

## CHAPTER IV

### ZENGCHONG VILLAGE AS A DYNAMIC COMMUNITY

This chapter presents Zengchong village as a dynamic community. The first part describes this village's physical background and customs. Then, in part two, this village's history has been introduced divided it into four stages; which are in turn the clan stage, class stage, collective stage and household stage. The changes in local social community and livelihoods have been presented in the last two parts.

#### 4.1 Physical Background and Customs of Zengchong Village

Beside the main road that connects Congjiang County and Rongjiang County, is the entrance of the way to the *JiuDong* area. Before entering this area, people need to cross a lot of big mountains. There is only one small road built passing over and winding through a lot of big mountains going to the Dong areas. It is dangerous and busses cannot pass in the rainy season. Zengchong village is located at the border of *JiuDong* area, which is a basin at an attitude of 640 meters. Around the village are all mountains. Busses can get only halfway down the last hill. People have to walk down a steep slope to enter the village. Dong people have been known to hide in these mountains, which leads to their name----Dong. In Chinese, it means people hind in the cave.

In the bottom of the basin, a small river goes around the village like a "U". Except a few lands around the village in the bottom of the basin, most land areas in this village are terraces located along the mountains' slopes. All the terraces are built to halfway up the hills, and the upper parts of the hill are all forests, namely pine trees, firs planted by the villagers, and other natural trees (see photo 4-1 and 4-2). The upper level terraces all hold water for fishery. Raising fish in paddy lands is a special technological practice developed by the Dong and introduced by them to this area.

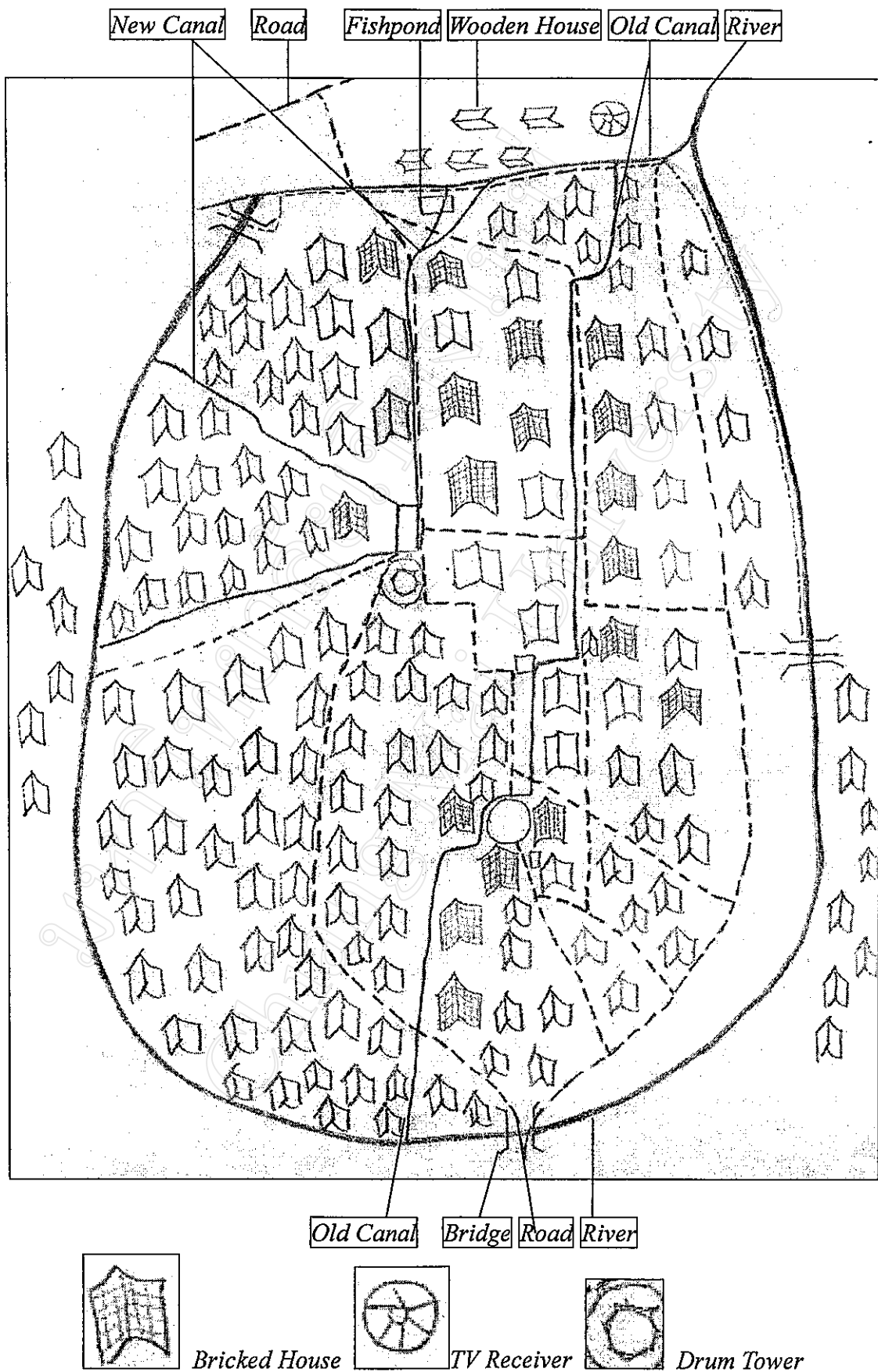


**Photo 4-1 Landscape of Zengchong Village**



**Photo 4-2 Ecological Distribution of Natural Resource**

Along the river, some stone dams have been built to enhance river water levels at canal entrances. A lot of small canals are flow in the area beside the river to carry river water for irrigation. There are two of the biggest size canals. One crosses the gap of the “U”, carrying the upstream river water to irrigate the downstream land. The other big canal runs inside the village. It runs through one side of the village, connecting some fishponds and running beside some bricked houses (which previously were the houses of the landowners of the village). These bricked houses were owned by landowners in the past. And at that time the canal was also owned by them (see map 4-1).



