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Sorting Crabs: An Analysis of Tourism, Economy, Labor and State Division at Zhoushan Fish Market

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Sorting Crabs:

An analysis of tourism, economy, labor and state division at *Zhoushan* fish market

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
Xi Bao

Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
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以下写给看得懂中文的人：我之所以能完成我的毕业论文，是因为以下所有人的支持，谢谢！妈咪～没有你我就不会想到要写关于舟山的毕业论文。是你一直鼓励我相信我（就算我好几次写到崩溃你也只是嘲笑我的黑眼圈和眼袋，但是从来没有对我作为一个人类学家的能力产生过质疑 哈哈），我才能写完这份论文（虽然说是论文，但我都快写成书那么长了。。。）我爱你妈妈！爸爸，谢谢你从小就严格要求我（一直否定我做的事情）我才会每次绝望的时候都想到要证明给你看我可以的然后继续努力。虽然你刀子嘴豆腐心，嘴上总是骂我但是还天天教育我身体最重要让我吃好睡好。我爱你爸爸！（虽然你听到会不知所措因为你是钢铁直男但是我还是要说哈哈）亲爱的王婧懿“小朋友”，谢谢你平时有事没事就和我一起 brain storm 我才能经常有源源不断的灵感来写完我的毕业论文。谢谢你没事干就和我玩（虽然我们平时唱儿歌互相推搡这种行为真的很像小孩子，但是 who cares, 超开心哈哈）我才能一直保持开心（大部分时间）的状态来写完我的毕业论文。谢谢你在我大四下学期愿意每周开车来接我/送我来回 bard 和 nyc, 保证了我一周起码能吃三天好吃的我才能“活”过我的大四。哈哈爱你！Wendi, 谢谢你一直鼓励我夸我然后告诉我虽然你是我最好的朋友但是除去这点特制以外我还是你认识的很优秀的人（flattered!）谢谢你不会因为我这学期忙加懒到爆炸不怎么和你讲话而生我气（虽然我也知道是因为你找到了对你超好的男朋友哈哈, yay!）妹妹，谢谢你在我不在的时候能够陪妈妈爸爸让他们不那么孤单我才能安心留学。想你爱你！谢谢那些被我观察，记录，采访，被我“烦”过的人，谢谢你们哈哈。

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Introduction

It was the spring of 2017 and I was talking with my parents at the dinner table about focusing my senior project research on Puerto Rico, a place the whole world was watching and caring about at that time. As a beginning anthropology college student I thought about writing in a context that could affect the political stance between the United States and Puerto Rico and possibly help Puerto Rico - especially after the recent election. I wanted to write something “big”, something that would have an effect on the political stance. Even more, I wanted to “get something out of it.” I was quickly rebuked by my mother when she told me that I should never be ignorant and pay attention to my own surroundings. As someone who was born and raised in *Zhoushan*, China, I spent an equal amount of time living away from *Zhoushan* as well as living in it. My mother continued with the rebuke pointing out my complaints each time I returned to the city after a brief absence. She went on to state that I had never actually taken the time to absorb the *Zhoushan* culture by not recognizing first hand the political, cultural and economic changes. She finished her rebuke and chastised me for assuming an issue was “big” due to media hyperbole and that I should focus on my own surroundings. To clarify she picked up a dish of fried shrimp and asked “Did you know the price of seafood changes through the population of *Waidiren* in *Zhoushan*? Did you know there are a lot of things you can research about these changes? There is no issue you could not “get something out of” if you pay close attention and really think about it.” It was at this moment I realized how I had taken my *Zhoushan* person for granted and never actually appreciated it throughout my life.

After sitting at the dinner table digesting my mother’s remarks I felt it would benefit myself as well as my *Zhoushan* to research and report on the local surroundings, especially the economy,

tourism, and national identity in China.¹ Fieldwork was conducted in two seasons: the first during the summer of 2017 at the *Zhoushan* fish market, and the second during the winter of 2017 at the *Minsu* in *Zhoushan*. The snowball methods were used to familiarize myself with the interview process at both field sites. My uncle, previously a *Zhoushan* fish boat owner, introduced me to Mr. Fish, a wealthy fish boat owner at *Zhoushan* fish market. Mr. Fish allowed access to his boat with his fisher workers and let me observe their day-to-day work and listen to their conversations. I also took the opportunity to interview my uncle, Mr. Fish and his workers, fish market shop owners and some other associated *Zhoushan* fish market workers. They were very open to my observations and interviews because they knew my uncle well and they were also used to other forms of interviews made by local or national newspaper and television outlets throughout the years.

Returning to Bard following my first season of fieldwork I had found that changes in tourism and economy were both intertwined and it was impossible to talk about one without mentioning the other. I then decided to conduct additional fieldwork regarding tourism in *Zhoushan*. I had discovered during the first season of fieldwork a new form of the hotel in *Zhoushan* - *Minsu* - which is owned and operated by local families. After realizing the important roles of these *Minsu*, I called a childhood friend whose mother had forced her to quit her job in *Shanghai* and return to *Zhoushan* to assist with her family's *Minsu*. I was confident she would be able to set up an interview with her mother and let me observe her family's *Minsu* but she immediately rejected my request because she knew her mother would never agree. However, my friend agreed to participate in my second season of fieldwork only in the capacity as a friend speaking about her confusions in being forced to return to *Zhoushan* and not as a *Minsu* worker.

¹ If you are interested, please watch this six minutes YouTube video of *Zhoushan's* tourism ad. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EX1jSLzJ8E> (Date viewed: April 29, 2018)

While still at Bard during November of 2017 I chose at random a *Minsu* owner at *Zhujiajian*, *Zhoushan* to ask for an interview but was rejected again because the owner believed I was a business spy. However, during the winter break of 2017, I was eventually able to visit her *Minsu*. When we met I showed her my *Zhoushan* identification and as she listened to my *Zhoushan* dialect she agreed to all of my fieldwork requests and even asked me to write the real name of her *Minsu* as well as her name, Mrs. Zhang, in my senior project. For all others, I used assigned names on people as well as shops to preserve their anonymity. After my second session of fieldwork, I also had a chance for an online chat (around late March) with a reporter from *Zhoushan* daily journal with the assistance of my mother. The reporter gave me her insights on her past reports on *Zhoushan* fish market which I used as archive sources in Chapter III.

In my senior project I focus on three main topics and their “changes” in recent years. Chapter I focuses on the first topic, the relationship between the State of China and the State of *Zhoushan*, as well as the tension on fishing, tourism, and economic growth between these two states. How the State of China changed from establishing beneficial policies to encourage *Zhoushan* residents to become fishermen as early as the *Qianlong* period (1711-1799, *Qing* Dynasty) to present day and into 2019 where the only beneficial policies on oil allowance will be canceled by the State of China. I also look at the shift of tension in fishing conditions of the *Zhoushan* sea area and marine organism status by examining annual marine reports and how they have changed from teaching fellow *Zhoushan* fisherman on how to catch more fish to asking fellow *Zhoushan* fisherman to not be “overfishing.” Keeping in mind that the very concept of “overfishing” is new and fresh to the *Zhoushan* fisherman, as well as the State of China, I tracked this concept in *Zhoushan* and China through annual marine reports as well as changes in historic global environmental conservation laws. The shift from encouraging more fishing to

encouraging less fishing is sudden; the laws on preventing overfishing were in their infancy until 2017 when fines and prosecution were applied to the law of *Xiuyuqi* (for further explanation of the law of *Xiuyuqi* see chapter I). I argue that this radical change of the State of China on *Zhoushan* fish market is mainly due to international pressure and, the action of applying fines and prosecution on the law of *Xiuyuqi*, is an action of repressive state apparatus (RSA) I use James Scott's argument of state legibility in explaining the regulation of *Xiuyuqi*. Finally, through the historical analysis, I look at how the role of the State of China influences the fishing economy in *Zhoushan*.

Chapter II focuses on labor and *Zhoushan* fish market. This chapter, as well as chapter III, is mainly fieldwork based. I found the amount of labor and associated income at the *Zhoushan* fish market is disproportionate in other places around China. This is due to many reasons. First, the labor in *Zhoushan* fish market is heavily class distinctive and is based on the concept of *Waidiren* (i.e. people from outside of *Zhoushan*). In *Zhoushan*, especially at the fish market, calling someone a *Waidiren* has different connotations. I argue this idea of *Waidiren* at the fish market is no longer based on region but is now based on class. One can see a clear social hierarchy within the calling of *Waidiren* and I use examples of the voice and the exchange of cigarettes in *Zhoushan* fish market to further explain my argument. I also talk about *Waidiren* in Chapter III and although those fisher workers and tourists share the same name of *Waidiren*, the class differences between them are huge.

The second reason is that the type of labor itself is different. This was discovered during interviews with the *Waidiren* fisher workers and further supports my argument noted above. Before the 21st century, all labor in *Zhoushan* fish market was conducted by *Zhoushan* people, such as my uncle and Mr. Fish. They were proud of their labor at the fish market and they gained

an equal amount of income as a result of their labor. However, after the 21st century, with the rapid development of China, the changes in environmental conditions due to global warming, and China's one-child policy, the amount of *Zhoushan* workers at the fish market dramatically reduced. As noted during my first session of fieldwork most fisher workers consist of minimum wage *Waidiren* from outside of *Zhoushan*, mostly from Anhui, an impoverished area in China. Old local fisher workers have now become fish boat owners or work other jobs such as an accountant or security guard both of which are still only open to *Zhoushan* natives. This is an ongoing process even though *Waidiren* do more physical labor yet remain at the minimum wage, especially after the changes in *Xiuyuqi*.

Chapter III focuses on tourism and economy. I begin with a thickness description of *Zhoushan* fish market during the *Xiuyuqi* in summer 2017 and end with an online review of *ZhouShan* by a *Waidiren* tourist. In this chapter, I introduce many new concepts such as tourism economy, *Minsu*, etc. before the *Xiuyuqi* ended around August 2017. I argue that the high demands of sea foods by *Waidiren* tourists has been slowly changing not only the economy of *Zhoushan*, but also the way of fishing, the lifestyle of local *Zhoushan* people, as well as the role of *Zhoushan* in China. People in the fish market are not only selling dry, salted seafood but also artifacts made from marine organism shells and/or bones, the latter labeled "handcrafted" yet manufactured, to ensure they are competitive and able to continue the high fish market rent. These shop owners are different from other local market owners who pay rent annually rather than monthly. Although their rents are high, and the amount of income they get is strongly season based, securing a shop at the fish market as an owner remains difficult. I argue that the title of a *Zhoushan* fish market seafood shop owner also represents their privilege and their social class. That is why most still choose to renew their rent annually and develop new ways to make

money while not getting as much as other seafood shop owners outside the fish market during non-tourism seasons like the spring.

This same situation applies to many *Minsu* owners. They would rent a small apartment in the city center, like *Dinghai*, and turn their houses into *Minsu* for *Waidiren* tourists to rent. *Minsu* is extremely popular among the *Waidiren* tourists and these *Minsu* owners could earn up to 250,000 dollars² in one season. Similar to the fish market seafood shop owners they are also losing money daily during the *Xiuyuqi*. However, about two years ago these *Minsu* owners started to collaborate with fishing boat companies or fish boat owners, rent their smaller fishing boats, and take *Waidiren* guests to marine fish cultivation areas of *Zhoushan* fooling them into thinking they are fishing wild fish (which is forbidden during the *Xiuyuqi*). *Minsu* owners would charge hundreds of dollars for this activity which is still prevalent among wealthy *Waidiren* tourists. I encountered many of these tourists during my fieldwork with their designer bags and belts (the two most iconic objects to show wealth in China) standing alongside the road with their trophies in a bubble box next to their feet waiting for their drivers to pick them up. The *Minsu* owners as well as fish boat owners would never tell them the truth and these *Waidiren* tourists would go home happy thinking they had just broken the law with no consequence. Here I argue this type of activity is liken to the staged villages in Africa and staged China towns in the US as they have the same social values. I also argue that unlike the *Waidiren* in Chapter II, the *Waidiren* I talk about hold a different social class. Again, I argue that in *Zhoushan*, the name of *Waidiren* is heavily class distinctive. *Minsu* and shop owners will approach different *Waidiren* tourists (in a different class) differently. I also argue in chapter III that the increase of *Waidiren* in *Zhoushan* also shifts offspring of *Minsu* owners self-awareness of their own identity, like my

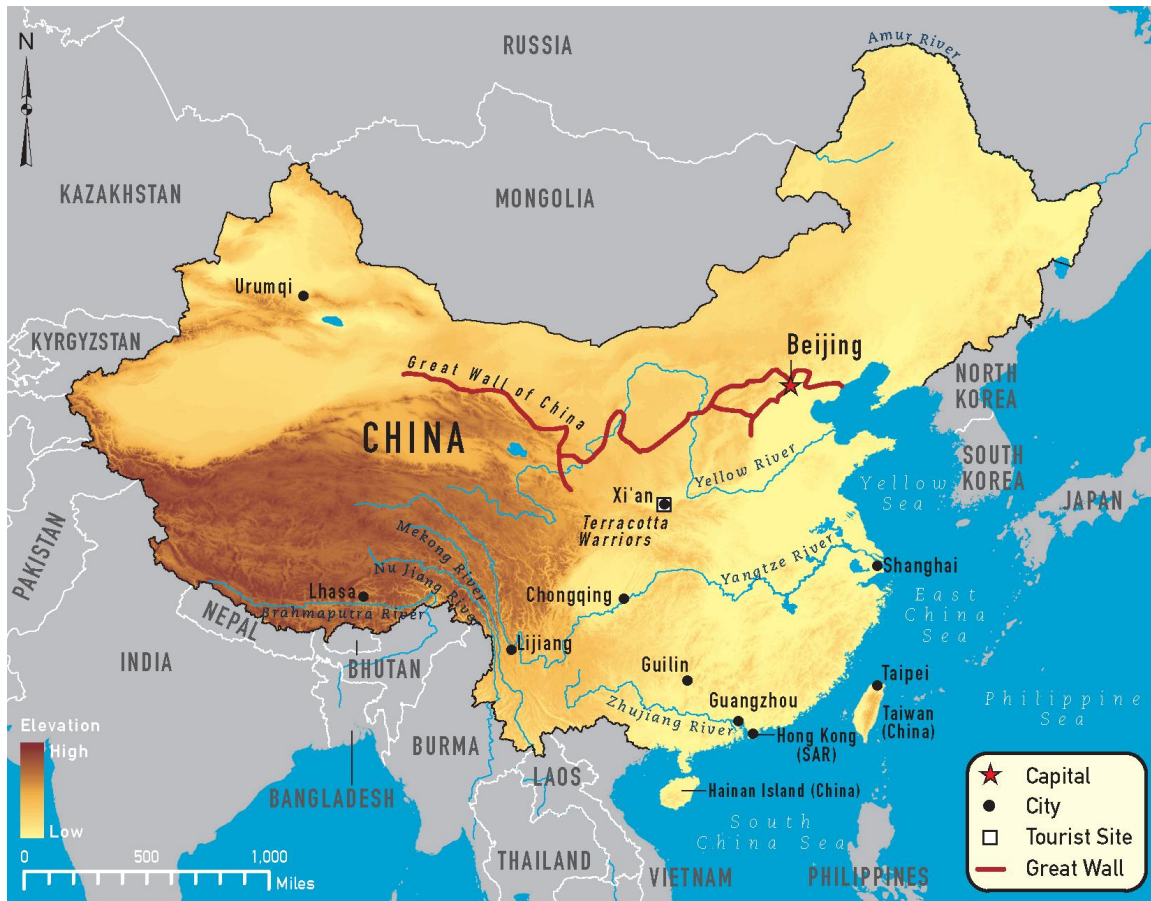
² This amount of money was converted from Chinese Yuan to American dollars as a clarification for the reader.

childhood friend Miss Shrimp. At the end of chapter III, as a conclusion, I tie social changes in *Zhoushan* that are influenced by *Waidiren* and show how these changes affect *Waidiren* as well.

