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Identity, Place, and Difference: An Autoethnography
(Identitas, Tempat, dan Perbedaan: Sebuah Otoetnografi)

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Abstract
Identity is a process of becoming, and is thus fluid. The construction of identity is often influenced by many factors, including the place s/he lives in. Identity has always been a work in progress, a process of self-making, adapting and renewing based on different social positions one is placed into voluntarily or obligatory. Being a female from Shanxi province and Chinese, the author feels that these gendered, place located and ethnically classified positions form a key part of her identity shaped by the many places she has lived, both inside and outside China. This paper will be an investigation on how each place, with its own distinct geographical location as well as its political social and cultural dynamic, shaped the author’s identity as a person today, as well as the process of her struggle to negotiate with these multifaceted subject positions as represented by these places. Taking autoethnography as a method of research, the study utilized the author’s reconstructed memories, photographs, and some personal writing she has produced during her time living in places discussed in this article as source materials. This autoethnographic account showed that the experience of living in marginalised positions in different places has enabled the interpretation the social inequality and political injustices from a different perspective. The reflective account helps to understand the existing discourses on Chinese diaspora and realize how the discourses cannot do justice to the complex subjectivities of diasporic experiences.

Keywords: autoethnography, Chinese, diaspora, identity

INTRODUCTION
Identity is not a concrete thing that pre-existed us which we can grab and take; rather it is a process of becoming, a mobile, fluid subject position we are either placed into or we create it during the course of our lived experiences (Du Gay et al.
Reflecting back, I feel that my identity has always been a work in progress, a process of self-making, adapting, and renewing based on different social positions I was placed into voluntarily or obligatory. I am female, from Shanxi province, and Chinese. These gendered, place located and ethnically classified positions form a key part of my identity shaped by the many places I have lived, both inside and outside China. In the course of my life I have migrated from a small village in northern China to a small city nearby, then to Beijing (the capital city of P.R. China), then to Leeds, a northern industrial town in England, and now I am living in Sydney as an international postgraduate student and artist. From not consciously caring about who I was, I have now strategically essentialised some facets of my identity to suit the situation. To what degree are our identities actually tied to the places we have lived, traveled, or even imagined? This paper will be an investigation on how each place, with its own distinct geographical location as well as its political social and cultural dynamic, shaped who I am as a person today, as well as the process of my struggle to negotiate with these multifaceted subject positions as represented by these places.

Massey argues that it is no longer applicable to view a place as fixed and “inhibited by coherent homogenous communities” (2007:146). Globalised mass media readily available at almost every corner of the earth, advanced telecommunication and transportation, internet access and the constant movement of people across national and regional borders—all have a significant impact on local communities and places. Moreover, it seems inappropriate to map cultures to places, since different people will have different views on the same place and people might share the same cultural identity although situated in separate places (Massey 2007:153). However, for the purpose of this paper it is necessary to assume a temporary stabilised identity for each place. I will focus on from both my own perspective and that of others who share similar views. According to Ferguson, “subjectivities do get anchored and that understanding this process requires careful attention to the specifics of geography and particular locales” (in Pratt 2008:155). Hence, instead of claiming a postmodern universal sense of displacement subject position, I will interrogate my migration experience in a few places within or across national borders at particular historical times that have profoundly shaped my diasporic consciousness today.

**METHOD**

Taking personal life into account is a cultural act of self-reading (Ang 2001:23). I intend to take a critical reflection of my lived experience and place it into a large social and cultural context. Ang demonstrates such an act as “rescuing notions of “experience” and “emotion” for cultural theorizing” (2001:24) which will enable me to speak from a different perspective. This kind of observing “the self” is also called as “autoethnography,” which challenged traditional forms of qualitative research (Allen-Collinson 2013). In Ellis’ words,

…autoethnography is not simply a way of knowing about the world; it has become a way of being in the world, one that requires living consciously, emotionally, reflexively. It asks that we not only examine our lives but also consider how and why we think, act, and feel as we do. Autoethnography
requires that we observe ourselves observing, that we interrogate what we think and believe, and that we challenge our own assumptions, asking over and over if we have penetrated as many layers of our own defenses, fears, and insecurities as our project requires. It asks that we rethink and revise our lives, making conscious decisions about who and how we want to be. And in the process, it seeks a story that is hopeful, where authors ultimately write themselves as survivors of the story they are living” (2013:10).

Following Holmes’ data selection for her autoethnographic account (2014), I utilized my reconstructed memories, photographs, and some personal writing I have produced during my time living in places discussed in this article as sources for this research. As suggested by Gannon, autoethnographic accounts could be in forms of “installation[s] in the text […] artefact[s] of textual practice and authorial choice” (2013:232).

