

# “My Culture, My People, My Hometown”: Chinese Ethnic Minorities Seeking Cultural Sustainability by Video Blogging

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Ethnic minorities face challenges in sustaining their culture in regions dominated by ethnic majorities. With the growing popularity of video blogging (vlogging) in China, many ethnic minority vloggers are using vlogs to present and promote their ethnic culture online. In this study, we interviewed 16 vloggers on *Douyin* to understand why and how vlogs can be used to sustain ethnic culture. We found that both ethnic cultural experts and non-experts were involved in ethnic vlog making and sharing activities on *Douyin*, and cultural experts took more initiative in preserving and promoting ethnic culture while non-experts were more motivated by getting more traffic and income. Vloggers' imagined audiences included both intra-ethnic and mainstream viewers, impacting their vlog-making strategies, the utilized platform features, and the created vlog content. For example, vloggers taught ethnic language and built an identity for intra-ethnic viewers. Both ethnic minority vloggers and viewers protected their culture from misinterpretation by mainstream viewers. Our findings suggest the potential of using video blogging to address the challenges of cultural sustainability, providing design implications for future ICTs to support the cultural sustainability of ethnic minorities.

CCS Concepts: • Human-centered computing → Empirical studies in HCI; • Social and professional topics → Race and ethnicity.

Additional Key Words and Phrases: Ethnic Minorities, Vlog, Cultural Sustainability, Imagined Audience

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Ethnic minorities (EM) differ in race, color, national, religious, or cultural origin from the majority of the country they live in. Research has explored and highlighted the challenges for EM to sustain their cultures due to the lack of economic resources and surrounding racism in intercultural dialogues [22, 56]. Social media, such as live-streaming on mobile devices, provide high affordance solutions to preserve intangible cultural heritage [44]. In this paper, we present EM's use of social media and intercultural dialogues to seek cultural sustainability that moves beyond preserving

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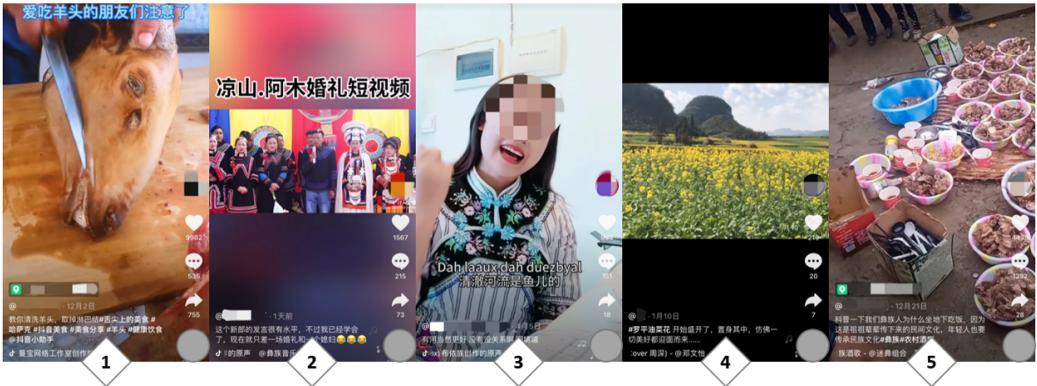


Fig. 1. Cultural vlogs on *Douyin*, a video-sharing mobile application in China. Ethnic minority vloggers preserve and introduce “My Culture”, e.g., ① introducing traditional goat-killing and ② recording wedding customs; construct cultural identity for “My People”, e.g., ③ preserving ethnic language through folk song singing; promote tourism opportunities for “My Hometown”, e.g., ④ presenting local landscapes; and start inter-ethnic dialogues, e.g., ⑤ guarding the “eating on the ground” custom to reduce prejudice.

cultural heritage and sheds light on other cultural sustainability aspects such as cultural identity, cultural diversity, and cultural vitality [14, 42]. Cultural diversity (i.e., promoting cultural interaction between different cultural groups) and cultural vitality (i.e., promoting creativity and increasing engagement with culture and the arts) highlight the necessity of intercultural dialogue involving the local community [42].