I want to ask both the reader and myself to rethink the concept of tourism economy. Specifically, with the example of *Zhoushan*, is tourism economy worth the effort? I had this question in mind when I began my fieldwork and my opinion changed after both seasons of fieldwork was finished. I, as both the native and *Waidiren*, now have a different perspective when talking about *Zhoushan* and tourism economy.



Zhoushan is circled in red.



It is hard to find a map of China that indicates *Zhoushan*. However, it is below *Shanghai*, see previous picture for *Zhoushan* on this map.

Chapter I: State and the fish market

Introduction

Fisher workers at *Zhoushan* fish market³ did not fully obey the law of *Xiuyuqi*⁴, an environmental conservation law enacted in 1995, until the newly upgraded version was publicized in 2011. This new version added punishments for *Touyu*⁵ (fishing during *Xiuyuqi*) however fisher workers still ignored this new version. Aside from the fear of those punishments, there changes in the phenomena of *Touyu* suddenly changed in recent years. In my paper, I argue these changes are due to the fact that the State of *Zhoushan*⁶ shifted its way to govern after the year 2010 (after the publicizing of “*LvyouJingji*”⁷, tourist economy) and it’s change in the role of policing at the *Zhoushan* fish market. These changes and shifts in the state drew more awareness to the fisher workers and caused the termination of *Touyu* among them.

To support my argument, I intend to incorporate the following contexts: Mbembe's idea of the relationship between state and people's livelihood and its shift within a process, and,

³ Introduction of the *Zhoushan* fish market: 舟山渔场: 舟山渔场是中国最大的渔场，中国沿海 10 大渔场之一，是浙江省、江苏省、福建省和上海市 3 省 1 市渔民的传统作业区域。也是世界上少数几个最大的渔场之一。其位于舟山群岛东部，大致在北纬 28-31°，东经 125° 以西的范围，地近长江、钱塘江的出海口。冷暖咸淡不同的水系在此汇合，水质肥沃，饵料丰富，鱼群十分密集。以大黄鱼、小黄鱼、带鱼和墨鱼（乌贼）大家鱼为主要渔产。https://baike.baidu.com/item/舟山渔场#reference-[1]-966178-wrap

⁴ Introduction of the “*XIU YU QI*”: 休渔期: 我国自 1995 年开始，在东、黄渤海海域实行全面伏季休渔制度。东海海域通过几年的休渔有效地保护了以带鱼为主的主要海洋经济鱼类资源。根据农业部农的规定，从 1999 年开始，南海海域也开始实施伏季休渔制度。也就是说，到目前为止，我国在黄渤海、东海、南海海域都实行了全面的伏季休渔制度。https://baike.baidu.com/item/伏季休渔

⁵ 偷渔

⁶ 舟山: *Zhoushan* is a prefecture-level "city" in northeastern *Zhejiang* Province in eastern China. It consists of an archipelago of islands at the southern mouth of Hangzhou Bay, off *Ningbo*. The prefecture's city proper is *Dinghai* on *Zhoushan* Island, now administered as the prefecture's *Dinghai* District. During the 2010 census, *Zhoushan* Prefecture's population was 1,121,261, out of whom 842,989 lived in the urban districts of *Dinghai* and *Putuo*.

Traditionally *Zhoushan* had relied heavily on the primary industry, especially fishing, given *Zhoushan* the largest fishery in China.

The prefecture-level city of *Zhoushan* administers two districts and two counties. These are further divided into 45 township-level divisions, including 24 towns, 12 townships, and 9 subdistricts. In 2013, *Zhoushan* modified its administrative divisions to a total of 35 township-level divisions, including 17 towns, 5 townships, and 13 subdistricts.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan

⁷ 旅游经济

Althusser's idea of differences in RSA and ISA. I will also be using newspaper reports on *Xiuyuqi* and *Zhenxingjihua* (which I will explain later in this chapter) as one of the main references when describing the shift of *Xiuyuqi*. I will also be using James Scott's argument of the state legibility.

The ecological characteristics of the *Zhoushan* sea area.

Zhoushan sea area is located on the south edge of the eastern subtropical sea, which has been affected by the East Asian monsoon (*Zhoushan* bureau of statistics 2009). The vast rivers flowing into the sea carry an immense amount of sediment and nutrient salt, as well as many pollutants, to the waters of *Zhoushan* sea area. Due to this unique geography and numerous islands of *Zhoushan* sea area, the outer edge of the sea flow is significant as it is washed by the current and the seafloor in many sea areas is hard structured (*Zhoushan* bureau of statistics 2009).

State establishment vs. Feedbacks.

As seen from the ecological characteristics of *Zhoushan* sea area, the region contains a superior natural environment for fish. The distribution of the various economic feeding and breeding sites of the fishery resources, combined with the lateral direction and habitat for fish wintering, some pelagic fish migrate to the sea area. Because of this, the *Zhoushan* fishing resources are abundant. Higher yield and economic value of the larger species played important roles in the national marine fisheries species such as large yellow croaker, small yellow croaker, hairtail, Mann's no needle squid, Pomfret, grey butterfish, Chinese herring, eel, mackerel fish, fish, horse mackerel, mackerel, seabreams like shrimp and crab.

The fishery resources in *Zhoushan* fishing grounds has been producing areas of marine products in China for many years. The output of the fishing grounds of the continental shelf sea contributes between 10-20% of the total output of the country. (*Zhoushan* bureau of statistics 2009). With increased development of the country, its rise and fall have important effects on the national marine aquatic products market.

Therefore, *Zhoushan* fish market held a significant weight in modern fishing economy in China. However, in 1995, the State of China passed the law of *Xiuyuqi* under the international pressure of environmentalism during the 1990's⁸, especially the fish and game law⁹. The law of *Xiuyuqi* is a set of laws that prohibit the action of fishing, nationwide, during the *Sanfu jije*¹⁰. *Sanfu jije* is, according to the traditional Chinese lunar calendar, a period during the summer when marine organisms reproduce. The goal of *Xiuyuqi* was to prevent overfishing and be in accord with the international environmentalism standard¹¹. When *Xiuyuqi* was first established there was a huge disagreement of the law at the *Zhoushan* fish market. Traditionally, *Zhoushan* had relied heavily on the primary industry, especially fishing, given *Zhoushan* is the largest fishery in China. The establishment of this new law would cause hundreds of families to lose their main source of income during the summer.

⁸ According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, "China has been working with great determination in recent years to develop, implement, and enforce a solid environmental law framework. Chinese officials face critical challenges in effectively implementing the laws, clarifying the roles of their national and provincial governments, and strengthening the operation of their legal system."

EPA, China Environmental Law Initiative: https://www.epa.gov/ogc/china/initiative_home.htm

⁹ Fish and game laws "regulate the right to pursue and take or kill certain kinds of fish and wild animal (game). Such laws may restrict the days to harvest fish or game, the number of animals caught per person, the species harvested, or the weapons or fishing gear used. Such laws may seek to balance dueling needs for preservation and harvest and to manage both environment and populations of fish and game. Game laws can provide a legal structure to collect license fees and other money, which is used to fund conservation efforts as well as to obtain harvest information used in wildlife management practice."

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Environmental_law#Fish_and_game.

¹⁰ 三伏季节: *Dog Day*: 三伏是农历中夏季长达 30 天或 40 天的一个时段, 是初伏、中伏、末伏的统称。三伏开始日大约在公历的 7 月 10 至 20 日之间, 结束日大约在 8 月 8 至 18 日之间, 是北半球每年炎热天气中的一段。一年中初伏、末伏各 10 天, 中伏在不同的年份为 10 或 20 天。

http://www.bsm.org.cn/show_article.php?id=2176

¹¹ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Overfishing#Types>

The *Zhoushan* bureau of statistics publishes an annual statistical yearbook on *Zhoushan* fishery and, by the end of 2009, they were already warning, based on empirical data, about the risk of overfishing in four main focus areas:

a) The ecosystem of *Zhoushan* fishery has been severely degraded.

Because of various reasons, the ecosystem of *Zhoushan* sea area has been severely degraded. This degradation is in the form of water quality deterioration of coastal waters and the Yangtze River estuary as well as Hangzhou bay waters with near high levels of pollution. *Zhoushan* offshore fishing waters have the most degraded water quality. Harmful water quality of east China Sea in 2012 over the previous year increased by 6,700 km² in particular areas and even form without biota; in 2013 four types of water quality of east China area was slightly reduced. In 2008, Yangtze river estuary waters of phytoplankton, zooplankton and benthic animal diversity indices were on the decline, the biological species of the sea continued to decline, and now biological structures tend to be less complex. The marine habitat continues to deteriorate, as does marine life, and this loss is severe resulting with a massively reduced ecology. Due to the severe pollution of the waters of *Zhoushan* sea area, the high degree of enrichment has caused a frequent occurrence of red tides. (State oceanic administration 2011).

b) Coastal fishing has been reduced.

With the increase of fishing pressure and environmental changes in *Zhoushan* sea area, the fishery resources are in severe decline. Sharply reduced numbers of economic fish, in China, especially in *Zhoushan* fishing types of traditional "four main fishes", production accounted for 76.96% of total marine fishing in 1974 to 36.06% by 1984, only 1.13% by 2008, that is down to less than one percent. (Chen, Li, Hu 1997) In particular, CPUE (the amount of catches) of the

fishing efforts of major economic fish resource units has decreased year by year, from 3t/kW in the boom period to the current 0.5t/kW, reaching the lowest level in history (Chen, Li, Hu 1997).

In the traditional "four main fishes", the large yellow fish is a severe resource decline and has not been in the fishery for many years in *Zhoushan* sea area. Although the country has taken measures to protect the spawning grounds of the large yellow fish since 1981, the recovery of this resource is still unknown. As a result, the fishery resources of *Zhoushan* sea area are in serious decline, and the habitat of the sea is "deserted." The overall situation of fishery resources is still declining, the offshore resources are shrinking rapidly, and the central fishing area is moving towards the sea.

Although since 1995, *Xiuyuqi* is in full implementation and most fishery resources have recovered, but the commercial fishery resources have not been improved significantly. The exploitation of fishery resources in *Zhoushan* sea area has reached its limit.

c) The structure of fisheries has changed.

Fishing species in general gradually decreased, aged and miniaturized, and the average nutrition level of catch catches was on the decline. The changes of species are obvious. The overall nutrition level of the catch is continuously decreasing. The fishery resources are developing at a relatively low level within the food chain due to the shorter life cycle. At present, the production of invertebrates such as shrimp, shellfish, and crabs is close to 50%. Mussels, prawns, and crabs are now the new three dominant industries of *Zhoushan* sea area.

As offshore fishing has dried up, marine fishing has shifted to ocean-going fisheries, such as squid, tuna and autumn fish. Long distance ocean fishing now accounts for about 15% of *Zhoushan's* total output.

d) The sustainable development technology of *Zhoushan* fish market is insufficient.

In *Zhoushan* fishing ground waters the "desertification" trend is aggravating and the *Zhoushan* fishing resources recession is an indisputable fact despite the numerous reasons and various opinions, but the decline of fishery resources mechanisms us unclear. The development of *Zhoushan* fish market to the present situation of "no fish to catch" is critical to the scientific and technological support system of *Zhoushan* fishery.

The degradation of the ecological system, such as the deterioration of the water quality and habitat loss in *Zhoushan* sea area should be the essence of the decline of fishery resources in *Zhoushan* fishery. However, the effects of deteriorating water quality and habitat loss on marine life are not evident. The pressure of fishing in *Zhoushan* fish market is an objective fact, but the replenishment mechanism, regeneration capacity and maximum catch of the main economic and fishery biological groups are not very smart.

Due to insufficient scientific and technological support, weak capacity building and insufficient capital investment, the marine environment monitoring capability, forecasting ability and control ability of *Zhoushan* sea area are still very weak. Under the influence of the current system, there is a lack of research and management on the major marine environment between the coastal areas of *Zhoushan*, the coordinated management between departments, and the major marine environment ecosystem caused by a lack of support for science and technology. The resulting *Zhoushan* fishing ground and fishery resources change mechanism is unknown. Fishing is now in a non-virtuous circle state between power and fishery resources.

Although, according to the fisher workers¹², there was no any kind of overfishing signs before the establishment of *Xiuyuqi*. There was already a set of traditional rules for the fisher workers to prevent overfishing at *Zhoushan* fish market. However, the state of *Zhoushan* had no

¹² Interviews with fish boat owners during the summer.

right to overwrite the law of *Xiuyuqi* in *Zhoushan* since it was passed by the State of China. However, there was no actual punishment that came with the law of *Xiuyuqi* when it was first enacted in 1995 and adding additional police patrol for the monitoring of *Touyu* only created an “unnecessary” expense. Therefore, no one could actually be caught and brought to jail if they ever *Touyu* during the *Xiuyuqi*. In other words, until 2011, the fisher workers did not take this law of *Xiuyuqi* seriously; fisher workers still went fishing during the *Xiuyuqi*. To most it is not even a law¹³, but something like a set of stool readings that people usually forget right away after the reading.