**Map 4-1 Village Map** (Participatory made by Shi Ruiqin etc.)

Some fishponds are inside the village and some lie outside. The biggest fishpond was built beside the drum tower, so that it could be used as a source of fire protection for the drum tower and for the surrounding houses (see photo 4-3). This fishpond is owned by six households. Each of the other fishponds in the village is owned by different households. Some households haven't fishponds inside the village. They use their paddy fields as fishponds. Almost every household has some fishponds. Dong people build their granaries over their fishponds in the village. This way of construction prevents mice from damaging their rice. It can also protect their houses, which are wooden, from fire disaster.

Coming into this village, the first thing to come into view is their drum tower, which is the symbol of Dong culture (see photo 4-3). The drum tower in this village has a history of more than four hundred years. It is protected by the Chinese Central government and Guizhou Province government as a cultural relic. In the ground floor, there are four stone steles recording the different *Kuan* laws of different periods. The first one was stood in place in 1672. There is a platform at one side. It was used by *Kuan* leaders (*Zailao*) to announce *Kuan* law in the past. There is a big drum on the top floor of the drum tower. Clouting the drum was used to collect the villagers. In the past, all *Kuan* activities performed were announced using the drum tower. It was also a place for villagers' festivals. Right now it is a place for villager's meetings, information sharing, singing and other activities.



**Photo 4-3 Drum Tower**

In this Dong village, local people do not only work hard in farming. They also have a lot of customs and festivals in their leisure time. At the beginning of the New Year, they hold the *JiSa* ceremony to pray for good arrangements by the *Sa* spirit, including a suitable rainy season for grain growing. Following this ceremony, they will play Dong dramas and sing Dong songs for about one month around village. All these dramas and songs are prepared in the December before. Local elders are the editors and producers of these dramas and songs. Sometimes they use old songs and dramas and sometimes they create new dramas and songs. All the themes of their dramas and songs come from their lives and historical stories. In the past, the principals of *Kuan* law and their interpretation were conveyed as the themes of the songs and dramas. Even today these old songs are presented every year. Other festivals such as the *JiPu* ceremony in which the happenings in this village are forecast, *Black-rice* festival in which all eat local black rice, *ChiXin* festival in which

they eat the new harvest grains and other festivals are all related with local production. The main farming activities and customs of Zengchong village are as follows: (see table 4-1)

**Table 4-1 Schedule of the Main Productive Activities and Customs in Zengchong Village**

Month	The Main Productive Activities and Customs (F) indicates activities done only by females, (M) only by males
Jan.	Spring Coming Festival, <i>JiSa</i> Ceremony, <i>JiPu</i> Ceremony, playing Dong Drama, Dong Song Singing, <i>DinWaWaQin</i>
Feb.	Harrow Field (M), Repair Canals and Weirs, Hew Timber (M), Weaving (F)
Mar.	<i>QinMin</i> Festival, Black Rice Festival, Planting Seeds (M), Putting Fish Fry into Rice Paddies
Apr.	Plant Seedlings (F), Plant Chili etc. Vegetables (F)
May	Buffalo Relaxing Festival, Weeding
Jun.	Weeding, Harvest Fruit from Forest (the young)
Jul.	Weeding, Harvest Grain, Catch Fish, <i>ChiXin</i> Festival, Fish Eating Festival
Aug.	Harvest Grain, Soy Beans etc.
Sep.	Harvest Grains, Plant Rapeseed.
Oct.	Harrow Fields, Plant Potatoes, Plant Small Vegetables etc. Submit Grain Tax, Sell grain to Local Markets and Government Grain Stores
Nov.	Build Houses, Weddings
Dec.	Prepare and edit Dong Songs and Dong Drama

## 4.2 The History of Zengchong Village

We can't know how long the history of Zengchong village is since no record can be found to prove any particular date. The earliest record is the stone stele, on which the *Kuan* law of 1672 that is, from about 330 years ago, is written.

Another evidence is the names which villagers have used in the past. Before *Han* culture was introduced into Dong areas, Dong people created names using the drum tower name. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of December every year, young people aged fifteen would carry the food and wine and follow their uncle-in-law and to the drum tower. The uncle-in-law gave a name to them and asked for other clan members' agreement. If all the clan members agreed, the name could be used for them. The name is given at the drum tower, so it was called the "*Drum Tower Name*." Because the drum tower was the symbol of the whole clan, giving a *Drum Tower Name* indicated that both their names and themselves were accepted by all clan members. We can find some *Drum Tower Names* in the gravestone of Zengchong village.

