

TRACING THE LAST MILE

Mobility, Urbanization, and the Journey Home in China's Spring Festival Golden Week

by
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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

ABSTRACT

Tracing the Last Mile studies the annual migratory journey home during China's Lunar New Year Golden Week through the convergence of traditional Chinese art and auto-ethnographic research. This thesis highlights individual journeys within this migration to foreground differential human experience and cultural logics within the larger processes of urbanization and globalization in contemporary China.

The research of Aihwa Ong, a Malaysian anthropology scholar investigating topics of transnationality and graduated sovereignty, are explored for insight into the mass migration of Golden Week and the greater phenomenon of rural to urban migration in China. This thesis posits a new term—*graduated mobility* that examines a focused aspect of graduated sovereignty and classifies a set of differential Golden Week journeys in order to investigate the tenuous ritual of returning home.

The thesis utilizes the scroll's abilities of illustrating journeys interwoven with social history to dissect a present-day Golden Week migration. Hand scroll paintings dating back to the Ming dynasty are studied on the three criteria of content, technique, and format. First, the sense of hierarchy used to portray content in the scrolls, is discussed in relation to how we can deploy democratic ways of depicting levels of class within China's evolving social ladder. Secondly, the techniques of scale and perspectival distortion are analyzed to learn how space and time of the journey can be represented within a static drawing. Thirdly, the handheld format of rolled scrolls is challenged in order to rethink the performative potential of hand scroll paintings.

The culmination of the research results in the making of a contemporary scroll drawing that depicts the journey of a transnational citizen—myself, as it intersects with travellers that represent varying degrees of graduated mobility. By revisiting this artform with current themes related to urbanization and the effects of globalization, *Tracing the Last Mile* positions the Golden Week journey as an entry point into the rippling, far-reaching effects of globalization.

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I would like to sincerely thank my thesis supervisor, Jane Hutton. Your unwavering dedication to students is inspiring and your guidance will be fondly missed. Thank you for the enthusiasm and clarity that you bring to each and every discussion.

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Of course, I would not have stayed sane without those responsible for the distorted hours of ping-pong and sandwich breaks. And lastly, my sincerest thank you to the amazing support system of family and friends (Amal, Tony, Dani, Maddi and many more) that stepped in at the eleventh hour. I would not have crossed the finish line without you.

This book is affectionately dedicated to my family—
those who I have known my whole life,
and those who I have had the privilege to come to know.

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There is a mode of vital experience – experience of space and time, of the self and others, of life’s possibilities and perils – that is shared by men and women all over the world today. I will call this body of experience “modernity.” To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world – and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said, “all that is solid melts into air.”

Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*

INTRODUCTION



last mile – *noun*:

[1] “...used to describe the difficulty in getting people from a transportation hub, especially railway stations, bus depots, and airports, to their final destination.”¹

¹ “Last Mile,” Merriam-Webster (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/last-mile>.

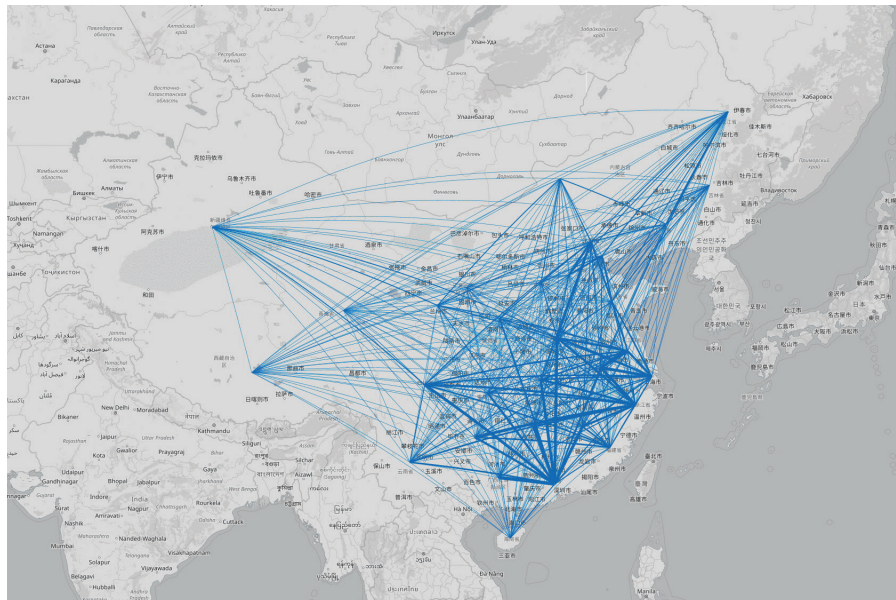
Introducing The Last Mile

The term “last mile” is used to describe the movement of people and the difficulty of getting people from a transportation hub, such as railway stations, bus depots, and airports, to their final destination. Adapted from use by telecommunications companies in the business of transporting products and services, the phrase is borne out of logistics and does little to encapsulate the hardship or sense of abandonment that travellers experience within those lapses in transit connections. The term invokes the sterile nature with which transportation authorities liken the movement of people to the movement of material goods. Instead, this thesis seeks to trace the journey of people in its entirety thereby imbuing the term “last mile” with more humanity. *Tracing the Last Mile* explores the differential levels of mobility that are afforded to travellers over the course of their annual Chinese New Year Golden Week migration home. This thesis illustrates both the ease and hardships of this traditional migratory journey and how trends towards urbanization in China have altered the age-old tradition that annually bridges the last mile between work and home.

Figure 1.1 (*opposite*)

Beijing South Railway Station employee watches over passengers as they queue to purchase train tickets; ready to assist and direct crowds.

INTRODUCTION



春運 – *chūn-yùn*:

/chūn/

1. spring
2. year; age
3. vitality; liveliness; energy; life

/yùn/

1. to transport; to carry; to ship
2. to use; to utilize;
3. fortune; luck; fate

/chūnyùn/

1. Spring Festival; spring migration
2. Golden Week; semi-annual 7-day national holiday
3. period of increased travel in China around the time of Lunar New Year
4. ‘the world’s largest human migration’

The World’s Largest Annual Human Migration

Golden Week is the name given to the bi-annual, 7-day national holidays that were implemented by the People’s Republic of China in the year 2000. The week-long holidays occur twice a year during The Lunar New Year and during National Day. National Day Golden Week, on October 1, often sees the population travelling to popular tourist destinations and attractions. In contrast, the Chinese New Year Golden Week (春運 - Chūnyùn, ‘Spring Festival’ or ‘Spring Migration’) which lasts for a weeklong period surrounding the Lunar Calendar New Year’s Day, is a holiday for workers travelling home and visiting family. This tradition of returning home is a longstanding ritual for much of the country and continues to be a visible reminder of China’s staggering population as more than 25% of the 1.4 billion population embarks on their annual migration home.² Since its implementation, Chūnyùn has grown to be the largest annual phenomenon of human migration in the world. An estimated 385 million people travelled during the Spring Festival in 2018, which is nearly 60 million people more than the entire U.S. population, travelling by plane, train, car and motor bike within a 40-day period.³

True to the holiday’s namesake, Golden Week is officially one week of holiday closure, three days of paid holiday are allowed, and the adjacent weekends are rearranged to allow for seven continuous days of holiday for Chinese workers. However, the increased period of travel that is experienced during this time of year subsists for an estimated 40-day timeframe beyond the one-week closure. This 40-day window encapsulates the several more minor holidays that lead up to the celebration of New Year’s Day and begins roughly 25 days prior and 15 days following New Year’s Day (see *Figure 1.4*).

² “Estimated number of people traveling to the following event (millions)”, February 14, 2018, *Forbes*, February 14, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/02/14/chinese-new-year-the-worlds-largest-human-migration-is-about-to-begin-infographic/#4afa194c124d>

³ Niall McCarthy, “Chinese New Year: The World’s Largest Human Migration Is About To Begin,” *Forbes*, February 14, 2018, accessed October 23, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/02/14/chinese-new-year-the-worlds-largest-human-migration-is-about-to-begin-infographic/#1b574e7124d6>.

Figure 1.2 (*top, opposite*)

Baidu Map showing paths of travel to and from cities during 2017 Chinese New Year Golden Week.

Figure 1.3 (*bottom, opposite*)

Bi-directional net migration between provinces using the 2010 Census.

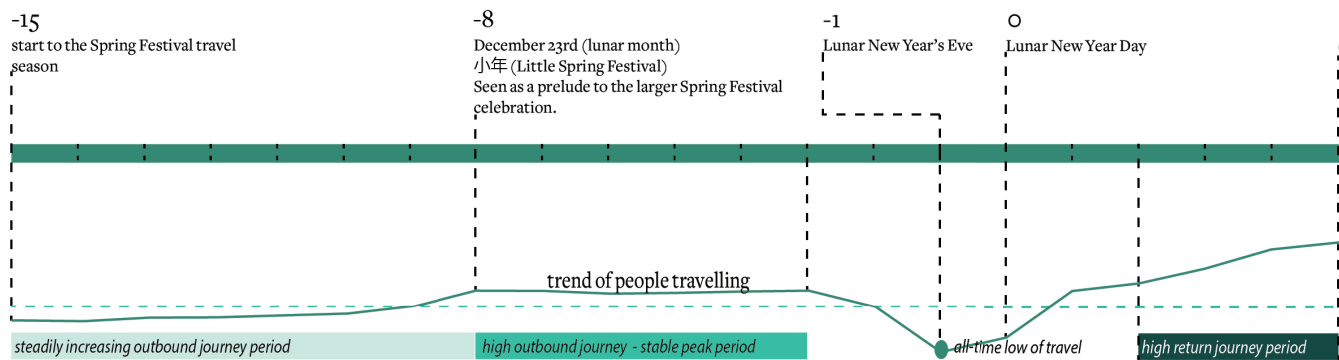


Figure 1.4

Timeline (-15 days to +25 days) in relation to the Lunar New Year in China. Denoting significant milestones and travel trends during.

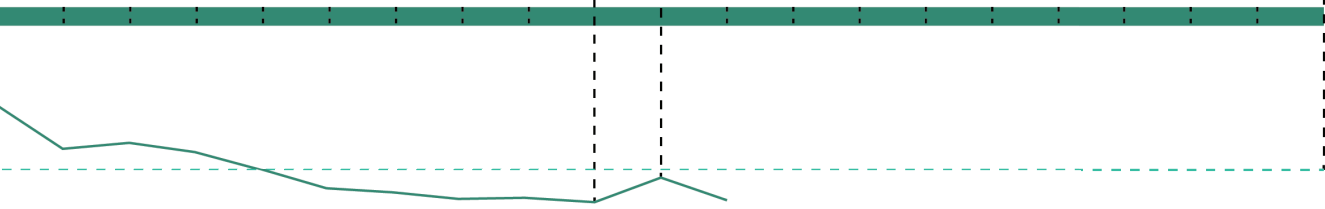
Source: 2017 Spring Festival Migration Summary Report, 2017, Baidu.

+6
5th day of the new year

+15

+16

+25
end to the Spring Festival
travel season



INTRODUCTION

离土不离乡

Leave The Land, Not The Village

进厂不进城

Enter The Factory, Not The City

离土又离乡

Leave The Land, And The Village

进厂又进城

Enter The Factory, And The City

A Brief History of Reform in China

Golden Week holidays were implemented by the government with the intent of boosting the domestic tourism economy and improving the standards of living across the nation. Holiday reforms existed within a larger plan to propel China into a more open economy and society that would allow the remainder of the world to view the nation as a growing influence on a global platform.⁴

The keystone moment in China's long history of reforms took place during the year 1978, in which the People's Republic of China began initiatives for the "opening-up" of the economy in the attempt to salvage the country's failing economy. This period immediately followed the death of Mao Zedong, renowned chairman of the Communist Party of China, in 1976. New leadership by Deng Xiaoping aspired for extensive economic reforms that catalysed China's unprecedented growth and the drastic changes that Chinese society has undergone within these past few decades. These reforms were executed in two stages, taking place from the late 1970s through to the 1990s. The first phase, that began in 1978 and continued through to the early 1980s, involved the de-collectivization of agriculture, opportunities for foreign investment to enter the country and the ability for entrepreneurs to start their own businesses. The second stage of "opening up", during the late 1980s to the 1990s, consisted of further measures to allow the privatization and contracting out of previously state-owned industry, relinquishing these industrial markets from state ownership to the private sector.⁵ The success of these economic reforms was immense and has resulted in a formidable chain of events that has catapulted China to ranking second in the world's highest GDP ranking as of 2019, the country remains the world's largest economy and is projected to continue to hold their ranking for the coming decade.⁶

The outcomes of this momentous period in China's history pertaining to the Golden Week holiday reforms, and ultimately to this thesis, are two-fold. Firstly, motions to open the economy to foreign investment and the privatization of industry has created an unprecedented number of job opportunities in the way of business-outsourcing to China and an endless demand for labour force in these industries. As the labour force in China pivots away from agriculture and instead focuses its sights on industrial work, farmers who previously tilled the fields now migrate to occupy factory floors. Secondly, the growing socio-economic mobility and increased access to employment has contributed to explosive "overnight" growth of a middle-class in China like never before seen. In order to attract the wealth and spending power of this coming-of-age social class back into the economy, holiday reforms have shaped the calendar year in a way that encourages domestic travel and props up the domestic tourism economy. Therefore, the scale of the Golden Week migration reflects broader movement patterns of rural to urban migration that has been driven by reform policy that has been in the making for over 40 years in China.

⁴ Hongyu and Bianji, "China Enjoys Twice as Many Days off since Reform and Opening Up," People's Daily Online, June 5, 2018, <http://en.people.cn/n3/2018/0605/c90000-9467461.html>

⁵ Emily T. Yeh, Kevin J. O'Brien, and Jingzhong Ye, *Rural Politics in Contemporary China* (London: Routledge, 2015), p.189.

⁶ "Projected GDP Ranking (2019-2024)," Statistics Times, November 13, 2019, <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/projected-world-gdp-ranking.php>.

Figure 1.5 (*top, opposite*)

In the early 1980s, government planning divisions and local village enterprises made calls to "leave the land, not the village" and to "enter the factory, not the city". The intention of these slogans; to stifle the migratory flows from previously agriculturally centric regions to the burgeoning industries of the eastern seaboard that could overburden these rapidly growing cities.

Figure 1.6 (*bottom, opposite*)

Entering the 1990s amidst the throes of China's economic reform policies, a revised slogan emerged that encouraged citizens to "leave the field and the village, enter factories and towns and cities". Despite the change of policy in encouraging workers to migrate towards the industrial heartlands, there existed minimal safety nets and civil support for these migrant workers once they left the boundaries of their village.

Source: Rural Women in Urban China: Gender, Migration, and Social Change, 2006, Tamara Jacka.

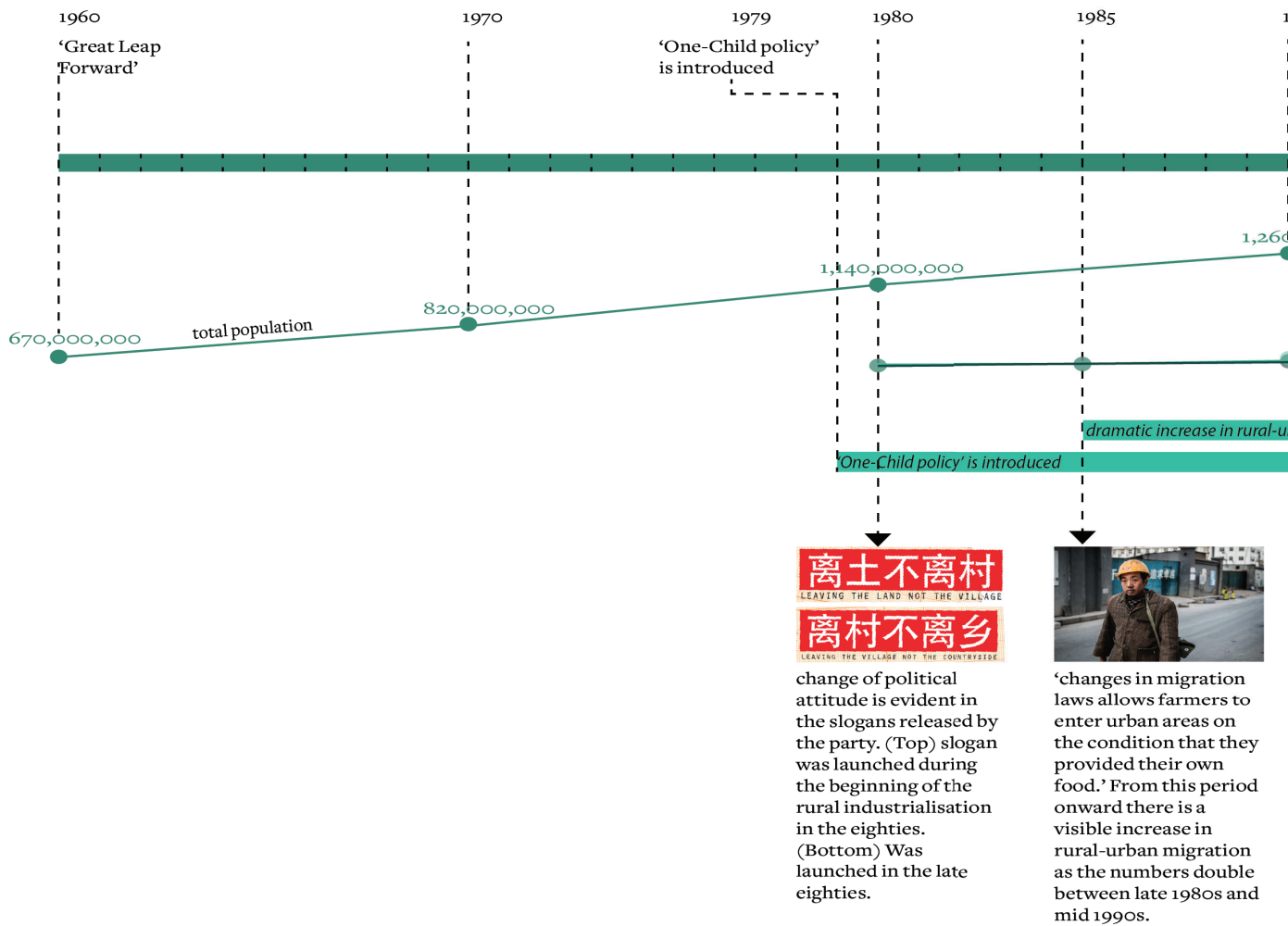
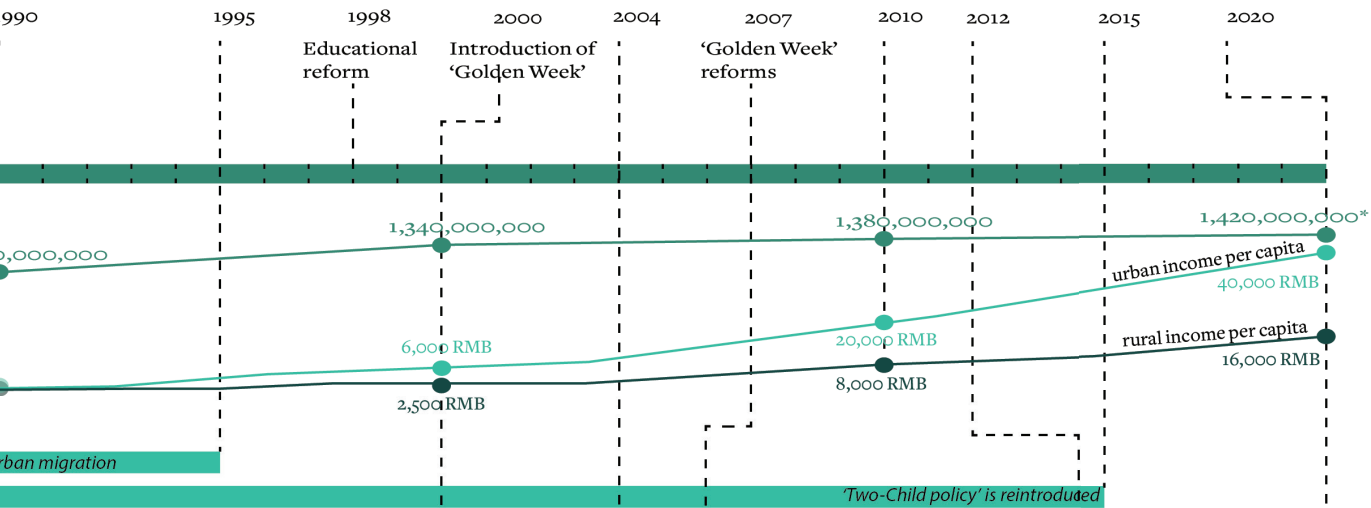


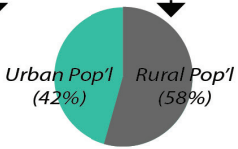
Figure 1.7

Timeline (1960 - 2020) of major events in China and the growth trends of population, urban income and rural income.



