

Differentiated Concepts of Home for Boat Dwellers in Southern Fujian, China

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Abstract

This paper discusses how the nomadic people determine “home”, using the case of the “*lianjiachuan yumin* (連家船漁民)”. They are people who used to live on boats in Southern Fujian, China. Since the acquisition of land for settlement in the 1960s, they left a water-dependent lifestyle and shifted to one that was mostly dependent on land. In order to identify how current *lianjiachuan yumin* define “home”, this paper focuses on the following three points. First, this paper will deal with the stories called “Contributions and Sacrifices to the Birth of Communist Regime” and “Victims of a Huge Typhoon”. These stories emphasize the legitimacy of the state order which suddenly allowed people to take land even if it was possessed by someone else. Second, this paper will examine beliefs which take on a folk approach that trusts in the power of God—allowing a person to become the owner of land which was borrowed from someone else. Thirdly and finally, this paper will focus on the practice of confirming the existence of home within the context of space. The third shows that the ancestors of the *lianjiachuan yumin* have spread by communicating and traveling outside of the fishing villages and the state, creating multiple-spaces outside their previously defined boundaries.

Key words: boat dweller, finding roots, land and community, homes, settlement

Background to the question

“Why do people leave the place they were born and select nomadism beyond the border?” This is the major question that is often dealt with in studies that focuses on people living a nomadic lifestyle. This paper looks at this phenomenon from a critical perspective, using the case of boat dwellers, who have a nomadic lifestyle while utilizing their homes as a place for daily life as well as work life, and questions “why do people have a particular ‘affection’ towards their place of birth, or why it has been thought to be so?” (IYOTANI 2007:8).

Past studies on immigrants and nomadic people have discussed that the arrival of the modern nation-state, which assumes homogeneous people within clearly divided borders, has given rise to progressive freedoms that has detoured nomadism. In this society, the state provides individual identification with nationality, family registration and resident certification to people living in the places that can be identified by address. This is an essential condition to civilized society which allows people to receive education, health care, and social security. In broad terms, this (philosophical) system to achieve the homogenization of people has promoted nomadic freedom within borders (assuming elasticity under colonialism). In contrast, it has restricted nomadism outside of the border. However, more importantly, this system releases individuals from the nomadism restriction as long as they fulfill the state requirements for resident registrations. It enabled people to move anywhere regardless of borders (i.e. freedom of nomadism). On the other hand, people living a nomadic life without a home address are forced to settle permanently within a specific place, even if it was within the borders (i.e. restriction of nomadism). Thus, it is important to understand that this system creates two different directions regarding nomadism.

Colonialism, increased industrialization, and the evolution of transportation technology have expanded the scope of nomadism. It prolonged the period of nomadism and increased opportunities to meet new people. As a result, it created “consciousness of a homeland” (IYOTANI 2007: 6) in people, in the sense of a place to belong to, or a place to come back to. Homeland or home is something to think about when being apart from a place. In other words, it is a mirror-image created by nomadism which is a “transitional state being separated from a place that one originally belongs to”. However, many nomadic people were forced to experience a situation completely opposite from the aforementioned situation, when considering the concept of home that contains an implicit meaning to set roots in a specific place and/or community. For people living in a mountain area such as hunter groups, farmers with shifting cultivation, flatland nomads, boat dwellers on water, and urban *Romani*, nomadism, which is repeated as people move from place to places, is a normal condition. These people are not confined to any particular land (which is not same as not being confined to a particular community). However, the nation-state who controls

the administration, societal development, and protection of people and land requires citizens to have a particular place and permanently live in a particular community—although their lifestyle has no relation to the land (it is often formed by awkward dissociation and reformation of previously existing communities). This means that they have unexpectedly acquired “land”, “community”, and “a permanently settled lifestyle” together, which are systems that generate (or thought to generate under current social standards) the concept of “homeland” and homesickness.

How have these nomadic people dealt with the land and communities that were suddenly given irrespective of their wills? Since 1950, nomadic people in the world have been pressured to settle down in a particular place and most cases had the two elements: “exclusion from a vast land” and “replacement of a small settlement”. Attractive places where nomadic people used to live were taken away by the state or other ethnic groups since the nomadic people were not recognized as the land owners¹.

Recent studies identified that sedentism of nomadic population have resulted in the emergence of campaigns for “return to homeland and recovery of nomadism” in most areas, no matter if the land was taken by others or not. The reason is that most nomadic people refused to settle-down, opting to continue their nomadic life; due to new restrictions of the land usage, they could not return to their homeland (cf. FUJIKAWA 2017, MARUYAMA 2018, SACHI 2017, SUZUKI 2016).

Thus, most nomadic people have experienced sedentism which has caused “loss of lifestyle and freedom for nomadism”. Past research on nomadic people have discussed the relocation of nomadic people to a settlement and its effect on their ability to assimilate themselves into mainstream society. In other words, nomadic people are often described as victims of government management and policy; however, their sense and ability to settle-down in a settlement after their homeland is either occupied or seized are mentioned only as secondary or less important issues. This paper aims at identifying these aspects of nomadic people while focusing on the “*lianjiachuan yumin*” who used to live on boats engaging in fishing or water transportation. Different from people’s general imagination, the *lianjiachuan yumin* have discussed the process in land cession, migration to settlements, housing distribution as well as group residency as a “history of acquisition”. This does not mean that their lifestyles are restricted in their new settlement: in actuality, they have widened their sea area for fishing, while living on boats even under a variety of government management system, which regulates their settlement.

This paper focuses on movement of the *lianjiachuan yumin* and their loss and creation of “home”, observed over a wide range of sea area, and land near the

1 This situation is common in hunter-gatherers, nomads, and the farmers of slash-and-burn agriculture. On the other hand, the boat dwellers in Asia and the *Romani* in Europe tended not to be the target of occupation and seizure because their original living spaces such as rivers and seashores or vacant areas in cities were not so attractive to the others. In this case, although their homelands were spread out as they were, they were under strict control and the access and free movement to those spaces continued to be limited. Nonetheless, these spaces themselves have begun to change in recent years due to urban development, etc.

sea, which historically the *lianjiachuan yumin* have called home. Specifically, this paper examines at 1) two stories called “Contributions and Sacrifices to the Birth of Communist Regime” and “Victims of a Huge Typhoon,” 2) the beliefs which take on an folk approach that trusts in the power of God—allowing a person to become the owner of land which was borrowed from someone else, and 3) the practice of confirming the existence of home within the context of space. While the ancestors of the *lianjiachuan yumin* rooted in one place, they have spread by communicating and traveling outside of the fishing villages and the state, creating multiple-spaces outside their previously defined boundaries. Moreover, this paper discusses the perception that the *lianjiachuan yumin* have shown when acquiring their sense of home. In this paper, the terms such as homeland or hometown will not be used further because these words only refer to the land where one was born. Instead, this paper uses diverse words, such as “home as a life place”, “residence”, “home”, “birthplace”, “home base” and “place of origin” in order to explain the *lianjiachuan yumin*’s perceptions regarding their “attitudes toward home acquisition” and consider the linkages between these different states of home.