On 8 July 2011, the Chinese government approved *Zhoushan* as *Zhoushan* Archipelago New Area, a state-level new area. This promotes the state of *Zhoushan* to manage its own economy and make changes within *Zhoushan* without having to get approval from the central Chinese government. With the highly promoted tourist economy policy by the state of *Zhoushan*, more tourists are coming to *Zhoushan* every year for the fresh seafood. This causes great pressure on the fishing industry: more tourists equal more inquiries for seafood. This is most apparent when the signs of overfishing became visible. The state of *Zhoushan* started to panic because fresh seafood was one of the main reasons why there are millions of tourists visiting *Zhoushan* every year, and they are the main source of the *Zhoushan* economy.

Even to the fisher workers: “we use to catch at least 2 tons¹⁴ of crabs every day, but in recent years, just as two years ago, sometimes we cannot even catch 2 kilograms¹⁵ of crabs a day.”¹⁶ They knew they would have nothing to fish for in the future if they did not comply with the environmental conservation law. Therefore, after *Zhoushan* became an Archipelago New Area,

¹³ “这算什么法律规定啊” Said by a fisher worker during interview.

¹⁴ 4000 pounds.

¹⁵ 4.40925 pounds.

¹⁶ My uncle told me this during our interview; he used to be a fishing boat owner until he sold his fishing boat two years ago.

they upgraded the terms of the *Xiuyuqi* that were passed by the state of China in 1995 as a part of the *Zhoushan* fish market *Zhenxing jihua*¹⁷. The state of *Zhoushan* has no right to overwrite any central policies before, but they have now.

What went wrong?

The action of *Touyu* shows the failure of the state of *Zhoushan* when it tried to force legibility on the local fisher workers and failed to see complex, valuable forms of local social order and knowledge after the law of *Xiuyuqi* was first established in 1995. According to James Scott, legibility is a state's attempt to make society legible, "to arrange the population in ways that simplified the classic state functions of taxation, conscription, and prevention of rebellion" (Scott 1998: 2). Hence, the state tries to simplify its society for easier, controllable results. Having a society that is not legible would cause rebellion of the people and cause the state to go bankrupt. For example, during the Greek Crisis on May 2010, there were rebellions in forms of violence (Dimitris 2011). In order to form a legible society, the state has to make some concessions or be firm on some laws like the *Xiuyuqi*. The state of *Zhoushan* and China had

¹⁷ *Zhenxing jihua* of the *Zhoushan* fish market from *Zhoushan* web newspaper: 振兴计划: 由于长期来的滥渔酷捕和海洋污染, 渔业资源遭受了严重的破坏。当地政府为此宣布实施舟山渔场振兴计划。今年 5 月底, 我省正式宣布浙江渔场修复振兴计划开始实施后, 我市随即跟上, 于日前召开了舟山渔场修复振兴暨“一打三整治”工作部署会议, 且明确了“一打三整治”专项执法行动、减船转产专项行动、生态修复增殖放流行动三大工作重点。

“一打三整治”专项执法行动是当前的工作重点。“一打”即打击包括无船名号、无船籍港、无船舶证书在内的涉渔“三无”船舶; “三整治”则是指开展渔船“船证不符”、禁用渔具和海洋环境污染等三项整治。目前, 相关工作布置与行动已陆续在我市各县(区)开展。

此外, 舟山渔场修复振兴行动目标任务完成情况, 不仅列入“平安舟山”和各级政府、各级部门年度目标责任制考核, 还将与领导干部考核奖惩相挂钩。并要求各地在“一打三整治”的相关工作中, 要提前谋划, 提早行动, 打好工作“主动仗”。

省委副书记王辉忠在我市调研浙江渔场修复振兴计划和海洋伏季休渔管理工作时强调, 要以铁的手腕扎实开展“一打三整治”专项执法行动, 发现一起查处一起, 要织起一张政府主导、社会支持、渔民群众共同参与的“监管网”。

http://www.ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan.cn/NewsCenter/zsxw/201406/t20140622_650600.htm.

assumed the fishing industry in *Zhoushan* to be uncultured and needed help even when no help was required.

However, the State of *Zhoushan* only copied the official documents (on *Xiuyuqi*) from the central government of China without actually educating the fisher workers at the fish market about the reasons behind the law of *Xiuyuqi*. This was a way to force legibility at the fish market because the state assumed fisher workers to be uneducated and would not understand environmental conservation in the first place. Forcing *Xiuyuqi* at the *Zhoushan* fish market is a way for the state to make things “simplified” (Scott 1998: 2). The State of *Zhoushan*, by law, told the fisher workers to stop fishing for the summer in 1995, yet, the state of *Zhoushan* did not tell the fisher workers the consequences of overfishing, or even teach them about overfishing, as this is a newly circulated word to the fisher workers due to globalization of the environmental law. The state of *Zhoushan* could easily have foreseen fisher workers’ confusion and possible dislike of the law of *Xiuyuqi* when it was first established since the state of *Zhoushan* should have known better in terms of fishing and the fisher workers as it has been the traditional economic income for generations. According to Scott, “an illegible society then, is a hindrance to any effective intervention by the state, whether the purpose of that intervention is plunder or public welfare,” (Scott 1998: 260). The state of *Zhoushan* had made the fish market an illegible society.

However, instead of actually fixing the dislike of fisher workers who rebelled against the law of *Xiuyuqi*, the state of *Zhoushan* did not do much about it when the fisher workers started to *Touyu* (secretly fishing). It is an everyday practice during the *Xiuyuqi* to any fisher workers in China (after 1995), and the action of *Touyu* is purely fishing illegally. However, to the fisher workers at *Zhoushan* fish market, the action of *Touyu* is also a sign of rebellion, their action of

exposing the illegibility of the fish market alludes state illegibility. The state of *Zhoushan* did not supply extra police patrols at the fish market since it is an “unnecessary” expense for the government of *Zhoushan*, and the state of *Zhoushan* are still charging the income tax for the fisher workers during the *Xiuyuqi* as one of the main income tax sources of the government. According to James Scott, “The shorthand formulas through which tax officials must apprehend reality are not mere tools of observation. By a kind of fiscal Heisenberg principle, they frequently have the power to transform the facts they take note of” (Scott 1998, 47). This action of taxing the income from fisher workers during the *Xiuyuqi* when they are not supposed to be working is breaking the commandment of the law of *Xiuyuqi*. It is akin to asking a thief to give tax of what he/she had stolen yet not trying to stop them from stealing first.

Mbembe believes that a commandment is a form of authority that is only valuable and feasible when it is realized and agreed by both sides. (Mbembe 1992, 396) In the situation of the fish market, both sides, the fisher workers and the state of *Zhoushan*, had not fully proceeded with the law of *Xiuyuqi*. The fisher workers needed to fish in order to feed their families and there are no actual RSA to stop them from the action of *Touyu*. The government of *Zhoushan* needed the income tax from the fisher workers and having to pass on RSA for the action of *Touyu* requires more money and could result in a rebellion that ends in violence. Both sides, the fisher workers and the government, did not fully realize and agree on the commandment of the law of *Xiuyuqi* until 2011.

The state of *Zhoushan* had realized that the action of *Touyu* was a failure on their part when they tried to force environmental conservation on the local fisher workers in such a rapid manner. They failed to see complex, valuable forms of local social order and knowledge in connection with when the signs of overfishing became visible each day but are now acting to overturn their

failure. Moreover, as fresh seafood is the main source of income from the tourists, the state of *Zhoushan* could not risk overfishing, as this would make the state of *Zhoushan* illegible. In addition, the state of *Zhoushan* now has the right and ability to manage its own economy and make changes within *Zhoushan*, without having to get approval from the central Chinese government. The state of *Zhoushan* started to use both RSA and ISA on terminating the action of *Touyu* and overturning the phenomena of overfishing at the *Zhoushan* fish market.

ISA is "ideological state apparatus", a term used by Althusser to describe the dominant ruling by ideology, it functions as hegemony and turns ideology into hegemony, that people became used to this without their own knowledge. (Althusser 1970, 92) RSA is "repressive state apparatus", a term used by Althusser to describe the dominant ruling by repressing the subordinate social classes as required, either by violent or non-violent coercive means, which is opposite to the ideological state apparatus. (Althusser 1970, 93) According to Althusser, the "Law belongs both to the (repressive) state apparatus and to the system of the ISAs." (Althusser 1970, 110) Ideally, ISA and RSA should work hand in hand in order to fulfill dominant ruling between classes. During the "*Zhenxing jihua*", the state of *Zhoushan* used ISA on educating not only the fisher workers at the fish market but also their school children and families of *Zhoushan*. There are full pages of advertisement on environmental laws at the local newspapers and on buses to prevent overfishing. This action uses ISA and ensured public awareness of overfishing in the city of *Zhoushan*, but not only at the fish market, this makes both self-surveillance and public-surveillance possible for the fisher workers and turned the fish market into a Panopticon of environmental laws¹⁸. The State of *Zhoushan* uses RSA on *Zhenxing jihua* as they place surveillance cameras along the shore, add police patrols to monitor and reduce the action of

¹⁸ Foucault, Michel. "Complete and Austere Institutions" (pp.231-256), *Discipline and Punish*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

Touyu, and imposing fines worth a new fishing boat. The action of *Touyu* is now no longer visible at the *Zhoushan* fish market due to the *Zhenxing jihua*.

However, the state of *Zhoushan* should spend time and energy on educating fisher workers on the consequences of overfishing instead of copying the official documents (on *Xiuyuqi*) from the central government of China. The state of China passed the law of *Xiuyuqi* due to international pressures, however, the state of *Zhoushan* should know better in terms of fishing and the fisher workers since it has been the traditional economic income for generations. According to Scoot, by only copying the official documents (on *Xiuyuqi*), the state of *Zhoushan* shows the failure of the state of *Zhoushan* when it tried to force ideology on the local fisher workers, and failed to see complex, valuable forms of local social order and knowledge after the law of *Xiuyuqi* was first established in 1995. Taxing the income from fisher workers during the *Xiuyuqi* when they are not supposed to be working is breaking the commandment of the law of *Xiuyuqi*. The state of *Zhoushan* had failed to enforce the law of *Xiuyuqi* fully because they did not use either ISA nor RSA. However, they began using it after 2011 - after they had realized their illegibility.

Moreover, the international pressure the United Nations imposed on China is a product of blind globalization, like the “poverty” in Africa. It is making hegemony legalized. It is essentialism. It is a set of laws without fully considering the livelihood of the people. Countries like America kept pushing global environmental conservation around the beginning of the 21st century. When talking about fishing, the first thing they see is the seafood as a product of fishing. They do not see the hard-working fisher workers who labored for the product. Marx introduces the idea of commodity fetishism when he critiqued capitalism. He argued that commodities, instead of human labor, became the emphasis of a capitalist society with people’s obsessions

over them when commodities are only things that people deem to have value. (Marx 1887) Since the seafood and the money is what the state of Uncle Sam blindly sees as an outcome of fishing, it is no doubt that when talking about environmental conservation, they would think about simply cutting the sources of fishing. They are trying to make the state of China push legibility on *Zhoushan* fish market; they are trying to make things easier and simplified. However, they do not see the entire culture of fishing behind simple products of seafood and money. Marx stresses this idea that a commodity is always first a product of the worker in order to show that the fetishism of commodities is a mistake because commodities obscures labor even though labor is embedded in all commodities and it is human labor that gives the product its value and “direct social functions” (Marx 1887, 325). Hence, in the capitalist world, social relations would only exist between commodities/things instead of between people (producers of the commodities). For example, before the pushing of generalized globalization, human interaction is essential for selling fish, but after that, when you buy a fish at the fish market, you will not think about the fisher worker who caught and packed that fish.

It is not fair to require environmental laws to a truly developing country (China during the beginning of the 21st century, right after the war) from a council with mainly developed countries. These developed countries had already taken what could be used of their land and then wanted to preserve that very land. They were using their power to enforce hegemony.

Hegemony is an act of rule or domination between different social classes and it is a daily practice. Most people live and follow hegemony without awareness. For example, when they enforce the idea of environmental conservation, they would not think of it as an essentialism idea and that they are enforcing an ideology, but think they are simply protecting the earth. According to Comaroffs, the colonizer uses the act of hegemony on religion, to make the culture change in

South Africa. “It follows, then, that the study of Christianity in Africa is more than just an exercise in the analysis of religious change. It is part and parcel of the historical anthropology of colonialism and consciousness, culture and power; of and anthropology concerned at once with the colonizer and the colonized, with structure and agency.” (Comaroff 1991, 11). It is then the culture in South Africa that slowly changes from an ideology forced upon them to an act of hegemony for the benefits of the colonizer.

Moreover, “hegemony, exists in reciprocal interdependence with ideology: it is that part of a dominant worldview which has been naturalized and, having hidden in orthodoxy, no more appears as an ideology at all.” (Comaroff 1991, 25). An ideology becomes hegemony without the knowledge of those people who participate. They value their action of environmental conservation as something that is educated and civilized, and to the other people that do not follow this conservation as uneducated and uncivilized. However, they are truly the ones who are being ignorant. Globalization makes things like the environmental conservation law a matter of course to everyone, when it is not.

Chapter II: Labor at The fish market

Introduction

I found that the amount of labor at the *Zhoushan* fish market and the income in *Zhoushan* fish market, unlike in other places around China, is not directly proportional: workers' incomes not only depend on their occupation, but also their birthplace. Workers from *Zhoushan* receive a higher wage than workers from other places. A worker simply cannot gain more income by doing more labor¹⁹. There are many reasons for this. First, the labor in *Zhoushan* fish market is heavily class distinctive. “*Waidiren*”²⁰ or “*ā dī nīng*” in *Zhoushan* dialect (a local language that is very different from the official Chinese language, Mandarin), stands for people from outside of *Zhoushan*. In *Zhoushan*, especially at the fish market, calling someone a *Waidiren* has different connotations. A wealthy tourist from other cities is a *Waidiren*, a poor boat worker from small town in other places is also a *Waidiren*. At the fish market, the idea of *Waidiren* is no longer only regionally based but also now class-based. One can see a clear social hierarchy within the labeling of *Waidiren*.

The second reason is that the type of labor itself is different. This was discovered during interviews with the *Waidiren* fisher workers and further supports my argument noted above. Before the 21st century, all labor in *Zhoushan* fish market was conducted by *Zhoushan* people, such as my uncle and Mr. Fish. They were proud of their labor at the fish market and they gained an equal amount of income as a result of their labor. However, after the 21st century, with the rapid development of China, the changes in environmental conditions due to global warming, and China's one-child policy, the amount of *Zhoushan* workers at the fish market dramatically reduced. As noted during my first season of fieldwork most fisher workers consist of minimum

¹⁹ Not like the “American dream” where a person can live a better life by working hard. Although it is not true since there is no “equal pay” in America either.