EM’s cultural sustainability is considered to be an important and integral part of cultural diversity in multi-cultural states [77], such as China, South African and Russian. In mainland China, the focus of our study, the majority of citizens (91.5%) belong to HAN ethnicity and the other 8.5% belong to 55 governmental certificated EM such as MANCHU, BOUYEI, and EWENKI. Although EM take up less than 10% of the total Chinese population, more than 48 % of poverty areas in China are EM regions [26].

Vlog (Video blogging) is a popular form of digital journaling in which vloggers regularly post video content [49], and *Douyin* is a mobile-based, low-cost platform to create and share vlogs. Through vlog posts, individuals share their stories, experiences, and knowledge with the general public [6, 29, 41]. Vlogging provides a medium for EM to express themselves and promote their artifact creations [2, 6]. There are emerging EM vloggers in China that use cultural vlogs to share daily activities related to their culture on *Douyin*; for example, an EWENKI vlogger posted how they earn a living by guarding reindeer (a tradition for EWENKI people), attracting over 264,000 followers from both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic groups who appreciated these contributions towards cultural sustainability [52]. However, little is known of the motivations behind how and why EM uses vlogging to seek cultural sustainability. Seeking cultural sustainability requires deep conversations around cultural identity, diversity, and vitality that exceed beyond preserving cultural heritage [42].

In this study, we probe the role of vlogging by EM communities. Specifically, we investigate how EM seek cultural sustainability through sharing and discussing daily activities related to their culture on vlogging platforms, considering inter-ethnicity and intra-ethnicity interactions, and addressing the complementary roles of experts vs non-experts. We tackle the following research questions:

- RQ1: How is cultural vlogging initialized in ethnic minorities in China?
- RQ2: How do ethnic minorities in China engage the same ethnic groups through cultural vlogging?
- RQ3: How do ethnic minorities in China engage audiences beyond their own ethnic groups through cultural vlogging?

To answer these research questions, we examined 16 cultural vlog channels and the corresponding vloggers on *Douyin*, one of the largest short video platforms in China [57]. These Chinese vloggers came from different EM groups with unique histories, cultures, ethnic languages, and traditional customs. We conducted in-depth interviews with the vloggers and analyzed the content of their videos in 2020. Our findings unpacked the EM’s motivations, practices, and experiences of using vlogs for cultural content.

Our work makes several contributions to the CSCW community. First, we analyzed what EM vloggers posted in cultural vlogs and their motivations for doing so. Our findings show that the vloggers’ imagined audience includes both *inter-ethnic* (members of the same ethnicity) viewers and mainstream viewers. We identified the vloggers’ motivations, the strategies, and the platform features used along with the video content created that varied based on the imagined audience. Our findings contribute to the understanding of imagined audience theory [40] and how platform algorithms are perceived as double-edged by EM in cultural discourse. Second, we identified two main types of EM vloggers who contributed differently to seeking cultural sustainability – cultural experts focused on preserving cultural identity itself while non-experts spontaneously correct mainstream viewers’ misinterpretation. We also highlighted that the platform feature ‘music library’ offered EM members a high affordance way to share culture semiotics and facilitated the collaboration of cultural experts and non-experts. Our findings provide design challenges and implications for future information and communications technologies (ICTs) to support EM in seeking cultural sustainability. Third, we highlighted how ethnic minority (EM) users interact with technology that is designed by and for the ethnic majority (HAN). Our findings contribute to ongoing research in Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) regarding intercultural engagement and postcolonial computing, which can inform the design of ICTs to reflect global connectivity.

## 2 CULTURAL, ECONOMICAL, AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN CHINA

Although recent HCI and CSCW studies have started to look into the social media experience of Chinese under-served communities (e.g. women streamers living in rural China [66], and social commerce users in rural China [10]), few have researched EM communities or cultural topics in China. Below, we introduce the context of Chinese EM briefly from social, cultural, and economic aspects as well as its relationship with the majority HAN.

As a general background, EM populations are mainly concentrated in the western and frontier regions of China (that are mostly rural and less developed), whereas the majority HAN live in the middle and eastern areas of China. Most EM live together in villages and small towns scattered in the five autonomous regions of China: Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Tibet, Guangxi, and Ningxia. Most of these areas have historically been isolated due to poor transportation and distance from developed areas. Hence, they lack the free-flowing exchange of knowledge, technologies, and resources with cities, and have long been stagnant in a primitive agricultural and pastoral state with little industry development [28]. Meanwhile, to seek higher education and working opportunities, a small percentage of EM have moved to large cities in the middle and eastern areas of China where the vast majority is HAN [81].