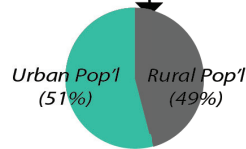
'Golden Week' holidays are acknowledged as official National Holidays in the interest of boosting domestic tourism industry.

- Lunar New Year (Jan - Feb)
- May Day (May 1)
- National Day (Oct 1)

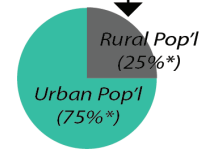


To address concerns of overcrowding and the disruption of holiday closures, 'May Day' Golden Week is reduced to one day and three additional single holidays are added.

- Qingming Festival
- Dragon Boat Festival
- Mid-Autumn Festival



China's urban population surpasses rural population at 51.27% now living in cities.



INTRODUCTION



Golden Week has been largely successful in achieving its goal of encouraging domestic travel and spending. In terms of tourism spending and consumption growth compared to other leading economies, China leads by a large margin and is labelled as the world's top tourism spender⁷. The glorified pace at which China has urbanized is seen to be the hallmark of the country's rise to global power, but the country's public image belies the consequences of the reckless and rapid rate at which it has developed.

Rapid & Reckless Urbanization

China is recognized for its rising global stature, and several developing countries seek to follow in its footsteps, but more than 40 years after the implementation of the economic reforms, we witness the frictions that have been budding in parallel with the economic growth. As of the year 2011, China's urban population has exceeded the rural demographic and in 2018 studies published by the National Bureau of Statistics of China show that 59.1% of China's nearly 1.4 billion population lives in urban areas. As stated by German database company Statista, "a mere 19.6% of the Chinese population had been living in urban areas in 1980"⁸, China's 1.4 billion population crossed the threshold between rural majority to urban majority in just 31 years. Statista defines *Urbanization in China* as the following:

*"Urbanization refers to the process by which people move from rural to urban areas and how a society adapts to the population shift. It is usually seen as a driving force in economic growth, accompanied by industrialization, modernization and the spread of education... China's urban areas are characterized by a developing middle class. Per capita disposable income of Chinese urban households had more than doubled between 2008 and 2018. The emerging middle class is expected to become a significant driver for the continuing growth of the Chinese economy."*⁹

As China's urban population skyrockets, and governmental purview becomes tailored to benefit those within the developing middleclass, it begs the question, what is left of the rural minority population in China? Much is still left to be desired for by the marginalized members that experience intense social exclusion from the rising middle and upper class. With still 43% of China's population recorded as being rural in 2016 and rural workers report much lower average wages in comparison to their urban counterparts, a staggering portion of the nation's population remains unable to meet the income level purported by China's rising middle class.¹⁰

⁷ "October 2018," *UNWTO World Tourism Barometer* 16, no. 3 (April 28, 2018): accessed October 23, 2018, doi:10.18111/wtobarometereng.2018.16.issue-3.

⁸ Shu Han, "China: Urban and Rural Population 2018," Statista (Ströer Media, November 8, 2019), <https://www.statista.com/statistics/278566/urban-and-rural-population-of-china/>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Salvatore Babones, "China's Middle Class Is Pulling Up the Ladder Behind Itself," *Foreign Policy* (The FP Group, February 1, 2018), <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/02/01/chinas-middle-class-is-pulling-up-the-ladder-behind-itself/>.

Figure 1.8 (*top, opposite*)

Construction out car window as seen from the drive from Xiamen to Xiang'an.

Figure 1.9 (*bottom, opposite*)

Farmer gestures to backyard vegetable garden in Xiang'an village.

INTRODUCTION



Despite the commendable rate at which the country has established itself on a global stage, and the rising wealth of China's middle class, those who have improved their socio-economic standing are seen to be pulling up the ladder behind themselves and the rural poor are becoming increasingly unwelcome in China's urban cities.¹¹

Shining a Spotlight on The Invisible Population

For much of the year the upper and middle-class in China, the government and the media can turn a blind eye to lower-class citizens. Blips in the media may arise when yet another urban village is razed to the ground to make way for a new high-rise development or shopping centre, but this situation has become a run-of-the-mill occurrence that it is quick to lose the ire of the public. Migrant workers, or sometimes called rural migrants, are workers with a rural household registration who are employed in an urban workplace and reside in an urban area. Migrant workers make up close to 36% of the country's total workforce and is reported to have reached an estimated 288.4 million in 2018. This number does not include the number of undocumented rural migrant workers that may not be legally registered.¹² Despite the staggering numbers, it becomes easy to ignore the plight of the migrant labourer as they are literally and figuratively pushed to the sidelines—in policy and in satellite ghettos, in favour of their urban counterpart.

It is the annual phenomenon of the Golden Week migration that habitually brings the plight of the migrant labourer to the forefront of public attention, American author of travel literature, Tom Miller observes,

*“For a week or two in late winter or early spring, depending on when the lunar New Year falls, China's cities shut down. Construction halts, shops and restaurants close, and factory gates are bolted. Most urbanites barely notice the millions of rural migrants who live among them until they disappear for the holiday. But without the floating population of migrant workers, who flock to the cities from villages across the country, modern China would not exist. It is no exaggeration to say that these men and women, many barely out of school, power China's urban economy.”*¹³

For one fleeting moment each year the narrative of the overworked, underserved labourer is touted high and low through news articles. The public is once again in awe of the migrant worker who has immigrated to the city to chase their version of the China Dream, and travels as long as 30 hours home on multiple forms of transportation, to visit their aging parents and children, whom they see only once a year.¹⁴ There exists an appetite within the public, both domestic and abroad, to understand the human experience behind the world's largest human migration.

¹¹ Babones, “China's Middle Class Is Pulling Up the Ladder Behind Itself,”

¹² “Migrant Workers and Their Children,” China Labour Bulletin, accessed January 8, 2020, <https://clb.org.hk/content/migrant-workers-and-their-children>

¹³ Tom Miller, *Chinas Urban Billion: the Story behind the Biggest Migration in Human History* (London: Zed Books, 2012), p.6.

¹⁴ Kenrick Davis, “48 Hours From Home,” Sixth Tone, February 1, 2019, <http://www.sixthtone.com/news/1003534/48-hours-from-home>.

Figure 1.10 (top, opposite)

Tourist crowds at Qibao.

Figure 1.11 (bottom, opposite)

Man stares out to the changing landscape aboard the overnight, slow train running from Shanghai to Fuzhou.

INTRODUCTION



The fascination of the journey home becomes the momentary focus of the media during the fleeting moments of the annual phenomenon, but commonly infiltrates popular media and has been the subject of various documentaries and drama films. In order to satisfy public attention for insight that goes beyond shocking statistics and detached mapping data, documentary films and more intimate forms of documentation have emerged allowing viewers to understand the tangible impacts of rapidly urbanizing cities and shrinking rural population. Pushing the boundaries on these forms of media allow people to put faces to these global phenomena, but also bring to light the reality that there exists tens of millions of other families in the country undergoing a painfully similar experience. The tool of the individual story is merely the entry point into an exponentially greater number of lives and human experiences.

Documentaries like *Last Train Home*, directed and filmed by Montreal film director Lixin Fan, tells the story of one married couple over the course of three years beginning in 2006 and follows them as they travel home filming three consecutive Golden Week migrations. The film captures the couple's migratory experience from the congested metropolis of Guangzhou back to Huilong Village in the Sichuan province, which is approximately 2,100 km to the north-west of Guangzhou.¹⁵ Husband and wife, Chunghua and Suqin, are closely documented as they embark on their 48 hour journey to their village to see their two young children, who are unable to move to be with them in the city due to policy restrictions. In anticipating a happy and joyous reunion, we are confronted with the forlorn realities of the situation—parents who have sacrificed much, reuniting with their estranged children that harbour feelings of resentment and abandonment towards their absence and lack of familiarity. By bringing the viewer face-to-face with these individuals, the director captures a story that is deeply steeped with the intimate moments between the family that is rarely captured when news outlets push headlines covering the “world's largest annual human migration underway in China”.¹⁶

China's rapidly urbanizing population has presented itself on the global stage as the world's fastest growing economy, but the social stratification and gradated levels of mobility that marginalizes members of the population largely evades public attention for much of the year. Once a year, the Chinese New Year Golden Week renders visible the tenuous relationship between a person's workplace and home. This thesis intends to follow a similar vein of observational documentary films by spotlighting the individual journey and strives to humanize the experience of mass migration and rapid urbanization.

¹⁵ *Last Train Home* (Zeitgeist Films, 2009).

¹⁶ Karla Cripps and Serenitie Wang, “World's Largest Annual Human Migration Now Underway in China,” *CNN Travel*, January 23, 2019, World's largest annual human migration now underway in China).

Figure 1.12 (*top, opposite*)

Last Train Home, 2009, Lixin Fan.

Figure 1.13 (*bottom, opposite*)

Last Train Home, 2009, Lixin Fan.



Figure 1.14
Last Train Home, 2009, Lixin Fan.



MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



The Temporal, Spatial and Tactile Art of Hand Scroll Paintings

In order to prioritize the human experience of the Golden Week migration, the primary outcome of this thesis takes the form of a contemporary scroll drawing that illustrates an individual's Golden Week journey during the 2019 Lunar New Year holiday. Studies of potential modes of representation that possess the ability to depict temporal and spatial journeys has led to the selection of Chinese hand scroll paintings. To achieve a successful representation of the ephemeral nature of the migration, I turn towards studying traditional Chinese hand scroll paintings that depict similar temporal events.

Traditional hand scroll paintings are a hand-held form of art that have the inherent ability to convey movement within a static drawing, through the tactile act of rolling and unrolling the drawing. Believed to have been invented first in India before the fourth Century B.C., the hand scroll painting is said to have been introduced to China by the first century A.D.¹⁷ These scrolls were often images painted on continuous rolls of paper or silk that would be securely rolled when not being viewed and are renowned for the attention to minute details, as well as the long drawing length. Hand scroll paintings are a “dynamic” format that are known to be radically different from the “still” format of mural paintings and hanging scrolls and this moment of transition from “static to mobile formats” was seen as a key evolutionary step of Chinese painting.¹⁸ The viewer of the handscroll has direct physical contact with the scroll, rolling and unrolling at their desired pace, lingering on some compositions and moving quickly through others. Paintings often begin by being read from right to left, and back again, if the viewer so chooses. The number of viewers are often limited to a small amount, the size and format make it difficult to be viewed as a large audience. The reading of the scroll, as it was intended, is an extremely intimate process that was calibrated to the human body as it consists of reading each handheld portion at approximately shoulder-width apart distances. This historical form of art is perceived as being relevant in the twentieth century and regarded as important and accurate depictions of sovereignty, an empire's history and a poetic representation of the state condition of the time period in which the painting was completed. These whimsical, dream-like illustrations are key historical references that demonstrate the ability to accurately capture the political context of a time period.¹⁹

The content that was depicted in these hand scroll paintings is incredibly wide and often covers themes related to man's relationship to landscape, religious or cultural pilgrimages, seasonal changes and much more. For the purposes of refining the scope, specific case studies of hand scrolls depicting the *Qingming Festival* traditions and rituals are examined in relation to how they may be applied to the creation of a contemporary scroll that depicts the modern ritual of the Golden Week journey.

¹⁷ Anna Willmann, “Japanese Illustrated Handscrolls,” Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 2012), http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/jilh/hd_jilh.htm.

¹⁸ Shane McCausland and Yin Hwang, *On Telling Images of China: Essays in Narrative Painting and Visual Culture* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), p.304).

¹⁹ McCausland, 2014, p.305.

Figure 2.1 (*opposite*)

Departure Herald scroll on display at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Traditional Hand Scroll Painting Case Studies

This thesis spotlights three specific scrolls that depict the ritual movements of an alternate holiday that is also engrained in the nation's cultural history—Qingming Festival, commonly translated to Tomb-Sweeping Day. Qingming Festival occurs near the Spring Equinox and people travel to visit their departed loved ones at their burial place to pay their respects during this time of year.

Hand Scroll Study 1 discusses one of China's most well-known paintings—*Along the River During Qingming Festival*, a silk painting dating back to the Song Dynasty (1085-1145) completed by artist Zhang Zeduan.²⁰ *Hand Scroll Study 2* analyzes the two-part scroll series entitled *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing*, that were completed by an anonymous group of painters dating back to the Ming Dynasty (1366-1644). These two paintings exist together in a series, that depicts both the outbound and return journey of the emperor from the Beijing city centre to the Ming tombs, as the royal procession observes the rituals of the Qingming Festival.²¹

²⁰ "Along the River during the Qingming Festival," China Online Museum, accessed January 8, 2020, <https://www.comuseum.com/painting/famous-chinese-paintings/along-the-river-during-the-qingming-festival/>

²¹ "Painting Animation: Departure Herald and Return Clearing," National Palace Museum, accessed January 8, 2020, https://theme.npm.edu.tw/exh107/npm_anime/DepartureReturn/en/index.html

Figure 2.2 (*top, opposite*)

Departure Herald scroll on display at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

Figure 2.3 (*bottom, opposite*)

Departure Herald scroll on display at the National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan.

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Hand Scroll Study 1: Along the River During Qingming Festival (1085-1145)

Painted during the Song Dynasty by artist Zhang Zeduan, *Along the River During Qingming Festival* is arguably China's most well known artwork and has been referred to as "China's Mona Lisa".²² Along with its notorious history of theft and forgeries, this painting is known for the acute attention to detail that depicts all walks of life as they go about the celebratory aspects of the Qingming Festival. Of interest to this thesis are the ways in which bucolic, rural life is illustrated in contrast to the bustling, urban centre of ancient China (see *Figures 2.4-2.6*). The role of landscape and people evolve as the drawing shifts from the perspective of rural to urban surroundings.

In *Figure 2.4* the viewer is privy to the pastoral lifestyle of the rural civilians. The dominating presence of the landscape appears far more prominent and the depth of field stretches significantly further into the background of the painting as the water bleeds into the background material of the physical painting. Moving from right to left the viewer progresses closer to the city boundaries, and crowds begin to thicken in anticipation of the festivities and busy-ness of the urban area.

Before arriving to the city, the viewer comes across the interstitial market space between rural and urban. This moment is perhaps the most iconic of the more than 5-metre-long drawing (see *Figure 2.5*). The moment of tension between the sharply angled boats and the curvature of the bridge is extremely animated in the way that people and their interactions are depicted. This moment in the painting is both pivotal in content as well as in perspective—where the content shifts from rural territory and enters urban territory and where the perspective literally shifts to denote this key moment in the drawing.

Upon entering the walled city (see *Figure 2.6*) we can begin to see that architectural styles have evolved from humble, countryside huts to expansive residences that are composed of multiple complexes. The evolution of style is not limited to the macro level of buildings, but also applies to the more micro clothing styles worn by the urban figures. However, the change in perception of landscape is even more crucial than the evolutions in architectural and clothing style. Within the boundaries of the city, trees and greenery becomes increasingly tamer. The wildness of nature that was depicted in the rural landscape has been replaced by extravagant, neatly bound gardens. In the absence of wild, dominating landscape human figures and the built form occupies the majority of the frame.

²² Keith Bradsher, "China's Mona Lisa' Makes a Rare Appearance in Hong Kong," *The New York Times* (The New York Times, July 3, 2007), <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/03/arts/design/03pain.html>

Figure 2.4 (*top, opposite*)

Along the River During Qingming Festival, Zhang Zeduan, 1085-1145.

Figure 2.5 (*middle, opposite*)

Along the River During Qingming Festival, Zhang Zeduan, 1085-1145.

Figure 2.6 (*bottom, opposite*)

Along the River During Qingming Festival, Zhang Zeduan, 1085-1145.





← beginning of scroll*

并宜城而九重清庙才荆岷止道
 儒探焉者时倚豫大此日秋殿
 乾隆壬戌春三月浙题
 梁鸿三敬书

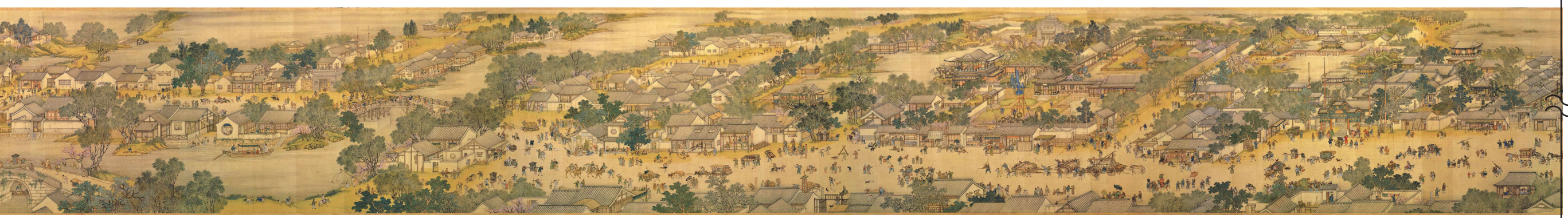


Figure 2.7
 Along the River During Qingming
 Festival, Zhang Zeduan, 1085-1145

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Hand Scroll Study 2: Departure Herald and Return Clearing (1366-1644)

The second scroll study completed is regarding a two-part scroll series that depicts the roundtrip journey of an emperor of the Ming dynasty that ruled during the years of 1522-1566. The scrolls, painted by unknown artists, titled *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing*, together respectively depict the outbound and return journey of the emperor and their royal procession as they embark on the journey from the city of Beijing to the Ming tombs, that are approximately 48km in the north-westerly direction of Beijing.

The first scroll, *Departure Herald*, that depicts the royal entourage leaving the city is read starting from right-to-left and whereas the return journey scroll, *Return Herald*, is read in the opposite direction from left-to-right. In addition to mirroring one another in the format through which the drawing is read, the modes of transportation between the outbound and the return journey also differ as the emperor is seen to be travelling by horse caravan in the outbound trip yet returning by boat in the inbound journey to the city (see *Figures 2.8-2.9*). Despite being two independent drawings, the scrolls exist very much in unison and the coupled format of the series composes a compelling narrative of a culturally born return migration, to which many likenesses can be drawn to the Golden Week migration.

In addition to the unique coupling of scrolls, the *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing* are relevant in the ways that the unknown artist deploy methods of illustrating hierarchy amongst human figures that is different from the techniques used by the artists that completed *Along the River During Qingming Festival*. In the first scroll study we see a striking contrast in the urban civilians in comparison to their rural counterpart. *Along the River During Qingming Festival* depicts figures that are distinguishable by their clothing style, density of crowds—or lack thereof, and the different ways in which social classes experience rituals of the holiday. In contrast, *Return Clearing* takes more artistic liberties in the illustration of their figures and goes so far as to distort the physical scale of a figure to convey a higher embodiment of power and therefore a larger physical size. In *Figure 2.9*, the emperor can be seen seated within an ostentatiously ornate boat and his figure is two to three times larger in size than all other figures in the painting.