History of land development for settlement and distribution of collective housing

Mobile life without land and houses on land

The *lianjiachuan yumin* used to live on various sized wooden boats along the Jiulongjiang River (九龍江=Fig.1) without land or housing. Their lifestyle was based on nomadism within family units and they were engaged in fishing and water

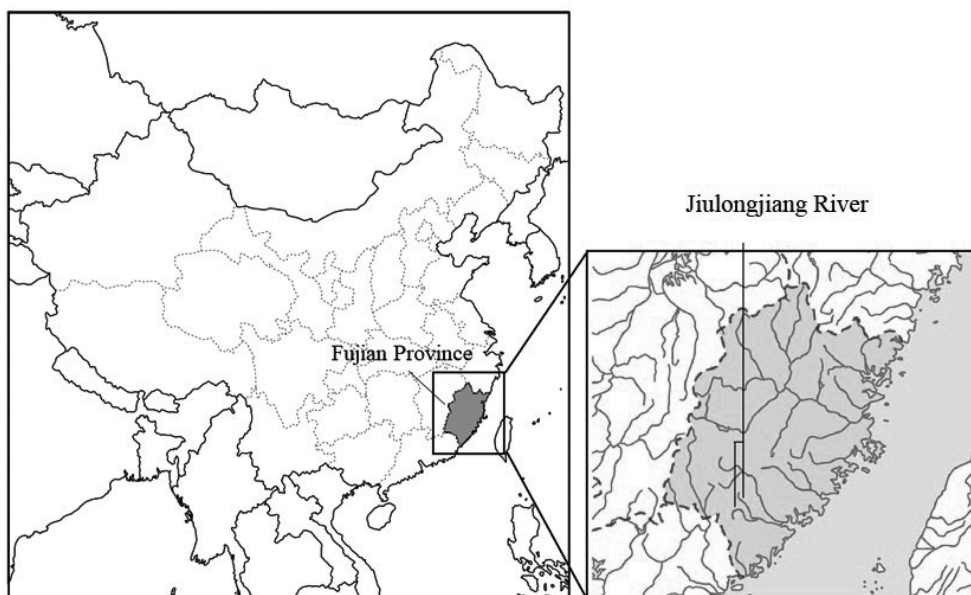


Fig. 1. Fujian Province and Jiulongjiang River

transportation. As a reference to how the *lianjiachuan yumin*'s ancestors started living on boats, the "Story of Damage" was passed down to generations. (While the when and why they started living on boats varied depending on families,) *Lianjiachuan yumin* says, "twenty and few generations ago, our ancestors were engaged in agriculture in a village near the Jiulongjiang River. Those who suffered from drought and hunger left (or were expelled from) the agricultural land, and went down to the Jiulongjiang River to start fishing or water transportation to make livelihood. This situation gradually became their lifestyle living on boats and moving around estuary of the Jiulongjiang River".

However, the relationship between *lianjiachuan yumin* who recognize themselves as farmers' descendants and farmers living in households on the riverside became conflicting. For example, farmers were ridiculing *lianjiachuan yumin*'s lifestyle and physical characteristics, calling them "people who sleep on boats (*chuandiren*: 船底人)", "duck (*shuiyazi*: 水鴨仔)", or "people with bent legs (*qutizi*: 曲蹄仔)"². This situation made *lianjiachuan yumin* feel that they would not be able to have any female farmers as their brides, since they had neither land nor homes, so they had to arrange marriages within the community. Nevertheless, *lianjiachuan yumin*'s lifestyle did not work without the agricultural villages which provided shelters, kindling, water, food and fishing tools. In fact, they, who used to live dispersedly by each family and boat, had harbors in multiple villages located along the coast. When a typhoon came, a community member died, or celebrating an event such as New Year's, they anchored their boats at the harbor and stayed there with ten to fifteen families belonging to the patrilineal lineage. The harbor was used as a shelter to protect them from storms, high waves and high tides; as a place to hold funeral; as a place for ancestral rituals and a religious festival; and, as a spot to repair boats and paint preservatives on fishing nets.

In the case of people who are engaged in fishing, such life on a boat as *lianjiachuan yumin* consisted of 1) harboring in agricultural villages and 2) nomadism by multiple boats gathered in a fishing ground—migrating back and forth between harbors (while the location changes depending on the season, type of fish, and nomadic period every three to four months), and 3) nomadism which is conducted two or three times in a day, between fishing grounds that often change from time to time. Also, in the case of people who are engaged in shipping, the nomadism is conducted two or three times in a day. This includes buying fish at 2), and sell them at 1), and 4) visiting agricultural villages near the Jiulongjiang River, or markets along the river (Fig.2). Thus, their nomadism had a regular routine between the brackish water and the surface of the Jiulongjiang River, while it sometimes unexpectedly changed depending on the type of fish caught, the tide cycle, or other incidences.

Collectivization policy and migration to settlements

The *lianjiachuan yumin* who were living a nomadic life on water started being

2 The word *qutizi* is used to mock people for curved legs often seen in *lianjiachuan yumin* who spend a long time with their legs bent in small boats, even during work or sleep.

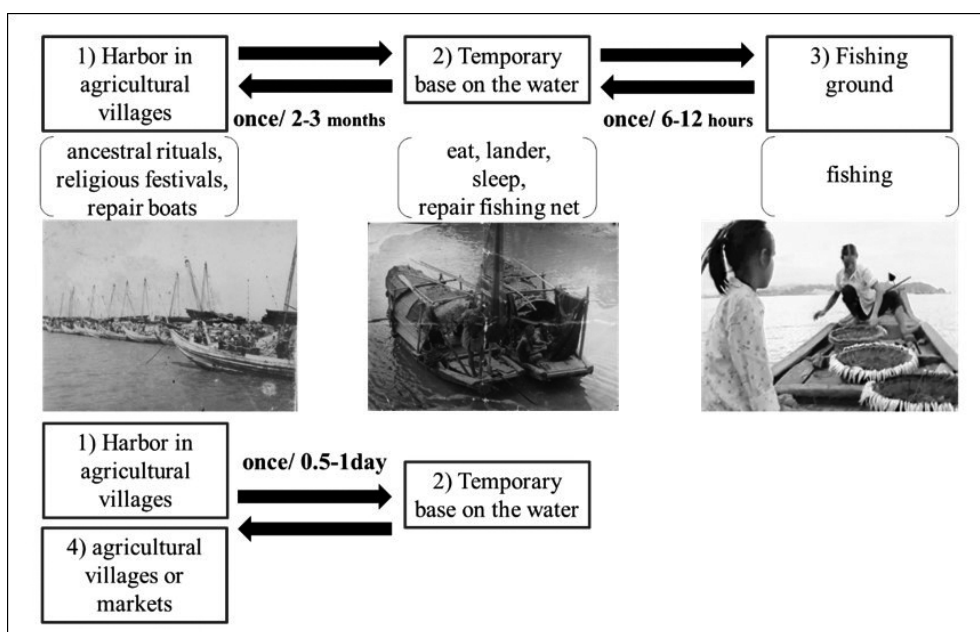


Fig. 2. Nomadism of *lianjiachuan yumin*

assimilated into the wave of collectivization schemes established by the People's Republic of China, after 1950's. Dozens of families sharing the same communal harbors were incorporated into organization such as the fishermen's association, mutual benefit society, primary-class fishing cooperation, high-class fishing cooperation, and People's commune fishery production team. As collectivization was promoted, such organizations became owners of boats and fishing tools. Cash or coupons were distributed as income depending on the type of labor. However, the majority of the *lianjiachuan yumin* continued to live nomadically on boats with their families, dispersing around the Jiulongjiang River estuary engaging in fishing and water transportation (FUJIKAWA 2017).

