Most foreigners are from Japan, Korean, USA, Singapore, Germany, Canada, France, Australia, and the UK.

TABLE 2: The top ten provinces with migrant marriages

PROVINCES	MIGRANTS (FEMALE)	MIGRANTS (MALE)	TOTAL	RATIO (%)
Jiangsu	2,596	772	3,368	22.98%
Anhui	1,752	306	2,058	14.04%
Zhejiang	1,263	443	1,706	11.64%
Sichuan	715	91	806	5.5%
Hubei	605	146	751	5.12%
Jiangxi	569	149	718	4.9%
Henan	446	108	554	3.78%
Hunan	442	63	505	3.44%
Shandong	334	133	467	3.19%
Heilongjiang	354	82	436	2.97%

Source: Huang 2010:26

Chinese from overseas: Chinese from countries overseas, such as Singapore, United States, Canada, Australia, etc., as well as from other regions of China, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau.

Ethnic minorities: Ethnic minorities include the Muslim Hui, Tibetan, Mongolian, Uyghur, and Yi peoples. In June 2009, there was a population of over 260,000 ethnic minorities in Shanghai. Of this, over 124,000 have "hukou" (status) as permanent residents and 139,000 of them represent a "floating population" which resides there for over half the year. This includes 55 minority ethnic groups (shaoshu minzu) classified by the Chinese government.

RE-MIGRATION AND ETHNO-CULTURAL CAPITAL

In the 1950s and 1960s, many young Shanghainese were recruited to the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps (XPCC, Xinjiang Jianshe Bingtuan in Chinese, 新疆建设兵团). XPCC also is called "China construction Group Company", "Construction" and "Corps." The headquarters of XPCC is currently located in Urumqi in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. It is a special social organization which equally functions as a "military garrison, administration and enterprise." The administrative ranking of the Corps is of sub-provincial government. It can manage its own internal administrative affairs and judicial affairs. The Corps is under the jurisdiction of both the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and China's central government (Xinjiang Construction Corps's official website (2010). In the 1950s and early 1960s, Xinjiang Construction Corps recruited college graduates and urban and rural-origin youths from Shanghai, including older teenagers. Among them, some relocated to Xinjiang as permanent residents. Over 20 years later, some have returned to Shanghai. As

a re-migration group, they draw on their Ethno-cultural capital – that of their Uyghur culture- to communicate with one another within their social network. Uyghur is the main ethnic group in Xinjiang. The full name of Xinjiang is "Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region".

According to the interviews, many of the young Shanghainese who migrated to Xinjiang in 1960s did not intend to return to Shanghai. As 67-year old Mr. Lang described, they wanted to be a new national constructer in Xinjiang:

> *I was 22-years old when I joined to the Xinjiang Construction Corps. I never thought that I would return to Shanghai. I thought I should be buried in Xinjiang after I pass away. The young Shanghainese in the Corps included males and females, about 50% to 50%. But later, most women returned to Shanghai through their "guanxi" or "social network." They left behind a lot of "Shanghainese bachelors" who don't have the* "guanxi." *Later, the superior made a special policy: if a woman marries a Shanghainese man, she can change her* hukou *(household) status from agricultural to non-agricultural status. There were a lot of women from rural areas married to Shanghainese men. Then we could get married after the policy came out. Deng Xiaoping's policy of reformation and opening got our hopes up to re-migrate back to Shanghai (Interview record).*

After having left Shanghai over 20 years earlier, many people who re-migrate back to Shanghai felt it was hard to resettle in their homeland, as they had lost their social networks beyond their immediate family. Mr. Wang introduces this situation:

> *When we re-migrated back to Shanghai, we always felt to be regarded as the redundant "outsiders," always seeming to inconvenience others. For example, my wife and I are living in my brother's house. Their house is very small. After we moved in, the house became more crowded. The summer is very hot in Shanghai. It seems hotter after we moved into the house. For economic reasons, for example, many people can't afford to buy a house in Shanghai. It is very difficult for us to find accommodation in Shanghai (Interview record).*

When we talk about education and the current occupations of their children, Mr. Wei says, sorrowfully:

> *Just because we went to Xinjiang when we were young, that affects the education of our children and then affects their employment in Shanghai. The children can't find a good job with good income. It's very hard for them to buy a house and get married. That situation will affect the next generation…and it will be a vicious circle (Interview record).*

For some of those who return to Shanghai, it means that they have given up the welfare received from the Construction Corps. Some hold the position that they can become dependant upon their children who are registered as permanent residents of Shanghai. While they were in the Corps, most people tried to send their children to Shanghai or maintain their children's *hukou* with their grandparents by any means possible. However, many children returned to Shanghai more than ten years later. When the second generation of Xinjiang Shanghainese migrated from Xinjiang to Shanghai, the different conditions of socialization produced different results. Many cannot compete on equal footing with those youth who grew up in Shanghai. A 24-year old taxi driver discussed this topic with me. Both his mother and father were from the Corps. At the age of fourteen, he went to Shanghai as a registered permanent resident, and now lives with his grandfather's family in Shanghai. Because he was not fluent in the Shanghainese dialect, he was rejected by his classmates. At home, he did not want to communicate with his grandparents because of the generation gap. Five years later, when his parents re-migrated from Xinjiang to Shanghai, they felt it very hard to communicate.