This kind of storying the self is quite popular among Asian migrants, some of which focus on sexuality (LeMaster 2014), the production of ethnicities (Meerwald 2001), and aesthetic performance of Taiko and its gendered practices (Powell 2008). However, there has been very few research focusing on Chinese diasporic experience related to a number of places in a single story. Some autoethnographic accounts I encounter, for example Meerwald’s (2001), discuss a particular place and its significance in shaping the author’s subjectivity. Talking about various places I lived in may bring about an insight of how I perceive my Chineseness performed in those places. This paper is certainly not claiming that there is a universal truth for being a Chinese migrant, but rather it is an attempt to challenge or complicate the notion of Chineseness through my own lived experiences. Certainly my experiences are only reflections of my own history and based on a unique standpoint limited by wider cultural frameworks, language or political forces. Nevertheless, I believe personal is social, as confirmed by Couldry (2000:122), and that my interest in examining the self is an investigation of “how was “I” produced as a self” and under what condition.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Place One: Yaoshang Village, Xiaxian Town, Yuncheng City, Shanxi Province, China
Butler asserts that from the minute we are born, we are given a gendered position according to our biological genitalia. Subsequently it is through this assigned gender identity that we continuously and repetitively act out our sex, which is continually regulated within frameworks of a “heteronomativity” regime (2010:136). This was certainly true to some extent in the mid 1970s at the time I was born in a very small village in northern mainland China. This gendered framework was based on a Confucian traditional kinship value that regards woman as her biological body, the reproduction mechanism for man’s family (Ebrey 2003:24). According to Confucianism, woman’s most important social duty is played within her marriage role, as an incubator for her husband to give birth to his male (only male) descendant thus continuing his family bloodline. To marry well was certainly the most important thing when a woman reached adulthood.
Hence, a gendered identity was imposed on me at birth, and subsequently I learnt its values from my grandmother. However, there were no strict cultural rules to regulate how a young girl conducted herself on a daily basis in that agriculture oriented community. My gendered identity was not influenced much by immediate material consequence when I lived as a child in the village, so it was vague and open. Instead, my awareness of “self” was closely tied to the physical environment of the place and my interaction with other villagers. Although we were ruled, both socially and politically, by the distant central Chinese government, as a self-sufficient agriculture based northern rural village with less than 30 households in 1970s China, we existed almost outside the political structure on a day-to-day level. In some sense, my relationship to the village resembled the Australian Aboriginal concept of “country” based on ancestral kinship and underlined by interpersonal relations and connections with geographical locations and vegetation, animals or other natural forms (see Bennett et al. 2005:62).

In the village, we were stealing sweet potatoes, climbing trees, hunting insects and attending the local cultural events that had a close relationship with the natural environment. It could be said I was born into the centre of culture through my kinship connection and was left alone be a “wild child” free of any social constraints. Although there was some degree of hierarchal order, every family was fundamentally equal. As far as I can remember, all similar aged children played together. There was no class, gender or ethnic division, just our collective mischievous adventures. This is certainly the most valuable life experience I have preserved in my memory, a place where I was fully accepted and belonged, and also a place inseparable from an understanding of China as my native country. It was this place and community where I placed my heart and laid a foundation for my identity which opened me to new possibilities, and also turned into a vulnerable position when I moved away from the village.

Place Two: Yuncheng City, Beijing and Shanxi People
Raymond Williams provides another understanding of “country” as “the rural part” in contrast to “everything that is not the city or suburbs” (Bennett et al. 2005:61). This definition acutely reflects the disparity between the Chinese countryside and cities not only in terms of legal right and material wealth but also embedded in a sociopsychological sense. According to Ngai (2005), the strict division between rural and urban areas was established during the three decades (1949—1976) of Mao’s socialist China. Mao’s vision of industrialising China was built on the appropriation of rural resources in support of urban institutions. Legally, individuals’ status or identity was controlled by the invention of the Chinese hukou (household registration) system (Ngai 2005:115).

In 1980s China, after decades of a closed-door policy, the newly reformed government was eager to modernise China in order to catch up with Western countries (Latham et al. 2006:23). To have a peasant status/identity not only meant prohibition of residency and education in the city, but also placed them at the bottom of the social hierarchy as the backward inferior “Other,” leading to discrimination by the newly modernised urbanite (Ngai 2005:117). Around age 5, I moved away from the village because my
father went to university and had a job in the nearby small city of Yuncheng, my social status then changed from peasant to “city dweller.” Even though I became a legitimate subject to live in and use the resources of the city, I was still looked down upon because of my village upbringing.