Figure 2.8 (*top, opposite*)

Departure Herald. The royal procession as depicted during the outbound journey by horseback.

Figure 2.9 (*bottom, opposite*)

Return Clearing. Emperor (seated figure to the left) appears two to three times larger than the remainder of figures in the painting. Also note the change in transportation method from horse to boat.



*beginning of scroll —→



← beginning of scroll*



Figure 2.10 (left)

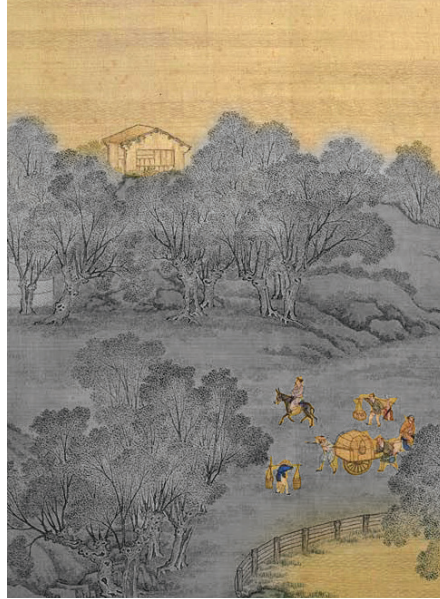
Departure Herald, Anonymous Artists, 1366-1644

Figure 2.11 (bottom)

Return Clearing, Anonymous Artists, 1366-1644



MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Values of the Hand Scroll Painting

In proposing a contemporary scroll drawing that depicts the Golden Week migration, this thesis drawing seeks to both borrow and subvert the values used by artists of the traditional hand scroll paintings discussed in the case studies. These values of the hand scroll paintings are categorized as follows: content, technique or format.

Content: Rural and Urban

The domination and presence of landscape is a prevalent theme in the canon of Chinese traditional art dating as far back as the Tang dynasty (618-907), where landscape painting evolved into an independent genre of its own. In fact, later in the Song dynasty (960-1127) landscape and illustrations of natural elements evolved to act as metaphors of the state and its people.²³ This delicate balance of landscape and humans has continued to work hand in hand to portray the social order and nuances of civic life of the time period in which the paintings are created. These depictions of landscape and people are therefore incredibly telling in their ability to depict contrasts between rural and urban lifestyle, social behavior and notions of hierarchy between these citizens. *Along the River During Qingming Festival* brilliantly captures the rural versus urban contrast of the time period through the accuracy of detail in clothing, architectural style, and role of landscape and accurately depicts the nuances of social hierarchy. Contrarily, the scroll series *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing* alludes to status and power through techniques of scale distortion.

As a goal for the culminating thesis drawing, the traditional methods of depicting social hierarchies and class divide within Chinese hand scroll paintings are adapted for the contemporary scroll drawing. In addition to depicting divisions of class, these same elements illustrate themes related to divisions of social mobility and physical mobility demonstrating the varying levels of mobility of the modern day travellers during the Golden Week migrations.

²³ Department of Asian Art, "Landscape Painting in Chinese Art," Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2004), https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tang/hd_tang.htm

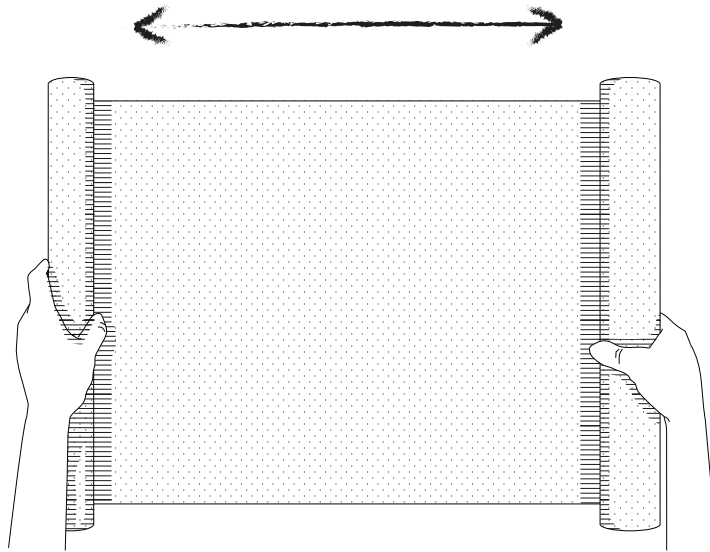
Figure 2.12 (*top, opposite*)

Comparison of landscape, people and architecture in rural and urban portions of scroll.

Figure 2.13 (*bottom, opposite*)

Scale comparison of figures in *Return Clearing* scroll.

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Technique: Speed and Perspective

Within the discourse of Chinese art, themes related to landscape are not exclusive to specifically hand scroll paintings. However, hand scroll paintings are unique in their techniques used to aptly depict a continuous narrative or journey. The viewing itself of the handscroll painting is an act of progression through time and space that is specific to this form of Chinese painting.²⁴ The reading of Chinese hand scroll paintings is akin to embarking on a journey and is said to “take [the viewer] on a literal walk through space”.²⁵ In critical essay written by Mark Sullivan in analyzing Chinese landscape painting as inspiration for Western painting, he observes the unwinding of the scroll between the hands and its relationship to the viewer “walking through space”. Remarking that “whether walked along or unspooled in segments, the scroll intends to involve the viewer’s imagination at an almost physical level, creating a feeling of wandering through a scene rather than absorbing it from a fixed point.”²⁶ Hand scroll paintings possess inherent qualities that allows viewers to experience moments of movement, taking the viewer on a journey through a series of illustrated spaces. Movement is conveyed by way of contrast and the viewer moves through evolving landscapes that may subtly transition from urban to rural, congested to languid, extravagant to humble, or lush to barren.

The thesis drawing draws from the techniques of scale and perspectival distortion in traditional hand scroll paintings that manipulate literal time and lend to the fluidity of narrative time. The pivotal bridge moment previously discussed in *Along the River During Qingming Festival*, is a valuable teaching tool that demonstrates a drawing’s ability to transition between contrasting elements fluidly and allow the successful movement of the viewer from rural, to market and lastly to city. A common technique of Chinese painting, the subtle combinations of different perspectives enables the creation of a natural and realistic panoramic effect.²⁷ Similarly, the thesis drawing must also ensure a seamless, continuous reading experience through smooth transitions and perspectival manipulation between the numerous destinations along the Golden Week journey. Common elements such as modes of transportation (train, car or plane), traditional motifs (clouds and crowds) are used to aid in seamless transitions between these destinations and to control the speed of the narrative. Understanding these narrative and perspectival techniques becomes increasingly useful as the literal time, distances and scales of the Golden Week journey are translated to a continuous, seamless drawing.

²⁴ Delbanco, 2008.

²⁵ Mark Sullivan, “The Gift of Distance: Chinese Landscape Painting as a Source of Inspiration,” *Southwest Review* 92, no. 3 (2007): pp. 407-419, www.jstor.org/stable/43472830.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ McCausland, 2014, p.305.

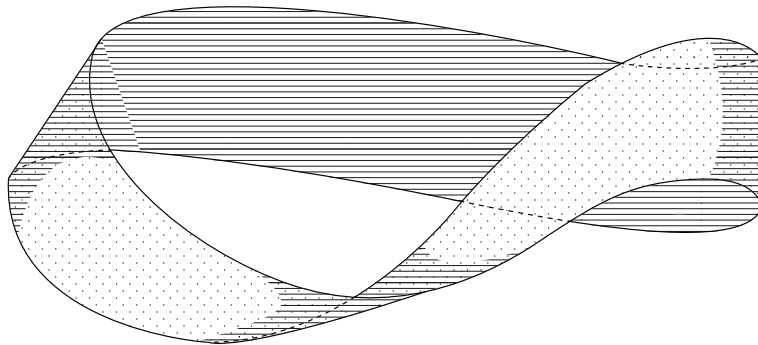
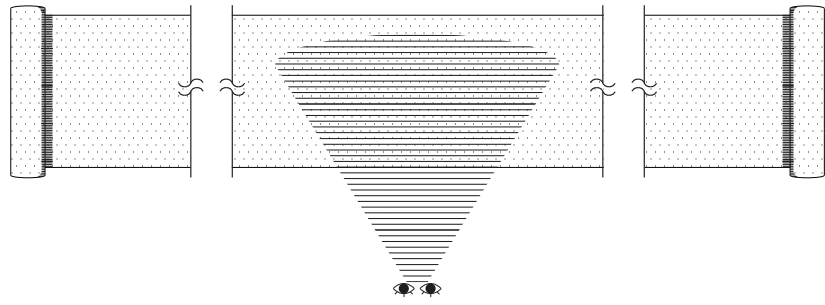
Figure 2.14 (*top, opposite*)

Typical method of reading hand scroll drawing.

Figure 2.15 (*bottom, opposite*)

Perspectival techniques in *Along the River During Qingming Festival*.

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



Format: Narrative and Control

Horizontal scroll paintings can run to any length, and it is noted by Alan Priest, a past curator of the Far Eastern Art Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, that during the Ming and Qing dynasty these horizontal scrolls continued to grow in length and were admired as much for their length as they were for the poetic content that they masterfully depicted.²⁸ In addition to the impressive length, the unrolling and rolling is a uniquely intimate experience to this specific form of Chinese landscape painting.

The tangible, handheld format of the traditional hand scroll painting is an intimate, individual experience and though compelling, this format does not lend itself well to the exhibitory nature of an architectural design review. Reimagining the traditional format of the hand scroll paintings is key to the design methodology of this thesis. The challenge that exists with pushing the performative potential is to maintain the ability of the reader to have direct control of the narrative time and speed at which the drawing is read and comprehended. In learning from the coupled format of the scroll series *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing*, I have identified an additional evaluating criterion that determines the success of the thesis drawing format. The primary compelling quality of the scroll series, *Departure Herald* and *Return Clearing*, lies in the fact that the scrolls may be read as distinct drawings, but the reading of the pair as the depiction of a roundtrip journey adds further nuance and context to the drawing that would otherwise be lost if the drawings were separated. An additional metric that the thesis drawing must meet is the ability to be read as a continuous roundtrip journey that loops from origin to destination and conveys the annual reoccurrence of the Golden Week return migration.

²⁸ Alan Priest, "Southern Sung Landscapes: The Horizontal Scrolls," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 8, no. 7 (1950): pp. 198-208, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3257472>, p.198.

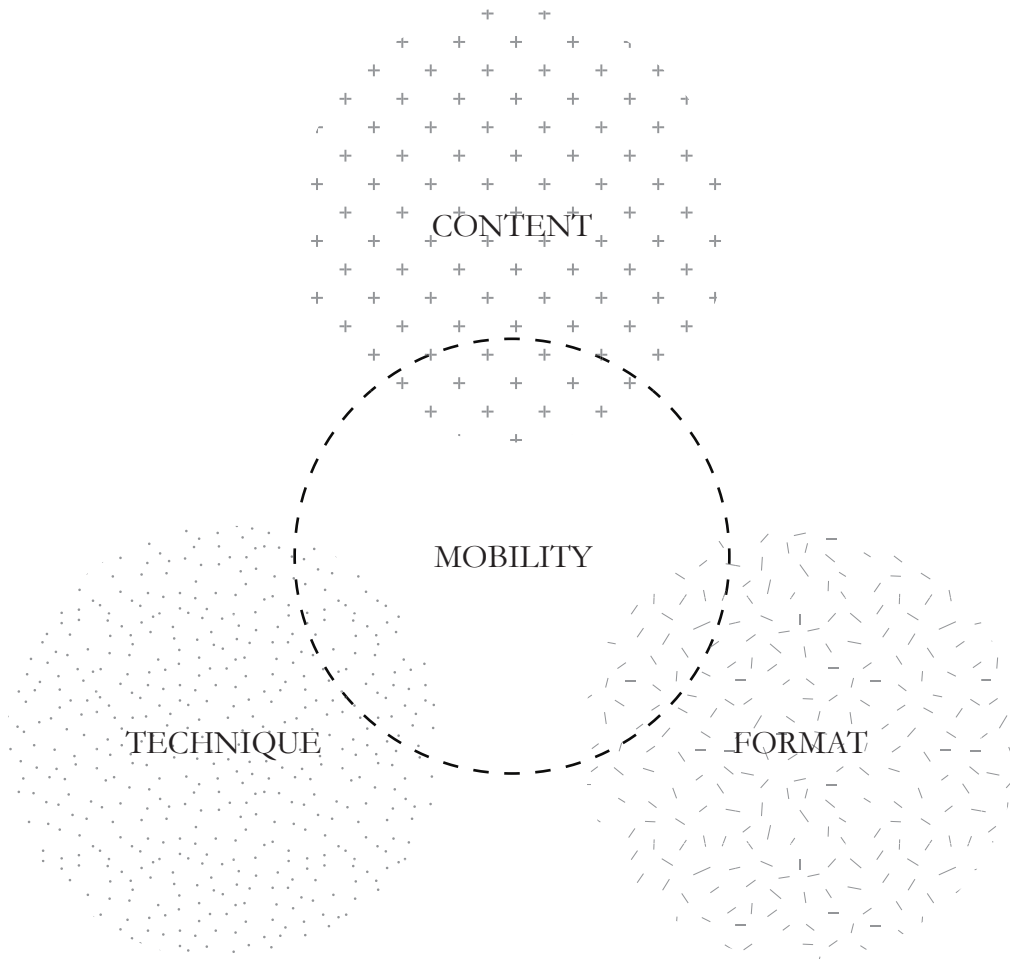
Figure 2.16 (*top, opposite*)

Limited field of vision due to length in the typical hand scroll drawing.

Figure 2.17 (*bottom, opposite*)

'Mobius strip' approach of the reimagined thesis drawing that encourages roundtrip reading.

MOBILITY IN HAND SCROLL PAINTINGS



The Value of Mobility

In summary, turning to hand scroll paintings informs the thesis drawing methodology, strategies and goals by understanding the traditional values of the content, technique and format of this historical art form. Moving forward, this thesis posits the new value of *mobility*, as an overarching category that intersects with content, technique and format. Mobility refers to one's ease or difficulty in accessing and achieving increased socioeconomic and physical mobility. By this definition, illustrating mobility becomes a representation of social unification and stratification within the nation. The culminating Golden Week drawing seeks to make visible varying levels of socioeconomic and physical mobility by learning from the values of traditional hand scroll paintings and speculates on the importance of spotlighting mobility.

Figure 2.18 (*opposite*)
Mobility venn diagram.

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



China's Divergent Social Fates

Despite the seemingly unified nature of mass migration, the methods by which travelers go about moving from origin to destination are unilaterally different. It is important to acknowledge the spectrum of citizens that are both marginalized and elevated during the Golden Week migration, due to their access (or lack thereof) to means of mobility. Ethnographic and socio-cultural anthropology research published by Aihwa Ong are key to understanding this unequal treatment of the population and these concepts related to stratified mobility lean heavily on Ong's research concerning graduated sovereignty. Ong, a Malaysian anthropologist, examines the cultural effects of globalization in Southeast Asia, and defines *graduated sovereignty* as "a series of zones that are subjected to different kinds of governmentality... These zones, which do not necessarily follow political borders, often contain ethnically marked class groupings, which in practice are subjected to regimes of rights and obligations that are different from those in other zones".²⁹ The result is the "privileging [of] one ethnicity over another, the male over the female and the professional over the manual worker".³⁰ Ong argues that these different demographics are subject to varying levels of regulation and aid, and citizens of the same nation, "in the process [are] assigned different social fates".³¹ In order to visualize this differential treatment, one can imagine a spectrum that ranges from those "least linked to global circuits" to those "most linked to global circuits". In which citizens that are "least linked to global circuits" are subjected to a limitation in rights as well as subjected to increased regulations and surveillance. And the opposite is true for those "most linked to global circuits"; in which citizens most linked are privileged and enjoy more lax regulations of sovereignty and increased flexibility from governmental purview. Connections to global circuits indicates the levels to which people are woven into networks concerning globalization and ways in which connections are leveraged for personal gain and improvement.

²⁹ Ong, 2006: 7.

³⁰ Ibid, 58.

³¹ Ibid.

Figure 3.1 (*opposite*)

Worker cleaning seen through the windows of the slow-speed train that runs from Shanghai to Fuzhou. These trains are a reminder that not long ago China's vast country was connected by more humble means of transportation that contrasts greatly with the contemporary high speed bullet train.

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



Least Linked to Global Circuits

Rural migrant workers are defined as workers that are registered to a rural household but are employed in an urban workplace and reside in an urban area and are interpreted as a population that is least linked to global circuits. China employs a 'hukou' (户口-hùkǒu) system that keeps a record of a family's births, deaths, marriages, divorces and moves. It is a household registration system that assigns different benefits to the urban population that the rural population does not receive, such as access to public education, health care and pension. The hukou system has been the subject of much debate and is often likened to a caste system that serves to divide the population since its implementation in 1949, during the establishment of the People's Republic of China³². In addition to the marginalization of the rural population that is deeply imbued in China's political history, the growing margin that exists in a contemporary sense is said to be spurred by the increasing wage gap between the rural and urban demographic³³.

The mobility and flexibility that allows workers to move opportunistically to sources of income has allowed rural workers to thrive in ways that would not have been possible in their rural setting but has also served to marginalize them in their host cities. Upon arrival to the bustling urban centres, migrant workers originating from villages often find themselves hard-pressed to integrate with urban citizens. Diasporas in the form of ghettoized urban-villages ringing the main city make visible the disparity between those born in the city and those born in the village. The graduated sovereignty and divided zones of the urban-village slums facilitate the marginalization of migrant workers, while underscoring the significance of returning home. These zones prevent migrant workers from establishing roots within their host city and prevent rural families from thriving as an urban resident would. The flimsy rights allowed to migrant workers wedges region-wide distances between the worker and their children, further adding to the emotional baggage of the annual trip home.

³² Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2003), 90.

³³ Mars, 38-39

Figure 3.2 (*top, opposite*)

Decorators hanging festive lanterns at a historical attraction site in Beijing.

Figure 3.3 (*bottom, opposite*)

Kitchen workers receiving deliveries in Shanghai's Tianzifang New Year's festival market.

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



Most Linked to Global Circuits

The “social fates” of which Ong refers to in the case of the migrant labourer or the lesser educated blue-collar worker pales in comparison to that of those that are most linked to global circuits. Along the spectrum of graduated sovereignty that stratifies China’s working population, transnational citizens are considered the most affluent in opportunity and most mobile. Ong defines *transnationality* as the following,

“Trans denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something. Besides suggesting new relations between nation-states and capital, transnationality also alludes to the transversal, the transactional, the translational, and the transgressive aspects of contemporary behaviour and imagination that are incited, enabled and regulated by the changing logics of states and capitalism.”³⁴

It is increasingly important to also underscore how transnationalism operates within a multiplicity of cultures. Transnationalism is constantly fluid under the processes of globalization as cultures are increasingly woven together due to growing mobility.³⁵ The growing reach of globalization has birthed physical, urban spaces in which transnational citizens are seen to thrive and exercise their extreme mobility. Governments allow flexibilities in their sovereignty when they stand to profit, and Special Economic Zones scattered throughout Asia are the most tangible, spatial manifestations of this uninhibited connection to global circuits. Special Economic Zones (SEZ) are defined as zones where business and trade laws are altered from the status quo of the rest of the country. These zones allow trade and business relationships to thrive through increased flexibility of regulations and extended global reach.³⁶ Workers with higher education, transnational citizens, and the nation-state benefit this scenario in which the sovereignty of the nation appears more lax and mobility is more fluid, as Ong mentioned, the “social fates” that these citizens have been assigned is far more favourable than that of their rural, lesser educated counterparts that are less connected to global circuits.