²⁰ 外地人

wage *Waidiren* from outside of *Zhoushan*, mostly from *Anhui*, an impoverished area in China. Old local fisher workers have now become fish boat owners or work other jobs such as an accountant or security guard both of which are still only open to *Zhoushan* natives. This is an ongoing process even though *Waidiren* do more physical labor yet remain at the minimum wage, especially after the changes in *Xiuyuqi*.

Exchange of social identity at the fish market

My uncle accompanied me on the morning of my first day of fieldwork. He brought me to the front of a huge fishing boat and asked me to wait for the owner, Mr. Fish. He then yelled Mr. Fish's name aloud in *Zhoushan* dialect and pushed me a little forward telling me not to be shy. Mr. Fish's boat is huge. So huge I had to use the "pano" function on my phone to take a photo of his boat. Because it was during the *Xiuyuqi*, his boat was under repair and maintenance. Instead of being on the water, his boat was on land, elevated with bricks and metal supports.



Mr. Fish's boat under repair and maintenance.

Mr. Fish slowly stepped off his boat and patted my uncle on the back. I knew immediately they were old friends, since, in a place like China, anything beyond a handshake requires more familiarity between two people. My uncle then gave Mr. Fish an entire pack of cigarettes, a common courtesy before asking for a favor around the fish market. And yes, there is a trick in the giving of the cigarettes. *ZhongHua* are the most expensive brand and usually pass between fish boat owners and officers who patrol the shore. After *ZhongHua*, the most common brands are *555*, *DaChongJiu*, *LiQun* and *NanJing*. Fishing boat workers who are from outside of *Zhoushan* most likely have brands like *QinHuangDao*, which only cost a few cents for boat owners - if they are having a very good harvest day. The number of cigarettes people are passing around is also carefully planned, especially if you are one of the boat workers from a poor area as you do not want to exceed what should be given.

My uncle gave an entire pack of cigarettes to Mr. Fish for three main reasons. First, my father bought the pack of *ZhongHua* and told my uncle to give it to Mr. Fish. Second, my uncle is retired and if he only gave one cigarette instead of the pack, Mr. Fish would think he is not doing well after retirement and would look down on my uncle. The same logic applies to giving out a brand other than *ZhongHua*. Third, and most important, my father and uncle think the information and tour I would receive would require a pack of cigarettes.

Moreover, different people carry different brands of cigarettes. Take my father for example: he carries at least three different brands when he is with me at the fish market, even though he does not smoke. He gives the boat owners *ZhongHua*, the security and drivers, who are usually from *Zhoushan*, *LiQun*, and the boat workers, who are from other cities, *QinHuangDao*. My father's action of giving these cigarettes means that he knows the state of the fish market very well. Recognizing people's class in the fish market by the brand of cigarette they smoke never

goes wrong, a boat worker's wage would not allow him to smoke *ZhongHua* at the fish market, sadly, and he would never receive a *ZhongHua* cigarette from others. On the occasion that a boat worker gets a cigarette other than *QinHuangDao*, they would most likely not smoke it, but save it and give it to someone who is one level higher than his social class. After all, it is very rare to see someone smoking a brand of cigarette that does not apply accordingly with his or her social class at the fish market.



ZhongHua cigarette on the left, *Liqun* cigarette in the middle and a cheap brand cigarette called “*Yuxi*” on the right. One can see clear differences in their packaging, “*Yuxi*”’s packaging is very soft and easy to tear apart whereas “*ZhongHua*”’s packaging has a firm texture. I cannot find a picture of “*QinHuangDao*” online, “*Yuxi*” costs a few more cents than “*QinHuangDao*”. I do not smoke so I cannot comment on the actual taste difference between the two, but, according to my uncle, “*Yuxi*” taste like “trash”.

At the fish market, the cigarette defines the social class of a person; it also is a stepping-stone to success and/or higher ranking jobs. One of my informants told me that he once got a whole pack of 555 cigarettes from a tourist who was from the same part of China as he, and he saved it, giving it to the accountant when the accountant was having lunch. He and the accountant are now lunch buddies, which is surprising since people usually sit during lunch with individuals from the same city or region from which they came, and the accountant is from *Zhoushan*! My informant now has the privilege to sit with all local workers during lunch, and learn what he cannot learn from his old “lunch table”. He now knows a few lines of *Zhoushan*

dialect. This action of “exchanging” reminds me of Marcel Mauss’s social theories of reciprocity and gift exchange in his book *The Gift*. Mauss’s theory of reciprocity describes a non-market exchange of goods or labor, ranging from direct “barter” (immediate exchange) to forms of gift exchange where a return is eventually expected (delayed exchange). (Mauss 1966) My informants’ action of “gifting” his expensive cigarette to the accountant allowed him to participate in this circle of exchanges among natives at the fish market. Hence, what my informant could get from the accountant (in return) is no longer important. He could have smoked the pack himself or given it to his friends (other *Waidiren* workers), but he chose to use them to make headway into the local social group.

Moreover, E. Franklin Frazier claims in his article *A Comparison of Negro-White Relations in Brazil and the United States* that many people in Brazil (mostly northerners) tend to agree with the marriage across different skin colors (appearances) for many reasons. The common reason being that this form of marriage could help the process of “whitening” Brazil. On the other hand, there is also a mutual benefit: black men tend to treat their white wife better because he sees the preciousness of having a white wife. Similarly, white men would also appreciate their black wife because he can have absolute control over her.

Yet, the cross color marriage can also be a way for black people (or their children) to be “eligible for membership” in some “upper economic class” social activity such as “clubs and hotels” (Frazier 132). The informant that gives his 555 branded cigarette to the accountant is an analogy to this cross color marriage in Brazil. Nevertheless, Frazier points out that even in Bahia (which is located in northern Brazil) where people have more positive attitudes towards blacks, whites tend to “dissociate themselves as much as possible from those of dark or black complexion” (Frazier 132). This seems to be a product of different social classes between blacks

and whites—whites tend to acquire a higher social character than blacks—where blacks suffer from the economic domination from the whites' group. This is a reflection of James H. Sweet's point in his article of *The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought* that "racial stratification was a product of economic conditions" (Sweet 143). People with better economic conditions (in this case it is the whites) tend to have more power over those who perform poorly; this could eventually lead to racial problems and conflicts.

Even though the racial problem does not apply to the fish market, the same social class divisions also cause people to sit at different tables during lunch. Different table seating is generally divided between local people's tables and *Waidiren*'s tables. First, fishing boat owners and tourists never eat in the dining room; it is impossible to see them in the dining room. People always sit according to their native region, which, in a way, also portrays their job rankings at the fish market. *Waidiren* are mostly boat workers. Jobs like accountant or security are never being handed to *Waidiren* because they are not from the local areas, and if something goes wrong, it is hard to track them down. My father never hired any *Waidiren* for his office jobs, neither did Mr. Fish. This is why it is so unusual to see my informant dining with the accountant, which is also why he would want to get in good relationships with a local person and would want to save a 555 branded cigarette for a local person as a way of bridging class divides. Giving out the incorrectly branded cigarette or smoking the incorrectly branded cigarette at the fish market is career suicide. However, workers like my informant, are still trying to join the local social group everyday.

The voice at the fish market

Before I started my fieldwork, my father kept reminding me that I do not need to be afraid of speaking with Mr. Fish (who looks scary in a way because of his incredibly tanned skin and scarred arms). My father told me he had “everything under control.” He was going to buy Mr. Fish an expensive dinner after my fieldwork just so Mr. Fish would be nice to me and make less inappropriate jokes when I was around. I did not understand what my father meant by “inappropriate jokes” until I was at the fish market cafeteria one day for lunch and overheard some of these jokes. A bunch of boat workers usually gather around, smoking and laughing about a joke that Mr. Fish made earlier that day, a very sexual, offensive joke about a reporter who came by for a visit wearing high heels. Mr. Fish values my father’s gifts as I have heard less of his jokes as my fieldwork progressed. However, as I became more familiar to this masculine working environment, I became more tolerant to the jokes, although as a female, I feel significant discomfort when I hear those jokes. I quickly see a correlation between how they choose their words and how they deliver it with their voices.

Focusing on voice is in fact, weirdly uncomfortable since it is an aspect of our social interactions that we take for granted. When I asked Mr. Fish why he chose to speak *Zhoushan* dialect to his workers and tourists on the boat (when they could barely understand what he was saying) he simply said he was used to speaking it rather than Mandarin. However, when he first met me through the connection of my uncle, after he knew I was studying in the United States and had not been living in *Zhoushan* for years, he said “fancy” in Mandarin. At that moment, I did not know if he was saying it so I could understand (he probably thought that I did not know or forgot how to speak *Zhoushan* dialect) his comment on my lifestyle or whether it was because

he thought saying “fancy” in *Zhoushan* dialect to me at that moment would make my uncle and me laugh as an example of inappropriate jokes my father warned me about.

However, while I stand on his boat, listening to him yell at his workers in *Zhoushan* dialect, I realized, as the season gets busier, it is harder to distinguish his intention of speaking it. He stood on the top of the deck, waving his hands high up to the sky while yelling. Although it is busy on the boat, Mr. Fish was doing nothing physically but yelling. He could be speaking *Zhoushan* dialect because he wants to remind all his workers that he is the only person who knows how to yell in *Zhoushan* dialect. Also, speaking in this dialect on his boat shows them who their boss is and whenever they hear the language, they should feel it like a shot of adrenaline right through their bodies to demand they work harder and faster. Furthermore, speaking *Zhoushan* dialect should become the language of power at the fish market. Moreover, with Mr. Fish’s absence of physical action, his role as a native boss and having this privilege of not having to work on a warm day highlights his power. On the other hand, he could be just yelling *Zhoushan* dialect on his boat because he is under a lot of pressure and is filled with anxiety and anger; although, again, he is still only yelling rather than helping his workers. It is simple just to believe that he is indeed yelling in *Zhoushan* dialect because he is “used to speaking it” and he felt more comfortable doing so when he could barely control his temper.



Workers working hard on the boat, transferring fish from the net to the ice cubes.

First guess, however, he could be yelling in *Zhoushan* dialect to consolidate and magnify his identity as both a boss and a local *Zhoushan* person. According to Amanda Weidman, the voice is differentiated into two categories. She argues that voice is defined sonically and materially. Her definition of the voice is, “the sound produced by the vocal organs of humans or animals, considered as a general fact/phenomenon” (Weidman 2015, 232). In other words, voice cannot lie. In response to her inclusion of the Western idea of “voice as a guarantor of truth and self-presence” (Weidman 2015, 233), she asserts that the materiality of voice relates primarily to the bodily process of creating sound. Voices are “material”, she writes, “in the sense that they are produced through bodily actions.” While Mr. Fish is yelling in *Zhoushan* dialect, he is not doing anything himself, even though workers are fairly busy on the boat, his arms are crossed in front of his chest. It is very hard to watch since he is literally saying his workers and the tourists are

driving him crazy, yet he is not leaving nor helping to make the chaos on the boat any less acceptable. Although he yells from the top of his voice, his arms are not moving.

According to Weidman, certain voices have been shown to produce different impressions on people. For example, people with higher, more effeminate voices are regarded as less commanding and may, therefore, be treated with less respect in a workplace. On the other hand, perhaps assumptions about certain accents or vernaculars as they are racialized would then subconsciously affect the listener's reception of whatever was being said by the speaker. Mr. Fish looked very silly with his voice. His yelling from the top of his voice sounds more desperate than powerful. Dolar highlights the importance of voice as a mediator of life, particularly social life, (Dolar 2012) which resonates with Weidman's underlying of voice's ability to express identity. Mr. Fish's voice did highlight and affirm his identity of someone that is in charge of the boat. However, it did not show a very nice image of him, even without him doing anything bad or wrong.

The voices I experienced at the fish market are hard to transfer into words. They are a part of the culture of the fish market. *Zhoushan* fish market at that moment is a space outside of ordinary. One cannot fully dive into it if they are not used to this loud, almost chaos-liked environment. Throughout Dolar's essay, he asserts that sound and speech are more meaningful to written language—"words fail us when we are faced with the infinite shades of the voice" he writes. (Dolar 2012) I could only deliver what I heard and what I see, but it is hard to convey all of these into the identity of whoever is yelling unless you are there. You hear different tones and you see different movements according to those voices. Moreover, you will have to accept that these loud "noises" are a part of the culture of the fish market.

Voice could be different from each person, it shows a sense of belonging. However, there is a logic in these “noise”-liked voices. On Dolar’s writing on the linguistics of voice, he states, “All our social life is mediated by the voice” (Dolar 2012) because it speaks to Dolar’s belief in the importance of communication. The action of me yelling “excuse me” in order to get around at the fish market, emerges not only because I have to; it is also because my action of yelling allows me to fit into the environment, the culture I am enrolled. If I do not yell in *Zhoushan* dialect no one on that boat would take my existence into an account and I will be just another “tourist” to them, even though I am not.

In other words, interestingly, my logic of yelling in *Zhoushan* dialect is to highlight my identity as a *Zhoushan* person in order to assert my place in the market. This relates back to the lunch tables, people sitting in different tables speaking their native dialect is also a way of belonging at the fish market. While people like a local reporter, tour guide or even myself could yell in *Zhoushan* dialect, these *Waidiren* cannot. Sitting with their town mates and speaking their native dialect allows them to be a part of the culture of voicing at the fish market.

Conclusion

There is a clear class division at the fish market. However, this division hides behind a visible national division. One can walk into the fish market, point to the labeling of *Waidiren*, and call it discrimination according to regional differences. However, one should understand that there is a long history as to why things are what they are today. The State of China established beneficial policies to encourage *Zhoushan* residents to become fishermen as early as the *Qianlong* period (1711-1799, *Qing* Dynasty). Even after the *Xiuyuqi* was first established in 1995, the beneficial policies on oil allowance can still “get the boat owners going.” However,

rumor has it that by 2019, all beneficial policies will be canceled. Besides, with the family planning policy²¹, “kids are more precious than ever, no family would want to risk their kids’ safety on the ocean,” not like when my uncle was young, if he died, my grandparents “would still have my father.” It became hard to recruit local fisher workers. Before the one-child policy and the expansion of office jobs, people in *Zhoushan* did not need as many *Waidiren* workers as today. Before the state of China orders *Zhoushan* to be the tourism city, there are not a lot of *Waidiren* tourists in *Zhoushan*. Although there is a clear division at the fish market, it is never only about the regional differences.