Thus far, there are two positions socially given to me being a girl from a village. Ngai asserts that “Chinese socialist beings were born to have an identity not from biology but from locality, and by their locality were designated either urban or rural” (2005:114). Ever since the beginning of the Chinese Economic Reform era (1978 onward), to have an urban status automatically confers one a superior position above that of a rural peasant. This also applies to the hierarchy of urban cities according to size, development and political status. In 1993, I moved to Beijing to study and was branded as wai di ren by the locals, which means ‘outsider’ from Shanxi province. A Beijing accent was the currency to distinguish if you were local or an outsider, which, in turn, determined power relations when interacting with others in the social space. Legally, an identity card was the byproduct of the hukou registration system, deployed to determine ones lawful status to live in Beijing.

Apart from having no access to local resources, “outsiders” have to pay temporary resident fees to stay legally in Beijing and their children are denied access to local schools unless they pay ten times the standard tuition fee. During daily interactions, these “outsiders” will encounter different degrees of discrimination from local people according to the wealth and development of their native provinces. For example, if an “outsider” appears to be from a poorer place, the public bus conductor would sometimes charge extra for her/his belongings and make discriminative remarks. Similarly, a shop assistant would refuse to serve an “outsider” if s/he was wearing shabby clothes. As confirmed by Ngai, “the identification of a person according to region or ethnicity embodies a sense of spatial inequality far more subtle than the rural-urban disparity. Where one is from and one’s dialect foretells one’s status and wealth […]” (2005:121). “Cultural capital,” a concept developed by Bourdieu, “acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status” (2011:85). One’s accent, education level, body language, original province and the sophistication of one’s physical appearance were the symbolic cultural capitals in my example, all playing an important role in determining different treatment from locals, as well as placing one in a hierarchical order amongst outsiders.

As one of the “outsiders” in Beijing, my social identity shifted from a village girl to a female “Shanxi person.” Although I experienced discrimination in many forms, by the year 2000 after living in Beijing for a few years, it was through a sense of “self-technologizing” (Foucault 1990) that I reinvented myself from a province girl to a modern sophisticated big city woman. In addition, political change shifted people’s value judgement. As Croll points out,

The Reform period is thus marked by a new interest in the image and presentation of the feminine, focusing first on physical appearance and adornment […] The new interest in commodities and lifestyles has brought
about a new relation between people and things, so that persons have become classified not so much by their class background or “work” or occupation as previously, as by the possession of objects or their evaluation, so that identity has become associated with lifestyle rather than class label (2011:155).

At that time, I was able to jump up the hierarchy ladder and work for a Swiss company where my ability and personal style was valued. Although I was still tagged as the Beijinger’s inferior Other, with accumulated economic, social and cultural capitals (Bourdieu 2011), I could afford to be the “outsider” and fight back without hesitation. More importantly, it was the western identity I desired, so the discrimination by Beijingers was irrelevant to my concerns. Hence, I was not restricted to being a ‘Shanxi person’, but rather became a gendered modern consumer.

Place Three: England and Being Chinese
During the 1990s in Beijing, I was one of a group of non-traditional Chinese art students. Built on the limited knowledge we gained from consuming films, classical literature, rock music etc., the “West” seemed to be a place filled with romance, excitement and self-expression. It is described that in China it was through Western associated commodities that “individuals, the female gender and communities first all rethought themselves” (Latham et al. 2006:26). I also recognised that I could not perform a dutiful, submissive, obedient traditional female role that was still desirable amongst Chinese men (Ngai 2005:144). I longed for the West, a place promising to transform my life frustrations and to realise my ambitions. However, the notion of the West was vague and without distinction of any particular place or country and the sense of belonging to a “cultural community” somewhere in the West was played out in our imagination. To borrow from Sun’s observation, the West became an imaginative space for us to act out our “dreams, fantasies, and desires” (2002:44).