With contact with Han culture the Han generational code system was adopted by the Dong. Each generation had a different code word in their name. There are sixteen generational code words which are used in a cycle in this village. They are: *Sheng, Ji, Chan, Ji, Shi, Kai, Chang, Qin, Yuang, Da, Chen, Jia, Zan, Yang, Jin, and Yun*. The distance between generations is about 25 years. Right now the code the villagers are using is *Chang*, and it is at least the second time this code has been used. So the total minimum number of generations which has lived in Zengchong village is more than twenty-three, about 500 years.

Calculating in this way, we can estimate that Zengchong village has a history of 500 years or longer. From the local historical records, such as local dramas, oral stories and songs, we can classify this long history into four stages for study.



#### 4.2.1 Clan Stage (Before the *Qin* Dynasty)

A lot of ethnographical records indicated that the primitive Dong society was a clan society (Xiang 1991). In Zengchong village there were four clans which came there to build the village according to the village elders, including Shi Ruiqin (aged 75), Shi Chaohan (aged 77), Shi Jiumei (aged 83) and others. These elders all learned about the village history from their ancestors.

The clan of “*TouGong*” was the first. Sometime in the *Ming* Dynasty, Two generals whose surname was *Shi* led an army to Congjiang County to fight a Miao insurgency. After winning this war, they stayed in the Tangxi area of Hunan Province. As two generals can't reside in one place, one general moved out. He traveled through the *LiuDong* area, and in the end arrived and stayed at Zengchong village.

The second clan was the “*SanShiJia*”. They came from Kaifeng city of Henan Province. When they were in Henan, they had thirty households. So their clan name means thirty households.

The third one was the “*SanGong*”, which means three ancestors. One of the three ancestors moved to Zengyin because there were big areas for paddies. Another ancestor moved to Yangli since there were a lot of big forests for hunting. And the last one came to Zengchong.

The last clan was the “*TouChao*”. They came from the neighboring village of TuoMiao. Before came here, they were part of the Miao ethnic group. After many years living together with local people, they became Dong.

There are stories and songs recorded by the villagers for the history of each of these four clans. Although some young generations don't know about the clan names, for the old, it is very clear who's who in terms of who is a descendant of which clan.

It is very important for marriage arrangements since each clan cannot marry inside itself, but must marry members of other clans.

There is a graveyard in Zengchong village, and this graveyard used to be divided into four zones each for the use of one of the four clans. Production was implemented by clan collectively inside each clan in this stage. Members of each clan produced together, and distribute their products equally to all their members including the leaders of the clan. In this stage, all the affairs of Zengchong village were managed by these four clans, and all members of the village were also organized according to the four clans, for instance in participation in *Kuan* activities. In this stage of village history, the *Kuan* consisted of four clans. Each clan selected their clan leaders as *Kuan* leaders to join in the *Kuan* meetings of the village. If the village faced the attacks from the outside, the leaders of the clan would organize their clan members, and cooperated with other clan members to fight against outsiders.

In this stage, although the central government tried to control the Dong people through territorilization of Dong areas, and by sending their army to attack the Dong people, the Dong were not controlled because of the protection of their *Kuan* (Xiang, 1991). Villagers managed their affairs by using their own law, the *Kuan* law. And *Kuan* law was the only institution implemented in this stage.

In Zengchong village, villagers were united as *Kuan* as a result of outside impacts three times in the clan stage as remembered by the local people (Shi Ruiqin 75, Shi Chaohan 77 etc). The first time was to discuss the issue of marriage reform of the whole Dong society. Before that, people who had the same surname could not marry each other. Through a big *Kuan* meeting entitled the “*Ninety-nine Dong United Kuan*”, the Dong people united to change this rule. Now they allow themselves to marry within same surname as long as it is between different clans. The second time they were united is called “*JiuDong Big Kuan*”. They came together to fight against the central government in the *Qin* Dynasty. This struggle continued for about eighteen

years. The last time, entitled “*WanHeJiuBaiHu Small Kuan*”, was to struggle against Miao ethnic groups who lived in villages such as *Tuomiao Caoli* etc. During these periods, Zengchong villagers cooperated with other Dong groups, and operated against the government and other ethnic groups.

#### 4.2.2 Class Stage (From *Qin* dynasty to 1951)

In the early clan stage, local resources belonged to clan. Clan members produced and harvested collectively. In this stage, grain growing, fishery and hunting of animals were just enough to supply the needs of each member. So products should be distributed equally among all members for survival. This can be proved from the words of a local traditional song:

*“We are all the sons of Zengchong village.*

*For everyone to survive in this village,*

*When the strong bring the hunt back,*

*Everyone including the old, and the sick will be distributed an identical piece of pork.*

*Grain, fish and potatoes should be divided equally between every member.*

*If one takes two shares, the another will die.”*

*(The yearly singing and drama festival, by: Shi Guichang, 50 yeas old. He is the teacher of local primary school, and also one of the editors of the Dong Song)*

Over time this equal model was changed through improved productivity. More products were obtained through putting into use new productive technologies. So some clan leaders could be distributed more products than other members. For instance, there is a local story told about a festival party after hunting. In that party, the leader of the clan got a bigger share---- the wild boar’s head. Up until the present, there is still a custom in Dong areas that the head of the animal is for the leader of the party.

Over time, since inheritance institutions have come into practice, households have emerged as the owners of products, some important resources such as land and forests were allocated to individual households. Then, other materials were also allocated into individual households. Privatization took place in this village.