³⁴ Ibid, 4.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Gokhan Akinci and James Crittle, “Special Economic Zone : Performance, Lessons Learned, and Implication for Zone Development,” Special economic zone : performance, lessons learned, and implication for zone development (English) | The World Bank (World Bank Group, July 1, 2010), <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/343901468330977533/Special-economic-zone-performance-lessons-learned-and-implication-for-zone-development>, p.2)

Figure 3.4 (*top, opposite*)

Woman gazes at her phone while waiting to board train.

Figure 3.5 (*bottom, opposite*)

Child and mom enjoy treats at a tourist site in Fuzhou, Fujian.

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY





A Spectrum for Contemporary China: Graduated Mobility

By placing concepts of differentiated citizenship at the centre of discussion of the Golden Week migration, this thesis posits a new term—*graduated mobility*. Graduated mobility theorizes a calculated extension of Ong’s research that borrows concepts of graduated sovereignty and transnationality to expand on the mass migration of Golden Week and seeks to understand the differentiated levels of mobility that are afforded to travellers. Graduated mobility speaks simultaneously to the *spatial mobility*—methods of transportation, travel distance and obstacles presented to a traveller as they embark on their annual migratory Golden Week journey, as well as *socioeconomic mobility*—the more permanent migration in pursuit of sufficient income and one’s ability to improve their economic standing. The two forms of mobility are undeniably linked and the increased access to spatial mobility subsequently allows increased mobility of socio-economic improvement, and the opposite is also true about lack of spatial mobility contributing to limitations in socio-economic betterment.

Figure 3.6 (*top, opposite*)

Passengers flood off a train platform upon arrival at Xiamen North Railway Station.

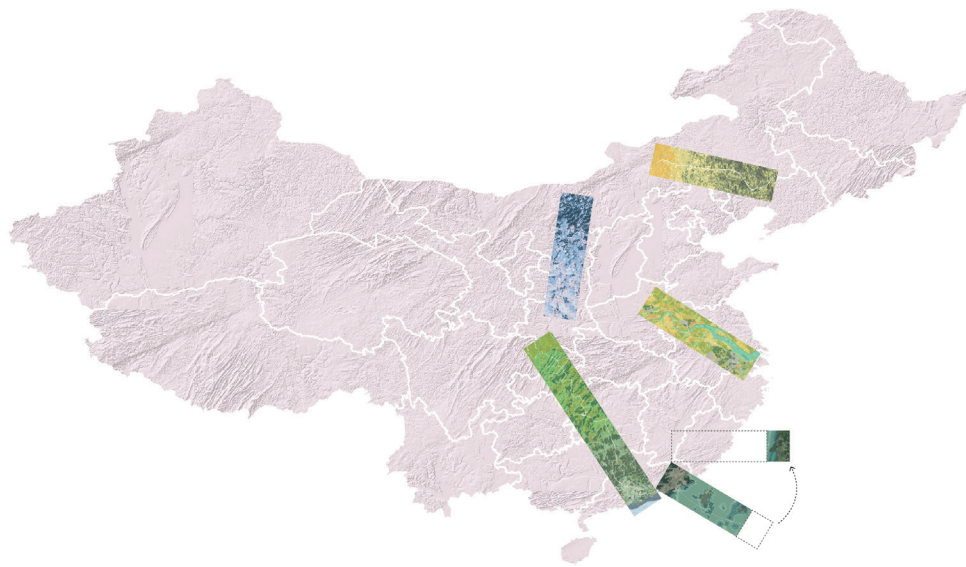
Figure 3.7 (*bottom, opposite*)

Passengers resting while waiting to board their train at Beijing South Railway Station

Figure 3.8 (*top*)

Graduated Mobility Spectrum

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



Individuals as Tools of Dissemination

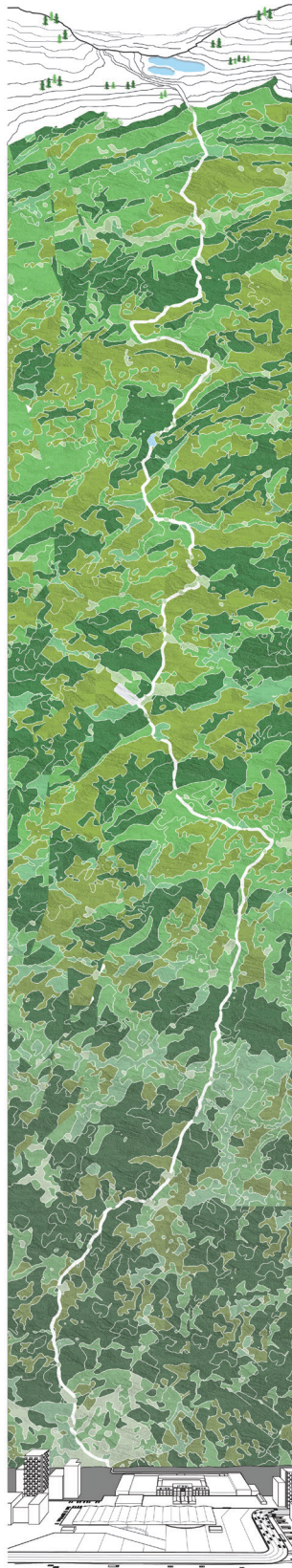
As a strategy of intervention into deeply loaded topics, this thesis employs archetypal characters as tools of dissemination and entry points into the broader discourse surrounding China's development. The key map on the opposite page (Figure 3.9) is an early attempt at illustrating the Golden Week migration journey of five archetypal characters overlaid on a map of the country. This diagram seeks to represent the migration at large through the understanding of these five individual characters as representatives of their respective demographic (*The Migrant Worker*, *The Satellite Parent*, *The University Student*, *The Holiday Hopper* and *The Frequent Flyer*). This earlier research stage exercise poses a *journey maps* series (Figure 3.10-fold-out) that displays a transect of Golden Week migrations as an illustration of how individual stories have the agency to depict the movement of hundreds of millions of people. In each of these images, the individual's path of travel is traced in a bold white line that contrasts with the bright backdrop and the length of the drawing is indicative of the length of travel. The journey map suggests a deeper investigation into common depictions of migration that simply treat this cultural ritual as a reductive act of simply moving from origin to destination. Instead, the act of migration is expanded from a singular line to a swath that illustrates the nuances of evolving landscape and prioritizes the lived human experience of mass migration.

Following additional research and the desire to depict factual travelers of the Golden Week migration of 2019, a revised set of five individuals is gathered that includes: *The Transnational Citizen*, *The Shenzhen Specialist*, *The Industrial Labourer*, *The Stationary Urbanite* and *The Left-Behind Farmer*. This methodology synthesizes the traditional hand scroll study with the contemporary research of graduated mobility and presents the research findings in the illustrative manner of a reconceptualized scroll drawing. Illustrated from the first-person perspective of *The Transnational Citizen*, the proposed scroll drawing takes strides to humanize the experience of the Golden Week mass migration and begins to hint at additional underlying themes entangled in the discussion of migration.

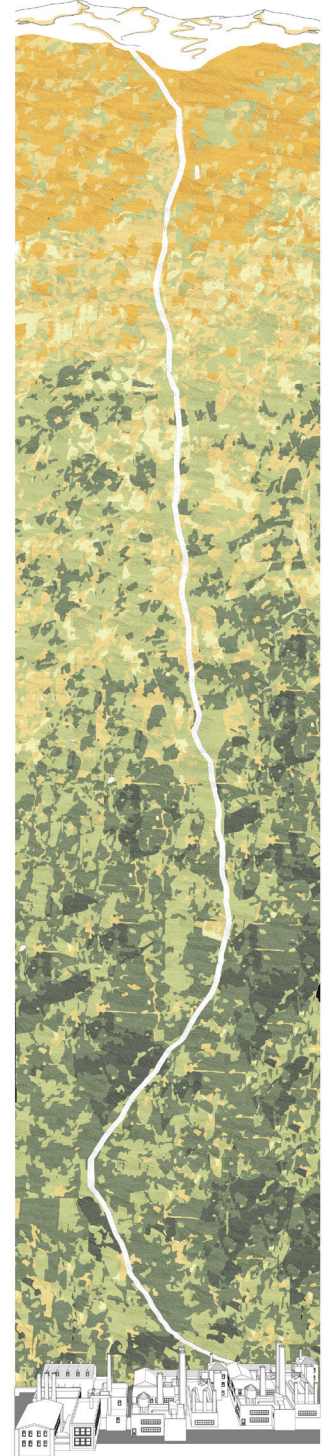
The following are detailed character profiles that describe each of the five archetypes and the underlying themes that they exist to disseminate:

Figure 3.9 (opposite)

Key plan of the journey map series, indicating pathways of travel of each map in the series.



“The Migrant Worker”
Guangzhou - Huilong

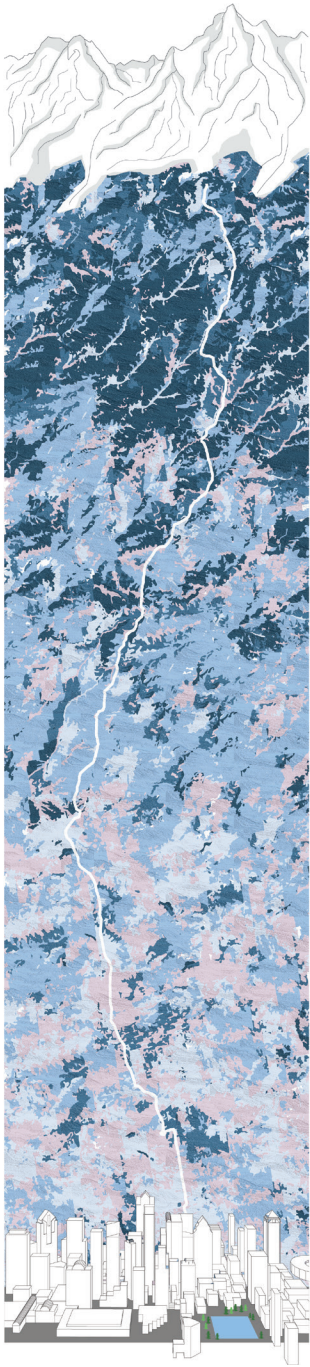


“The Satellite Parent”
Shenyang - Tongliao

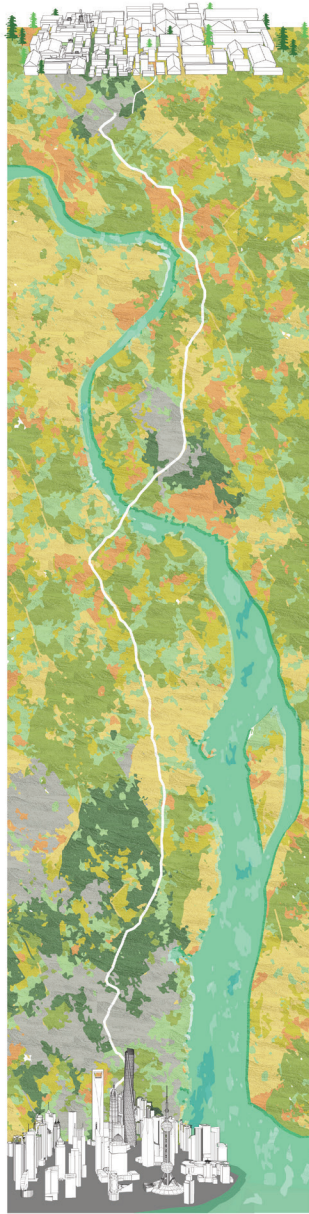
Figure 3.10

Series of journey maps created to depict the diverse range of travellers that embark on the Golden Week journey. From left to right: “The Migrant Worker”, “The Satellite Parent”, “The University Student”, “The Holiday Hopper”, and “The Frequent Flyer”.

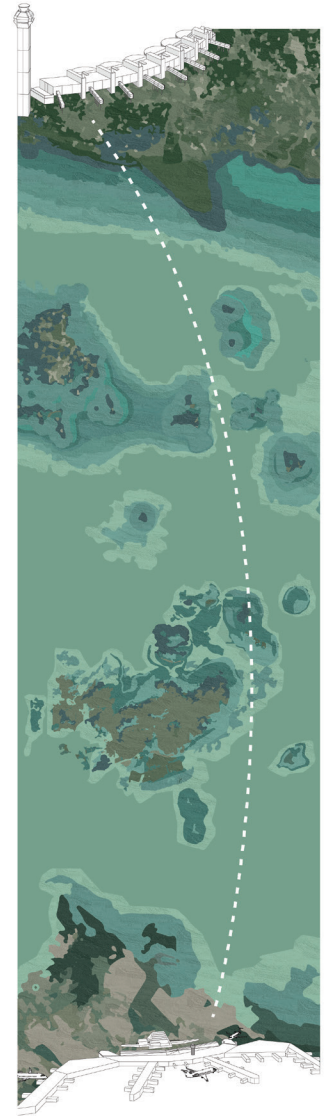
These characters (except for *The Migrant Worker*) were generated for the sake of this exercise and do not represent real travelers. The journey of *The Migrant Worker* is loosely adapted from the previously mentioned documentary, *The Last Train Home*.



"The University Student"
Xi'an - Yan'an



"The Holiday Hopper"
Shanghai - Taixing - Yangzhou



"The Frequent Flyer"
Shenzhen - Taipei

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



THE TRANSNATIONAL CITIZEN

Cynthia Tang

Figure 3.11

The Transnational Citizen
Character Profile

AGE
26 years old

MIGRATION ORIGIN
Ontario, Canada

MIGRATION DESTINATION
Xiamen, Fujian / Xiang'an Fujian

DISTANCE TRAVELLED
25,634 km (roundtrip)

OCCUPATION
University Student

Learning from The Transnational Citizen

As a first-generation Canadian that is the daughter of Chinese immigrants, I had the privilege of travelling to China for the 2019 Lunar New Year to visit family that I had not met before that live in the southern province of Fujian. This experience of shedding my Canadian identity to play the role of a Chinese traveler migrating 'home' is a privileged right that is afforded to me by my hard-working parents and the generosity of my family abroad. As a result of my Canadian Citizenship, I was able to quite easily obtain a tourist visa in order to visit China for an extended period of time. Due to China's interest in increasing tourist visitation, they have implemented a 144-hour visa exemption policy, in which travellers entering from specific airports need not apply for a visa. However, these exemptions only exist for the more populous urban cities, for example entry points such as Shanghai, Beijing and Nanjing. Upon arrival I felt uneasy at my lack of knowledge of the language, but through avid use of translation technology and an elementary level of Mandarin, I was able to get by and play the part. Situations in which my citizenship became glaringly different from those around me were often at checkpoints and in the experience of border crossing flows. I was often sorted into a different category than those people who held an official Chinese National Identification card when boarding trains. The realm of surveillance extended beyond regional borders and often extended to tourist sites and other checkpoints in which automatic facial recognition matched to one's identification card would allow entry through automated gateways.



THE SHENZHEN SPECIALIST

Zhang Ziqiang

Figure 3.12

The Shenzhen Specialist
Character Profile

AGE
43 years old

MIGRATION ORIGIN
Shenzhen, Guangdong

MIGRATION DESTINATION
Changcun, Jilin

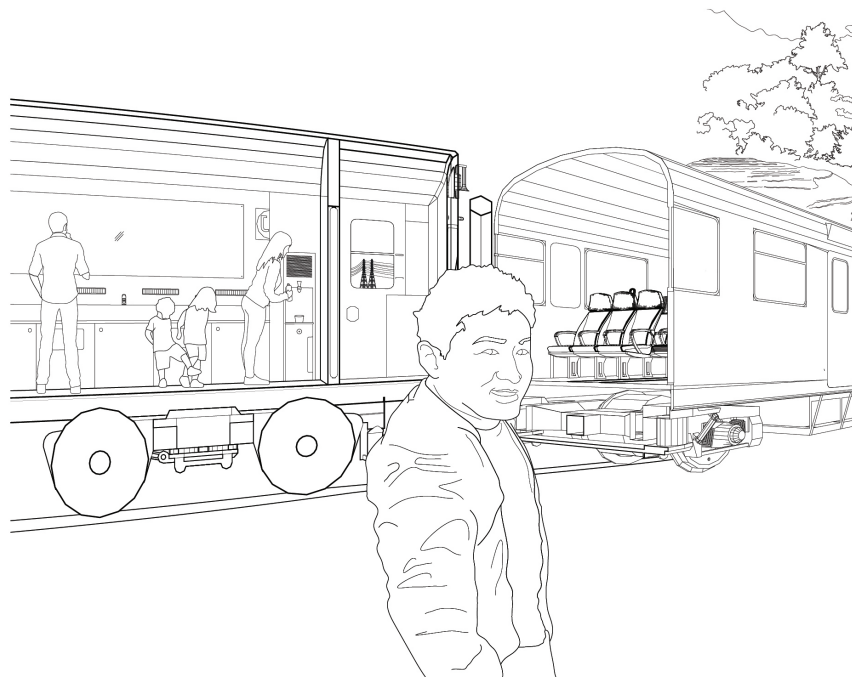
DISTANCE TRAVELLED
6,208 km (roundtrip)

OCCUPATION
Internet Security Specialist

Learning from The Shenzhen Specialist

** The following profiles of “The Shenzhen Specialist” and “The Industrial Labourer” are composited from media coverage completed by reporter Kenrick Davis, as part of a piece that followed homebound travelers leaving from Haikou city in the province of Hainan.*

Zhang Ziqiang is a 43-year old Internet Specialist that works in the business district of Shenzhen. The train route that Ziqiang has opted for is an especially long train route that extends from Hainan, in the southern region, to the northeastern province of Harbin. The full length of the train route lasts for a total duration of 48 hours, and stretches for 3,911km. Ziqiang is seated leisurely in the “hard-seat” train carriage that can cost up to 450 Chinese yuan, the equivalent of approximately eighty-five Canadian dollars. Upon the table in front of his seat rests his Apple laptop and a cup of instant noodles that he has bought before boarding and is prepared using the complementary built-in hot water boiler machine between train cars. Ziqiang is travelling from Shenzhen to visit his wife and 8-year old son who live in Changchun in Jilin province which are separated by more than 32 hours of travel. He has recently switched to another job that has doubled his earnings and he has hopes that his wife and son are soon able to join him in Shenzhen. Ziqiang remarks that traveling has made great strides since his childhood. He comments that when he was a young child, more than 30 years ago, trains were “often as packed as the Shanghai subway during rush hour” and that passengers would often have to spend their journeys seated in the overhead luggage compartments.