I have heard local people saying they want no more *Waidiren* in *Zhoushan*. However, on the other hand, after my fieldwork at the fish market, I started to wonder if their wishes were rational. If you look back to the last century, when most of the workers at the fish market were local people, like my uncle, there is still a clear division in class (income, occupation etc.). *Zhoushan* workers at the fish market now just forgot about the old days, or they never experienced it. They romanticize the picture of not having *Waidiren* workers at the fish market. However, nothing has changed that much whether it is a *Waidiren* or *Zhoushan* worker. The true reason for all the division inside the fish market is due to class differences, never only regional differences. In other words, without *Waidiren* workers at the fish market, can fish markets still function? Who are going to work the minimum wage jobs?

²¹ The family planning policy (or one-child policy), which is based on the two-child policy and the one-child policy, is a population planning policy of China. It was introduced from the 1950s "recommendation", and evolved to the one-child policy introduced between 1978 and 1980 and began to be formally phased out in 2015. The policy allowed many exceptions and ethnic minorities were exempt. In 2007, 36% of China's population was subject to a strict one-child restriction, with an additional 53% being allowed to have a second child if the first child was a girl. Provincial governments imposed fines for violations, and the local and national governments created commissions to raise awareness and carry out registration and inspection work.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Family_planning_policy#cite_note-1



Waidiren workers at the social security office in *Zhoushan* trying to sign up for their state sponsored job protection plan. This picture is from a *Zhoushan* blog post that teaches *Waidiren* how to sign up for the job protection plan. <https://www.shebaonline.com/shebaobanli/1990576/> Some people shared this post to their social media and complained about their plans being “stolen” by *Waidiren* workers. Much like Trump supporters accusing international students stealing their jobs.

Chapter III: Tourism and economy

Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce many new concepts such as tourism economy, *Minsu*, etc. before the *Xiuyuqi* ended around August 2017. I argue that the high demands of seafood by *Waidiren* tourists has been slowly changing not only the economy of *Zhoushan*, but also the way of fishing, the lifestyle of local *Zhoushan* people, as well as the role of *Zhoushan* in China. People in the fish market are not only selling dry, salted seafood but also artifacts made from marine organism shells and/or bones, the latter labeled “handcrafted” yet manufactured, to ensure they are competitive and able to continue the high fish market rent. These shop owners are different from other local market owners who pay rent annually rather than monthly. Although their rents are high, and the amount of income they get is strongly season based, securing a shop at the fish market as an owner remains difficult. I argue that the title of a *Zhoushan* fish market seafood shop owner also represents their privilege and their social class. That is why most still choose to renew their rent annually and develop new ways to make money while not getting as much as other seafood shop owners outside the fish market during non-tourism seasons like the spring.

This same situation applies to many *Minsu* owners. They would rent a small apartment in the city center, like *Dinghai*, and turn their houses into *Minsu* for *Waidiren* tourists to rent. *Minsu* is extremely popular among the *Waidiren* tourists. I argue that unlike the *Waidiren* in Chapter II, the *Waidiren* I talk about hold a different social class. Again, I argue that in *Zhoushan*, the name of *Waidiren* is heavily class distinctive. *Minsu* and shop owners will approach different *Waidiren* tourists (in a different class) differently. The increase of *Waidiren* in *Zhoushan* also shifts offspring of *Minsu* owners self-awareness of their own identity, like my childhood friend Miss Shrimp.

June: Beginning of the summer tourist rush

It is the “hottest summer” ever; the midday sun burns above the fish market making everything appear brighter. Three double-decker buses park outside with tourists stepping outside looking tired, yet excited. “Heard the seafood here is cheap,” one of the elderly women cannot help but yell loudly to the other lady next to her, “we should bring some back home too.” I was surprised how their faces did not show wrinkles from trying to hold their breath because drying fish were just lying beside their buses along the walkway. Maybe they are too excited or the smell is pleasant. With the midday sun burning, the salty and fishy smell rushes into your nose and moves right up to your brain to “hit” your neurons like an electronic shock: it just smells bad.

I remember the first time I smelled a dry fish when I was a child and I swore to never eat them because they smelled like a dead, burned cat in the dumpster. However, it is the most traditional way to preserve fish in *Zhoushan* and it is still during the *Xiuyuqi*²². Market owners have nothing to do but prepare these dry fishes every day in order to make some online sales, or like today, to the tourist groups.

The minute their feet touch the ground, the tourists rush into the fish market like soldiers charging an enemy position. You can almost see their thirst popping out of their eyes. I look at them and quickly remember all the guests that came to *Zhoushan* with my father’s invitation, and how their eyes were full of the same excitement just as these *Waidiren* tourists that are now rushing into the fish market. I remember how my mother used to teach me how to eat quickly so that when I am having dinner with my father’s guests so I will not have to come home with an empty stomach. “Those *Waidiren* eats seafood so quickly that sometimes just make you feel like

²² 休渔期

you are watching a tiger being set loose at a farm,” my mom once told me with a look that showed great concern.

On the other hand, I found these tourists comforting because besides them, there were literally no signs of life at the fish market. Along the white stone shore, there lay a few fishing boats covered with dirt and rust. My uncle told me that during this year’s *Xiuyuqi* most fishing boat owners would rather pay for those expensive air-conditioned storage units to store their fishing boat than leave them along the shore, because, according to my uncle and his friends, this year’s *Xiuyuqi* is just too “damn” long and hot. They were prepared long before June. I remember how the fish markets were always a great place to play roller skates since there is a huge outdoor square on the second floor with nice gardening, but now it is packed with three double-decker buses and the plants are dry and yellow. From the appearance of the plants, it seems like no one wants to take care of them because the workers know that stepping outside would expose them to the burning sun.

Local people like my sister and I would think there will not be many tourists out here since it is too hot and there is no fresh seafood during this time of the year. However, we were clearly wrong. We used to come here to roller skate together but now discovered that the space was no longer available to us. I decided not to ask my sister where to go next since her face was filled with anger but I cannot stop thinking about how much we wanted this square back for our use, like how it had been the previous five years.

Inside the *Zhoushan* fish market

The fish market has two main departments located on different sides of the fish market. The first is the fishing department where tourists or even local visitors are prohibited from entering. The fishing department has its own cafeteria and parking lot. It is quiet during this time of year because of the *Xiuyuqi*. I remember when I was little, my father took me there once to get some fresh seafood from my uncle, who at that time, was a fish boat owner. There were fewer fishing boats. My uncle had at least eight boat workers on his boat and they were transferring fresh caught seafood into individual bubble boxes at the shore. The second department is the sales department. It has some small seafood restaurants, a few public bathrooms, bus stops and is packed with different fish market shops numbered by the management office located in the fishing department. The sales department is much smaller than the fishing department; it is a two storey building located near the entrance of the fish market. These seafood restaurants are for tourists who visit the fish market and are expensive and bad tasting. They charge the fried fish dish (very popular among *Zhoushan* people) ten dollars more than restaurants outside of the fish market. Shop owners, like other people working at the fishing department, have a cafeteria card so they can eat at the cafeteria. When I was at the fish market, Mr. Fish would bring me to the cafeteria so I did not need to eat “tourist’s food”²³.

²³ 游客餐



Shell artifacts: shell bags, dry shell, shell necklace and shell cover



Shops at the fish market selling dry seafood during *Xiuyuqi*



Empty tanks at the fish market during *Xiuyuqi*, only some lobsters at the far right. Lobsters are not from the *Zhoushan* sea, they were brought there from other places in China so tourists could buy them.



Delicious lunch at the fish market cafeteria, very traditional *Zhoushan* style dishes.

I overheard multiple times (at the cafeteria) that the shop owners are not doing so great during the *Xiuyuqi* this year. They said they were able to sell dry seafood to pay their rents at the fish market the last few years, but not this year. Nobody had any idea prior to the *Xiuyuqi* on how dry and hot this year's summer was going to be. Therefore, no one prepared enough seafood to dry and sell. Additionally, the rents at the fish market increased instead of decreased. Their landlord at the fish market sees the boom in tourism and is very confident that shop owners would rather pay the rising rents than close their shop. "Owning a shop at the fish market is like buying a risky stock, the payback might be good, but it is risky," Mr. Fish once told me this when I asked him why the landlord kept raising rents. However, the shop owners are clearly not making enough money this year because they started to sell artifacts that are made from shells. My neighbor from *Dinghai* told me she would never picture herself selling shell artifacts when she opened her shop. In her opinion, selling shell artifacts is something a hawker at the *Zhujiajian* beach would do, not her. However, she among other shop owners, were the first few that started selling shell artifacts this year.



Drying squid next to the sidewalk.



More buses came while we were leaving.

Waidiren tourists outside of the fish market

“There are just too many tourists in *Zhoushan* nowadays.” my father mumbled as he looked far out from the car window, stuck in traffic on the “*Zhujiajian GuanYin Bridge*”²⁴ soon after he picked me and my sister up from the fish market. This is a cross ocean bridge that connects the very typical tourist part of *Zhoushan*, “*Zhujiajian*”²⁵, where the fish market is located, from the area where my family lives in, “*Dinghai*”²⁶. My father, like many other elderly (61 years old) men from *Zhoushan*, has a fairly tanned skin compared to other Chinese fathers from the mainland, not because he goes on vacations a lot, but that he was born and raised right here, at *Zhujiajian*, before this place became a famous touristy town. His eyebrows furrowed together while he mumbles; the sun does not seem like quitting at 5:30pm, but still burns hard on the surface of our car and the road. This burning causes an optical illusion that makes the gap between our car and the car that is in front of us seem curvy and even steamy. My dad tries to turn up the air conditioner in the car again but finds it at its maximum level. “Damn it!” he yells.

As I look outside the car window, I realized how long we have been stuck on a bridge that is only 2,907 meters²⁷ long. My sister decided to get out of the car and take some pictures from the walkway when we entered the traffic jam. My father and I figured she would take a very long time²⁸ taking photos and we could wait for her at the *KFC* once we got off the bridge. However, when I looked outside the car window, she was still there, taking pictures with her phone and a selfie stick.

My father always told me stories about how he used to just jump into the ocean from the shore with my uncle every day after school when he was young and run around the fishing boats

²⁴ 朱家尖观音大桥

²⁵ 朱家尖

²⁶ 定海

²⁷ 1.806326 miles long.

²⁸ She usually takes about 40 minutes just to take selfies at one location.

topless even with the hottest sun. I assume the tan he got from those times never went away since he had always told me how much he missed the “Old *Zhoushan*”. My uncle, like my father, has a heavy, wrinkled tan face and a pair of hands with the roughest skin that once you touch it, you could never forget. He was a “*Chuanlaoda*”²⁹, a fishing boat owner, aka the boss man on the ocean (at least on his boat), until he sold his “*Fengshouhao*”³⁰ two years ago.

He always tells me that if I were a boy, they would teach me how to fish, because ocean fishing is too much “heavy work” for women. I did not fully understand this until my uncle asked me to lift a rivet that he kept from his first boat in his house. According to my uncle, “It was a promising and honorable job when we grow up,” but not anymore after the dissolution of the “*Yuyedadui*”³¹, a government-run fishing committee that was around back in the 60’s and the 70’s. My uncle and father learned how to fish by just observing the fish workers’ jobs everyday. To them, and other *Zhujiajian* boys at the time, fishing is in their blood, they breathe fresh ocean/seafood air and eat seafood everyday. It was hard, for boys from *Zhujiajian* at that time, not wanting to join the *Yuyedadui* since they pay so well and having a job there means guaranteed popularity in town. Boys who joined the *Yuyedadui* were pursued as the strongest men and very popular in villages back in their time because of their strength. Besides, my grandfather was a “good old fisher worker” too until he lost a leg on the ocean, but it still does not weaken his happiness when he sent my uncle to *Yuyedadui* at his first day of the job.

“Hey, want to move?” my sister opens the car door and asks as we have been stuck here on this fairly short bridge, for about 40 minutes. Today then officially “sucked”³² because of these

²⁹ 船老大

³⁰ 丰收号, the name of the boat.

³¹ 渔业大队

³² My sister says.

Waidiren. However, we know, July is only the beginning of the summer tourist boom in *Zhoushan*, since the *Xiuyuqi* was not over yet.



Not a single car in front of us is from *Zhoushan*.

July: How the government of *Zhoushan* and its people react to the tourist rush

Minsu

If you drive from *Dinghai* to *Zhujiajian* during a hot July, like many people do while they are in *Zhoushan*, you will see many houses that have been turned into small “*Minsu*”³³ when you enter *Zhujiajian*. The last time I was in this area was three years ago and these houses were still standard households with strict boundaries between one another, but now they all seem to have merged together and formed a resting zone for tourists traveling between *Zhujiajian* and *Dinghai*. The configurations are all very similar: they all have huge LED lights labeled hotel at the top of the house, and because of that, all houses were rebuilt to be around three stories tall. The first floors are small restaurants that serve “traditional” *Zhoushan* seafood dishes, the second and third floors as guest rooms and a parking area in front of the house. Some houses that have more colorful LED lights will have bigger parking areas. If you roll down your car window, you can hear loud pop music playing from those “*Minsu*” as a way to attract guests.

“I spent more money on LED lights to decorate the rooftop of my *Minsu* than the inside of my *Minsu*,” Mrs. Zhang laughs proudly and told me, “No one can see the inside of your *Minsu* until you attract them with the LED lights from outside first.” I then noticed that Mrs. Zhang’s LED lights were so bright and colorful; I can even see them from far away. I guess aside from light pollution, she was able to attract people’s attention with her lights.

³³ 渔家民宿 private hotels/restaurant.



One side of a *Minsu*, the LED lights are on the other side, my phone died on me when I tried to make more pictures. The bottom sign says “seafood restaurant” and the top sign is the name of this *Minsu* which I intentionally blocked half of it.

You could also smell the freshly cooked dishes. If you stayed in *Zhoushan* long, you could tell these dishes were cooked by a person from *ZhouShan* because you pick up a very strong sense of soy sauce and cooking wine. People in *Zhoushan* cook everything with soy sauce. My mother always made a joke about my father when he cooked and would say that whenever my father cooked, the company that sells soy sauce would never go broke because he uses so much soy sauce. People in *Zhoushan* add cooking wine in all their dishes because we have a lot of seafood and cooking wine is a good way to erase the strong fishy odor. Even with the cars moving by and the freshly cut leaves by the street, you could still smell a very strong scent of soy sauce and cooking wine when you drove through this area.



Traditional *Zhoushan* dishes by my father.