Acquisition of land for settlement and the construction of collective housing were observed several times from 1956 to 1999, drastically changed the lives of the *lianjiachuan yumin*. In 1956, the Hs, a high-level fishing cooperation, which managed the *lianjiachuan yumin*, who were dispersed in various locations, acquired land along the Jiulongjiang River tributary to set up an office. People's government of the Longxi county used public funds to build wooden one-story buildings around the office to house 85 *lianjiachuan yumin* from 17 households (ZHANG 2009:97). At the time, this construction was limited in scale but expanded as they obtained larger land after 1960. In this year, the government implemented the Lh commune and Gk production team, which were responsible for farming, they offered part of their farmland, to the Sm commune and Sm fishery production team, which oversaw the *lianjiachuan yumin*. Following this, two wooden collective housings were built, and the rooms were distributed preferentially to the elderly and disabled people first (Fig. 3). Thereafter, a

net weaving ground, shipyard, ice plant, fish processing plant, fishing harbor, nursery, elementary school, clinic, and various shop were built in the small area located on both sides of the Jiulongjiang River tributary. Furthermore, *lianjiachuan yumin* people who were not allocated housing were able to stay there, anchoring their boats there instead of their communal base harbors in the agricultural villages.

Over 4,000 *lianjiachuan yumin* people who migrated to settlements from water areas, were divided into two groups: one were those who were engaged in small and large scale fishing within the inland waters, the estuary of Jiulongjiang River, and the sea area; and the others were those who worked for factories located near the settlements (The labor's location between land and water had been flexible depending on the situation). The settlements functioned as a site for providing necessary materials such as boats, fishing nets, and motors, as well as a production base for fish processing and shipments. It was therefore constructed as a base site which over 4,000 *lianjiachuan yumin* people were inevitably dependent upon.

Current land settlements

After the dissolution of the People's commune in 1977, the Sm fishing production team was taken over as the government organization and re-named as Sm fishing village. After 2003, the name was changed to the Longhai city Sm subdistrict Sm fishing *shequ* (社区=community). According to statistics reported in 2006, there were

1,258 houses with 4,544 people living in the Sm fishing *shequ*, and the majority of people were *lianjiachuan yumin*, excluding a small number of those who came from outside of the community for marriage. In the *shequ*, 30 collective housing with up to seven stories tall were built by 1999 (ZHANG 2009:97-98), and a lot of *lianjiachuan yumin* families had purchased rooms (Fig. 4).

The important point to be emphasized is that the story of



Fig. 3. Apartment blocks in the settlement site (1960s), provided by Sm fishing *shequ*



Fig. 4. Collective housing of the Sm fishing *shequ* (2010)

the ancestors has been passed down as “they were banished from agricultural villages due to poverty and hunger” and the allocation of lands and settlements were referred to as a bright memory of “acquisition”. They say, “it was our dream to have houses. Thank you National State, thank you Chairman Mao!” Thus, access to settlements and collective housing were an opportunity to get out of the *lianjiachuan yumin*’s distressful life on boats under the risk of accidents, natural disasters, high waves and high tides. In fact, the *lianjiachuan yumin* people still have a strong passion towards acquiring housing even today. As a result, it is estimated that 99% of the families are owning a land-life space as of 2018; for those who were not given the opportunity to live in a condominium, in the small land of the Sm fishing *shequ*, they have been able to buy or rent farmhouses or city apartments in a different village (approximately 1% will be living on boats).

However, the process of acquiring collective housing did not cause the unidirectional result of settlement on land by moving from water or binding the *lianjiachuan yumin* to a settlement or housing. Actually, 77.3% of the total labor force of the Sm *shequ* still work on the water (ex. fishing, the transport of fish, sand excavation, manning high-speed boats and cargo ships) according to 2006 statistics, and other a lot of *lianjiachuan yumin* who are not engaged in water work also have boats and boat licenses or newly obtain them individually or as a household. Almost all of these water workers sleep on boats moored at sea for around a week to half a year, and they repeat the cycle of returning to their housing for about a week for rituals for gods and ancestors and sailing out to the sea again, which shows that they still continue their life based on movement by boat³. Furthermore, as the power and size of boats increased, the range of their movement has expanded compared to that before the acquisition of housing (FUJIKAWA 2016, 2018).

Two stories related to the justification for occupying lands that originally belonged to others

Victims of the 8.23 typhoon and ceding of land for settlement/distribution of collective housing

Development of settlements and construction of collective housing had gradually made progress for over 40 years since the end of the 1950s. Acquisition of housing was even more gradual for *lianjiachuan yumin* families and individuals, and it is still slowly continuing today. During the collectivization period, collective housing was only distributed to a limited number of people. Those who started land life to work for factories or agricultural sectors were still taking care of children, including brothers, sisters, cousins, and grandchildren who were still living on boats—helping

3 However, the fishermen are obliged to suspend fishing for 3 to 4.5 months in Summer according to fishing laws of the People’s Republic of China, so it is impossible to go out on boats during that time.

those children go to school, eat, and sleep. After the 2000s, cheap housing for low-income families was being constructed in the city (Fig. 5). It allowed poor *lianjiachuan yumin* people to rent or buy housing. However, those who still could not gain access to any housing had to stay with relatives who owned housing (FUJIKAWA 2016, 2017, 2018).



Fig.5 cheap housing for low-income families in the city (2015)

Even though it is obvious that they would have gradually acquired housing in this manner, *lianjiachuan yumin* who belonged to units connected with the Sm fishing production team and the Sm fishing *shequ* have a unified public story related to the group acquisition of land and housing. Their story is as follows:

On August 23rd, 1959, a huge typhoon (named 8.23) and high tide which occurs only once in 50 years laid havoc to the Jiulongjiang River area. In this disaster, 132 of the *lianjiachuan yumin* people drowned and 327 fishing boats (75.6% of the Sm fishing production team) were destroyed. After this disaster, the Party and the People's Government started working on a settlement plan to address the problem of the *lianjiachuan yumin*, and in 1960, they enacted a 140 thousand Yuan project to build two condominiums with two stories (2,960 m² in total) in the current premises of the Sm fishing *shequ*. This project allowed 348 people in 116 families to settle-down on land.

Mr. ZHANG who is *lianjiachuan yumin* and an executive of the Sm fishing village used some expressions from this "8.23" story in his book, "*Lianjiachuan* (連家船)", published in 2009.

This is a story that explains two important points of the *lianjiachuan yumin*: development and ceding of land for settlement/construction and distribution of collective housing, which first originated from a large natural disaster that resulted in identifiable victims and a specific amount of economical loss; and second, emphasized that this was a remedial action based on the concerns of the Communist Party and the (local) People's Government regarding *lianjiachuan yumin*'s housing-related problems. In other words, this story tells that the *lianjiachuan yumin* did not take the land owned by others, but were given the land as legitimate compensation under government expenses due to an uncontrollable disaster (disregarding what they had desired for over the years, and how land ownership was managed under the socialist system).