THE INDUSTRIAL LABOURER

Yan Zhenquan

Figure 3.13

The Industrial Labourer
Character Profile

AGE

MIGRATION ORIGIN

Danzhou, Hainan

MIGRATION DESTINATION

Henan Province

DISTANCE TRAVELLED

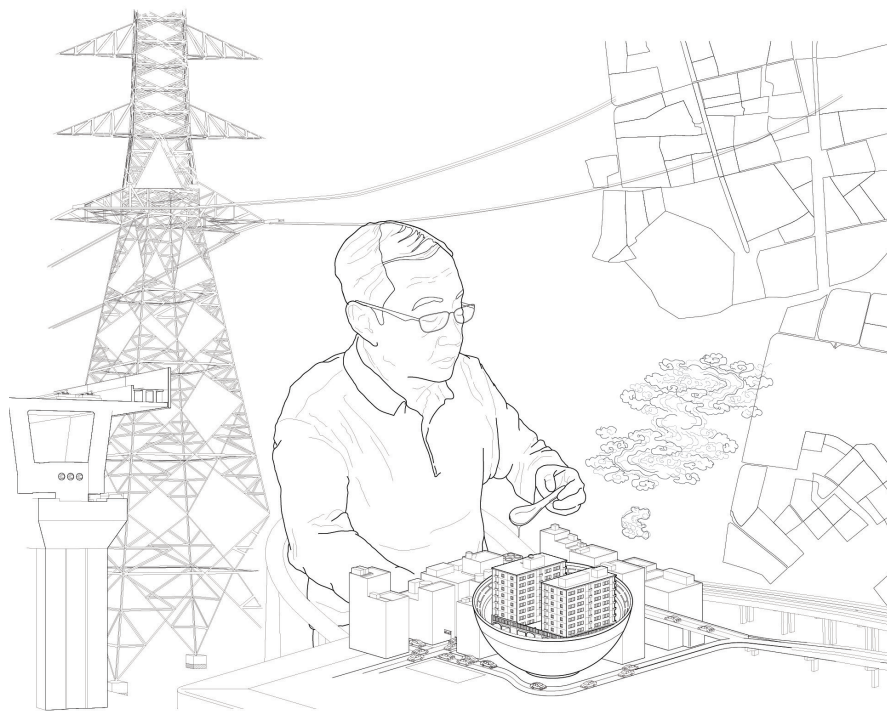
4,088 km (roundtrip)

OCCUPATION

Decoration Worker

Learning from The Industrial Labourer

Seated on a bucket between train cars is industrial labourer, Yan Zhenquan. As a decorator that works for the soon to be completed luxury resort in Hainan, Zhenquan works 10 hours per day, 7 days a week with no rest periods beyond national holidays. Ocean Flower Island is a 160 billion yuan luxury resort slated to finish construction in the year 2020. It is located on an artificially created archipelago that extends off the northern coast of Danzhou in the Hainan province. Zhenquan estimates that approximately 90% of the male villagers from his village in the Henan province are also industrial labourers employed away from their village. Zhenquan has purchased a standing-room ticket that is less than one-third of the price of his urban counterparts ticket in the hard-seat carriage, and costs approximately 128 yuan, the equivalent of twenty-four Canadian dollars. Other travel options that may have been available aboard the high-speed train would have cost almost three times the price of the standing-room ticket, but the four and a half hour journey would have been considerably less than his fifteen hour train ride seated on a bucket. Bearing the burden of a migrant worker, Zhenquan has left his wife and three children behind in his rural village and talks to them each night on the instant messaging platform, WeChat. He laments the distance, but seeks to earn more money so that one day his son may be married, the typical dowry in his region is over 100,000 yuan. As the single bread-winner of his family he is faced with mounting pressures due to the number of children he must raise and the strenuous distance from home. He fears that the more time he spend away from his family, the more emotionally distanced they will become. Employment within the developing cities is both his saviour and his captor.



THE STATIONARY URBANITE

Hong Zhensheng

Figure 3.14

The Stationary Urbanite
Character Profile

AGE
57 years old

MIGRATION ORIGIN
Xiamen, Fujian

MIGRATION DESTINATION

DISTANCE TRAVELLED

OCCUPATION
Sales Worker of Traditional Medicine

Learning from The Stationary Urbanite

** The following two profiles are members of my family that I met for the first time in 2019.*

Hong Zhensheng is a mild-mannered man, yet opinionated man that drove in the early morning hours to my hotel to pick me up a day following my arrival to Xiamen. I gave little notice of my plans to stay with them and he did not hesitate to relinquish his bedroom in a three-bedroom apartment in the old city for the sturdy sofa during my three-night stay. Zhensheng is the first-cousin to my father and lives on the seventh floor of an apartment building complex in the residential districts of Xiamen with his wife, 27-year old daughter and small dog. He is a handful of years from retirement and worked for decades as a salesperson for traditional east Asian medicines and now has switched to client relations for the same company. His wife is unemployed and his daughter, who has studied abroad in Australia for part of her post-secondary school education, now works as an English teacher in the city. The family of three live in a breezy, well-located apartment and were eager to share their history and roots that have been established in the area for quite some time, having only moved blocks away from their previous two-bedroom apartment. Before my paternal grandfather passed away, Zhensheng's father's brother, my grandparents would visit often and he told stories of them lugging suitcases up the seven-storeys and how my grandmother complained of the exhausting trek. On walking tours around the city, my uncle (for the sake of simplicity and respect) was deeply knowledgeable of Xiamen's extensive public transportation network and the rate at which the city has developed. The island of Xiamen developed densely due to the land-locked nature of the geography, but eventually the region began to sprawl and stretch across the water, moving the extents of the city further inland. As part of China's economic reforms and opening up, Xiamen was one of the original four special economic zones that existed in China in the early 1980s.



THE LEFT-BEHIND FARMER

Figure 3.15
The Left Behind Farmer
Character Profile

AGE
66 years old

MIGRATION ORIGIN
Xiang'an Fujian

MIGRATION DESTINATION

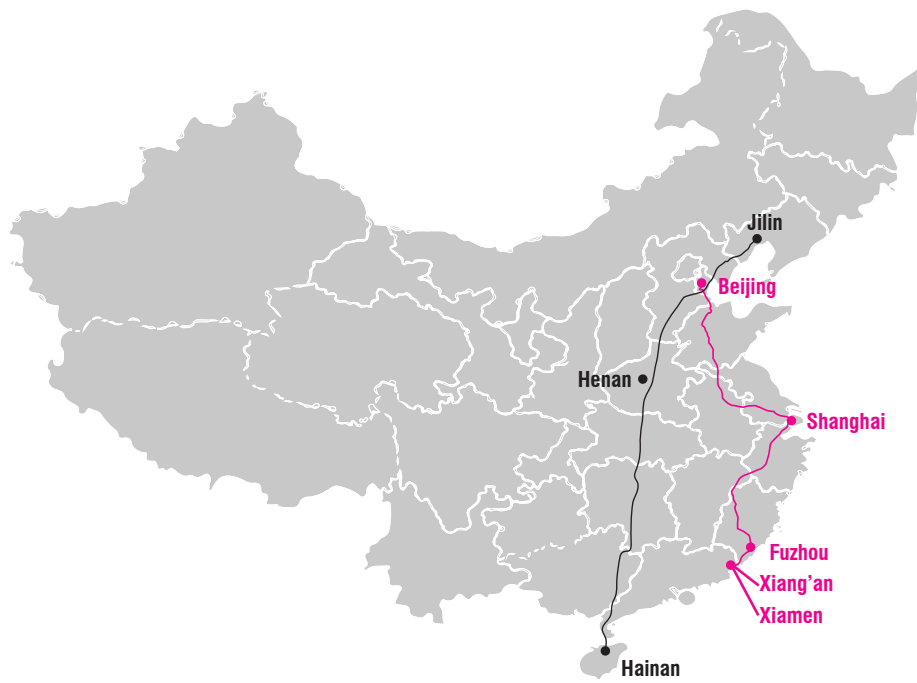
DISTANCE TRAVELLED

OCCUPATION
Agricultural Worker

Learning from The Left-Behind Farmer

Upon arrival in Xiamen, the high-speed train that connects the city zips across a skybridge that joins the island with its lesser dense peripheries. Xiang'an is a rural district that is a mere stone's throw away from Xiamen but one feels as if they have ventured back in time when they enter the district of Xiang'an, home to my mother's side of the family: a network of Hokkien farmers and doctors that still live close to one another in the urban village of Punan. Due to the formalities of addressing your relatives in Chinese culture, it would be amiss to address, or quite possibly know, my great-aunt by name. My maternal grandfather was the son of a wealthy business owner and so had the opportunity to adopt my great-aunt's now-husband into the family and pay for his way through medicine studies. Their son, who initially followed in his father's footsteps, found medicine to be a thankless job and instead turned to running a thriving shrimp farming business that allowed him to construct an entirely new five-story home that stands jauntily in the untamed weeds of the crowded urban village of Punan. Despite the success of their son, my great-aunt and uncle still live in the squat, one-storey traditional wood construction home paid-for by my grandfather and the monthly sums that he would send back home or bring with him when he paid visits from Canada. She lives a humble and proud life in the village surrounded closely by several generations of family members and close acquaintances that have also never left the village. Walking around during the festive celebrations of the Lunar New Year, she is easily excitable at the return of the younger generations that have travelled home from university and away-schools remarking at how much they've grown since she's last seen them. Bound to the village, she observes as urbanity encroaches on the rural territory by way of impending subway line developments, ancestral homes razed to the ground for new construction and notably, urbanity encroaches by way of travellers and younger generations journeying home to ring in the New Year.

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



The Faces of Graduated Mobility

The role of *The Transnational Citizen* allows insights into Aihwa Ong's body of research pertaining to living transnationally and having heightened access to global circuits. However, upon arrival to the destination country, clear distinctions were drawn by the state, in airports, train stations and even tourist attractions, between myself and Chinese citizens. There was a constant reinforcement of my identity as an outsider, due to my lack of knowledge of the language as well as the status of my citizenship.

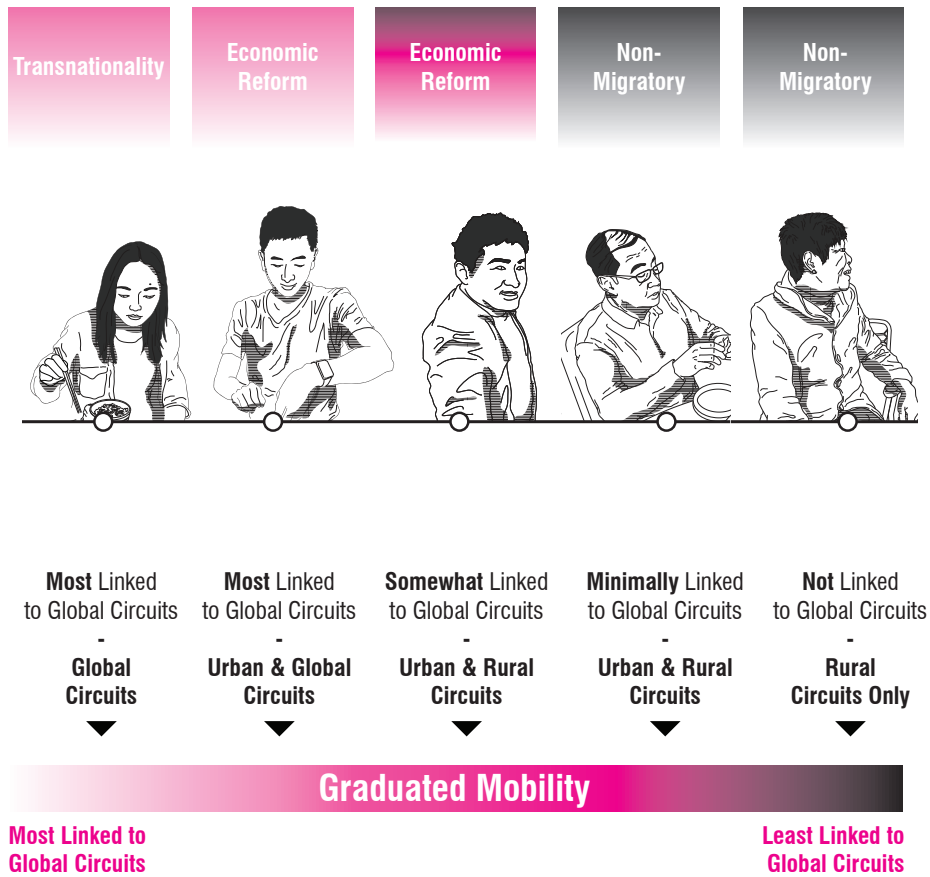
Ziqiang has witnessed the drastic evolution of China's infrastructure and special economic zones alike. He embodies the generation that has both been privy to China's explosive growth, and has witnessed first hand its humble, meager beginnings. Ziqiang has the skills to propel his socio-economic mobility, and potentially relocate his wife and child to be with him in the city. Tuned into the labour market generated by Shenzhen's, Ziqiang is an archetype of the white-collar, businessman in the coming technology industries of China's special economic zones.

Zhenquan may also be a migrant like Ziqiang, but does the job of an unskilled labourer that has few moments of reprieve from his highly demanding and labour intensive job. Zhenquan is a stand-in for the 36% of the country's total workforce that is composed of migrant labourers, not registered to the city. Zhenquan has estimated that "over 90% of the men in his home village are decorators like him." He represents the unskilled labourer who has followed the labour market from more than 2,000 km away from his home to find an unenviable job that will provide him a source of income, that rural work cannot.

Figure 3.16 (opposite)

Key map of path of travel (author indicated in pink) as it intersects with other travellers (indicated in black).

THEORIZING GRADUATED MOBILITY



As a man that is deeply proud and knowledgeable of the city that has sprouted up around him, Hong Zhensheng represents a demographic that, in fact, does *not* travel during the Golden Week migration. His family, immediate and extended live and work in the peripheries of Xiamen Island, and the ritual of migration is instead trips around the city and to the homes of other relatives nearby. This archetype is labelled as “non-migratory” and seeks to address the population that are decidedly not mobile, yet connected to global circuits as a result of their fortunate settling in what has become a highly urbanized city centre.

My great-aunt is the subject of this archetypal category of The Left-Behind Farmer. The years spent tending to fields have produced a prominent hunch in her posture, but her spryness in old-age continues to amaze me as she guides me by hand through the darkness of the unlit dirt pathways of Punan village, deftly weaving through narrow passageways between bushes and buildings. Her entire family tree can be traced in the soil of the village and through the informal properties that push through the earth. My great-aunt is the rural figurehead of the non-migratory archetype. She is privy to the values of mobility through her son’s career choices and fruits of labour, but she herself still lives in the meager setting of an aging home, waking before the sun arises to tend to fields. The act of migration is non-existent as she has never left the boundaries of home. In discussions of rural-to-urban migration the concept of the left-behind children and elderly is a large moral sticking point. The consequences of rapid, reckless urbanization is manifest as loved ones left behind in the wake of progress and mobility.

Figure 3.17 (*opposite*)
Expanded Graduated Mobility
spectrum.

DRAWING METHODOLOGY



In conclusion of this research, the drawing methodology synthesizes the traditional artform of the hand scroll painting with contemporary research of Aihwa Ong to create a reimagined scroll drawing that illustrates the experience of the Golden Week journey. The scroll drawing depicts the journey of the transnational citizen—myself, as my journey intersects with archetypal characters that represent topics that are tangential, yet integral, to understanding the larger impacts of rapid urbanization, rural to urban migration and at large, globalization. This methodology subverts the expectation that detached map data and photographs of severely crowded spaces are the only ways to visualize the gravity of the journey home in China's Spring Festival Golden Week. Instead, *Tracing the Last Mile* celebrates the individual through illustration and humanizes the world's largest human migration.

The following is a revisited journey map that now depicts the journey of The Transnational Citizen, showing the path of travel. And lastly, the culminating these scroll drawing with accompanying diagrams that address the drawing logics in relation to content, technique and format.

Figure 4.1 (*opposite*)

Viewers interacting with the hanging display on day of presentation.

DRAWING METHODOLOGY



Figure 4.2 (*opposite*)

Key drawing overlaying author's path of travel on a map of China.

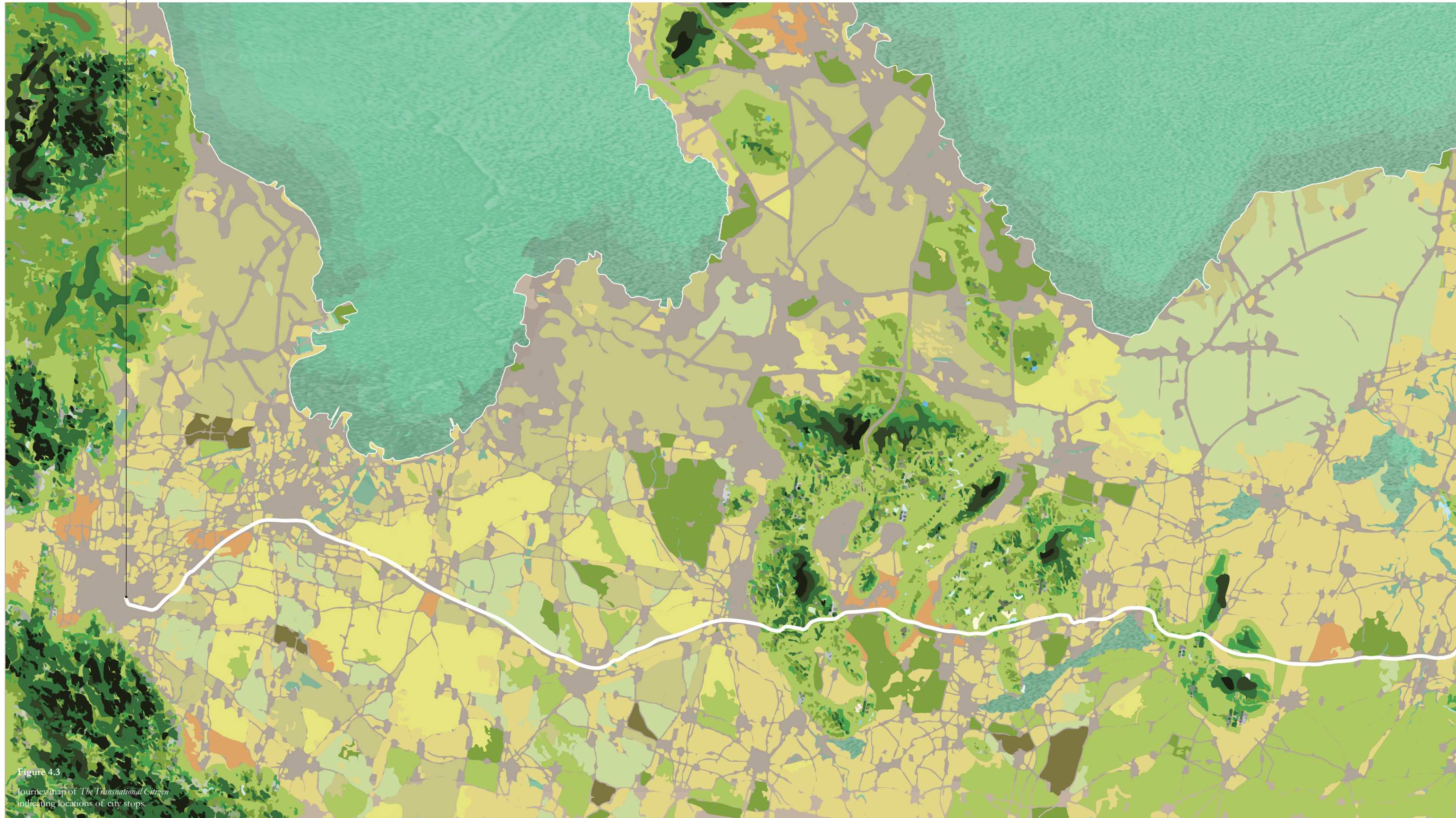


Figure 4.3
Journey map of *The Transnational Citizen*
indicating locations of city stops.