## 2.1 Culture and Language of Ethnic Minorities in China

Given the differences in the living environment and geographic distribution, the languages used by EM in China are likewise diverse and complex. These 55 EM speak over 80 languages, of which 30 have written forms [79], and of these, 20 have less than 1,000 speakers [74]. Some ethnic languages are handed down in an oral form, increasing the difficulty of younger EM generations to access their own ethnic language [51, 79]. Similar to the cultural preservation research done in the African context (e.g., indigenous communities [35]), the preservation of cultural knowledge in oral ethnic languages have faced significant challenges due to geographical distance, language disfluency, and the lack of participation by key members of the community [37].

Due to remoteness and economic constraints in accessing education, EM has lower literacy rates and faces a relatively greater lack of educational resources compared to the majority [80]. China has adopted a bilingual education policy to preserve the ethnic language culture [71], requiring EM students to learn both their own language and the only governmental language in mainland China, another ethnic majority language, Mandarin. Researchers perceive that such a policy allows minorities to receive high-quality education and living opportunities in more developed majority regions. They purport that learning Mandarin appears to be the most direct way to ameliorate the unbalanced power relationship between HAN and EM [78]. However, such actions are associated with immigration trends (the influx of people from rural areas to urban areas) and lead to labor shortages, declining economic vitality, and the serious crisis of minority culture dilution in EM regions [12]. Furthermore, due to the lack of qualified bilingual teachers and the powerful influence of Mandarin, EM students' ethnic language learning rights are not fully realized. Thus, in some places, Mandarin becomes the only language being taught [74].

## 2.2 Economic Status of Ethnic Minorities in China

The Chinese government has been seeking solutions to the poverty problems in rural areas recent years. Although there are still significant differences between EM regions (countryside/rural areas) and big cities, fortunately, the EM regions have experienced rapid development in economy and infrastructure within recent years. For example, the government is actively promoting the tourism of EM regions to strengthen revenue sources [26]. Notably, the infrastructure in EM regions has recently undergone significant improvement, e.g., electricity, 5G internet [28]. As a result, the broad coverage of mobile devices and high-speed internet in rural areas has enabled EM to become connected to self-initiated intra- and intra-ethnic conversations online [66].

## 2.3 Political Backgrounds of Ethnic Minorities in China

In China, ethnicity status is assigned at birth, recorded on official identity documents (ID), and in almost all cases, fixed throughout one's life [46]. Some EM has a strong cultural identity due to extensive cultural heritage, religion, or unique language, like HUI and UYGHURS. Meanwhile, HAN members may primarily associate EM identity with the community benefiting from diverse ethnic policies, such as prioritizing minority students' admission to college [18]. Longstanding inter-ethnic conflicts and violence continue to exist [76], and these conflicts are often blamed on the underdevelopment and poverty of certain EM [17].

In terms of policies for cultural sustainability in EM, the Chinese government has been actively involved in the cultural production of EM [11]. For instance, the regional government has supported EM dance performances, creating regional cultural brands under governmental discourses of cultural industry and regional development [38]. However, such also bring about cyclical challenges. For example, EM encounters situations where the Chinese government intentionally kept the ethnic

culture stuck in a static state without new vitality, which exaggerated the distinctiveness of EM from the ethnic majority HAN [78].

### 3 RELATED WORK

Our paper explores the use of vlogs by the overlooked, underrepresented EM communities to sustain their culture. Cultural sustainability, defined as the conservation and preservation of cultural capital [9, 64], is a key topic of interest among different disciplines and contexts, such as public planning [23] and cultural policies [53]. It goes beyond preserving cultural heritage explored in [44] and refers to preserving and promoting cultural identity, diversity, and vitality [42]. Social media platforms such as *Douyin* provide a tangible social space for inter- and intra-cultural interactions.