Am I Chinese? Yes! Have I become more Chinese since departing China? That is certainly true. The question of my “Chineseness” had never existed in my mind until 2002 when I left Beijing to study in England, the year I became aware of my own ethnicity and racial difference. To finally live face-to-face with the “Westerners” I once desired was actually a frightening experience. Then inevitably, I experienced cultural shock and learnt about racism and my racial ethnic difference. It totally destabilized my perception of the West as well as my own identity. Perhaps due to my ethnicity or language barriers followed by cultural differences, my interaction with English people was limited. Consequently, I regularly felt marginalized and alienated. Through this feeling of displacement, as Appadurai proposes “the anguish of displacement” (Sun 2002:117), I found myself caught in-between two cultures and struggled to find a concrete unified identity. After a few years of struggling, negotiation, learning and experimentation, I asserted myself as a Chinese woman living in Britain. Ironically, I had desired a Western identity while in China, but once living in England I became more Chinese than ever before. Indeed as Sun puts it, “as some Chinese living in the West often remark, they have become more Chinese since leaving China” (2002:117).
Up to this point, my socially imposed identity had shifted from a “village girl” to a “Shanxi person” then to a “Chinese woman,” representing the Far East as the West’s inferior Other (Said 2014) replacing the complex Chinese rural, urban and regional differences. In the investigation of different types of Chinese migration, Kuan-Pearce notes early migrants were mainly seeking an economic opportunity, then increasingly individuals began migrating to highly desirable “Western” countries so as to “attain a certain level of self-expression and self actualization” (2006:218). This accurately reflects the reasons for my studying and subsequent living in England and then in Sydney. To be identified as a Chinese woman is certainly not my voluntary choice. Socially, the Chineseness is often used as a basis for discrimination and exclusion (Kuan-Pearce 2006). On a personal level, one of the motives to leave China was to search for a new gendered expression that I was unable to actualise in China. Now I have to represent the exoticised Oriental female submissive stereotypes (Said 2014), and accept being categorized with other Chinese people regardless of us sharing any political, ethical or moral common ground. Rejecting or accepting this imposed Chinese identity, I remain an ethnic minority immigrant with my visible physical difference that has placed me at the margins of the Western societies. Inevitably, I internalised this imposed identity and subsequently incorporated it into my own self-making both consciously and unconsciously. As Hall states, “The trouble is that the instant one learns to be “an immigrant,” one recognizes one can’t be an immigrant any longer: it isn’t a tenable place to be. I, then, went through the long important, political education of discovering that I am “black” (in Oswell 2006:112).

Being defined as a “Chinese woman,” “Shanxi person” or “village girl” based on race, place and gender distinction is to be placed into socially constructed categories that are contingent and always subject to change, negotiation and contest. Like Hall, my eventual reconciliation with Chineseness is not to claim “an essential, fixed identity,” rather it is a temporarily fixed identity in transition that I consciously adopted during the process of moving and positioning myself in order to articulate a specific lived experience in a shared social space. As Oswell states, “identities are always articulated […] The movement of the subject implies its articulation, disarticulation and rearticulation as a potentially constant process” (2006:112).

To conclude, under different social contexts represented by the different places I have articulated above, one’s differences based on ethnicity, gender, class, language, geographic location and physical characteristic can be appropriated by those with power to classify people and put them in a locked hierarchy category, which then determines one’s access to material resources, political rights and social recognition. In the site of everyday life, the stereotypes based on fixed essentialised characteristics are often used for discrimination or exclusion, but can also be strategically employed as a resource to speak from a different perspective and attract larger audiences in a creative space (Ang 2001:35).

Being an international student and then artist in Sydney, I am certainly privileged enough to be aware of the contingency of the social formation of my identities that made it possible to cross boundaries and enact different aspects of my identity in different places without being burdened by it (Pratt 2008:167). However, those
less fortunate, such as “Dagongmei” (Chinese migrants employed as cheap factory labour lacking “cultural, social and economic capitals”), may be trapped by the imposed identities constructed by the politically and socially powerful to justify their exploitation. Their identities need urgent articulation in a broad social space in order to promote political action.

Thinking about the identities of “Dagongmei” are forced to assume, and their lack of choice about the situation they are in, makes me wonder about the role of chance in determining one’s identity and how luck or chance has influenced the many forms my identity has taken. Looking back at my upbringing in a small village in rural China, if my father had not gone to university and been able to find a job in the city, my entire family would have remained in the village and I would not have done any of the things that have shaped the person I am today. With the limited options a life in rural China provides I could easily have been a “Dagongmei” myself. As Hall confirms, identity making is never a finished game and is always in process, an investigation of one’s past will lead to the future and this symbolic detour “produces new subjects who bear the traces of the specific discourses which not only formed them but enable them to produce themselves a new and differently” (1992:312).

CONCLUSION
I have attempted to explore my relationship with the places I lived in so far. The experience of living in marginalised positions in different places has enabled me to interpret the social inequality and political injustices from a different perspective. In my heart, I am still the village girl I was many years ago and that will always be an essential identification when defining myself and a key mechanism for the continual articulation of my ever shifting identity.

Despite the extent to which academic work on Chinese diaspora has been written across various disciplines, there is a need to approach the subject as unique cases, especially related to woman experience. This reflective account has helped me understand the existing discourses on Chinese diaspora and realize how the discourses cannot do justice to the complex subjectivities of diasporic experiences. My voice in this article is expected to prove that. Since I discuss my experience as woman, it will be insightful and interesting if more work with feminist perspective is done. Thus, further research is needed to reveal a new reading on Chinese diaspora, preferably from other women living and performing their identities in various places.

REFERENCES


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