2 Shanghai

4 Xiang'an

3 Xiamen



DRAWING METHODOLOGY

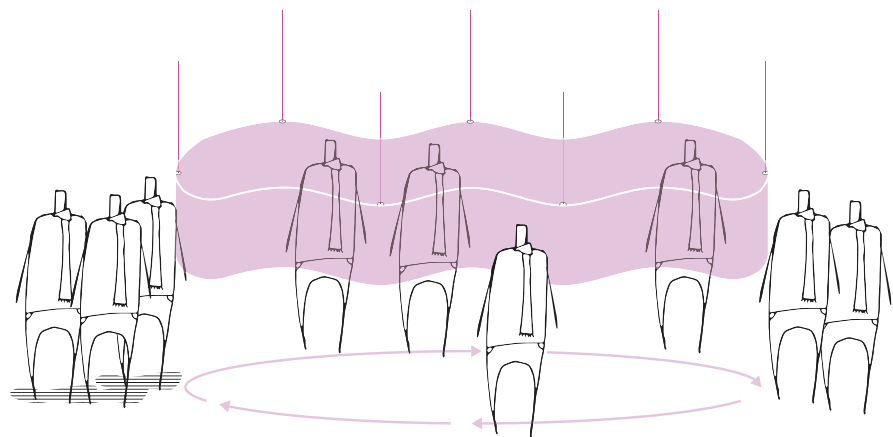
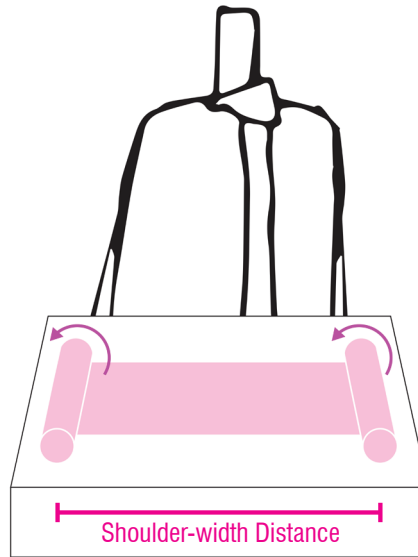
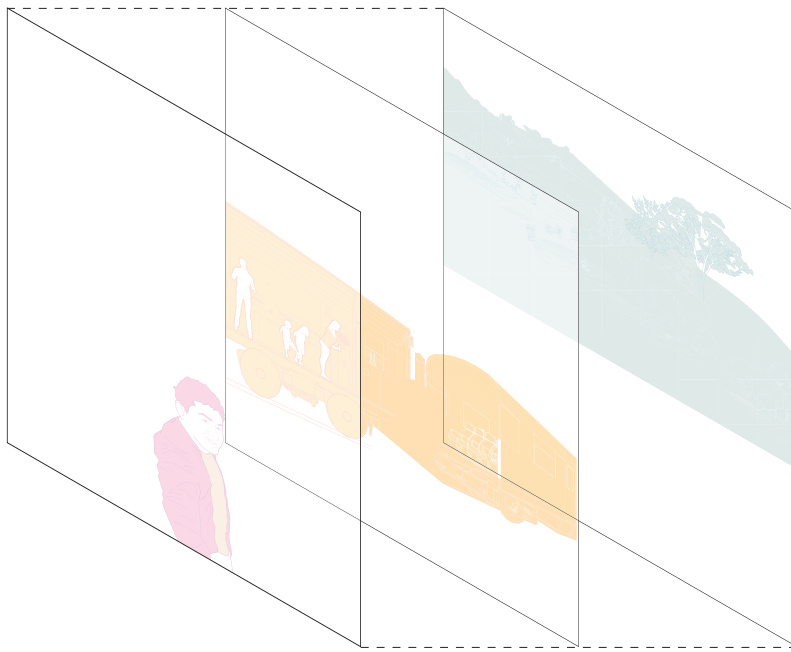


Figure 4.4 (*top*)

Traditional hand scroll approach that is more catered to the individual experience.

Figure 4.5 (*bottom*)

Author's approach which lends itself more appropriately to an exhibitory setting.



FOREGROUND
People

MIDGROUND
Transportation

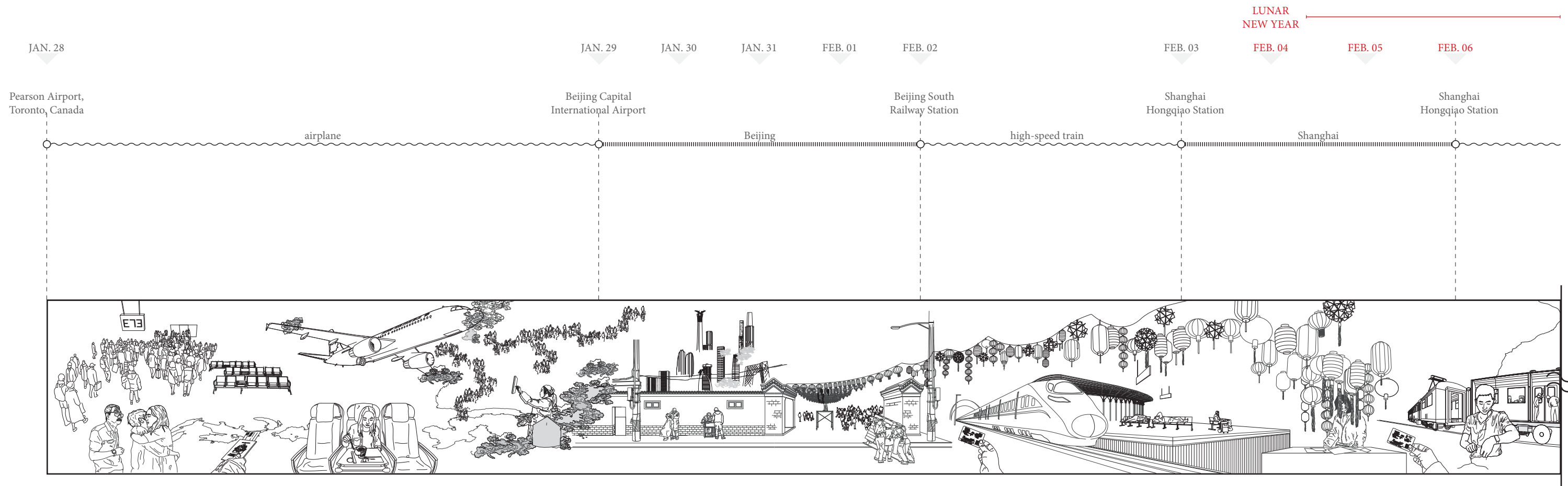
BACKGROUND
Landscape

Figure 4.6 (*top*)

Colour-coded diagram indicating use of foreground, midground and background.

Figure 4.7 (*bottom*)

Exploded layers of colour-coded diagram.



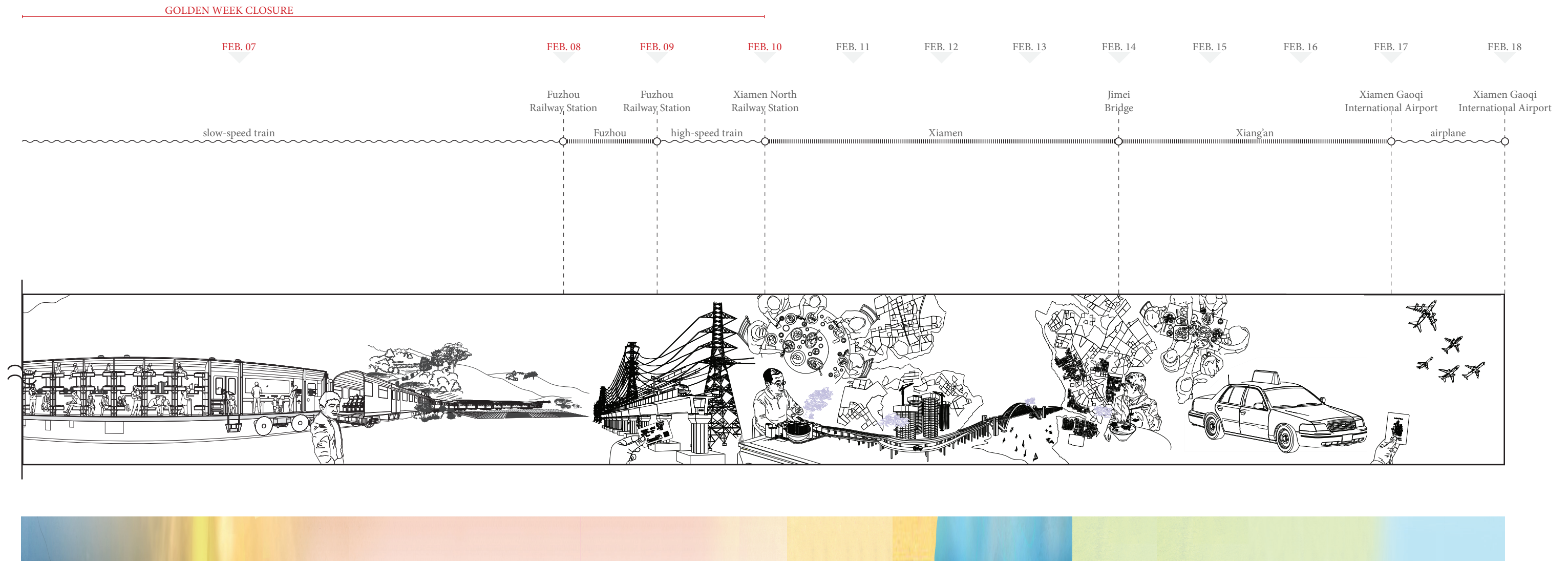


Figure 4.8 (top)
Annotated line drawing of scroll to indicate days of travel in relation to Golden Week, city locations and transportation methods.

Figure 4.9 (bottom)
Colour bar indicative of the atmosphere and tone to be conveyed in each section of the drawing.

DRAWING METHODOLOGY



Figure 4.10 (top)

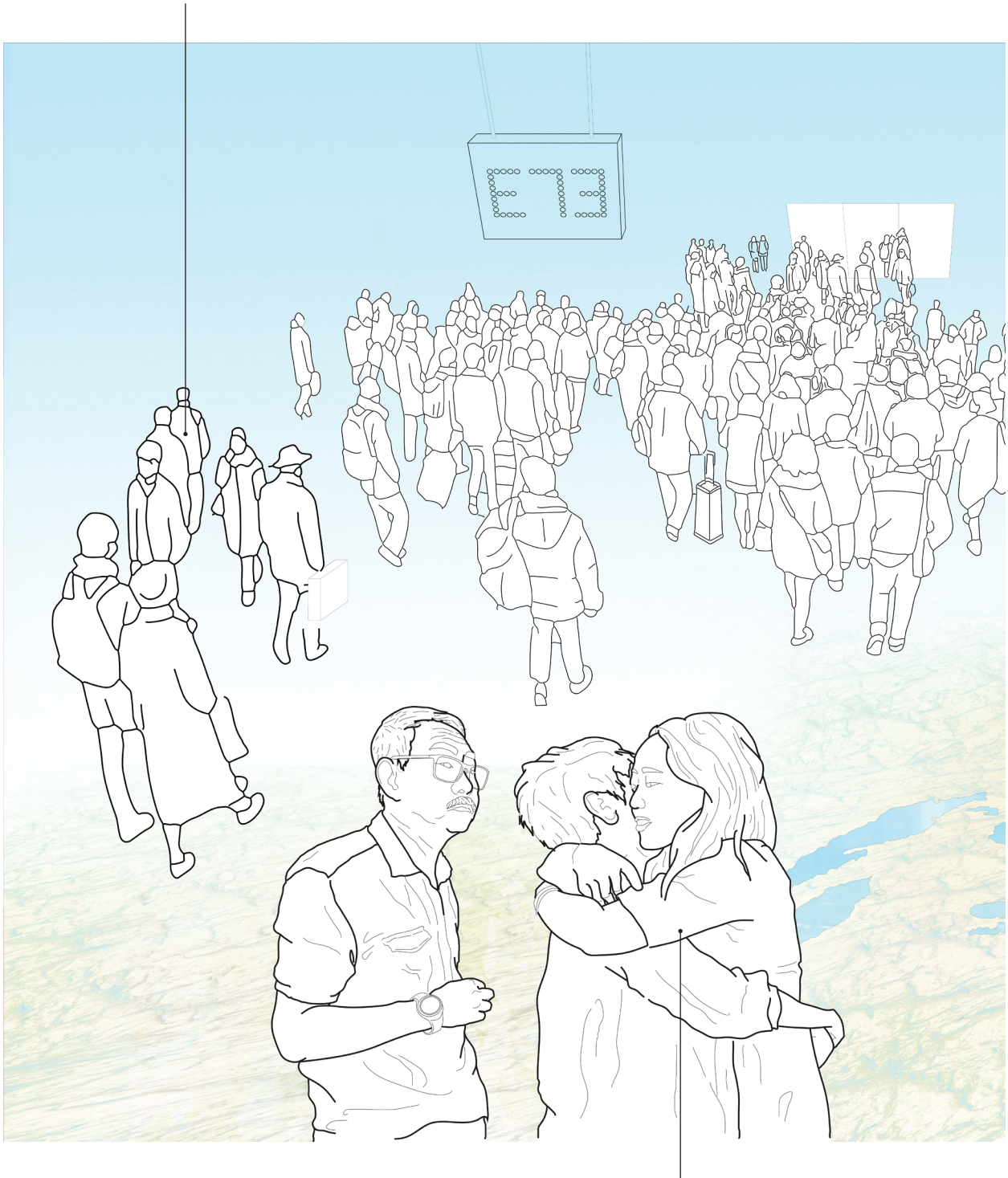
Overall view of scroll drawing.

Figure 4.11 (opposite)

Scroll drawing zoom-ins with annotations detailing content. Illustration continues on following pages.

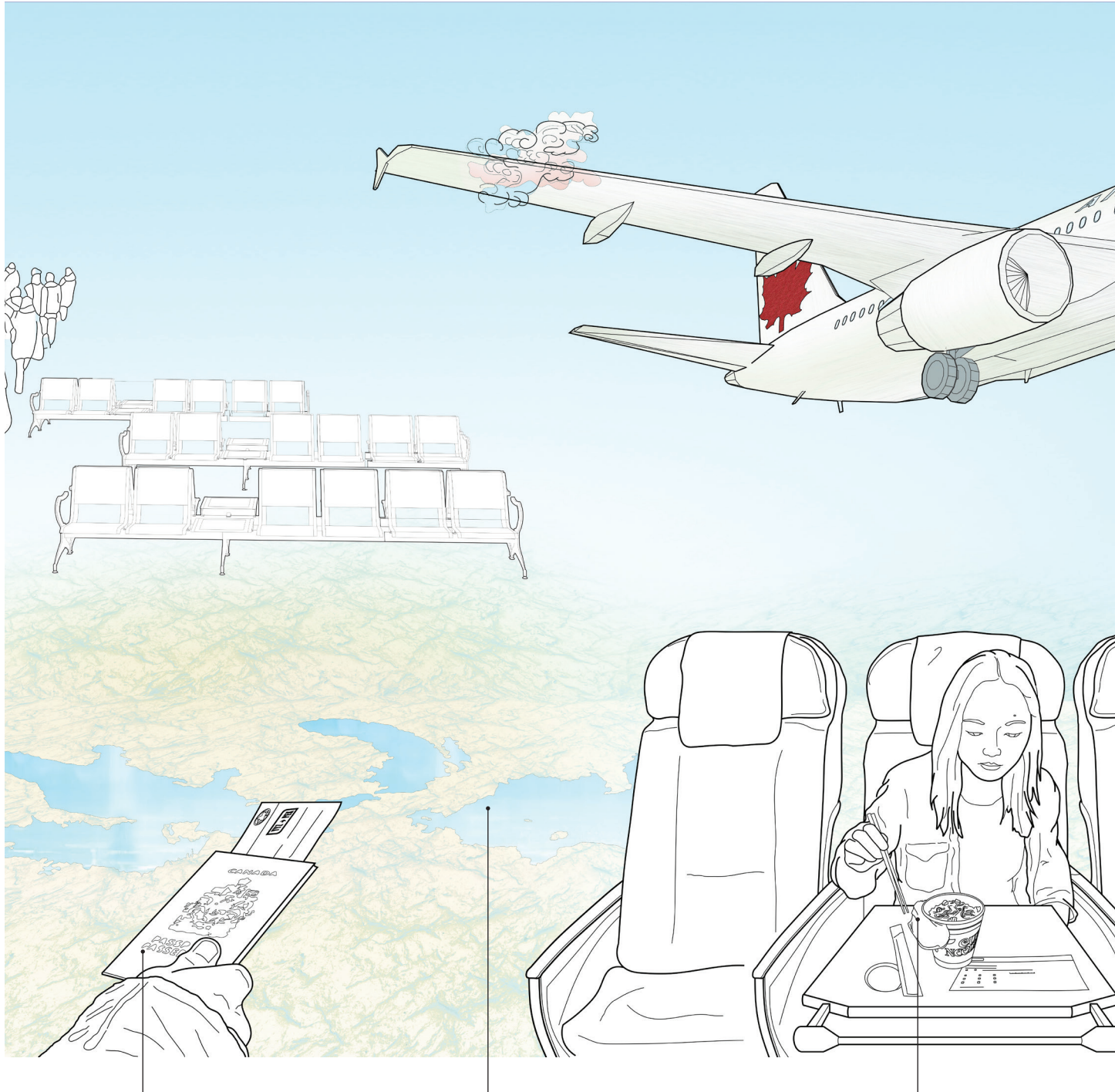
CROWDS

Crowd of Canadians flood to board at the gates of Pearson Airport. They don thick winter coats and luggages filled with treats for their families abroad.



THE TRANSNATIONAL CITIZEN

Bidding goodbye to parents. They will meet again after the New Year and reunite in Xiamen.



BORDER CROSSING FLOWS

Outstretched hand of The Transnational Citizen as they present their passport and documents to customs control.

LANDSCAPE

The outline of the Great Lakes indicates geographic location.

FOOD

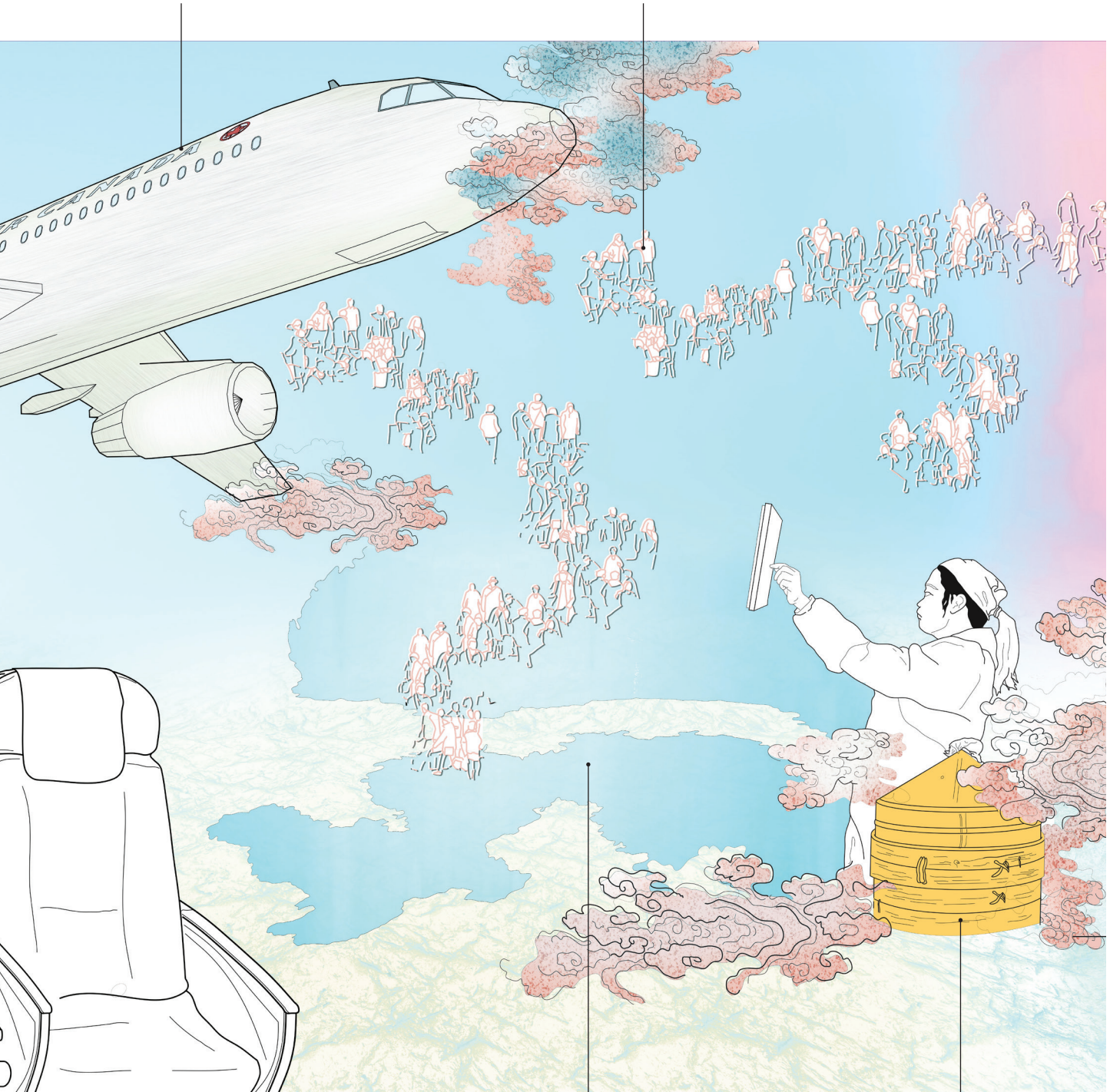
An arrival card that must be filled out indicating purpose of travel is served alongside Japanese brand “Nissin” cup noodle is served on the more than 14-hour flight.