Through unequal resource control, households became differentiated. For example, clan leaders and households in high clan positions got better resources such as paddy fields close to water sources. Other households whose social position was low in the clan system occupied paddy fields far from water sources. Those households whose paddy fields were far from water sources had a hard time irrigating in the dry season. So in the years when serious droughts took place, they might harvest nothing. Faced with this situation, the only thing they could do is selling their land to other clan members in exchange for food to survive. The famous example happened in 1925. As Shi Ruiquin remembers, there was a serious drought in that year. A lot of villagers were starving. Some villagers sold all of their land to other people who owned better water sources and had surplus grain. Through this exchange, lands were collected step by step in the hand of a few landowners. Until by the late of *Mingguo* period, there was one big landowner and twelve middle landowners in Zengchong village. The big landowner was in charge of ten thousand Ba of land. (the Ba is local unit of land area. Thirty Ba is one Mu). Middle landowners each had about one thousand Ba land. The list of these landowners was:

Table 4-2 The List of Landowners in the Late of *MingGuo* Period

Big Landowner		Middle Landowner	
Name	Clan	Name	Clan
Shi Wenda,	<i>TouChao</i>	Shi Pusheng	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Rongsheng	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Guoyu	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Changsheng	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Pushu	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi pujin	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Yuqin	<i>TouGong</i>
		Shi Yongzeng	<i>SanShiJia</i>
		Shi Cangfa	<i>SanShiJia</i>
		Shi Wenli	<i>SanGong</i>
		Shi Jiaming	<i>TouChao</i>
		Shi Qizhen	<i>TouChao</i>

(By: Shi Ruiqin. 75 years old, he is a member of the Elder's Association, and also the traditional leader of the village.

Those thirteen landowners owned about 80% of the land of Zengchong village. The total number of the households in Zengchong was about 220 at that time. Except about forty households who owned a little land, more than one hundred and sixty households were landless. All the landowners had collected their lands through exchanging land for food. The big landowner Shi Wenda had a different experience than the middle landowners, as explained by the local elders. His wealth came from a lucky chance. He found a big piece of gold. Then he used that gold to buy a lot of lands.

Most middle landowners (Seven of the twelve) came from the *TouGong* clan. Since the *TouGong* clan came here earlier than others, they occupied a lot of good

lands before the others arrived in the clan stage. Most of the houses in Zengchong village were built of wood but the landowners were able to build in brick because of their greater earnings. Some of these houses still survive in Zengchong village today. (see map 4-1).

The emergence of the landowner class and landless class is the main indicator for this stage. In this stage, government institutions and market mechanisms came into Zengchong village. Some examples are:

- In 1939, *GuoMingDang* army attacked the *Jiudong* area. Zengchong village belonged to *Jiudong Kuan*. So the villagers united with *Jiudong Kuan* to struggle against the government army. One landowner of Zengchong named Shi Yuqing contacted the government army leader and led the way for the government army, so in that battle the Dong people were defeated. So after that, this landowner became the government officer and government institutions came in to the village.
- In the early of *Mingguo* period, some landowners wanted to sell the timber of Zengchong village, but the *Zailao* (the leader of *Kuan*) didn't agree. The *Zailao* said all the forest needed to be protected for keep spring water running. Later, the landowners united with outside businessmen. They deceived the young men of Zengchong village, who were the strong support for *Kuan*, into joining a party in another village. Through giving them more and more wine they made them drunk and killed them all. This incident is still extremely horrible in the villager's memories today.
- As big timber bosses came to Zengchong, more and more forest was sold out. The famous boss of the foresters was Liu Mulong who was a big capitalist in Congjiang County. The landowners of Zengchong village contacted him and sold all the remaining forest to him. These forests included all of villagers'.