#### 3.1 Sustaining Ethnic Minority Culture through ICTs

It is challenging for EM to retain their cultural sustainability given the inter-ethnic interactions between groups differ in size, prestige, and power [9] – especially so in multi-cultural environments and under the influence of mass media [4], discrimination, cultural oppression, economic deprivation, physical oppression, forced assimilation, and genocide [81]. Within a social context, as previous work suggests, EM is situated in a multi-cultural where they might experience conflicts over issues surrounding racism and ethnic diversity, which further impacts their attitude toward sustaining their own culture [75]. There are EM members who endorsed a greater multiculturalism position (an ideology that ethnic groups are respected for their cultural diversity, and there is a promotion of the equality of different cultures) than those who endorsed a position toward more assimilation (an ideology that minority take on the values and norms of majority, as “melting pot”) [75]. Such differences are related to their perception and interactions with other ethnic groups [75]. Furthermore, sufficient economic and environmental resources are essential to collecting, preserving, and researching the cultural heritage [56]; however, inequitable access to such resources exist between EM and the majority. To illustrate further, while the average income of Chinese minorities increased during recent years, the minority-majority income gap has continued to rapidly widened [22].

The HCI and CSCW community also has given increasing attention to designing and examining the role of ICTs in preserving culture. For example, ICTs preserve intangible cultural heritage including but not limited to live streaming [20, 44], VR storytelling [62], and social media (Facebook) [35]. Lu et al. studied how streamers used live streaming to showcase and promote intangible Chinese heritage [44], which focused on contributors that were “motivated by self-perceived responsibilities to safeguard the cultural practices of their expertise,” whereas our research studies include vloggers that are either with or without cultural expertise. Our work builds on these prior studies with a focus on preserving cultural heritage by examining technology’s role in the intra- and inter-ethnic promotion of cultural identity, diversity, and vitality.

Additionally, our findings reveal how technology developed and designed by the majority in China is used differently by EM, aligning with the purpose of postcolonial computing, which frames complex issues of *intercultural engagement* around technology design under the age of globalization, e.g., local practices by which technologies are understood and put into use in different settings. Postcolonial computing challenges the notion of cultures as bounded and static, and instead argues for dynamic, collectively produced, and enacted perspectives of culture [30, 47]. Other terms such as “cross-cultural HCI” also refer to taking cultural aspects into account of HCI design in responses to globalization, internationalization, and localization of products [25]; however most works that used this term considered culture as taxonomized and geographically-based.

### 3.2 Ethnic Minorities' Cultural Identity and Imagined Audience on Social Media

EM still faces structural inequities that discourage the expression of one's cultural identity online [69]. Although cultural sustainability benefits from intercultural dialogues [15, 42], it is also common to see disagreement, discrimination, and violence accompanied by such dialogues [27]. In other words, ethnic minority members posting cultural vlogs online may disclose their cultural identity, making them vulnerable to unintended troll. Further on, social media systems shape how users' identities are developed, expressed, and interpreted over time. This is especially problematic in areas of potential tension, such as politics and religion, in which social media users try to assimilate into a persona more similar and acceptable to their audiences [32]. Hence, how EM vlog content and interaction behaviors are influenced by their targeted audiences should be considered. Researchers have been actively exploring people's imagined audience on social media communities, e.g., Facebook [31], and Twitter [40]. The imagined audience is "a person's mental conceptualization of people with whom he or she is communicating" [39]. Litt found structure (social rules, social context, the active audience, feature of site/service) and agency (social skills, motivation, internet skills) influence people's imagined audience and future behavior displayed [39]. Users' imagined audiences may include a wide diversity of individuals for whom users may feel the need to structure their participation in appropriate ways [32, 39, 40].

Modern social media algorithms introduce boundary uncertainty between the intended audience and the actual audience, making users' experience on social media precarious and stressful. Platforms frequently change their boundary resources, and their regimes of visibility [55]. Platforms have the potential to distribute a wider variety of creative expression; however, digital distribution does not equalize visibility, as both resources and scale continue to shape distribution trajectories [55]. A recent work brought the boundary discussion in the cultural conversations online – in the context of Africa, suggested that to respect cultural boundaries in sharing knowledge repositories on Facebook, a wiki-style approach on what can be shared, and who could share should be adopted in ICTs [35].