TRANSPORTATION

International flight from Toronto Pearson Airport (YYZ) to Beijing Capital International Airport (PEK)

CROWDS

Streams of passengers as they flood off the plane and out the airport, into the city.



LANDSCAPE

The eastern coastline near Beijing indicates geographic location and arrival at destination.

FOOD

The aromas and atmosphere of arrival are conveyed through a sensory experience of food. The steam clouds blend as a transition from clouds surrounding the plane.

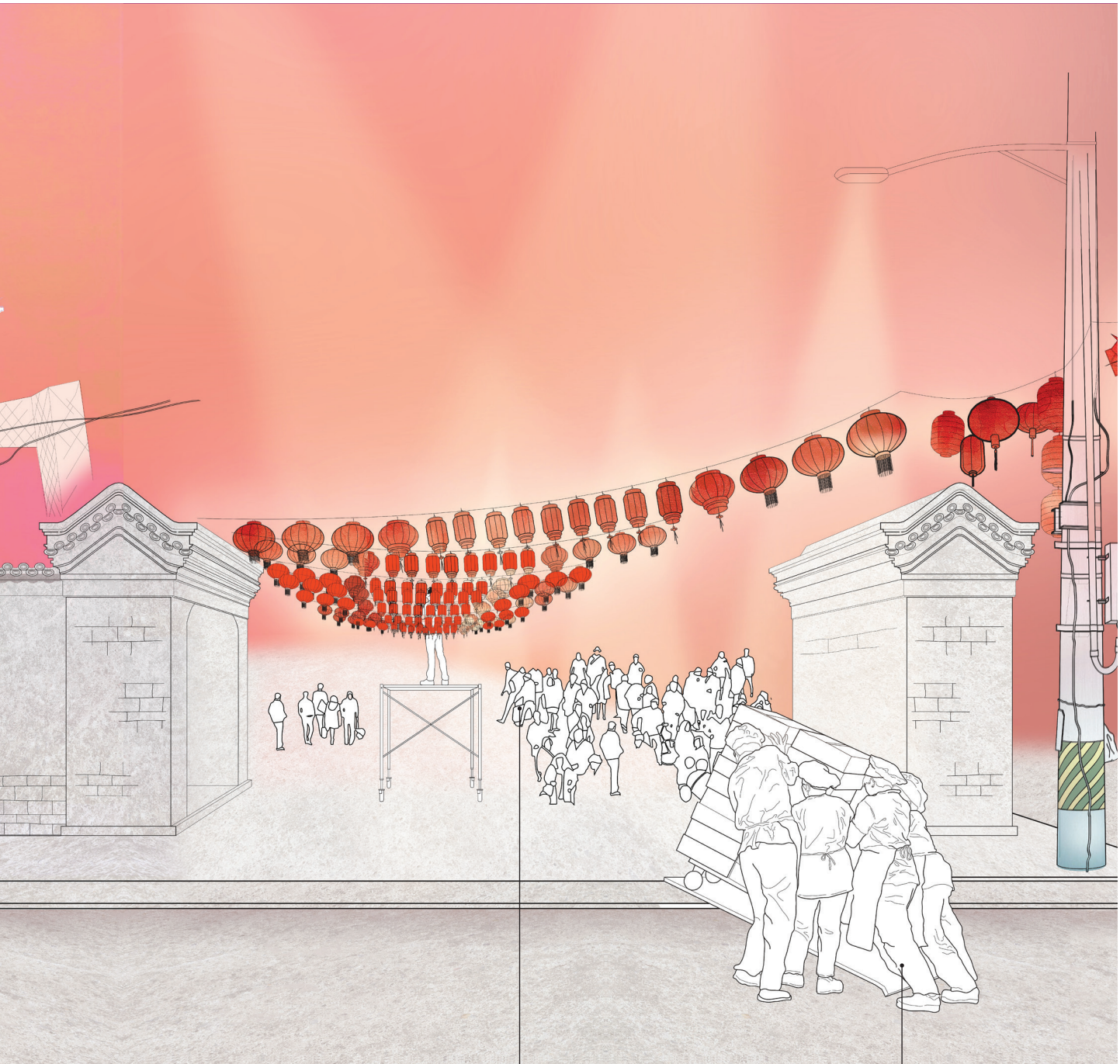
LANDSCAPE

Skyscrapers and construction cranes form the backdrop of the quiet, old town. Construction has halted, but the towers stand eerily quiet awaiting the return of workers.



EPHEMERAL LABOUR

Along a quiet street in Beijing, the opportunity of business arises for those that have stayed behind. Tailors and barbers work on the streets. Hair cuts and new clothes are a sign of preparation for the New Year.



CROWDS

Some choose not to travel home, but instead to popular tourist destinations.

TOURISM LABOUR

Workers stay behind to allow festival and tourist functions to continue to operate. Decorators work to hang festive lanterns and cooks receive a large shipment to serve the influx of visitors.

TRANSITION

Cultural icons, like lantern acts as a unifying transition from different spaces. Similar to the use of clouds.



LIMBO

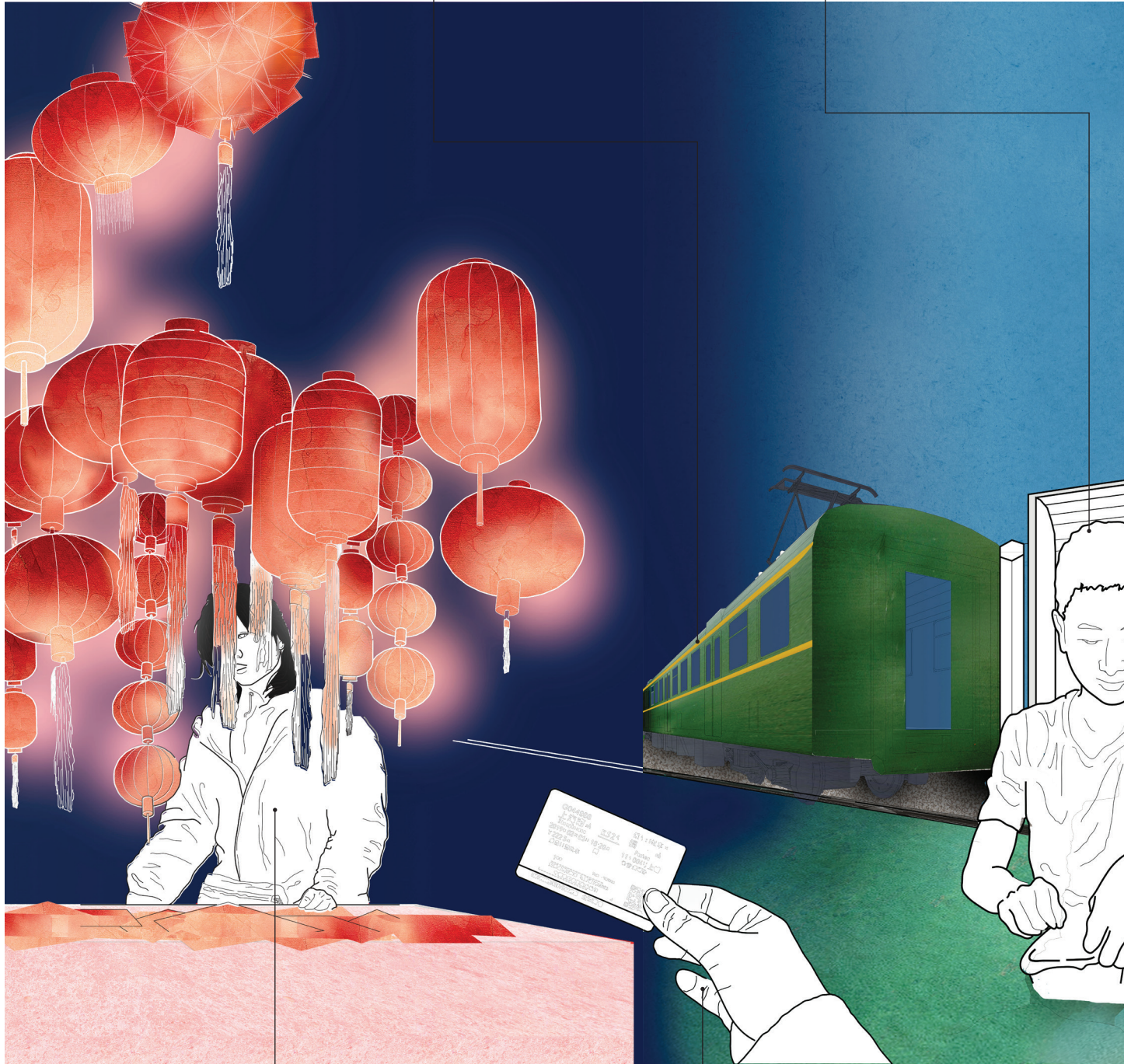
The sun sets over individuals who are spending the night waiting for their trains home. Luggages filled with things to bring home.

TRANSPORTATION

China's "green-skin" train is an icon of its more dated transportation system. Connecting much of the rural areas to the big city, it is a nostalgic nod to China's humble beginnings that is slowly being phased out by the arrival of the high-speed train.

THE SHENZHEN SPECIALIST

Seated in the "hard-seat" carriage, he prepares a bowl of cup noodle using the train's kettle and settles in for dinner.



TOURISM LABOUR

Worker peers through the decorations being sold at markets around the city. Her mood is fatigued in comparison to the cheery shoppers.

BORDER CROSSING FLOWS

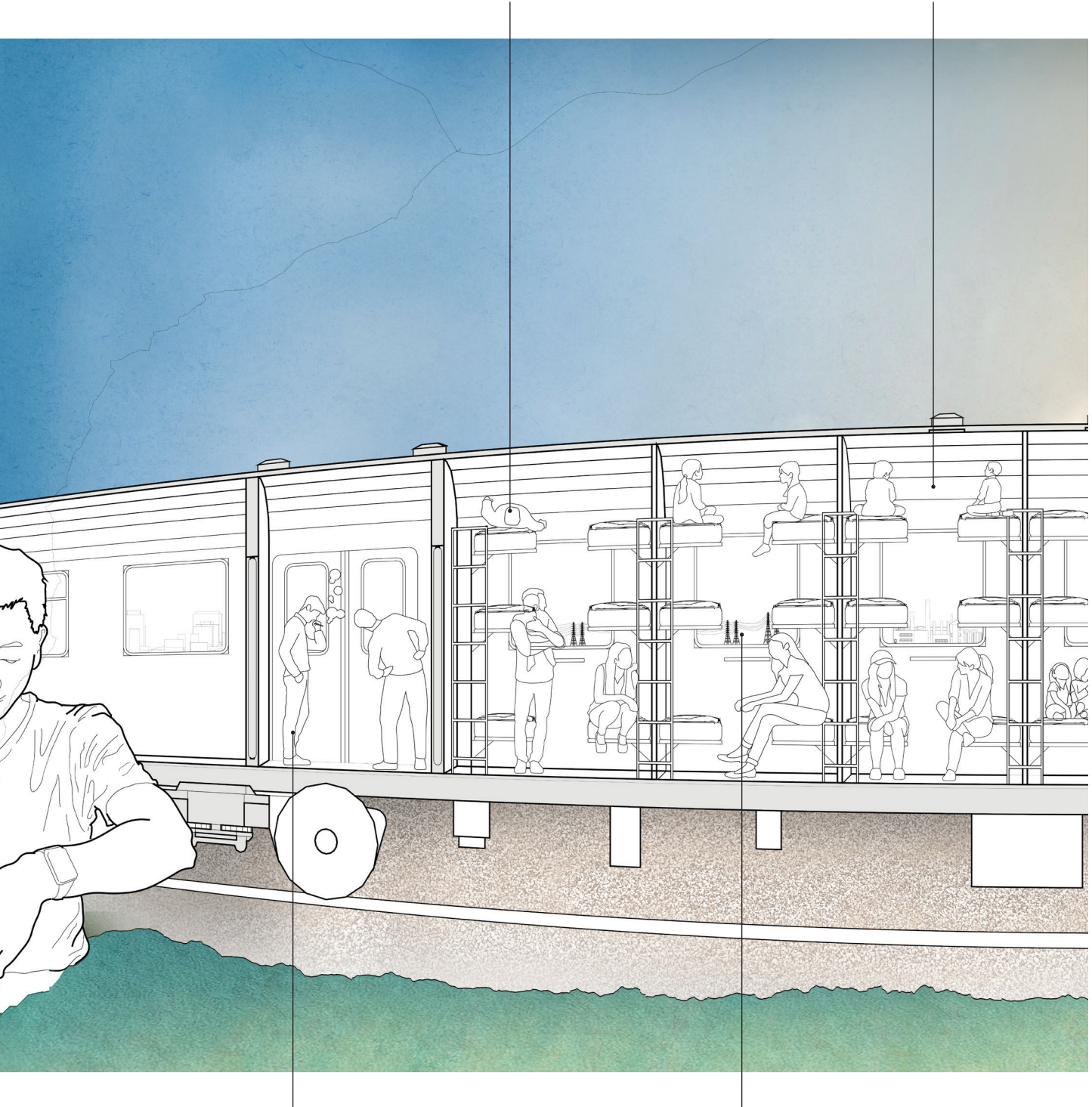
Outstretched hand of The Transnational Citizen as they present the ticket for the slow, overnight train from Shanghai to Fuzhou.

UPPER-BUNK

In the “hard-sleeper” carriage, passengers often dread the top most bunk as it is increasingly cramped and a hassle to climb the ladder. However, this bunk allows the most privacy.

BUDGET FAMILY TRAVEL

Families with children often prefer the slow-train as it is cheaper and much more affordable when travelling with several people.



SMOKING AREA

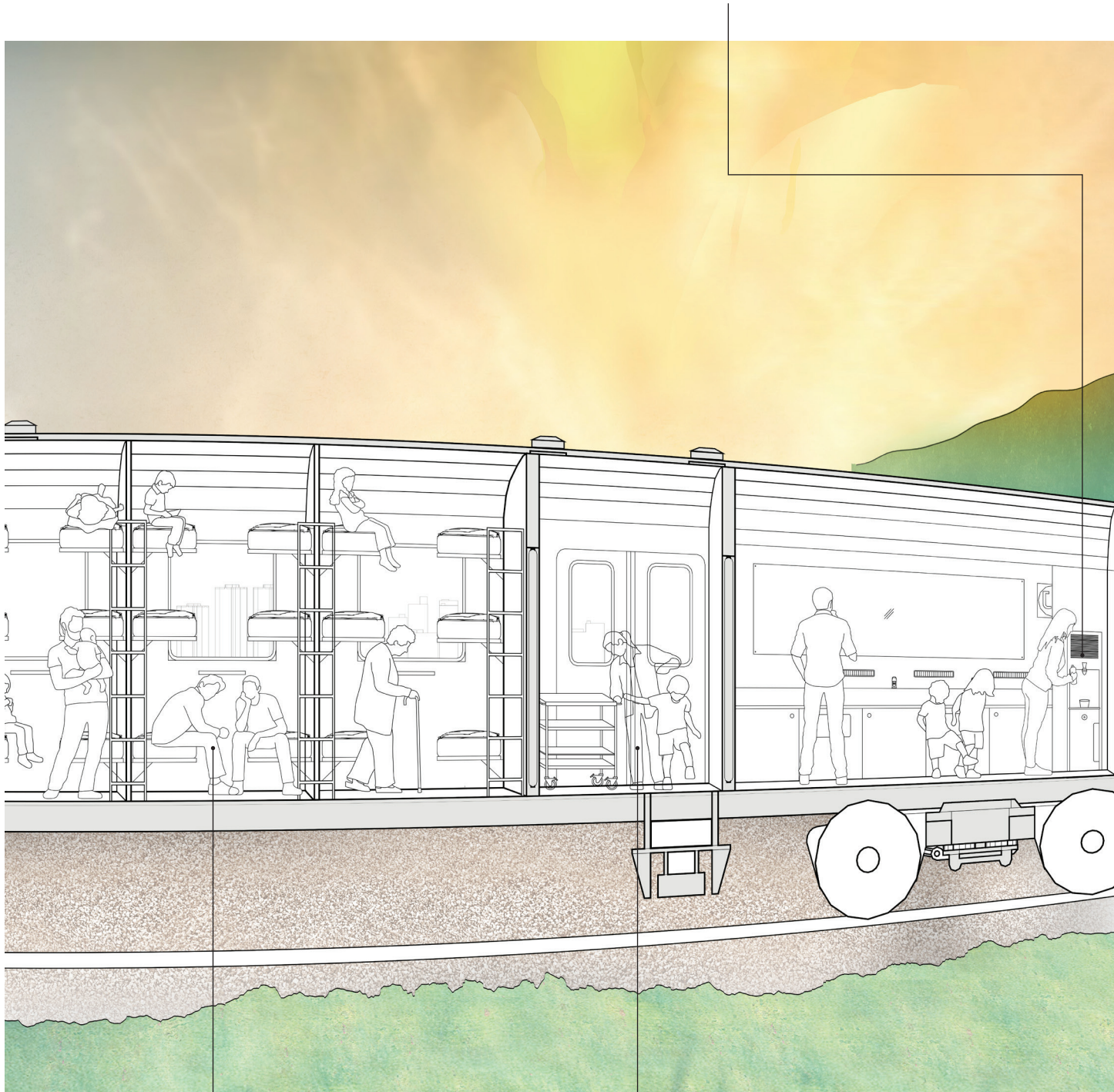
Designated smoking areas between train carriages double as spaces to stretch your limbs.

LANDSCAPE

Views out the window allow passengers to witness the evolving landscape. The outside transitions the city and the infrastructure that tethers it to the rural surroundings.

BOILED WATER

A hot water machine is key and even equivalent to the American “water-cooler” effect. People gather during meal times to prep their instant noodles or tea. Hot water is preferred for drinking as well.



SOCIAL SPACE

During the day, the lower-bunk is adopted by passengers as a social bench to talk and spend time.

LABOUR

Train companies employ cooks and workers for food preparation to be sold to passengers. Often cup-noodles and hot rice dishes. Though most passengers opt to buy before boarding.

LANDSCAPE

The slow-train is a wonderful way to experience travel around China as you are able to interact with people and appreciate the monumental beauty of the landscape.