In effect, the land settlement policy for boat dwellers was implemented under the collectivization policy between the late 1950s and early 1960s, in the Guangdong Province and areas around Lake Tai, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and Shanghai (cf. HU 2017, INAZAWA 2016, NAGANUMA 2010a). While the government administration became easy after the land ceding and the distribution of collective housing to marginalized people or people in poverty like boat dwellers, it was a perfect chance, for the Communist Party, who had been a sympathizer of people in poverty or with no authority since before the foundation of the People's Republic of China, to show their responsibility for "saving those who do not own". Thus, even if the huge typhoon did not occur during this period, some other incident would have been the cause of land settlement policy of *lianjiachuan yumin* people. From a different perspective to this political background, the story of the "8.23 typhoon" localized to the estuary of the Jiulongjiang River and passed down among *lianjiachuan yumin* people is functioning as an excuse to show the legitimacy of their land occupation which has lasted for a long period of time while the land originally was allocated to a different group, the farmers.

Victimization of the Liberation patriot hero and status acquisition as a citizen

There is another public story given by the *lianjiachuan yumin* that can be understood as an excuse. It is a story which glorifies "patriot hero who died from the Xiamen (厦門) island/Gulangyu (鼓浪嶼) liberation mission". The story is as follows:

In August 1949, the People's Liberation Army who won the war against the Nationalist Party Army in Fuzhou headed south towards Xiamen and Zhangzhou. As a result, all regions of the Longxi and Haicheng counties (in the era) located at the Jiulongjiang River estuary was liberated by 25th September. In October, a "Xiamen island-Gulangyu liberation mission" to release people living in the Xiamen island/Gulangyu located at the estuary was implemented, and some of the *lianjiachuan yumin* began to take part in this mission. Many of the *lianjiachuan yumin* followed an order to carry multiple groups of the People's Liberation Army soldiers to Xiamen and Gulangyu islands on their boats. Among the *lianjiachuan yumin*, people who were on fixed netting boats, boats that were able to travel a long distance into the sea were the main target of the call, and 157 boats and 128 people aged 13 to 60 were selected as front-line sailors. In the evening of October 5th, these sailors left the Jiulongjiang River estuary under the People's Liberation Army's order, and 24 of them died. Among the contributors, one was given the Special Grade Honor, and 25, 35, and 69 people were given 1st Grade, 2nd Grade, and 3rd Grade honor respectively after the war (ZHANG 2009: 112, ZHANG *et al.* 2009: 142-152).

An especially stirring part of the story is the fact that a married couple, Huang Nc and Zhang Sj (she was the only female sailor) and their three sons who were suffering

from poverty lost their lives as victims of this liberation mission. This incident is always mentioned in the history of Longhai city revolution, and the story itself has been widely known to make the readers/listeners emotional.

This story is exhibited extensively on the wall of the elderly activity room which is a common place among *lianjiachuan yumin* in the Sm fishing *shequ* to gather; however, only those who play mahjong or porker see it. Nevertheless, it appears in the history of the Longhai city revolution; moreover, it appears repeatedly in documents written by people who are trying to record the history of *lianjiachuan yumin* (HUANG 2018, ZHANG *et al.* 2012). As a compensation for this sacrifice, families of the patriot heroes were given the right to exclusively occupy a part of the collective housing for settlement, which was built on the land in 1986. They also preferentially have received guaranteed minimal financial support since 2000, and there is no doubt that these actions are from special consideration of the state.

The “8.23 typhoon” story and the appraisal of the “patriot hero who died from the Xiamen island/*Gulangyu* liberation mission” has specific information such as the year of occurrence, names and number of victims, background of the story and types of order. These are important historical stories for the *lianjiachuan yumin* because they show the current administration’s allegiance towards the Communist Party. Some *lianjiachuan yumin* people were categorized as a group to be penalized under Communism since these people were working for the National Party as heads of *boajia* or hiring and exploiting laborers on the fishing boats. Nevertheless, these stories have the power to present the honor of the *lianjiachuan yumin* while hiding such negative parts of their history, because it’s a glorious story which emphasizes that *lianjiachuan yumin* who made a huge contribution to local and national communization during the revolution acquired “citizenship” that is equal to farmers and urban citizens who used to look down on them for their life and working style, while experiencing injuries and deaths, and being victimized. Thus, while it has been 70 years since the foundation of the People’s Republic of China, the glory of the patriot heroes which is repeatedly mentioned in the “8.23 typhoon” story, are functioning as excuses to support the legitimacy of land and housing acquisition of the *lianjiachuan yumin* inside and outside of their community (including the local society surrounding the Jiulongjiang River estuary and the state).

Folkway to reinterpreting the space of land and water residence originating from others: *Xijiang* and *Xunshe* during the Dragon Boat Festival by the gods

Sense of belonging created in the settlement communities

As explained in their history, the *lianjiachuan yumin* were suddenly given land in a place that they had no prior association with during the collectivization scheme. While it was their wish to have land, they were forced to share a small settlement with

a large number of people which increased to 4,000 within 10 years. Before, the land supported just a few families.

Movements of collectivization and land settlement divided the *lianjiachuan yumin* who had base harbors surrounding the areas along the Jiulongjiang River estuary and had marital or organic relations in the community within 5 places (The collectivization was conducted in Zhangzhou city located at the upper stream; Longhai city; Fg people's commune and Sm people's commune at the middle stream; Xiamen city; and, *Gulangyu* at the estuary), and house them in collectivized land.

From *lianjiachuan yumin's* perspective, communities appeared to be just like “uniforms supplied to employees (*Oshikise*)”, which is a result of political decision beyond individual needs in which past geographical and biological linkage irregularly disconnected and connected. However, the current *lianjiachuan yumin* living in the Sm fishing *shequ* call themselves “people of the fishing battalion (*Yuyedadui*)”, which is perceptibly from “Sm commune Sm fishing production team” appeared in 1960 as the final stage of the collectivization scheme. This indicates that they have created the sense of belonging to a large newly developed community, experiencing life and production in the settlements given by the government for more than 30 years.

In 1990, the gods who protect people in the Sm fishing village: *Shuixianwang* (水仙王), *Mazu* (媽祖) and *Tudi Gong* (God of the Soil and the Ground; 土地公) appeared in a temple (*Zd mausoleum*) where those gods sleep (Fig. 6-8). It represents the sense of belonging to this community that was created by political influence. This was a breakthrough of the *lianjiachuan yumin's* history which used to believe God only with a few families sharing the same base harbors, before the Cultural Revolution which prohibited possession of God and rituals: they started sharing gods with 4000 community members beyond families.