There is a small airport in *Zhujiajian* called the “*Putuoshan jichang*”³⁴ that was constructed originally with an agreement signed on January 19, 1994, in *Zhoushan*, between *Zhoushan* Civil Aviation Airport Construction and *Zhejiang* Province and Pacific Development Company. It was a huge thing to the *Zhoushanese*, until they realized that this airport is so small, it only flew airplanes to *Shanghai* and *Xiamen* for almost 10 years. However, according to the Contemporary finance newspaper³⁵, by 2012, *Putuoshan jichang* is one of the airports in China that has more

³⁴ 普陀山机场

³⁵ “PU TUO SHAN JI CHANG GAI JIAN: reconstruction of the PU TUO SHAN airport” 2012 年 11 月，中国民用航空局华东管理局批复《舟山普陀山机场总体规划》。根据规划，舟山普陀山机场近远期飞行区指标为 4D，适合波音 767、空客 300 等大型飞机起降。近期到 2020 年，按满足年旅客吞吐量 200 万人次、货邮吞吐量 10,000 吨、年起降 25,419 架次

than 2,000,000 people entering and leaving per day during the peak tourist season. Moreover, a new airport is under construction right next to the *Putuoshan jichang* to ensure the continued growth in tourism.



Private plane at *Putuoshan jichang*. (July 2017)

A few years back, people would choose to fly to *Zhoushan* as a tourist group and all their time in *Zhoushan* would be planned by travel agents. But these days, although flying is still a popular way of travel to *Zhoushan*, and with the dramatic increase of cars per family, people prefer road trips. This is one of the factors that led to this area becoming a *Minsu* zone.

For the first few years after the government of *Zhoushan* realized that *Zhoushan* could be marketed as a tourist destination, they expanded the allowance of more hotels and resorts in

规划，航站楼建筑面积 3,000 平方米，机位数 12 个；远期到 2040 年，按满足年旅客吞吐量 500 万人次、货邮吞吐量 28,000 吨、年起降 56,692 架次规划，航站楼建筑面积扩建至 52,500 平方米，机位数 22 个。
http://dzb.jinbaonet.com/html/2012-12/03/content_233205.htm.

Zhoushan. They spent money on recruiting urban engineers from larger tourist city-like “Xia Men”³⁶ to build the new town of *Zhoushan*: “Lin Cheng”³⁷ and rebuild the old town of *Zhoushan*: *Dinghai*. Lin Cheng was a rural area before 2000. Lin Cheng was designed to fit the overall agenda of publishing *Zhoushan*’s “*LvyouJingji*”, tourism economy³⁸ (a special kind of economy in which the general goal is to promote income from tourism, like hotels, transit, food, and other specialized tourist commodities), and advertising the idea of “*Haibin chengshi*”³⁹, coastal city of *Zhoushan*, as well as highlighting environmental conservation laws that were being emphasized by the Chinese government in general⁴⁰.

After the rebuilding of *Lin Cheng* and *Dinghai*, there was a boom in new hotels. First, they were all three or four-star hotels built and managed by local people. However, with the publication of *Zhoushan* as a tourist city, the tourism flow increased dramatically. This was when higher-end hotels like the Sheraton, which is not run by local people, found their place in *Zhoushan*. Even though the Sheraton is still one of the most expensive hotels in *Zhoushan*, it is

³⁶ 厦门

³⁷ 临城

³⁸ 旅游经济

³⁹ 海滨城市

⁴⁰ “Agenda of rebuild”: 规划构思:

- 1、城市结构网络服从山水脉络。通过两者的相互配合，形成城市空间的主角和配角，以虚的山水空间衬托实的形体空间。
- 2、山水空间结构与城市形体空间结构相互穿插，通过“内—外”关系的转换，形成“山水中有城市，城市中有山水”丰富多变的城市空间。
- 3、突出滨海城市特点，城市空间由北向南形成由高向低、由密向疏、逐渐向海洋开敞的城市空间格局。
- 4、临城现状地势较低，规划尽可能多地保留现有水网，一方面是保护自然生态环境，另一方面也是防涝、蓄水功能的需要。

空间环境:

- 1、结合水流和山势规划“H”型结构性绿地；
- 2、山脉和水脉的聚结处布置临城城区的中心区，包括文化广场、行政中心、商业中心；
- 3、沿海两侧布置商贸公建和体育中心。
- 4、围绕中心区布局居住区；
- 5、工业区布置在茶山浦生态绿带东侧，与浦西工业区联合建设，长峙岛利用南部深水岸线规划。

创新与特色:

- 1、以山水空间作为城市空间的主构架，以山水格局确定城市空间格局。
- 2、将城市设计的理论和手法运用到分区规划之中。
- 3、临城为新开发地区，分区规划的重心则更侧重于开发，规划更注重空间次序、发展的弹性及最小的投资风险，将工程规划的合理性和可实施性摆在十分重要的地位。

<https://baike.baidu.com/item/临城新区>

remains “always booked”⁴¹. This has been the case since last year, when *Minsu* became popular among the tourists. It generally offers easy access to almost everyone who wants to travel to *Zhoushan*, no matter how old. For the younger generation, online reservations are easy to make, and for older generations, reservation by phone call are also generated. All *Minsu* are working with *Alipay*⁴² to ensure a more secure payment method. It is a form of accommodation that most families that travel to *Zhoushan* will choose. Normal hotels including the high-end five-star hotels like Sheraton, do not have suites or any rooms big enough for parties of four or five people. Hotels like the “Sheraton” charge a lot for a party of five or four. However, the *Minsu* are usually built from private houses, which have many big rooms and bathrooms to be shared. On the other hand, *Minsu* are usually owned by landlords of the original house, a person from *Zhujiajian*, staying in their houses, could be guaranteed a “fishing trip” with local fishing boat owners that hotels cannot offer.

The fishing trips were usually booked very fast although they are not cheap. One round of fishing trip costs around 300 to 500 dollars.⁴³ It can be more expensive, but never cheaper. However, tourists who booked this trip would always be very open to the price and happy to pay. During the fishing trip, the minus owner would collaborate with some boat owners who rent their boat to the tourists and take them “fishing”. Tourists would ride a small mini van provided by the minus owner to a small town shore where the boat worker would be waiting. Interestingly, boat

⁴¹By the end of today, all listings online on this hotel are fully booked until next weekend.

http://english.ctrip.com/hotels/detail?hotel=346336&Allianceid=14883&SID=429443&ouid=hotel&curr=AUD&utm_source=google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_term=ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan+Sheraton+Hotel&utm_campaign=China+Hotel+N&ame&gclid=EAIaIQobChMij638l_Pf1wIVWFGnCh0ESQevEAAAYASAAEgJl_D_BwE.

⁴² Alipay, or Zhifubao in Chinese, is a third-party mobile and online payment platform, established in Hangzhou, China in February 2004 by Alibaba Group and its founder Jack Ma. In 2015, Alipay moved its headquarters to Pudong, *Shanghai*, although its parent company Ant Financial remains Hangzhou-based. Alipay overtook PayPal as the world's largest mobile payment platform in 2013. In the fourth quarter of 2016, Alipay had a 54% share of China's US \$5.5 trillion mobile payment market, by far the largest in the world, although its share fell from 71% in 2015 as its rival Tencent's WeChat Pay was rapidly catching up. As of September 2017, Alipay unveiled a facial recognition payment service. John Heggestuen (11 February 2014). "Alipay Overtakes PayPal As The Largest Mobile Payments Platform In The World". Business Insider.

⁴³ One dollar equals around 6.5 Chinese Yuan as March 18th 2018.

owners would often ask their *Waidiren* workers to accompany the tourists if they were from the same area. They believed tourists would feel more casual and happy if they were guided by people from their own areas. Therefore, the boat will only have *Waidiren* on it that day, but two types of very different *Waidiren*: one willing to pay for a fishing experience at *Zhoushan*, one living out of fishing at *Zhoushan*. These boat owners only let their workers take the tourists to places where cheap and non-wild fishes are cultivated and let them fish with a fishing rod. It is "ridiculous,"⁴⁴ to watch since people from *Zhoushan* know they are not really fishing - those fish are cultivated and people can catch them even without a fishing rod. There is a huge wide net under the water in order to enclose the movement of those fish and people can just pull up the net and all the fish will be brought to the surface. However, these boat owners would charge the tourist a lot more than to just let them buy these fish on the market and these tourists would be very exhausted at the end of their trip. However, they would also be very excited because they would go home thinking they just broke the law of *Xiuyuqi* without getting caught.

Unlike the tip culture in America, workers will not ask for tips, but sometimes they would be getting some cigarettes from the tourists, like when my informant did. At the end of the season, the boat owner and the *Minsu* owner would gather together and split the fishing trip money. In Mrs. Zhang's case, she gives 40 percent of what she gained from the trip to the boat owner because she says that "without us doing the ads, nobody will go to them." It is true, without the *Minsu* owners, no tourists would even think of going fishing. This was never a "thing" until this year's *Xiuyuqi*. It is like hunting at an African safari, nothing is as natural as it sounds, and it shows great hegemonic power..

With the rise of *Minsu*, many of the *Minsu* houses are more individualized in terms of their styles. Because landlords realized how much they could gain by transforming their houses into

⁴⁴ Said my uncle.

Minsu, they have refused to sell their homes to the hotels. Therefore, many *Minsu* are located more favorably than most hotels, in terms of view. People can choose different themes of *Minsu* to stay in. There is even *Minsu* built on a fishing boat. A *Minsu* owner in *Zhoushan* gains about 800,000 Yuan a year (about 121,000 dollars)⁴⁵. With the increase of *Waidiren* each year, there are higher inquires for *Minsu* and most people have to make a reservation at least two months in advance.

Mrs. Zhang was the first person on her street that turned her house into *Minsu*. She kept telling me to write this in my senior project even though I told her there might only be four people reading the paper. She thinks that if anyone goes to *Zhoushan* after reading my senior project, he or she would want to go to her *Minsu*, the first *Minsu* on that street. During my first week of fieldwork and interview with her (at her *Minsu*), she kept “forcing” me to take pictures of her *Minsu*. She even asked a couple that lives in the ocean view suite if I could take a picture of their room.

I had a feeling that she was asking me to do all these things not only because she is very proud of her *Minsu*, but also because she was not doing too well when I visited her. I was there during the off seasons, the only upcoming season was one month away. I saw many empty rooms in her *Minsu* when I first went to visit. However, just like the shop owners at the fish market, they would rather be doing a side business to keep their shops and *Minsu* running. Having the ability to own a *Minsu* or a shop at the fish market is a privilege. It takes a lot of relationship building and gifting. Having a shop at the fish market and owning a *Minsu* to an outsider is a very promising income. It is also an icon for higher social relations. Shop owners and *Minsu*

⁴⁵ From article titled: “*ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan* MIN SU looks very stylish, some people cannot stay here without reservations few months ahead even though they have a lot of money” 2014 年我们纯利润有 80 万，去年台风多，少做一个月（旺季），赚了 60 万。” 枸杞岛泊客渔家民宿的老板娘俞兰笑脸盈盈，“去年 6 月中旬到 9 月，我们的入住率在 96%左右，订房都得提前一个月。” <http://zj.zjol.com.cn/news/354966.html>.

owners are often being invited to attend official government dinners (because they are doing something for the tourism economy) and being viewed on television.



View from the ocean view suite. From the second picture, all the houses you see near the beach are *Minsu*. They all look similar. But Mrs. Zhang's *Minsu* was the first around here. She is very angry that her neighbors had "copied" her. She criticized how her neighbors' *Minsu* are making this area of the *Zhujiajian* look boring (I guess because they all look similar in style?)
Minsu and its coming-back-home children

Is turning a normal house into a *Minsu* in this area a challenge when there is already excessive competition? I have read newspaper reports on local people in *Zhujiajian* turning their households into hotels and that requires labor, not only offline but online too. Therefore, many people who are in their 20's, and who were previously working in big cities, or even in other countries, choose to return home and help with their parents' *Minsu* business. Eventually, because of the factors explained above, this pro-touristy economy was no longer just an economic complement but also heavily affected local people's lives. For example, children cannot live in large cities when they are not earning as much money as working in the hotels, but, to most of them, being able to live in a larger city is not only an issue of money but also of identity.

I know a person, Miss Shrimp, who had been dragged by her parents back to *Zhoushan* to manage her families' *Minsu*. She had very little time to adjust to the changes because she had to dive straight to managing the *Minsu*. Her social value as a young, college graduate who was capable of contributing what she learned at college to the country and the society while being happy was hidden under the pressures of doing all the *Minsu* work she did not like. She feels depressed everyday. She misses *Shanghai* everyday. When I asked her out for dinner, she told me there was nothing to eat here because *Zhoushan* is such a small place. "Besides, all I can hear everyday is my mother asking me to find a boyfriend and get married," she would say, "but how can I find a boyfriend when I am working everyday from the *Minsu*? Should I marry a tourist?" She told me that she had a boyfriend when she was in *Shanghai* but had to break up with him when she was forced to move back to *Zhoushan*.

Miss Shrimp is two years older than me and is at the edge of reaching the “left-over women” age (it is a very heartbreaking fact that in China, when you are over 25 and single, you are being seen as a left-over woman. Your parents will then start to set up blind dates for you instead of waiting for you to bring home a partner). She “hated” everything about *Minsu*, not even a single aspect of her identity as a coming-back-home person makes her happy. She thinks that if she were still in *Shanghai*, she would not have to worry about being called a “left-over woman” by her mother everyday.

Instead of working to help prove herself to the society, she has to work on the computers and phones making appointments for people who are probably the same age as her (and probably work in a large city). She has to work as a housekeeper making beds for people who are probably the same age as her (and probably work in a large city). After the *Waidiren* go home, they will not remember a young girl or a boy who sacrificed their opportunities to work in a larger city and make their bed and take their appointment, they will only remember this *Minsu* provides good service.

Post tourists

People who did not want to turn their households into *Minsu* were being pressured to move out from touristy areas like *Zhujiajian*, selling their houses in the process to their neighbors who did embrace the shift to *Minsu*. However, is this what *Zhoushan* really looks like? Ten years ago, when people visited *Zhoushan*, they could see all kinds of different, traditional *Zhoushan* styled fishing houses that were built with mud and tile (see the photo below⁴⁶). Now when people visit *Zhoushan*, they only see houses that resemble one another, a European styled square house, or a more modern architecture. You can see a straight distinction between traditional *Zhoushan* styled

houses and a *Minsu* (see the second photo⁴⁷) when you are in *Zhujiajian*, but with more pressure rising each day, by next year, at least the coastline area of *Zhujiajian*, will no longer have any *Zhoushan* styled houses.