According to Bourdieu, a society will always be divided into many different "fields," as Swartz has summarized:

Fields denote arenas of production, circulation, and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize these different kinds of capital. Fields may be thought of as structured spaces that are organized around specific types of capital or combinations of capital (Swartz 1997:117).

Different fields correspond to the specific objectives of the competition. People from the Corps who re-migrate to Shanghai possess ethnic cultural capital and are viewed as personnel with an exotic advantage. In this field, the Ethno-Cultural Capital of Xinjiang used to compete with the economic and social capital superiority of the same generation- that of the local Shanghainese retirees.

Mr. Qian, a 63-year old man who retuned from the Corps, established a group named the "Bailing Ethnic Troupe" at the Songnan Cultural Center of Baoshan District. He serves as the troupe's director and writer. The following summary and comments from an interview show the usage of Ethno-Cultural Capital described in this paper:

> *I joined the Xinjiang Corps as an entertainer. I have liked singing and dancing since I was a young man. After I returned to Shanghai, I was still interested in music and dancing. Some of my choreographies and music have won awards in Shanghai…We have feelings for Xinjiang. The Xinjiang Corps has made sacrifices for the country. We served in the national construction service when we were young. Although we've retired now, we're still hoping for national service. I applied this site for Xinjiang Dancing Troupe in Luxun Park. Then I cooperated with Mr. Zhang (current director of the troupe) to organize the program of the troupe. I think that when old people take part in these kinds of artistic activities it is conducive to stability, unity and social stability. On Saturdays and Sundays, they spend a day or half a day to enjoy the Xinjiang dancing here. It can help to adjust the mood and health. To listen to the fair-sounding music and to dance the lively dancing can put them in a cheerful mood, and a cheerful mood makes the society stable. (Interview records).*

Because of the efforts of Mr. Qian and Mr. Zhang, the Xinjiang Dancing Troupe continues to grow rapidly. It now has more than 150 relatively fixed members. They come together and arrange the dancing activities in Luxun Park on Saturdays and on Sundays, in Zhabei Park. The troupe members prepare their own uniforms and lunch boxes when they join the activities. Each of them pays 10 yuan for the monthly electricity expenses. In a costly city such as Shanghai, 10 yuan is an acceptable price for the eldery retirees to not only enjoy merry dancing but to make new friends through the activities. Most importantly, their participation affords them an escape from the crowded living spaces they share with their immediate family members who stay at home on the weekends. Through Ethno-Cultural Capital, Xinjiang Uyghur style dancing has become a key means by which its participants can join Shanghai society.

CONCLUSION

There are four kinds of ethnic groups in Shanghai: 1) Ethno-regional Groups; 2) Foreigners in Shanghai; 3) Chinese from overseas; and 4) Ethnic minorities. Those who were in the Xinjiang Corps during the Cultural Revolution and later came back to Shanghai share a common personal background. In this field, the ethnic culture from Xinjiang becomes the central factor in strengthening their cohesion. A new social network has been built through Ethno-Cultural Capital.

In a new field, some people hold resources while others lack them. For the Shanghainese who returned from Xinjiang Corps, ethnic culture is the Ethno-Cultural Capital they draw on in order to earn resources. On the one hand, those who returned from the Corps hold resources such as ethnic dancing. In the social context of peers who will never "be" Xinjiang, they are the considered "resource holders." On the other hand, they lack resources such as the social welfare their retired peers receive in Shanghai. They use Ethno-Cultural Capital to acquire social capital such as dignity and economic capital such as low consumption.

Through Ethno-Cultural Capital, the Shanghainese who return from Xinjiang Corps have established a relatively stable social network with certain members. Members of this social network sometimes interact with the Uygur people who are working or studying in Shanghai. They also always patronize a Xinjiang Uygur restaurant near Luxun Park. So far, the Ethno-Cultural Capital has created the conditions for a good relationship between ethnic Han and Uygur living in Shanghai.

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FOOTNOTES

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