In the following sections, this paper discusses the two ceremonies called “*Xijiang* (洗江)” and “*Xunshe* (巡社)” which celebrate the “Dragon Boat Festival (端午節)” in the *Zd mausoleum* the day around May 5th (in lunar calendar) every year. In China, the festival is known as the day to remember Qu Yuan (屈原) who was



Fig. 6. *Tudi Gong*



Fig. 7. *Mazu*



Fig. 8. *Shuixianwang*

a patriotic poet. Nevertheless, *lianjiachuan yumin* believe that it is to celebrate the birth of *Shuixianwang* (水仙王) who was the chief god of the Zd mausoleum. More importantly, they believe that each ceremony in the festival is to “pray for a bountiful haul and the safety of all members engaged in fishing in the Sm fishing *shequ*”. *Mazu* (媽祖) and other Gods enshrined with *Shuixianwang* in the Zd mausoleum also appear in the ceremony. Among the ceremonies, *Xijiang* is held on May 1st and 5th in the morning, with Zd mausoleum’s gods riding on dragon boats and fishing boats, while the *Xunshe* ceremony is held on May 1st in the afternoon, taking the gods from the Zd mausoleum to the Sm fishing *shequ* by palanquins.

Xijiang

On the morning of May 1st, after high tide, palanquins on which have josses of *Shuixianwang* (水仙王), *Mazu* (媽祖) and *Jiangwang* (江王) are invited from the open sea (*Jiangwang* which does not have a joss is believed to reside in the water of a vase) and rest on dragon boats. The boats make three round trips between the Jiulongjiang River tributary and the Sm fishing *shequ* (Fig. 9). Small fishing boats anchor at the tributary and throw banknotes and firecrackers to the dragon boats while large crowds of *lianjiachuan yumin* watches the celebration. This ceremony is carried out by praying for a bountiful haul and the safety of all members engaged in fishing in the Sm fishing *shequ*, while welcoming gods which have left the Zd maunsoleum and the open sea to visit the space where the people live.

On the morning of May 5th, josses of *Shuixianwang* and *Mazu*, and portraits



Fig. 9. The dragon boat in tributary of the Jiulongjiang River (2008)



Fig. 10. Figures of Gods carried onto three middle-sized fishing boats (2008)



Fig. 11. The dragon boat on the main stream of the Jiulongjiang River (2008)

of *Shuixianwang*, Mazu and Jiangwang are divided into three groups to board three middle-size fishing boats. These fishing boats and the dragon boats navigate through the spaces between various sizes of *lianjiachuan yumin's* fishing boats anchored at the main stream of the Jiulongjiang River (Fig. 10,11). The *lianjiachuan yumin's* boat owners wait for the moment when the fishing boats and the dragon boats pass by, then throw banknotes and firecrackers to the gods and the boats while welcoming them, showing appreciation and praying for safety and a large haul. Since it is an earnest wish of the *lianjiachuan yumin* people, they ask the dragon boats “please come here as soon as possible” using cell phones, when the gods and the dragon boats do not show up near their fishing boats. Afterwards, gods will be placed on small fishing boats and make three round trips to the tributary within the Sm fishing *shequ* with the dragon boats.

There was a turning point that *lianjiachuan yumin* of the Sm fishing *shequ* started the *Xijiang*. Between 1960 and 1980, this tributary was functioning as a fishing harbor where *lianjiachuan yumin*, who used to be in different places, anchored various sized of fishing boats (Fig.12). However, during this period, many unexpected accidents occurred in this harbor: children and adults who were playing or doing laundry on boats



Fig.12. A harbor of the Sm Fishing Production Brigade (1960s) Provided by Sm fishing *shequ*

drowned by slipping or falling into the water. They thought it was because of “*Shuigui* (水鬼): an evil living in the water” wriggling in the river. People claimed, “Those accidents happen because *Shuigui* would try to get humans into the water. In order to stop it, we need to make the harbor *qingqi* (clean) but human power is not enough to do it. We need to borrow a god’s power.” After the Zd mausoleum was built, people started to keep the harbor *qingqi* by making round trips to the tributary with *Shuixianwang*, Mazu and Jiangwang. Simultaneously, the distance of the round trip was extended to a harbor located at the main stream of the Jiulongjiang River. This ceremony started to play a role in guaranteeing a large haul and the safety of people, especially fisherman in Sm fishing *shequ*.

Xunshe

On the afternoon of May 1st, palanquins on which the gods are placed (*Shuixianwang*, Mazu, *Huye*, *Fazigong* and *Taiziye*) with the exception of *Tudi Gong* and portraits of *Shuixianwang*, Mazu and Jiangwang leave the Zd mausoleum and head to a collective housing area in the Sm fishing *shequ*. When arriving at the road in front of the housing, the men who are carrying the palanquins shake them all at one, and repeatedly pretend to enter the doorways of apartments that are left open: symbolizing

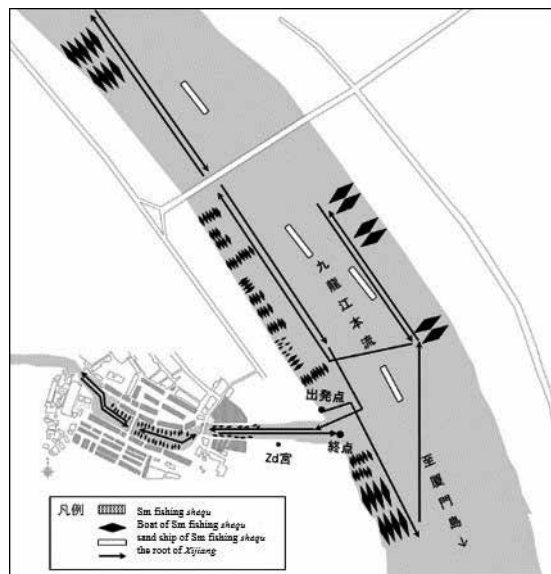
Fig.13. *Xunshe* (2008)

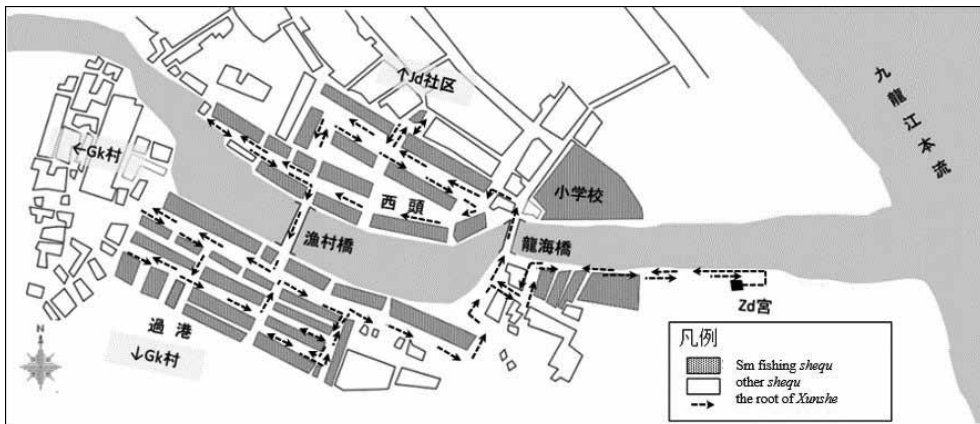
a visit from the gods (Fig. 13). *Lianjiachuan yumin* people who have apartments on the first floor prepare and leave incense, rice dumplings, fruits, confectionery and money outside of the doors to welcome the gods' visit. Also, when the palanquins arrive at the main road which goes through the *shequ*, the men who are holding the palanquins quickly make three round trips from one end of the street to the other. At this time, other *Lianjiachuan yumin* people who live in apartments on the upper floors, and those who bought or rent housing outside of the Sm fishing *shequ*, come to the street and throw banknotes and firecrackers to celebrate the gods' visit. When gods leave their mausoleums and visit villages to observe people's lives once in a year, people call it *Xunshe* believing that the gods' visit will bring peace to all places where people live.