THE INDUSTRIAL LABOURER

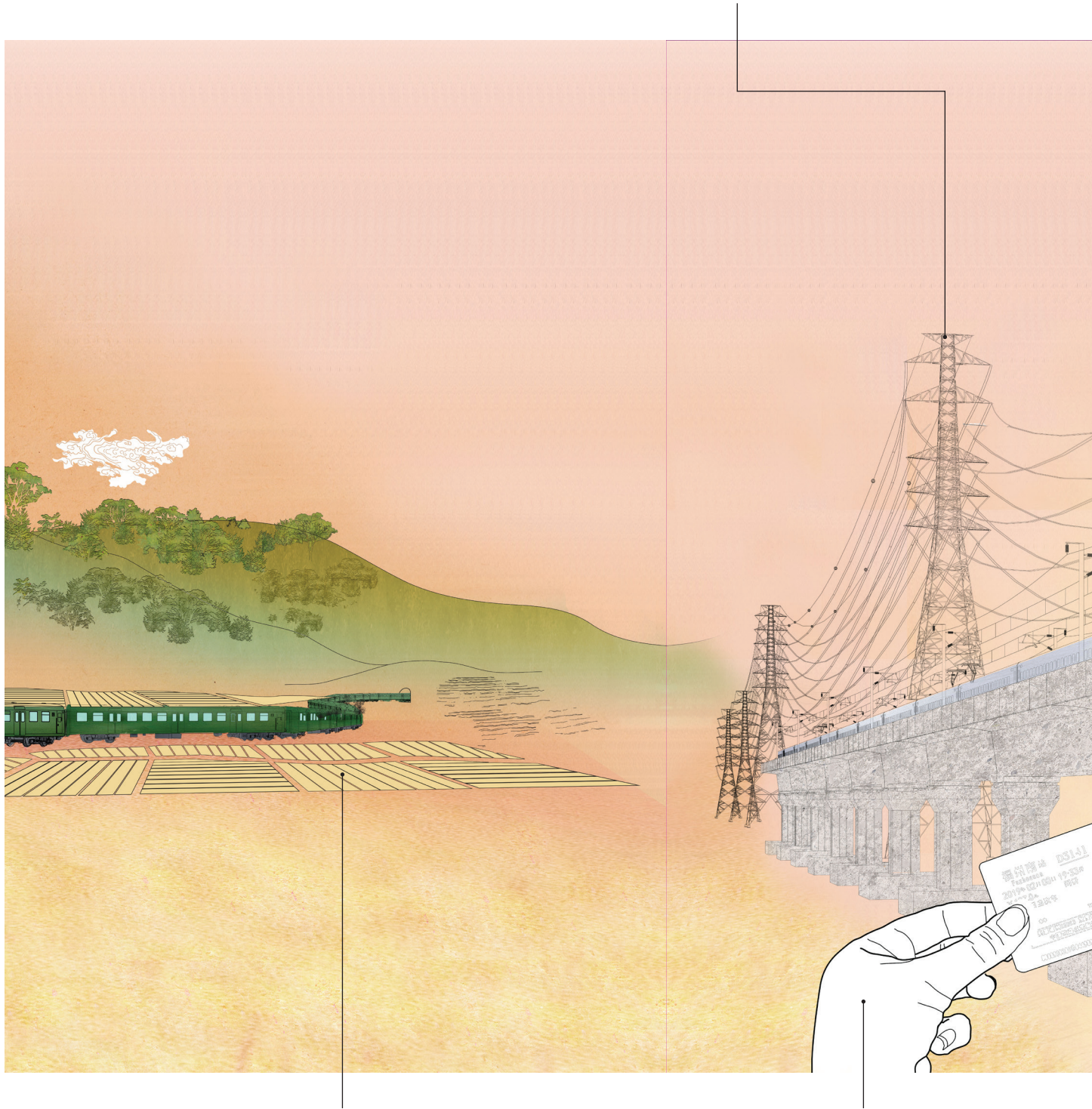
Seated on a bucket between train carriages, he has purchased a “standing room ticket” and hopes to procure a seat once passengers disembark and begin to vacate.

HARD-SEAT CARRIAGE

This carriage is less expensive than the “sleeper” carriages but can be much more crowded and uncomfortable for longer trips.

LANDSCAPE

Landscapes of production that connect the city to its surroundings. Power lines and railway tracks feed into the city and transform the native landscape into a mechanical forest.



LANDSCAPE

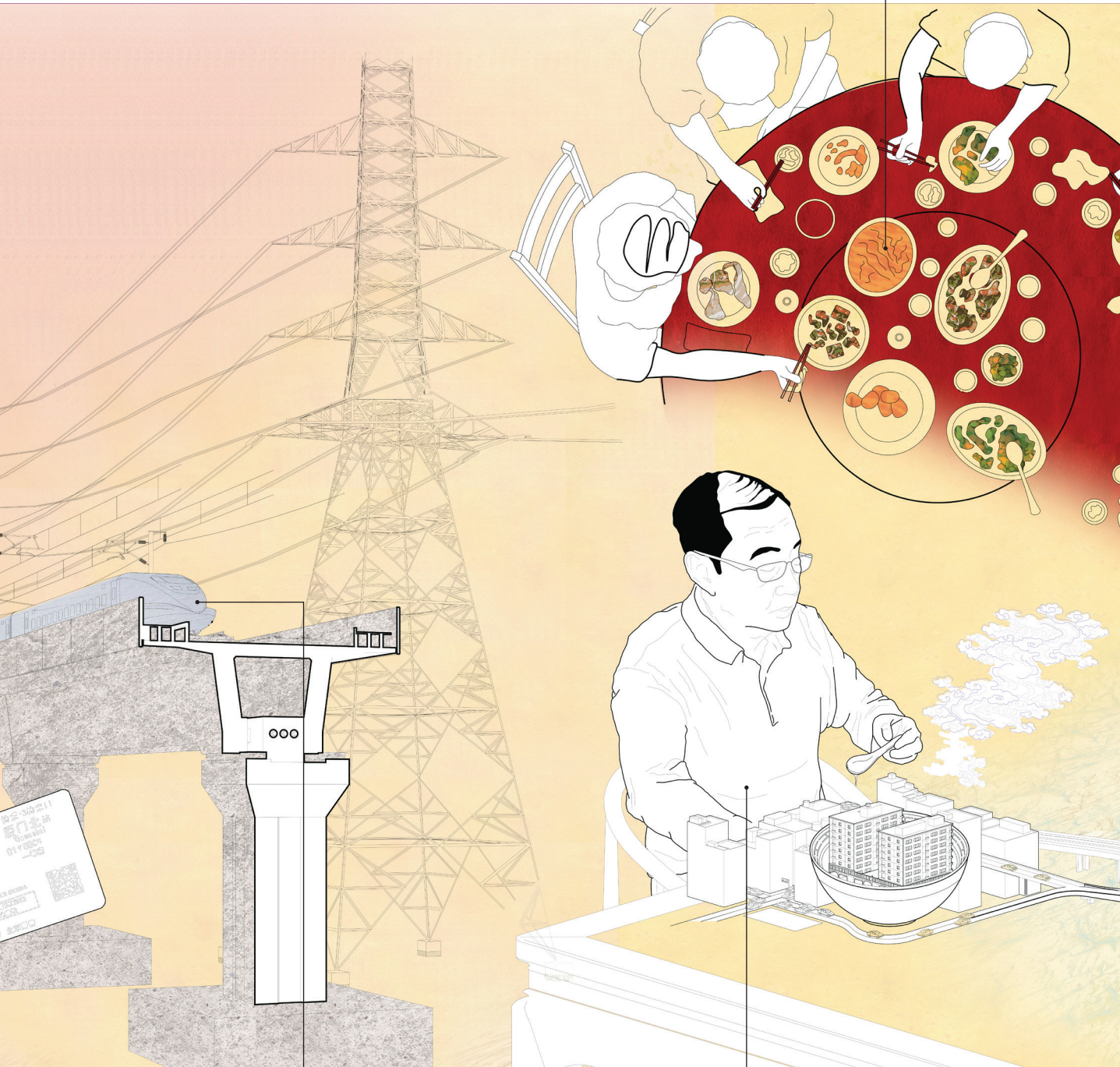
Agricultural fields can be seen to stretch far from the windows of the train.

BORDER CROSSING FLOWS

Outstretched hand of The Transnational Citizen as they present the ticket for the second-class high-speed train ticket from Fuzhou to Xiamen.

FOOD

Food is the cultural foundation of a family unit. The Lunar New Year dinner in the city involved going to a banquet hall style restaurant and served a typical 8 course meal .



TRANSPORTATION

High speed train travel connects Fuzhou to Xiamen. The infrastructure for which leaves a heavy footprint in the landscape.

THE STATIONARY URBANITE

Food acts as the symbol for the urban citizen. Hot steam from the bowl floats up through the dense urban fabric of Xiamen Island city. His apartment residence crowds the bowl.

URBAN FABRIC

The urban fabric of the city is dense, but the major blocks are planned and set forth by governmental bodies.

LANDSCAPE

Upon crossing the bridge and leaving the city to drive Xiang'an, out the window are stretches of construction sites and cranes that dominate the landscape.



TRANSPORTATION

The distance between Xiamen to Xiang'an is just a short approximately 20 km distance across the city by car. The car ride provides a clear view of access to the gradient of sprawl extending to the village.

RURAL FABRIC

The city fabric of Xiang'an is instead composed of pockets of villages, agricultural lands and the beginnings of urban sprawl. The small, informal clusters of villages mark the soil and stake an illegal claim.

FOOD

The meals in Xiang'an are distinctly more informal and several generations of the family crowd around a small table with mismatched chairs. Reaching and chatting loudly to one another across the spread of seafood freshly caught that day.

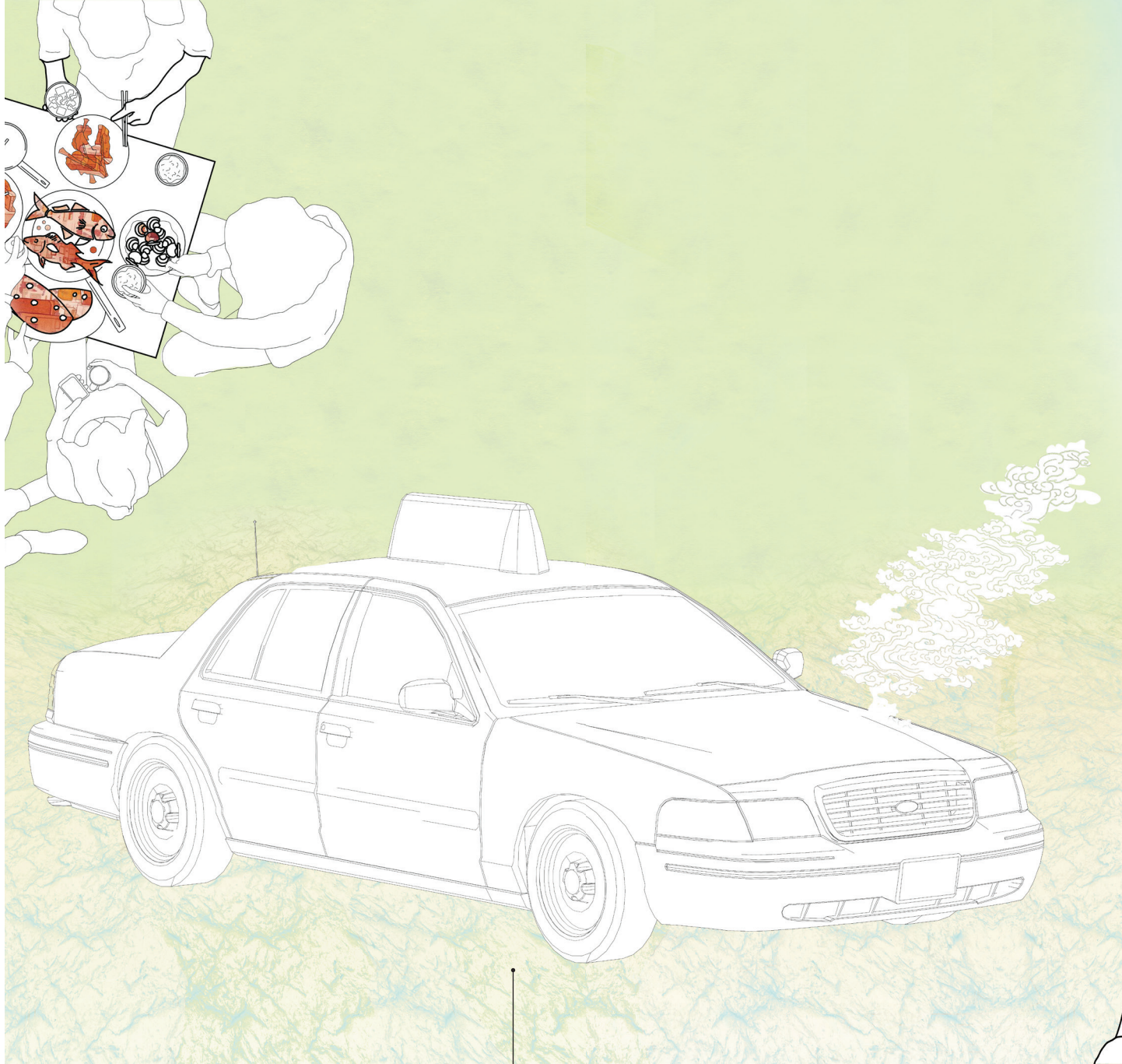


ROLE OF WATER

From the shorelines of Xiamen, recreational boats line the docks of the private marina and leisurely use of the water is abundant. In contrast the shorelines of Xiang'an are abundantly industrial and occupied by fishing and shipping boats.

THE LEFT-BEHIND FARMER

Food as a metaphor for the rural citizen. The ancestral home floats gently in a spacious bowl surrounded by simple trees, stones and the occasional hen. A sense of bucolic calm surrounds the meal.



TRANSPORTATION

Upon departing Xiamen and Xiang'an, a taxi driver is called and once again part ways with family.

TRANSPORTATION

Plane travel from Xiamen to Beijing, and lastly, Beijing back to Canada's Toronto Pearson Airport.



BORDER CROSSING FLOWS

Outstretched hand of The Transnational Citizen as they present their passport and documents to customs control.

ROUNDTRIP

The scroll drawing returns and loops back to the beginning to signify the continuity of the annual return migration.





Figure 4.12
Final scroll drawing installation for
design review presentation.

DRAWING METHODOLOGY



Figure 4.13 Viewers interacting with hanging scroll drawing.



Figure 4.14 Viewers interacting with hanging scroll drawing.



Figure 4.15 Viewers interacting with hanging scroll drawing.



Figure 4.16 Final scroll drawing installation for design review presentation.

CONCLUSION



This research begins with the singular, annual event of the Lunar New Year Golden Week migration, but unavoidably becomes entrapped in an intricate puzzle of topics ranging from discussions of rural to urban migration, China's complex history of political reforms, the effects of globalization, and still much more yet to be named. A large breadth of information is required to be covered in order to compile a comprehensive understanding of China's socio-economic health. The intention of this thesis is to provide the reader with a focused lens in which they are able to view the narrative of China's growth with clarity and cohesion.

As determined by traditional Chinese scroll research and scholars who study them, it is a common exercise to read and re-read a scroll painting for further comprehension that can be done in order to practice one's abilities of comprehensive understanding. The act of successfully reading the entirety of the scroll painting is considered a deeply valuable skill and considered to be the most sophisticated level of reading is when one can envision the entire panorama, or the "grand view", and comprehend the universal significance of the painting.³⁷ With intentions to run along the same vein, the thesis drawing seeks to provide a deeper understanding of China's urban-to-rural relationships and address the gaps of understanding regarding mobility of the Golden Week migration and the more permanent migration of the rural population. And more importantly, to disseminate the information in a way that is comprehensible, and that responds to the desire of the public to understand the emotional, intimate individual act of mass migration home.

In choosing an autoethnographic strategy and means of representation, the inherent limitations of the project lie with the narrow scope of perspective that is offered. Original expectations for the project sought to build a series of illustrations that, together as a set, depict a transect of migrating demographics across China. Due to time limitations and the difficulties in recruiting appropriate participants, there remain many parts of the graduated mobility puzzle left to be explored. Further development could see opportunities to push the narrative of the intersecting individuals and expand their journeys to the level of the transnational citizen. Currently, the characters of *The Shenzhen Specialist*, *The Industrial Labourer*, *The Stationary Urbanite* and *The Left-Behind Farmer* remain underdeveloped and deserve to receive much more of the spotlight. This thesis has only begun to scratch the surface of these "characters" and the hundreds of millions of Chinese citizens that they seek to represent. Further exploration would delve deeper into the historical ancestry of each of these individuals, in hopes of revealing the effects of modernization through the examination of a lineage of Golden Week journeys. Similarly to director Lixin Fan and his film *Last Train Home*, compelling family histories and the documentation of a consecutive history of Golden Week migrations reveal fascinating nuances about China's developing society and the lived experiences of the country's population.

³⁷ Sally Whitman Coleman, "How to Read a Chinese Landscape Painting," Short Lessons in Art History, accessed January 8, 2020, <http://www.the-art-minute.com/how-to-read-a-chinese-landscape-painting/>

Figure 5.1 (opposite)

Home-cooked meal on New Year's Day morning.

As discussed during the final review, the thesis drawing leaves more to be desired with respect to the presence of state surveillance and how travelers engage with the collection of their personal data. In addition, this could be expanded to note the implications of the government's role in engaging the discourse of class divide and reckless urbanization in China. The illustration of elements of graduated sovereignty and the privileging of one demographic over the other, at the hand of the state, emerged as a goal from the early conception of this thesis. The depictions of these intangible forces became an early challenge, as did grappling with increasingly expanding topics of globalization and China's complex history. When travelling to China the presence of the government was certainly felt as the police officers, and security personnel often stationed themselves within clear view in tourist destinations, transportation hubs and border crossing areas. An element in the thesis drawing that emerged from the desire to represent state control was the repetition of the outstretched hand of *The Transnational Citizen* presenting tickets, and passport identification as an indication of border crossing flows. Further engagement with this content could be demonstrated by illustrating the presence of police and crowd control amongst the Golden Week crowds and the surveilled nature of travel throughout China. For example, through the illustration of facial recognition technology throughout the streets or areas that can only be accessed by the scanning of one's "Resident Identity" card.

In addition to expanding on topics of graduated sovereignty, representations of transnationality as an illustrated concept could be further developed to indicate the depth to which global processes influence the tourism market in China, thereby influencing the experience of Golden Week. It would be intriguing to question how rituals and traditions of this age-old holiday have evolved over the past few decades. An observation of popular tourist festivals that cater to a new form of globalized consumerism could be discussed as pivoting further away from traditional foods, customs and rituals of the Lunar New Year. Due to increasing influence from foreign trends and the pervasion of technology, China's cultural identity has inevitably shifted and it would be compelling to explore this change through the perspective of the Lunar New Year traditions.

Continuing to think about the longevity of this research, there are opportunities that would allow this thesis to be adapted to digital screens and websites quite seamlessly as a result of the inherent side-scrolling nature and proportions of the medium. The lateral movements of the drawing would mean that "scrolling" and panning gestures of a computer would function in a similar way to the original intentions. Viewers would possess the same amount of control of speed that is afforded to them by the traditional hand scroll drawings and in the thesis drawing.

This research will have been a success if it is employed by the reader as a means of access and the first step in viewing the “grand view” of profound, rippling effects of China’s rapid and reckless urbanization. *Tracing the Last Mile* seeks to be the wedge with which one enters the discourse of globalization, by weaving contemporary research that addresses China’s class divide with research of the country’s endowed history of narrative-laden paintings.

Several developing countries seek to follow in China’s footsteps of rapid development and global attention continues to be enamored by the country’s impressive speed of growth. There are few moments where discussions economic growth do not overshadow the reality of the individuals that are left behind in the wake progress. The Chinese New Year Golden Week migration is one such occasion where government propaganda and good publicity are unable to paper over the deep class divide. By spotlighting these ephemeral moments and bringing those effected to the forefront of public view, we can begin to give agency to the individual and recognize the urgency with which we need bridge the growing class divide.

RURAL HOME

浦南 - 翔安區 - 福建省
Punan Town, Xiang'an District, Fujian Province



Figure 5.2 Rural Home.

URBAN HOME

厦門 - 福建省
Xiamen, Fujian Province



Figure 5.3 Urban Home.

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京沪高铁列车剩余票额显示屏

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G23	合肥南	13:00	17	---	---	---	---	51	202	36
G1215	上海虹桥	13:05	---	---	34	---	84	29	---	64
G189	青岛	13:23	---	---	21	---	27	---	---	---
G137	珠海北	13:30	16	---	---	---	19	---	40	204
G137	上海虹桥	13:35	---	---	45	---	11	---	34	28
G59	宁波	13:40	38	---	31	---	42	---	47	84
G189	合肥南	13:45	34	---	---	---	---	55	377	85
G397	丹东	13:50	---	---	---	---	---	---	198	11

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