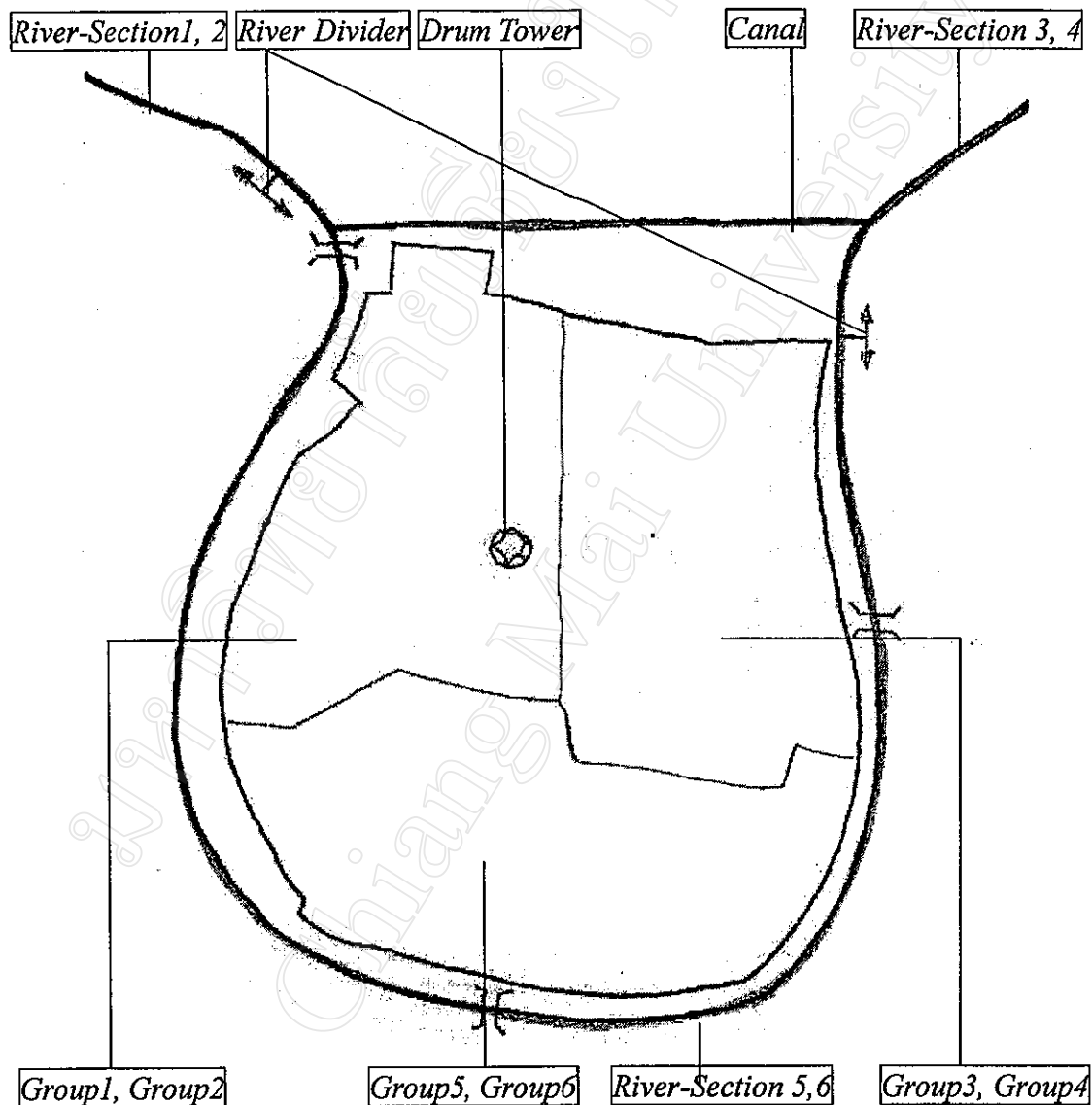
When the business was finished, the villagers found that there was big mistake in the contract. The way the contract was written meant to sell the forest and the forestland, which meant they could not cut any trees for their domestic use forever. Moreover, the water from the forestland would be sold to them for production. In a word, they needed to buy everything in that area. So they had to buy it back. For the resale, Liu raised the price. Villagers had to sell their lands to afford the increased price. More landless emerged.

#### 4.2.3 Collective Stage (From 1951 to 1978)

In 1951, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came into Zengchong village and liberated the Dong people. They first canceled the exploitive relationship between landowners and landless by confiscated all these landowners' land, and claimed all of the land for the people's government. Thus the revolutionary movement removed the landowner class from Zengchong village. Then, through the so called "Socialist Rebuilding" movement, the landowners who had been beaten down were reconstructed as the productive labor of the socialist society. Through the Land Reform Policy successfully executed by Chinese Communist Party, the landless class correspondingly disappeared. Based on this policy, all the land, forest, and productive tools etc. were redistributed equally to every household according to the number of their members.

In 1959 the "Mutual Aid and Cooperation Movement" took place. Land and other resources were recollected by the Revolutionary Committee of Zengchong Village (RCZV) to do collective production. This communal management of natural resources continued for about thirty years till 1979. During this period, a big productive team was set up in Zengchong village, which was under the leadership of the People's Community of Wangdong, which was later became the Wangdong township government. The big productive team was divided into six small productive teams based on their houses location. In side the village there were zones for each of the 6

production teams (see map 4-2). Each of these teams, as well as having a zone within the village, was allocated a portion of the lands and of the forests surrounding the village to work collectively. In general the forests was water keeping forests, and was close to the agricultural land of that group, which made them easy to manage.



**Map 4-2 The Location of Six Small Productive Team and Their River Sections**

(Participatory made by Shi Guocai etc.)

From 1951 to 1978, it was the collective stage in Zengchong village history. Although there was a short period (1951-1957) in which land was owned by



individual households, all the productive activities were arranged by the Revolutionary Committee of Zengchong Village collectively. During this period, Zengchong village built and repaired a lot of irrigation canals and weirs. Moreover, they also built three dams and a power station to generate electricity.

#### **4.2.4 Household Stage (From 1979 to Present)**

In 1979, the “Household Responsibility System” came into practice in Zengchong village. Every small productive team divided their paddy land into even smaller parcels and distributed it to all the households inside of it. In 1984 the title of “Big Productive Team” was changed to “Villager’s Committee” (VC). The title “Small Productive Team” was changed to “Villagers’ group”. This indicated that Zengchong village was composed of villagers (households), not a collective team, and the team became simply a grouping of households. In 1998, the “Community Democracy Construction Law” was practiced in Zengchong village. All these reforms supported households as the independent owner of their production.