### 3.3 Vlog Empowering Ethnic Minorities for Cultural Sustainability

Although EM members seeking political belonging and utilizing social media platforms for connective action seem to be researchers' significant interest [68, 69], recent research also shows that the minorities self-initiated content on the Internet to build generational and cultural belonging, which matters far more than seeking political belonging [48]. Twitter has been used by an African American community to engage in cultural discourse and create social ties among community members [33]. Especially in response to global connectivity, the intersectionality of culture and ethnicity should be taken as something that is dynamic, collectively produced, and enacted, and it should not be taken as a static denomination to distinguish between user groups and communities [30, 47].

Individuals utilize self-initiated vlogs to share their stories, experiences, and knowledge with the general public [6, 29, 41], as well as raise income through the sale of products [59]. Compared with blogs, vlogs give followers a media-rich experience while allowing vloggers to express their thoughts and ideas in an entertaining format [19]. Additionally, video-based communication reveals more personal identifiers and contextual disclosure, leading to strong community-building activities and social support (both informal and emotional) among vloggers and viewers [29]. Vlogs could give minority communities a stronger sense of belonging and connectedness, scaffolding identity development more thoroughly [21] and facilitating the confrontation of common challenges such as stigmas, discrimination, and stereotypes.

Recent studies have started to see how cultural identity is presented in vlogs. To illustrate, YouTube has been used as a vlogging platform for people to start a dialogue of race and ethnicity [2, 6, 58]. One work intended to understand how female beauty vloggers demonstrate their identity and how viewers perceive their performance. They found that non-White vloggers were often asked questions about their appearance, accent, and ethnicity, which the vloggers openly discussed, relating their own experience and becoming role models [2]. Additionally, a recent work highlighted how a British-Indian beauty vlogger co-constructed her ethnicity with her viewership. The results show that her remixing of (1) code (e.g., languages), (2) traditional and pop culture reference points and (3) materiality (references regarding places, time, and objects) created a space for diaspora Indian youth to renegotiate what it means to be an Indian – retaining memory and cultural connection with their "home" and building 'new connections' with the wider community [6].

However, whether, how, and why EM make cultural vlogs (content focus on culture itself rather than culture as part of vloggers' identity) is an under-researched area. As a media that combines self-expression and creativity, vlogs display and share one's creations with others in a community, providing strong support for EM [2], which is essential to cultural sustainability [15]. Vlog platforms, such as *TikTok/Douyin*, enable minority members to reach a wider range of audiences from different locations and backgrounds with high affordances. They provide a more interactive modality (video) and the social norm to present oneself authentically [36]. The features foster the new potential for EM members to interact with both inter-ethnic viewers and mainstream audiences more authentically; therefore, it is worth examining whether vlogging can provide new opportunities for EM to sustain ethnic culture.

## 4 METHOD

We adopted an iterative process of data collection and analysis shown as follows. In the first step, we analyzed a large number of EM vlogs on *Douyin* to get a general understanding of the content, noting some interesting vlog-sharing behaviors and interactions. In the second step, we interviewed vloggers to delve into the motivations and strategies for making ethnic culture content through vlogs. Our analysis of video data helped us to target questions to interviewees based on their video content, showing specific video content or interactions with the platform (comments, retweets, live streaming, etc.) that stimulated rich discussions with participants. After the interviews, we used the content of the vlogs and other available data within the platform as evidence to complement the findings from our interview data.

### 4.1 Analysis of Ethnic Minority Vlogs

**4.1.1 Sampling the Ethnic Minority Vlogs.** We chose *Douyin*, the most popular short video-sharing platform in China, as the source of video data. Firstly, we extensively searched relevant videos on *Douyin*. We did a preliminary search with "Ethnic Minority" (少数民族) as the search query and found that most of the videos in the search results were labeled with a specific ethnic group name. In order to make the retrieval results more comprehensive, we selected every name of 55 EM in China as the search query and used the Python Requests package to crawl video data. The vlog data was collected on November 5, 2020. For each EM with less than 50 videos, we downloaded them locally. If there were more than 50 search results, we only crawled the videos that were ranked within the top 50 of the returned search results. This led to the collection of 1,012 videos, including metadata on video id, author id, video name, video introduction, and the number of likes and comments. This collection was then filtered adhering to the criteria as follows: 1. the video content is directly related to EM, 2. it is an original work rather than the clips of the existing documentaries or TV programs, and 3. it was made by individual vloggers with an EM identity rather than the

account of an organization. After data preprocessing, 846 videos were obtained for further analysis, equating to 12.6 hours in total.