Accepting spaces of land/water as their own homes

Xijiang and *Xunshe* of the Dragon Boat Festival (端午節) is closely connected with the space and the borders that define the area of the Sm fishing *shequ*. Fig. 14 shows that the area where *Xijiang* takes place is limited to the space where the Sm fishing *shequ* anchor their boats. Moreover, the boats for *Xijiang* have to sail between various sizes of fishing boats within this area. The ceremony is conducted as if to determine the area that the *lianjiachuan yumin* can use within the main stream of the Jiulongjiang River; the river flows into the Taiwan Strait from the mountains in the Southwest Fujian (Longyan) and the tributary that goes through Sm, crossing the downtown streets.

On the other hand, Fig. 15 shows that the area for *Xunshe* is limited to the residential areas located on either side of the Jiulongjiang River tributary, where collective housing (the *Shequ*

Fig. 14. A sphere of *Xijiang*

Fig. 15. A sphere of *Xunshe*

community office, shops, restaurants and clinics) were built, although the parade goes through the area in a very precise manner.

The area for *Xunshe* does not illustrate the complete set of properties where registered residents live under the management of the Sm Fishing *Shequ* Committee. This is because most *lianjiachuan yumin* people are living their lives outside of Sm fishing shequ: the Sm fishing shequ was deemed too small to accommodate all the *lianjiachuan yumin* people, and those who have left the area have bought or rented housing in different *shequ(es)* or villages next to Sm. Therefore, the *Xunshe*'s area represents the official area of the administrative division which is governed as the Sm fishing *shequ*, rather than the area where the *lianjiachuan yumin* live. In other words, *Xunshe* defines the area in which the *lianjiachuan yumin* belong, while interpreting it as the *shequ* area. Therefore, it functions as a ceremony that guarantees safety and peace of all members belonging to the Sm fishing *shequ*.

The process in which *Xunshe* started indicates the *lianjiachuan yumin*'s sense of land settlements. As mentioned previously, it started in 1990 (the year of the Zd mausoleum foundation) which was approximately 20 years after many water-related accidents occurred; together with ceremonies of the Dragon Boat Festival. In contrast, the *Xunshe* started for the first time in 2007, which was 17 years after the Zd mausoleum was built. Essentially, the *Xunshe* has been regularly conducted for a long time in Southern Fujian and the *lianjiachuan yumin* used to see it in agricultural villages where their base harbors were located. After the Zd mausoleum was built and the gods which protect the entire Sm fishing village (the latter Sm fishing *shequ*) were enshrined, the *lianjiachuan yumin* also desired to invite the gods for their collective housing areas. However, according to the elders of the *lianjiachuan yumin* they could not start the *Xunshe* because "they did not have courage" to do so. This is because they had a fixed mindset that the land owned by associations linked from the Sm Fishing Battalion (*Yuyedadui*) to the Sm fishing *shequ* "belonged to others". Thus, even after the settlement acquisition, the *lianjiachuan yumin* had believed that the land where

they live is owned by other villages and they were just borrowing the land from them, for more than 50 years.

As the “8.23 typhoon” story shows, the land was officially given to the *lianjiachuan yumin* through a political procedure after the People’s government decided to cede land for the Sm Fishing Battalion (*Yuyedadui*) without any compensation. However, while the *lianjiachuan yumin* knew that the system gave them the right to use the land, they continued to have a feeling of guilt for a very long time, believing that it did not belong to them. In the end, many people raised their voices desiring *Xunshe* for the *lianjiachuan yumin*. As a result, the *Xunshe* started in 2007 after being discussed by the Zd mausoleum committee.

Xijiang indicates the space on water where the *lianjiachuan yumin* coming from the Sm fishing *shequ* anchor their boats, whereas the *Xunshe* indicates the land space owned by the Sm fishing *shequ*. Both ceremonies are held to accept the space where the *lianjiachuan yumin* can use. In either case, it took 20 to 50 years to start, and allowed them to accept the space as “Fishing Battalion’s (*Yuyedadui*’s)” and “ours” while sharing the space in daily life.

The practice of *Xijiang* and *Xunshe* is a *lianjiachuan yumin*’s folk method to justify the space they have chosen from water and land which endlessly spreads within its defined border. In this sense, the process in which *Xijiang* and *Xunshe* started shows the long history of the spaces that they have developed from both water and land which were originally owned by others, and that could be called home for them.

Homes connecting to the areas outside the border:

Reminiscing on the history of ancestors who did not settle in a single place

Geographical and social dissociation from farming villages of ancestral origin to reconciliation

Although it depends on the particular family, the *lianjiachuan yumin* have accepted that their ancestors left the agricultural villages to start living on boats, approximately 400 years ago. Furthermore, the *lianjiachuan yumin* had not left any documents writing about specific relationships with their ancestors: such as genealogy books or mortuary tablets and/or shrines to archive those documents. Interestingly, *lianjiachuan yumin* and farmers with the same family name shared a common mindset: “we are the members of the same family name, “△”, and I am the “×th” descendant of my ancestors”. This group mindset was created while sharing daily activities such as boat manufacturing and repairs, procurements of food, commodities and fishing tools, selling fish, and lodging school students in agricultural households. These activities were conducted in the base harbors before collectivization and land settlement took root. The group mindset also had been strengthened by ancestral rituals that took place in the shrines of agricultural villages, where families from the patrilineal lineage, who principally lived in different villages or on different boats, used to gather.

In contrast, the communist revolution, which occurred after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, was promoted - aiming to divide the geographical ties such as biological linkages which were representative of religious groups and traditional village associations that existed before the foundation of the People's Republic of China. As described in the previous sections, after the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the *lianjiachuan yumin* have been collectivized into an association that solely consists of *lianjiachuan yumin* while experiencing several transformations. In the 1960s, they left their agricultural villages where they had called home, and moved to the settlements where the battalion of the Sm fishing production was located. It meant that the *lianjiachuan yumin* were geographically and physically detached from the farmers who lived in agricultural villages and had the same family names as them. In fact, the *lianjiachuan yumin* used to be engaged in the cultivation of land and the pisciculture of clams, fish and seaweed as a part of collective labor. They cooperated with other farming production teams in agricultural places and at the Jiulongjiang River coast, which were located far from the Sm fishing production battalion: but it was just a labor distribution order of the People's commune and the production battalion, not *lianjiachuan yumin's* voluntary actions to form close relationships with farmers. During this period, in the agricultural villages, shrines established for each last name were destroyed or used for other purposes, and each religious practice was prohibited - influenced by the political movements such as Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

The situation changed around 1990 after China's economic reform. In agricultural villages along the Jiulongjiang River coastal area, shrines were established to enshrine each ancestor in every "*fang* (房)" which categorizes early ancestor and the ancestors of the ancestor. This movement also affected the *lianjiachuan yumin* as well: although it had been about 30 years since the *lianjiachuan yumin* left base harbors in agricultural villages, farmers who had the same last names contacted relatives of the *lianjiachuan yumin*; and since then, every year, male *lianjiachuan yumin* have participated in ancestors' worship festivals such as the Lantan Festival (元宵節), the winter solstice (冬至), Dragon Boat Festival, Ghost festival (中元節), and Mid-Autumn Festival (中秋節) (Fig. 16,17).