The principles used to divide land were: first, classify all land was classified into three levels: good, average and bad, based on its water source, land fertilizer situation etc. Then every household picks land through a blind lottery. The amount of land allocated to each household was based on the number of people in it. And every household would be distributed some of each of the different kinds of land. This principle made land distribution more equal. There were two small adjustments to land occupation in 1984 and 1997. The land from three different types of people such as dead people, people getting a jobs in the city and from households which had moved out of the village were redistributed to those inside the village. These two small adjustments didn’t change the principles used for land distribution, which on the local level was very stable.

Stable privatization land policy created the great incentive for villagers. At first,

they could continue to invest in their land since they knew they would occupy these lands for a long time. Secondly, beside land privatization came marketization. Except for submitting some grain for tax to government storage, villagers could sell their surplus grain to the market so there was no government guidelines to bind their production. All the agricultural production, including inputs bought and products sold out, gradually became based on market mechanisms. Opening to the market induced a great improvement in local productivity, and at the same time caused a lot of negative impacts, for instance, money oriented security problems.

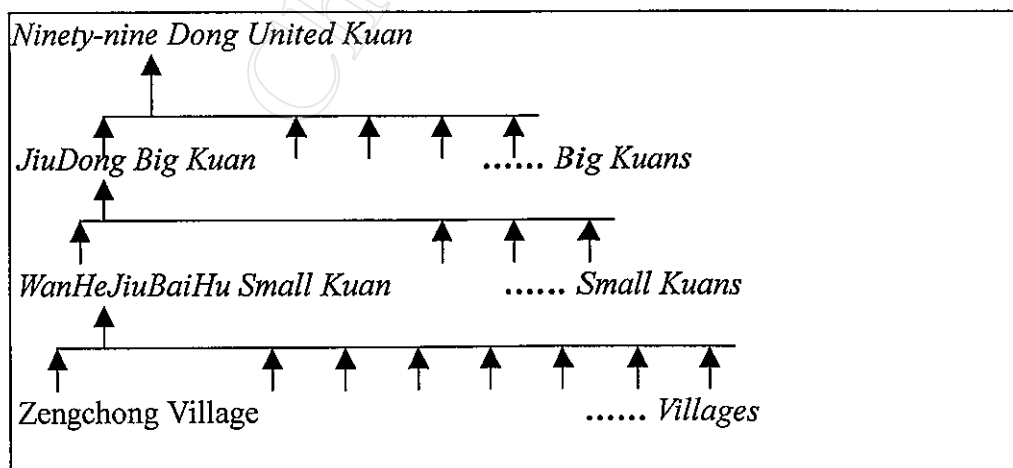
Not only land but also forests, fishponds, and productive tools etc. were all divided among all households. Following the distribution of land the forests were divided and allocated on the proximity principle, which meant that one should allocated forest located closest to one's land. Forest privatization was a great incentive for local people to become active in forest management, and, supported by local government and the World Bank, villagers planted a lot of trees on their forestland. There were three classifications of forest in this village, including project forest (sponsored by local government' projects), World Bank forest (sponsored by the World Bank) and social forest (sponsored by the local people themselves). All these titles given by local people as indicator of source of the forest. All the forests mentioned are still young today and will be sold in the future. Based on the "*Cun Gui Min Yue*", not only private household's forests but also community common forests were protected by strict rules. For example, the sixth item of the "*Cun Gui Min Yue*" order that whoever cuts a tree without the owners agreement will pay 100-150 Yuan. Hence, during through these years, theses forests have been kept very well.

#### 4.3 Changes in Local Community

Bordering in the same watershed by other Dong villages such as Wangdong, and Zhaoli etc. Zengchong village has traditionally belonged to "*WanHeJiuBaiHu Small Kuan*" (the name means nine hundred households in one small watershed). In the

past, “*WanHeJiuBaiHu Small Kuan*” was belonged to the “*JiuDong Big Kuan*”, and “*JiuDong Big Kuan*” in turn belong to the “*Ninety-nine Dong United Kuan*”. This was the whole administrative system of Dong areas (see Figure 4-1). In each *Kuan* level, there are not hierarchical. Every Dong village equally participated *Kuan* activities. Usually, the *United Kuan* worked for the whole Dong society, such as making the rules of the Whole Dong society, and countering the government’s attacks. The *Big Kuan* for their Dong areas, such as make rules for these areas defending against outsider’s attacks, and solving conflicts between the *Small Kuan*. The *Small Kuan* worked for small Dong areas, such as safeguarding individual Dong villages, and solving the conflicts between the villages. If incidents called for the response of a certain *Kuan* level, villagers would be united together at that *Kuan* level. So at every level of the *Kuan* system, all villages were equal participants. Villagers would be organized by the *Kuan* leader in their village to join in *Kuan* activities. The *Kuan* was, at the village level an executive unit. For instance, the *Kuan* of Zengchong village had three functions: 1) Organizing villagers to join different level *Kuan* actions, such as: *WanHeJiuBaiHu Small Kuan*, *JiuDong Big Kuan* or *Ninety-nine United Kuan* actions; 2) Execute *Kuan* laws made by higher level *Kuan* meetings; 3) Make rules for inside management and execute these rules.

**Figure 4-1 Traditional Administrative System of Dong**



Zengchong village is now administrated by Wangdong Township, Congjiang County, Guizhou Province, P. R. China. In side this village area there are six villagers' groups corresponding to the six small productive teams of the collective stage. Each villagers' group has one leader selected by group members, who is under the leadership of the Villagers' Committee of Zengchong Village. This committee consists of *Zhi Shu*, *Cun Zhang* and some *Cun Weiyuang*. *Zhi Shu* is the CCP leader of this village, he was appointed by the sub-branch committee of CCP in Wangdong Township. Other members of the villager's committee are selected every three years in a community meeting of Zengchong village.