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⁴⁶ <https://sns.91ddcc.com/t/53500>.

⁴⁷ <http://mixinfo.id-china.com.cn/a-17813-1.html>

There is a fishing village called “*Zhangzhou Yucun*”⁴⁸ at *Zhoushan* that belongs to *Zhujiajian*. Those boat owners like to bring *Waidiren* there to fish since it is cheaper to keep their boat there and most cultivated fish are located at that village. *Zhangzhou Yucun* was a very famous fishing village since it is so close to the fish market and the ocean shore. However, with the decreasing number of boat owners these years, this village's population decreases and the current residences are fairly old. I have never been to this village at its peak. However, when I visited this past July, I was shocked by what I saw. Houses were old and most were well on their way to be being demolished. I thought a house that old was probably as old as my grandparents. What a shame. The street was unclean compared to the usual streets in *Zhoushan*. Used, old fishing nets were piled up everywhere. Some nets still had dead fish in them, a disgusting fishy odor still circulating around their tops. The single convenience store was closed and will only open if you run up the hill to the owners house. Every current resident knows one another and when I was peeking through the convenience store window (trying to see if it was open) a group of elderly women (that were chatting in a group there) immediately told me to run up the hill because that is the house of the shop owner. They were surprised to hear that I am from *Zhoushan* too. Now, the only young people they see at their village are the tourists brought via bus to fish. They told me that during the day there are a lot of tourist buses with a lot of *Waidiren* coming to the village, but those *Waidiren* never stay long enough for residents to clearly see what they look like. "They come and they leave, this is how it's been since the beginning of the summer." However, during the night, there will be no one on the street, not even people out for a walk after dinner. It is dark and silent during the night at *Zhangzhou Yucun*. The only things these *Waidiren* would leave through the night will be the garbage they left on the street and the used fishing nets.

⁴⁸ 漳州渔村



Again, a double-decker bus at the peak of the tourism season.



Used fish nets all over the village.



Old houses, half pulled down. This house had previously been used as a cafeteria for fish workers.



Waidiren waiting for their bus to pick them up after “fishing”, the white bubble chambers contain their trophies from the fishing trip.



A “fishing trip” in progress. Fun fact: Mr. Fish told me this boat is too small to go on the ocean for “real fishing” after looking at this picture.

It is sad to think about how a famous fishing village could become a "Silent Hill" in just a few years. However, it is also understandable with the rapid rate of change in the fishing business. Being a fishing worker no longer is something to be proud of after the dissolution of the *Yuyedadui*, especially since most fishing workers on boats nowadays are *Waidiren* from poor families. Working on a boat, when you are not a boat owner, is not only a downgrading of income for people from *Zhoushan* but also a downgrading of classes. After the education reform in China, everyone had to undergo his or her nine-year compulsory education at Mainland China, (15 years at *Hongkong* and *Macau*, 12 years at *Taiwan*), all expenses paid by the Chinese government. Therefore, having a job such as a fishing worker, a job that does not require much

education, is not something that a 20 year old from a city would pursue. This will show his lack of education and is something to be ashamed of in China today. My generation would rather take an office job that pays the same as a fishing worker in order to make our parents happy. This explains why a famous fishing village as *Zhangzhou Yucun* has more empty houses than before and have *Waidiren* visiting from outside the village only during the *Xiuyuqi*.

Zhangzhou Yucun is a sacrifice of the “fetish of commodities”. (Marx 1887, 320) When everyone lives in a functioning capitalist society, commodities possess a “mystical character” (Marx 1887, 320) that are commanded by producers of the commodities in terms of their livelihood as well as their psychological minds. This mystical character of commodities then changes those who produce them to worship them. This is what Marx calls the fetish of commodities; a fetish is an object worshipped for its apparent magical powers it is an irrational commitment. Marx uses the word “fetish” to sneer at this vicious circle. Money is the form of development for the fetish of commodities. For example, when gold and silver was taken out from its nature and act as a general equivalent commodity, the livelihood of the person who labored will be dependent on whether the commodity can be exchanged for money or not. “To them, their social action takes the form of the action of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them.” (Marx 1887, 323). It is then the mystical character of the commodity transformed into the mystical character of money, hence money gains control over those producers of the commodities in terms of their livelihood and their psychological minds as well. Nevertheless, money becomes a form of the commodity too. Marx compares people's relationship to commodities as a fetish because people obsess over commodities for their apparent value when it is actually the labor behind the commodity that counts. Hence, every tourist who brings home a pack of seafood would only think about how much they paid for the

seafood at the fish market but never able to think about the fisher worker laboring for their pack of seafood.

On the other hand, according to Marx, commodities themselves are not only the products of human labor, but they also represent the human labor power. Rationally speaking, real social relations are between people, not between things/commodities, “the mode of production in which the product takes the form of a commodity, or is produced directly for exchange, is the most general and most embryonic of bourgeois production.” (Marx 1887, 328). So, living under the constant pressure of capitalist commodity fetishism, people will lose their sense/knowledge of their labor power and social relations. The “Silent hill” at *Zhangzhou Yucun* then becomes unthinkable for them.



“Silent hill”: not even a wild dog was present at the moment of this photo.

August: Downside of the tourist economy

Crabs crabs crabs

Behind the fish market is the yellowish water where the sunlight bounces on the surface of the ocean like a naughty child playing football, running around, fearless. It is that time of year again, right after the *Xiuyuqi*, the period of the fishing ban during the summer, with more tourists coming to *Zhoushan* to grab as many kinds of seafood as they can. It is different from when I visited during June as the fish market is now packed with people. The huge outdoor square on the second floor with nice gardening is still packed with buses. Moreover, even before entering

the fish market, the streets are already packed with buses. The gardening is finally being taken care of by the workers and has a 24-hour automatic watering device in the ground. The white shorelines are now officially filled with huge, bright fishing boats that I did not see during my June visit. Most fish workers removed their shirt and only have a towel wrapped around their neck because they are sweating heavily from all the transporting and lifting of the seafood. There are many people standing on just one boat, some from five-star hotels trying to make a deal with the boat owner before they put the seafood on the market.

Also different from the fishy dry odor I experienced during June, I could hardly smell anything since my focus is diverted by all the loud voices I hear, each talking over one another. The constant noise of yelling makes me want to leave this place. I was pushed away at least three times by the workers because I was “in their way to make big money”. It is hard to imagine a tourist would venture to the shore and buy seafood directly from the boat since no one here wants to speak Mandarin. I had to also yell, “excuse me” in *Zhoushan* local language when trying to escape the crowd. Instead of seeing tourists at the shore, I see more tour guys and hotel workers fighting for the freshest and meatiest crabs for their clients. I am scared to even take my phone out for pictures because it is so crowded and I do not want to lose my phone here.



A picture taken at the fishing boat, during loading. www.weibo.com/zs.picture.

“Half month into fishing, where did the twenty thousand tons of crab go?”⁴⁹ This is the headline for today’s newspaper. Portunoidea crab are the most famous type of crab in *Zhoushan* and until August 16th, 2017, a half month after *Xiuyuqi*, there were already twenty thousand tons of *Suozixie*⁵⁰ being sold at the *Zhoushan* fish market. However, this catchy headline did not deliver a happy ending to the readers. A huge headline was soon followed by a short introduction.: “Among the twenty thousand tons of crab being sold, there were at least five thousand tons of dead crab being thrown into the dumpster every day, even without hitting the refrigerated storage area.” (Zhang 2017). There is a colored picture in the middle of the page, with a shot at the fish market during one of the transactions of *Suozixie*. It is a middle shot with

⁴⁹ 开捕半个月，2万吨螃蟹去哪了？

⁵⁰ 梭子蟹 Portunoidea crab, famously known as the crab that only grows among the *ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan* fishing areas.

fisher workers in focus, fishing net packed with *Suozixie* in the front and fishing boats at sea in the background. One of the *Suozixie* was trying to escape from the fishing net and a fisherman had to bend his knees and let the weight of the fishing net sit on his leg so that he could have a spare hand to catch it. The above photo shows how busy it was when Zhang Lei⁵¹, the reporter, was there doing the interview.

Road trip to crabs

According to this news report, with the increase of *Waidiren* in *Zhoushan*, having dead *Suozixie* at their tables no longer satisfies them, and most will choose to come to *Zhoushan* every weekend just to buy and have fresh *Suozixie* with their families. I see license plates⁵² from cities that are a two to seven hours' drive⁵³ from *Zhoushan*⁵⁴. Sometimes, I wonder, for those 7 hour-drives, what do the families gain by driving to *Zhoushan* rather than flying?

Unlike the United States where every family has at least one car, public transportation in China is so convenient families do not have to own a car to travel places. Instead, owning a car in China is rather a symbolism of wealth, because not only the car itself is expensive the process of applying for a driver's license is expensive as well. Before the policy of applying driver licenses changes, you had to attend a driving school for at least three months before applying for the driving license, which is time-consuming and not ideal for lower to middle working class families as it is difficult to take three months off of work. In addition, the application fee and test fee is a normal middle working class family's meal fee for half a month. Therefore, a road trip

⁵¹ 张磊

⁵² Different cities in China have a different numbered car plate.

⁵³ Traveling from the mainland to *ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan*, just through the "ZHOSHANZHOSHANZHOSHAN KUAHAI DAQIAO" itself, takes about one and a half hour.

⁵⁴ These times are based on cellphone map-navigations, excluding the actual time on road that could include gas time, break time and lunch/dinner time.

was not popular at all until the policy of applying for a driver's license changed⁵⁵. Most cities in China now accept driving license applications from people that did not attend the driving school yet knows how to drive. There are more Chinese-branded car companies like *Geely*⁵⁶ that sell cars that also have high quality models such as foreign-branded cars but with a much cheaper price. Therefore, middle working class families could now afford to have a car and plan a road trip to *Zhoushan* instead of flying. It is also cheaper and a way of enjoying and experiencing a “relatively comfortable life”⁵⁷ that is the core of the “Chinese dream”.

However, just imagine, one car that is stuck in traffic on the way to *Zhoushan* will have at least four or five people in the car - the mom, the dad, the child and the grandparents. If one person eats two *Suoixie* per meal, a car entering *Zhoushan* could now consume at least 10 *Suoixie* per meal, or 30 *Suoixie* per day. This is why, according to the news report, the refrigerated storage units are now packed with dead *Suoixie* and cannot accommodate additional dead *Suoixie* resulting with workers dumping the dead *Suoixie* as soon as they catch them. Worst of all, with the increased rate of fishing, dumpsters had no more room for more dead *Suoixie* and at least one small street outside the *Zhoushan* fish market is now filled with dead *Suoixie*.

From dead crab to crap

According to the old native fisher workers, catching dead crabs was very unusual. There are two main methods in catching crabs at *Zhoushan* fish market⁵⁸. The first is called “Dfift”⁵⁹, the

⁵⁵ Rich people in China, (probably also in the US) rarely do road trips, why drive when they could fly to places and hire a driver.?

⁵⁶ Geely bought 100 percent of stock rights of Volvo with \$1.8 billion dollars.
<http://auto.people.com.cn/GB/25959/98358/98364/11244320.html>

⁵⁷ 小康生活

⁵⁸ I did not translate any of these following methods, I saw them at the *ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan* fishery culture exhibition museum at *ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan* fish market.

second is called “Net”⁶⁰. These two traditional ways of catching *Suoixie* normally have a 0 to 0.1 percent chance for crabs to be dead when nets are pulled because these methods only trap the crab and does not kill them. However, using “Net” and “Drift” to catch *Suoixie* requires a lot of time on the ocean and, due to the high demand of *Suoixie* from *Waidiren* tourists, these two methods cannot fulfill the needs. Fishing boat owners like Mr. Fish then have to decide on using the newer but risky method to catch *Suoixie*, the “Seine”⁶¹ method. As my drawing (below) indicates, the seine method uses a huge LED light to attract⁶² crabs into the net trap then closes the net when the net is full of crabs. However, the huge LED lights can stimulate and kill up to 50 percent of the crabs when catching them. This method is the reason for so many dead crabs at the fish market.



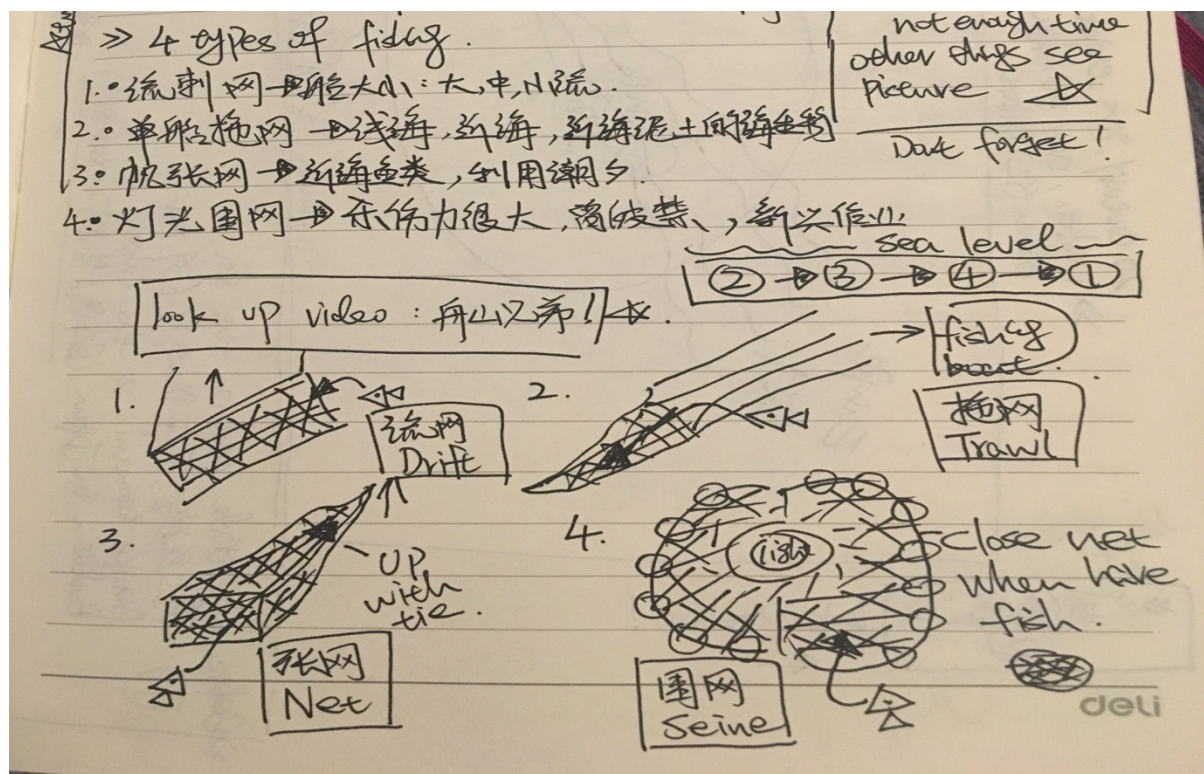
The *Zhoushan* fishery culture exhibition museum at the fish market.