Fig. 16. A shrine of village ancestors



Fig. 17. Ancestor worship

Lianjiachuan yumin connected to movements by Taiwan immigrants who looked back on history

Given the reformation of the relationship between the *lianjiachuan yumin* and farmers who live in agricultural villages where *lianjiachuan yumin*'s ancestor cultivated the lands and had the same family names with the *lianjiachuan yumin* families, biological linkage among the *lianjiachuan yumin* was further expanded. After 2000, for example, representatives of Huang (黃) families who lived in the villages of Zhangzhou City and Longhai City established a research institute named *Fujian Jiangxia Huang Nemeroot Searching Institute* (福建省江夏黃氏源流研究会) where they have published their work. In response to such movements, in the villages along the Jiulongjiang River coast, intellectuals and local people have collected genealogy books of the Huang families and re-edited or re-constructed the genealogical linkage in each familial level. Name-root tracings are not always successful, but such movements have started not only among Huang families but also other names including ones of the *lianjiachuan yumin* (most of them are elderly people who have obtained knowledge of the relationship between ancestors who used to live in agricultural villages and current *lianjiachuan yumin*. Since childhood, these stories have been passed down by word of mouth). Thus, after 2000, the fact of "having the same family name" has strongly connected the *lianjiachuan yumin* with people from other areas, disregardless of whether they share direct ancestorage that can be traced by genealogy books and stories passed down by word of mouth.

This movement, which associates people with the same family names while spreading the linkages horizontally, has connected *lianjiachuan yumin* with people who moved to Taiwan from villages along the Jiulongjiang River coast. This effect has enlarged descendants in various regions of Taiwan. This was initiated by Taiwanese people who started "*root searching* (尋根)", which is visiting ancestral lands after the ban of visiting relatives from Taiwan to China was terminated in 1987.

For example, people named Huang in Jm (a town) and Jz (a village) of Longhai City have a history of enshrining *Mazu* with five other gods in the Lh mausoleum. In 1661, a lot of Huang went to Taiwan and explored ways to survive. At that time, they decided to bring the five gods to Taiwan by boat while leaving *Mazu* in the Lh mausoleum. After arriving in Taiwan safely, they spread to different regions and established shrines in five villages of Tainan (台南) in order to enshrine the five gods. Each administrative board of those shrines had kept in touch with each other. They had passed down stories of *Mazu* which they left in their home town to later generations while longing for their homeland. In 1988, under the complex relationship between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China, which was also right after Taiwan ended martial law as well as the ban of visiting relatives on the mainland, the administrative boards of the five shrines went to the mainland. One year after they started ancestral root searching, they identified that the Jz Village was their homeland, for them and their gods. Likewise, when they figured out that the Lh mausoleum was gone, they established the "Lh Mausoleum Restoration Committee (Lh宮復建委員

会)”. As a result, Taiwanese people with the family name of Huang donated 800 million Renminbi to the committee. After which, a new mausoleum was built in 1994 in the Jz Village. It was named the We mausoleum. Annually, on *Mazu’s* birthday every year, descendants of Huang, who are originally from the Jz Village while living in Taiwan, visit the We mausoleum, offering incense with other Huang family members who live in the mainland side of Longhai City enjoying the reunion of “relatives who have the same homeland”. The representatives of Huang from *lianjiachuan yumin* who used to have base harbors near the Jz Village are invited for this ceremony, and they interact with Taiwanese participants using their mother tongue, Hokkien-Taiwanese (閩南語 = 台灣語) (Fig. 18).



Fig. 18. The Huang family who have their roots in Jz village visit the We mausoleum (2008)

Lianjiachuan yumin return to Taiwan

Tracking of lineage based on paternal ancestors is not limited to the unidirectional inquiry from Taiwan to the mainland. After Taiwan accepted group and individual tourism from the mainland in 2008 and 2011 respectively, the freedom of visiting Taiwan from the mainland was accelerated. In the following sections, this paper looks at the *lianjiachuan yumin* who head to ancestral land in Taiwan.

A long time ago, *Lianjiachuan yumin* who had Zhang (張) as their last name and had base harbors in Zn (a town) and Xl (a village) in Longhai City were engaged in fixed-net fishing and fish transportation. They believed that their ancestors were from Pk village which was an agricultural village of Lw ward in Zhangzhou, located along the upper stream of a river. The Pk village was developed by a man called Zhang Yh from 1464 to 1620 during the Ming dynasty. He was from a Zhang family in the Henan prefecture, and arrived at the Junlongjiang River to escape from a crime which he committed while working as a government officer for the Nanjing government. Subsequently, he found his second wife and had five sons with her. However, his oldest son, Zhang Yr, thought that the agricultural land was too small to make sustain enough livelihood for his family, so he started fishing on the Jiulongjiang River. Soon after, Zhang Cz who was a descendant after several generations of Zhang Yr and his wife who moved to Fujian Jinjiang (晉江) and then traveled a short distance to Qingyu (青嶼) in Quemoy (金門) island, and came back to the mainland. Zhang Cz had three sons: the oldest son lived in Xiamen, the second son lived in Xl village, and the youngest son lived in Zn town of the Tb village. The *lianjiachuan yumin* whose last names were Zhang and who had their base harbors in Xl village are thought to follow the way

that the second son took. This knowledge has been passed down by word of mouth among the *lianjiachuan yumin* with the family name, Zhang. Given the genealogy reconstruction movement which occurred after 1990s, it has become possible to track-down specific details by combining written records of the Zhang families from all regions of the Zhangzhou and Longhai city. In fact, part of the knowledge regarding the father, Zhang Cz, who connected the Zhang family with XI village was just relieved recently.

After the history of Zhang Cz's immigration to Quemoy was clarified, the *lianjiachuan yumin* with the family name of Zhang and Zhang families living in XI village started a "homecoming (返鄉)" tour to Quemoy around 2015. Qingyu is actually believed to have been developed by Zhang Yz (born in 1254), who immigrated from Jinjiang at the end of the Sung era, but there is no accurate information regarding the genealogical connection between Zhang Cz and the Zhang families in Qingyu. Despite this fact, some *lianjiachuan yumin* with the family name join the homecoming tour giving the reason as "I have heard that my ancestors with unknown names left the Jiulongjiang River and immigrated to Quemoy island via several different places. I would therefore like to visit my ancestors". For example, a total of 26 people of the *lianjiachuan yumin* named Zhang and 43 members of Zhang families living in XI village joined the tour in March 2018, to visit Qingyu village by boats and buses. This was a three-day two-night trip, which was conducted upon obtaining "The Republic of China Taiwan Exit and Entry Permit" via the travel agent (Fig. 19).