The total area of Zengchong village is 12.5 square kilometers, including 889 Mu of paddy land, 18 Mu of upland and a few small garden-lands. The six villager's groups of this village consist of 227 households and 1170 people (see table 4-3). They are all Dong people.

**Table 4-3 Household, Population and Land Areas**

Group Code	Number of Household	Population (Male/Female)	Land Areas (Paddy land/Upland) Unit: Mu
1	37	196 (104/92)	159(156/3)
2	57	280(139/141)	201(198/3)
3	25	128(68/60)	115(112/3)
4	24	157(81/76)	113(110/3)
5	39	194(101/93)	149(146/3)
6	45	215(117/98)	170(167/3)

In the past, Dong households were divided into four clans, such as the *TouGong*, *SanShiJia*, *SanGong* and *TouChao*. The social position of each of these four clans was determined by the times they arrived in the village. The ones who came into the

village earlier have the higher social position. *TouGong* came here first, so it is the “elder brother” clan and called that by locals even today. The second is *SanShiJia*, the third is *SanGong* and the last is *TouChao*. Their surnames are all “*Shi*”. Different clan members can be married, but not within the same clan. People with surnames other than *Shi* are all *Han* people who came to Zengchong later than the four clans. When they came, they needed to be put into one of the clans in order to seek spiritual support for staying here. Otherwise the local Dong wouldn't accept them. So these people all joined local clans (see table4-4). Of course now, all these different clans and different surname households have been divided into six villager's groups based on their house locations as is shown in table 4-5 and table 4-6 below.

**Table 4-4 Different Surname Households Joined into the Four Clans**

Clan	Different Surnames
<i>TouGong</i>	<i>Shi, Yang, Chen, Liang, Luo, Tang, Pang, Din, Wei, Wu</i>
<i>SanShiJia</i>	<i>Shi, Yang, Lei, Wu, Lan, Huang, Mo, He, Ou, Xiu</i>
<i>SanGong</i>	<i>Shi, Ynag, Wang, Gao, Liu, Lu, Pang</i>
<i>TouChao</i>	<i>Shi, Guan, He, Jia, Xie, Wang, Pang, Wu</i>

**Table 4-5 The Four Clans Divided into Six Villager's Groups (Unit: Household)**

Clan Group Code	<i>TouGong</i>	<i>SanShiJia</i>	<i>SanGong</i>	<i>TouChao</i>
1	6	20	2	9
2	6	32	19	0
3	14	4	6	1
4	16	5	0	3
5	10	4	16	9
6	9	23	10	3

**Table 4-6 The Different Surname Households Divided into Six Villager's Groups**

Group Code	The Number of Different Surname Households
1	<i>Shi 6, Lei 8, Huang 5, Tang 9, Wang 1, Wu 6</i>
2	<i>Shi 41, Lu 3, Mo 2, Gao 2, Tang 4, Ou 2, Yang 5</i>
3	<i>Shi 14, Yang 2, Din 4, Gao 2, He 4, Wang 2</i>
4	<i>Shi 9, Lian 5, Lan 3, Wei 3, Pang 2, Xie 1, Jia 1</i>
5	<i>Shi 24, He 3, Lu 2, Lian 3, Yang 2, Wu 4, Pang 1</i>
6	<i>Shi 26, Yang 9, Mo 3, Chen 2, Guan 3, Liu 1, Luo 1</i>

By living together with local Dong people for a long time, they became the Dong people. Although these people joined local clans, they had low social position. For example, at the ceremony for “*JiSa*”, the god of Dong, they can’t participate as

organizer. One exception is the “*Yang*” family, since this family is the respected guest of Zengchong village. There is a local oral story demonstrating this. When the Shi people came here, they couldn't grow crops well since they came from other areas and didn't know much about the climate and seasons in this area. They decided to invite one family from a neighboring village to be the advisor of their agricultural production. So the *Yang* family came here. Even now all local people do agricultural production following the teaching of the *Yang* family. In the local dialect, *Yang* is their “*HuoLuTou*”, which means the leader of crop production. Every year after the spirit festival, local people discuss about the yearly schedule for main agricultural production, and when the time arrives to do each activity, they will let *Yang* start the work. This arrangement also included things such as building or repairing canals. For instance, the table below represents the arrangement of the main agricultural activities in Zengchong village in 2002.

**Table 4-7 Main Agricultural Activities Arranged By Zengchong Villagers in 2002**

Main Agricultural Activities	Move Manure, Soil and other tools	Repair Canal and Wire	Harrow Field	Plant Seed	Plant Seedling	Harvest Rice
Beginning Time (In Chinese Calendar)	The first day of New Year (Spring Coming Festival)	February 1 <sup>st</sup>	February 11 <sup>th</sup>	March 6 <sup>th</sup>	April 18 <sup>th</sup>	July 27 <sup>th</sup>

#### 4.4 Changes in Local Livelihood

Some households (9.69%) are rich, having wage income by some members work outside, or from business by holding a shopping store inside village. On the other hand, some households (3.96%) are poor as the older generation is separated from the younger generation and they lack labor, but most households (86.34%) in this village share the same economic level on the average, which is to have just enough clothing

and food (see table 4-8).