⁵⁹ 流网

⁶⁰ 张网

⁶¹ 围网

⁶² Makes me think of the LED light on *Minsu* rooftops to attract tourists.



A drawing of four types of fishing from my field notes. I made this drawing based on the pictures and descriptions from the museum visit.



Look how bright the LED light is, it is not the same LED light we use at home. Photo from http://lighting.qianjia.com/html/2015-09/08_254244.html.

Apparently, fishing boat owners like Mr. Fish do not like this method since it is “expensive”, “unethical” and “make his workers sick⁶³”. However, if they do not use this method, they cannot fulfill the demand for crabs.

The last time I was at the fish market, I could smell it from a half mile away. Differing from the dry fish of the fish market before *Xiuyuqi* ended, this dead *Suozixie* odor is more pungent. It is a mixture of a hint of salty/fishy odors with the heavy corpse odor you might expect blue-ish smoke arising from - just like in cartoons when something smells bad. You can also hear the buzz of flies as they circle over and land on the dead crabs. These sounds are so unpleasant you feel like you are in a dumpster far outside the city where no one ever goes. When you actually pass by the dead crabs⁶⁴ it is even worse because you can see the crabs turning a bit red⁶⁵, but not red enough to make you have the illusion these are still good crabs like those freshly cooked at dinner. Most are just yellow and have a smelly fluid oozing beneath them. “No one wants the dead *Suozixie* anymore, it could not make a profit for anyone.” (Zhang 2017).

Yet, those who cannot come to *Zhoushan* and still want to have *Suozixie* now have more options. They do not have to wait in line to order the fresh dead *Suozixie* because many of the *Waidiren* who purchase live *Suozixie* have started business with them. According to the news report, due to the fast development of the shipping industry, people can ship fresh *Suozixie* from *Zhoushan* to *Shanghai* in only half an hour by airplane, and the shipping rate has decreased with the increased demand for *Suozixie*. This again sharpens the non-salable condition for fresh caught dead *Suozixie*. With the demand for *Suozixie* from *Waidiren*, even though tons of dead *Suozixie* are being thrown out every day, workers must catch tons more *Suozixie* every day.

⁶³ That LED light makes humans uncomfortable too, it makes them vomit a lot. No detailed evidence to why it happens.

⁶⁴ Interestingly, they are not thrown at a less eyeballing place, but just outside the fish market.

⁶⁵ That is how hot this past summer was.

Due to the dead *Suoixie* situation, the price of the *Suoixie* fluctuated almost every day for the past half month. I cannot remember how many times I heard my parents complain about how we usually could have fresh *Suoixie* every day and now sometimes they are too expensive to have at the table. This phenomenon of *Waidiren* rushing into *Zhoushan* also changes how workers categorize *Suoixie*: the largest, meatiest *Suoixie* are no longer affordable for local market carriers and instead most of the prize crabs go to five-star hotels where the price of crab dishes have increased. According to Zhang Lei, *Waidiren* started to complain that the price of *Suoixie* dishes in *Zhoushan* was ridiculous.

I did not think too much about *Waidiren*'s complaints after reading the news report two months ago, until I found this *TripAdvisor* review on *Zhoushan*, posted by a *Waidiren*, titled "Don't come here"⁶⁶:

*This October national holiday we decided to go to Zhoushan to relax, get away from the busy Shanghai city life, enjoy the cheap delicious seafood which we had heard and read so much about on the net and swim in the crystal blue sea we had seen on all the travel brochures and promotional websites on the net. ...I will never return to Zhoushan! I am serious; this place is just a grab for your money. The seafood is cheaper and fresher in Shanghai. The people all work together in Zhoushan to rob you and cheat you. The ocean water is dirty and I could not find any sign of life in it. All the posts you read are lies on the tourist sites!*⁶⁷

⁶⁶ It is interesting that when this person is writing this, he/she knows that the audience will be Chinese and he/she is Chinese too, yet he/she still writes in English (this is important enough that it should be within the body of the chapter above).

⁶⁷ To view more of her review, please click the link below:

https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g658407-r46433936-ZhoushanZhoushanZhoushan_Zhejiang.html#.

Conclusion:

It was when I realized the issue of dead crabs was no longer a problem created by the *Waidiren*, but also the basis of their complaints. It is now a problem caused by government's excessive advertising of *Zhoushan* as a desirable destination. The government of *Zhoushan* tried very hard to push the tourism economy in *Zhoushan* to allow the rest of China take notice of our small island city. However, they did not account for the local people's perspectives when dealing with the rapid rate of tourism. Local people, like the fish workers, were forced to follow the tourism economy as quickly as they could, even though they were overwhelmed by these rapid transitions. Local people, like my sister and I, lost our playground to the buses. Local people, like the house owners, lost their houses to *Minsu* owners. When I was doing my second season of fieldwork, I discovered that 80 percent of the delis and supermarkets near *Zhujiajian* main road were being turned into souvenir stores. I have to say that I was not surprised, only sad. This means the local people living around there (city center of *Zhujiajian*) will have to walk for 30 minutes to buy a pack of salt. Inevitably, there will be no more residential houses or apartments but *Minsu*. A beginning of the tourist city will become the end of a citizen's city.

Conclusion:

The writing of this project relied heavily on my fieldwork and archives. I did not want to assume anything of *Zhoushan* even though I was born and raised in *Zhoushan*. During my fieldwork, I observed these tensions between natives and *Waidiren*. Soon I learned that my identity is also interchangeable. Although all my *Waidiren* informants looked at me as a native and refer to people from *Zhoushan* as “you guys,” the native informants did not. My uncle and Mr. Fish made fun of my rusty accent of *Zhoushan* dialect countless times when I spoke with them. My uncle even made fun of the way I talked, how I moved my hands when I talked, “like an American.” I was not hurt by their words because, deep down, I knew, I am also an outsider. In ethnography, there is more than one way of interpreting what one is observing, bearing in mind that while the anthropologist is observing the informants the informants are also observing the anthropologist. This could have a significant impact on the results of observation an anthropologist receives from the field. This is why I did not assume anything and tried my best to reference supporting documents even though I know some information by heart. In other words, I do not want to cause any misconceptions to my readers about *Zhoushan*, although it might be usual for an outsider to cause misconceptions on their subjects.

Therefore, it is hard not to take Muscolino’s position as a white American scholar into account when he makes his comment about the environmental issue in *Zhoushan*. Micah S. Muscolino is currently a professor of Chinese history at Oxford. His book *Fishing wars and environmental change in late imperial and modern China* focus on blaming *Zhoushan* and the state of China for overfishing. In other words, he is a *Waidiren* who did his research on *Zhoushan* fish market. However, during the early 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, in *Zhoushan* there were no cross-ocean bridges and no tourism economies. *Zhoushan*

itself was far away from the mainland of China. Therefore, Muscolino did not go to *Zhoushan* himself, but researched in the library of Hangzhou, the capital city of *Zhejiang* province, for his book. Many of his theological ideas are based on historical documents and literature about *Zhoushan* fisheries (let us first ignore the mistakes he makes on understanding and interpreting the Chinese in some of his references). Yet, he did “some” fieldwork at *Zhoushan* (the fisher workers he talked to are not from *Zhoushan*) as it is difficult for the fisher workers to talk freely about their job outside their working environment, and not even to their families. This is the case when most of them do not see fishing as something “worthy of talking about”. How might the information that Muscolino received from the fisher workers be different?

It is then difficult for the reader to grasp his thesis in the *Fishing wars and environmental change in late imperial and modern China*. When he talks about how “Today, the Chinese government finally recognizes the severe overexploitation of its fisheries.” (Muscolino 2009, 193) It is questionable not only with his tone but also his use of the word “finally.” He does not talk about the international pressure to the Chinese government at that period and the harm that might cause on forcing environmental conservation ideas too quickly and harshly to a small, almost isolated island that derives their living from fishing. How does Muscolino, a *Waidiren* choose to fill the gaps between what is being said in his book and what is not? According to James Clifford, partial truths relate to the omission of facts and ideas and even the best ethnographies are systems of truth derivative of history and power. It is then the question of what kind of power played a part when he chooses what to talk about and what not. Perhaps the power and history relation that lies between America and China.

Most importantly, when I tried to verify his methods to his thesis, I did not find any information on some of his supporting documents as well as the person whom he claimed to be

his source and guide. I went through the archives that documented all the faculties at *Zhejiang University* and did not see his name. I asked the librarian, and she informed me that all professors' names should be on the website whether they were among the living or not. However, I still did not see the name Muscolino stated in his book.

This almost "God view" of Muscolino', when he talks about the environmental issues in *Zhoushan* with essentialism-colored glasses, could be related even to some of the works on Africa. Roderick P. Neumann introduces "national park ideal" (Neumann 2002) in his book *Imposing Wilderness*. National park ideal is an essentialism ideal created based on the history of European colonialism in Africa and their hegemonic ideals of the scenic African landscape. European colonizers' ideal of an African landscape developed from their assumption of nature and played an important "symbolic role" during economic and social life changes in Africa. The National Park ideal has created conflicts between local livelihood resources (as well as their lands) and the enforcement of conservation laws (which is the broad boundary of national parks in Africa, in comparison with actual living space for locals). It also oppresses ethnic minorities ability to retain their cultural identities and traditional moral economies because national parks are a continuing legacy of European colonialism and a denial of local cultural history. This is similar to the fishing conservation ideal that was passed down by the international pressure on *Zhoushan* from scholars like Muscolino without situating themselves in *Zhoushan* people's lives. It is too ironic even to talk about how Muscolino, in his book, claims that logic plays heavy on his work and conclusion. No doubt, I was angry after reading his book yet it also works as a constant reminder to never assume anything is as it is.

For my project, I wanted to draw attention to this so-called tourism economy. I wanted people to question the advantages and disadvantages of this so-called tourism economy. China,

like many other countries working on this, hope to attain a better economic approach. I started my fieldwork as a person from *Zhoushan*; I found the massive increases of *Waidiren* in town problematic. However, after sorting through these “fish net” situations of tourism economy, I began to better understand the underlying processes and see the good side of tourism economy as I am finishing my senior project.

By 2020, the state of China wants to achieve the goal of everyone having a “relatively comfortable life”⁶⁸. Therefore, the country itself has to be more powerful, and by doing so, it needs money. It was common for older generation Chinese (like my parents and their parents) to put all their savings in the banks. However, by doing so, there will be less currency in circulation. Hence, the overall economic status of the state cannot increase and it is then necessary for the currency to be circulating. Especially in a capitalist country like America, the government encourages “fetish of commodity”.⁶⁹ Although there are many reasons for the great depression, one main reason was that people could no longer afford commodities. The state of *Zhoushan* became *Zhoushan* Archipelago New Area because the state of China sees the opportunity and potential of *Zhoushan* to become wealthy with tourism economy. In recent years, after President Xi took office, many places as *Zhoushan*, small areas with the potential to become wealthy, started to publicize “These show that as long as we persevere, dreams can always be realized.” The dream, according to the state of China and now to every Chinese is to have a “relatively comfortable life,” to live in a “well-off society”:

“The year 2016 is the first year when China enters the crucial period to build a moderately well-off society in all all-around way. The 5th Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee has made clear China's development direction for the next five years. The future is encouraging and inspiring. But happiness does not fall from the sky. We shall establish a spirit to prevail, continue to immerse ourselves in hard work, implement the development concepts of innovation, coordination, green, openness and

⁶⁸ As talked about in Chapter III.

⁶⁹ Marx's idea of fetish of commodity.

sharing. We shall put forth the efforts in promoting structural reform, and reform and opening up, promoting social fairness and justice, as well as creating a green political eco-system. We shall get off to a good start as we advance in the crucial period for China to build a moderately well-off society in all all-around way. To build a moderately well-off society in all all-around way, our 1.3 billion people should joint hands and move forward together. A better life for tens of millions of poor people in rural regions is dear to my heart. We have sounded the trumpet to win the battle of poverty alleviation. All Party members and the entire nation should pull together and work hard as a team, put forth efforts to lengthen this short stave. We should make sure that the entire poor population in rural regions can rise out of poverty on schedule. For all the people in difficulties, we should care for them and let them feel the warmth from deep in their hearts.”⁷⁰

Beginning in 2016, all highways are free during national holidays such as October 1st⁷¹. The state of China encourages people to go out and travel. I did not see how this benefited *Zhoushan* people’s life (those who do not own a store, or a *Minsu*, or any kinds of tourism jobs) until I did my latest interview with a reporter from *Zhoushan* daily news. She told me she is reporting on a piece of a small community garden near my apartment in *Dinghai*. She told me the community garden undergoing reconstruction was the same garden I often visited when I was ten years old. I was surprised to hear this because the garden was very small⁷² and old. I never saw anyone or anything, besides wild cats, visit the garden. She spoke about how the garden smelled during warm weathers this past month, a smell due to the growth of unknown wild plants. However, instead of removing the plants, the state of *Zhoushan* rebuilt the garden. It is unthinkable to me since the reconstruction costs four hundred thousand Yuan⁷³ when removing the plants cost four hundred Yuan. She explained it was because the state of *Zhoushan* is now “doing much better than before.” She meant the state of *Zhoushan* is wealthier now than before

⁷⁰ President Xi’s new year speech of 2017, the year I see booming of economy changes.

⁷¹ The “golden week”, everyone gets a week off work/school.

⁷² Similar size as a unisex bathroom in Olin.

⁷³ Around 70,000 dollars.

the tourism economy. Moreover, rebuilding the garden would allow for dancing space for the elderly members of the community.



Square dancing: most popular form of exercise after retirement in China.

It is then I realized how tourism economy works. How the increase in tourists can positively affect an increase in the local economy. Increased tourism results with more people and more income tax which means a wealthier government, a government that can fulfill more population needs. However, the benefit of the tourism economy requires a long time to achieve desirable changes and with the rapid changes in *Zhoushan* (to be a tourism city), many things have been lost along the way. Although one could adopt the changes eventually⁷⁴, is it worth it? This is not only a question for the state of China, but also to every other country that is using tourism economy as a way of helping the undergoing of development.

⁷⁴ or die, this is how evolution works.

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