Network of the patrilineal lineage expanding to the areas outside the border

Agricultural villages in the coastal areas of the Jiulongjiang River used to function as homes to support *lianjiachuan yumin* having a nomadic life on boats. Those villages are believed to be an area developed by ancestors including the *lianjiachuan yumin* families, but the nomadic history of these ancestors also keeps changing while experiencing loss and the conception of home. This is because the beginning of their nomadism is often described by stories of victimization and loss such as "they came to the Jiulongjiang River coast having escaped from Nanjing after committing crime", "they came to the Jiulongjiang River coast but moved on to the boat because the farmland was so small", or "they moved on to the boat after being kicked out of the farming village because of starvation". Regardless of whether the stories are true, these stories show that the start of a village or the start of lives on boats, are always associated with overcoming problems



Fig. 19 "Homecoming" tour to Quemoy, provided by Mr. Zhang Yaqing (2018)

and solving them by creating new homes for themselves.

Many of the *lianjiachuan yumin* followed an order to carry multiple groups of the People's Liberation Army soldiers to Xiamen and Gulangyu islands on their boats. The *lianjiachuan yumin* continue to interact with people who migrated to Taiwan long ago simply because they share the same family names, or the *lianjiachuan yumin* are trying to trace the history of migration said to have been experienced by the village founders in their port of origin as well as visit ancestral places in Taiwan even though they have no specific or certain genealogical relationships with the people there. A social connection called “*Zongqin* (宗親)” is created by the voluntary participation of the people who share the same family names according to the ideology that “having the same family name indicates belonging the same patrilineal lineage” (CHEN 2014:138). The activities of the *lianjiachuan yumin* depicted above shows that *Zongqin* is expanding its network by connecting people and easily crossing the boundaries of administrative divisions such as Sm fishing *shequ*, Longhai City, Fujian Province, and the entire People's Republic of China.

Moreover, this shows that the complex history of migration that cannot be captured by simple routes, such as that from the mainland to Taiwan and from Taiwan to the mainland, became possible because the lives of ancestors connected to the *lianjiachuan yumin* of Sm fishing *shequ* were supported by an extremely wide range of both water and land spaces. In other words, it shows that for the *lianjiachuan yumin*, home is not formed by roots in a single location even during a long historical span. That is because their homes on land kept expanding as follows: from 1) rural villages developed by their ancestors who abandoned other provinces and came to estuary of the Jiulongjiang River in Fujian Province, to 2) Quemoy in Taiwan and 3) the villages on estuary of the Jiulongjiang River, to 4) newly built offices of Sm large fishing groups and fishing ports, and to 5) the settlements within the Sm large fishing groups where their collective housing were built. Also, their homes continue to exist in maritime areas, from estuary of the Jiulongjiang River and to the Taiwan Strait, where they still spend most of the year living on boats.

Conclusion

Boat dwellers used to have a nomadic lifestyle on boats while engaging in fishing or transportation without the need for land or housing. All movements towards collectivization resulted in the categorization of such people into a specialized group for fishing and boat sailors. Moreover, it provided additional rights of citizens, which was equal to farmers, pastors, and laborers, and to those who were discriminated and called, “people with bent legs” or “people in tanned skin”, due to having a different lifestyle and physical appearance from majority of people in the society. Government management and administration played an important role, convincing government associations to centralize economic activity, education, healthcare and governance,

and to make people rely on specific land and government associations. Giving fixed home addresses, job opportunities, and citizenship to boat dwellers including people living in rural areas was a suitable policy for the state which was trying to strengthen its national labor force, and consequently provide the government with an efficient and effective way to generate income from labor and distribute the money to citizens. The management or political method which can be called a “settlement-based management system” has been experienced by nomadic people all over the world. It is common in modern nation states, disregardless of the differences between political systems. However, while most nomadic people in the world are exposed to a “state which tries to restrict nomadic freedom to move around a wide range of homeland and people who try to secure their nomadic freedom to escape from the state (including violations of the state borders of territorial land and waters),” (cf. MARUYAMA 2018, SCOTT 2013, TOKORO 1999). Chinese boat dwellers were often described as “people who try to settle down, utilizing the acquisition of land and housing as an opportunity to integrate into the world of land dwellers and join the mainstream groups (such as farmers and city dwellers) who use to discriminate against them (cf. HU 2017, HUANG 2015, INAZAWA 2016, NAGANUMA 2010a, 2010b, 2013). The symmetry of these two types of nomadic people is created by two aspects: the first is the “autonomy of nomadic people” and “nomadic freedom = right”; while the second involves the “height of nomadism = a result of land deprivation.”

This paper focused on the *lianjiachuan yumin* who still maintain their nomadic life on boats even after the acquisition of land and housing. The process in the settlement, distribution, and migration to the land along with the housing distribution and collectivization, are passed down to people through “a history of acquisition”. These people have experienced the two contradictory perceptions: 1) communities and land of the settlements which has been developed in a short history started after the late 1950s; and, 2) communities which the ancestors had developed for more than 400 years, on a wide range of river and ocean where they used to live. Thus, two perceptions which have different interpretations are misaligned when determining the meaning of “home”.

The first is to accept communities created by incoherently severing and connecting traditional blood ties and territorial ties as their own communities, despite some hesitation, for the purpose of sharing a space originated by others (i.e. a settlement on land and a mooring base on water) given by the state regardless of one's own will, and the economic, social, and political activities within that space. This brings us back to the reasons why the *lianjiachuan yumin* have passed down the stories of settlement, rights, and status acquisition as they portray themselves as victims of government and society (as previously mentioned in the story of the patriot hero who died from the Xiamen island and *Gulangyu* liberation mission and the story of the 8.23 typhoon disaster). They hold the ceremonies of *Xijiang* (洗江) and *Xunshe* (巡社) for Dragon Boat Festival (端午節) as if to justify the land and water areas that they can use. It is because of this, at least from the *lianjiachuan yumin*'s perspective, that they have felt guilty over the occupation of settlements which are the spaces previously settled by

other people - even though the legitimacy of the space has been politically secured since their acquisition of the settlement. Thus, for the *lianjiachuan yumin*, relocation to new settlements translates into the deprivation and occupation of someone's space, no matter if they regard it as loss of homeland or acquisition.

The second *lianjiachuan yumin's* perception for determining home was expanding the space and the community, which they believe to belong to. This expansion extended to the *shequ*, city, prefecture, and state borders as if to protrude out from the original space of their settlements, while tracing back to the nomadic history of their ancestors. The nomadic history of their ancestors, which moved from the interior to the Jiulongjiang River's coast in Fujian and from the Jiulongjiang River coast to (current) Taiwan. This history illustrates that the agricultural villages which used to play a role in defining their sense of home has expanded the space in which the word home is defined - as the *lianjiachuan yumin* have a history of losing and creating new residence.

The first of the *lianjiachuan yumin's* perceptions can be understood as "grassroots nationalism" which arises in their society as base layers. This was accomplished by laying down roots and developing the space within the communities in which they settle. These settlements are acquired with losing many lives and ultimately become the *lianjiachuan yumin's* homes. To the contrary, the second perception of the *lianjiachuan yumin's* can be understood as an attempt to constantly validate the historical aspects of home having not put down roots in one place—freely moving between land and water dwelling by living a nomadic lifestyle. Furthermore, for the *lianjiachuan yumin* who have housing in settlements or around them, the majority still maintain a nomadic life while continuing to live on boats and engaging in water-related labors, such as fishing, transporting fish, sand digging, and sailing high-speed ferries or freighters, the act of building "home" in a space or community across water and land is just as ongoing.

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