**Table 4-8 Economic Differences in Zengchong Village**

(Unit: Household)

<b>Group Code</b>	<b>Rich</b> (Indicator: have wage, have shopping store)	<b>Average</b> (Indicator: enough cloth and food)	<b>Poor</b> (Indicator: food shortage)
1	2	35	0
2	9	45	3
3	4	19	2
4	1	22	1
5	3	34	2
6	3	41	1

In this village, the main income of local people comes from grain farming. Every household can get 100-1000 Yuan from selling grain. The main costs also occurred in grain farming. They grow grain once a year from February to September (following the traditional Chinese calendar) in all of their paddy lands. On average, growing grain in a one Mu paddy field takes about 70 Yuan worth of seed, pesticides, fertilizers and other production related supplies. The uplands are used for growing potato, red potato, *LanDian* (a local plant used to produce indigotic dyestuffs for coloring cloth) and other crops used for their domestic consumption. Certain kinds of vegetables planted in their garden-lands also support their own consumption and as they use the vegetables to feed livestock for their domestic consumption. Fishery is the other main work of the local people. The season for fish is same as for grain. Every year, some Dong people raise fry in their fishponds inside the village. Other Dong people raise fry in their paddy field in case of good water source. After plant rice, they will distribute their fry to all of the paddy fields. The fish will grow there until just before rice harvest. When they catch the fish, the fat fish are chosen as fish mothers and fish fathers and are kept in the fishponds where they are fed to reproduce



fry. Some fish will be eaten during the *Eat Fish* festival, and the rest are stored salted in big jars as food through the following year.

**Table 4-9 The Calendar of the Main Crops in Zengchong Village and their Location.**

Month	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Crop												
Rice	In Paddy Field *****											
Rapeseed	In Paddy Field *****											
Green Manure	In Paddy Field and Upland *****											
LanDian	In Upland *****											
Potato	In Upland *****											
Red Potato	In Upland *****											
Soy Bean	In Upland *****											
Chili	In Upland and Garden-land *****											
Greengrocery	In Garden-land *****											
Cabbage	In Garden-land *****											
Leeks	In Garden-land *****											
Garden Pea	In Garden-land *****											

Timber production and hunting were the other two livelihoods which were practiced in the past. The elders, including Shi Ruiqin, Shi Chaohan etc. remember that there were a few big forests around the village long time ago. Villagers used timber from the forests to make coffins, houses, drum tower etc. The four plinths of the drum tower were made by four very big trees which can prove that in the past forests grew quite well here. In the forest, there were many wild animals, such as tigers, boars, bears and so on. Villagers hunted the animals in their leisure time. They did a ceremony in worship of the mountain spirit first; then sent the dogs to flush the animals out of the forest, so that they could kill the animals. If they were successful, the animals would be divided equally and consumed by every clan member.

From there after, the forest was been cut deeply by landowner for sale, and big trees turned into commodities to be sold on the local timber market. This timber market was located at *Pingjiang* river dock which is about thirty kilometers from this village. During that time, all the timbers had been bought by the timber businessmen who came from Congjiang, Guangxi and Guangdong. They bought timber from the locals and collected it into wooden rafts. Then they floated the wooden raft along the *Pingjiang* river into *Duliujiang* river, and eventually they sold the timber in Liuzhou, Congjiang and other big cities located in the downstream parts of the river. So the river worked like a market chain, linking the timber production in upstream Dong areas to timber consumption in big cities downstream. After the 1980s, some reforestation projects supported by local government and the World Bank were implemented in this village which greatly increased the local forest occupation rate. Right now there is about 2000 Mu of forest still left in this village, which remains since it is not big enough to sell.

Because the forest was damaged in the past, the number of wild animals in the forest area decreased dramatically. For example, wild boar, which in the past was the main hunting animal, has disappeared from these areas. Hence, hunting has earned

less and less income for local livelihoods. In the forest remaining today villagers also hunt birds and rabbits but birds are treated as the pets and it is not the habit of local people to eat rabbits often as part of their normal lifestyle.

So the livelihoods of Zengchong village mainly depended on agricultural production and fishery which are both closely impacted by local water resource management. Hence, in this village, water resource management can be found to be very important which is borne out by its long continuous history in the village.

### Summary

In this chapter, the study site, Zengchong village, has been introduced as a dynamic community. Part one presents those of the village's physical background and customs, which are related with water management, along with its ecological character, rivers, canals, fishponds, drum tower and festivals. In part two of this chapter, local history has been presented analytically divided into four temporal stages which in order are the clan stage, class stage, collective stage and household stage. Mostly are qualitative data is used in these two parts to characterize each stage.

Local community and livelihood have been presented in the last two parts by comparing recent times and the past. In the present there are six villagers' groups in this village and this village is under the leadership of the Wangdong township government. In the past, there were four clans in this village and this village was a participant in the local *Dong Kuan* organization. Local people livelihood depends on agricultural production and fishery right now, which are both closely impacted by local water management. Local livelihood in the past were more diverse, involving timber production and hunting but these have become defunct at present since deforestation was too heavy in the class stage. Both quantitative and qualitative data are used in these two parts, including some tables, photos and participatory maps.

In the next chapter, dynamic *Kuan* institution and multifunctional water utilization will be present in a deeper description of the dynamism of this village.

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