**4.1.2 Data Analysis for Video Data.** We used similar data analysis methods with previous vlog studies [7, 29]. First, for the video data, two coders (the first two authors) open-coded the first 10% of the data respectively. They took video image content, video title, and author-generated introduction of video as a whole because researchers found that combining video data with other forms of data, including metadata, field notes, and photographs, could yield a chance to triangulate across evidence sources [13]. For the coding process, the two authors used the thematic analysis [8] to find the emergent theme from the videos and other metadata. They focused on the following attributes according to the research questions: 1. What was the topic of the video (e.g., history, food, etc.), which is shown in Appendix A. Note that there were videos containing more than one topic. 2. Information reflected the author's attitudes or intention in the video (the target audience, purpose, etc.) (shown in 5.2) 3. What non-textual auditory information the video had, such as background music, and ethnic oral language? In this stage, some initial code occurred, like "language teaching", and "showing uniqueness". After finishing the initial coding for the first 10% data, then two coders discussed the initial code and summarized this code into some high-level themes, (e.i. "vlogger's ethnic skill level", "vlogging strategy", "used features", "vlog content", etc.), which are shown in 3. The themes and codes are grouped together into a codebook. Then, two authors coded the remaining videos separately using the high-level themes and the sub-themes deductively. During the deductive coding process, some new codes were also generated. We grouped the new codes into high-level themes to finalize the codebook. The two authors coded another 10% videos' content respectively based on the final codebook. We compared the coding results from two coders and the Cohen's kappa was 83%, which means we achieved relatively high inter-coder reliability [43].

## 4.2 Interview Study

**4.2.1 Recruitment and Interviews.** To better understand the vloggers' video-making process, unique experiences, motivations and strategies in making and sharing videos about EM, we conducted interviews. We randomly selected 300 videos from what was collected previously, we identified all the video authors with author IDs, and after deleting the duplicated authors, 228 unique vloggers remained. We sent private messages on *Douyin* about interview recruitment information to each of these. In all, we received 25 responses from *Douyin*, and only 13 of them accepted an interview to share their experiences. We did a snowball sampling from the 13 participants to see if they could recommend any other vloggers from EM they knew, and we recruited three additional participants. The 16 total vloggers represented 12 different EM. All of the demographic information from our interviewed participants can be viewed in Fig. 2. We conducted remote semi-structured interviews with the participants. Prior to the interviews, we obtained oral consent from all participants according to the approved IRB. During the interview, we asked them in detail about their motivations for making videos, the tools and process of making videos, how they interacted with the audience, and the unique positive or negative experiences they had with *Douyin*. During the interview, participants were encouraged to explain the purpose of creating certain vlog content and specific strategies we observed from their videos, titles, and other collected video-related data. This process allowed the researchers to map the purposes of video creation along with what content was included in those videos, which would have been less effective solely through direct observations. To note, the copyright of all figures shown in the paper was obtained from the vloggers.

Due to the platform's restrictions on sending private messages along with a reluctance to be interviewed, we recruited a limited number of interviewees from the pool of minority vloggers we contacted. However, during the interviews, many participants mentioned having a similar or

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Location	Ethnicity	Likes Count	Subscriber Count	Vlog Count	Expert/Non-expert
P1	F	20-30	Urban	BOUYEI	63k	23k	65	Expert
P2	M	20-30	Countryside	JINO	27k	2k	233	Non-expert
P3	M	30-40	Countryside	KAZAK	354k	33k	1198	Expert
P4	F	30-40	Urban	YI	387k	48k	162	Expert
P5	F	30-40	Countryside	YI	4962k	397k	940	Non-expert
P6	M	50-60	Urban	MANCHU	1820k	182k	206	Expert
P7	N/A	N/A	Urban	YI	31k	17k	37	Non-expert
P8	F	20-30	Urban	MIAO	1230k	188k	312	Expert
P9	F	20-30	Countryside	ZHUANG	130k	20k	70	Expert
P10	M	20-30	Countryside	BOUYEI	513k	39k	97	Expert
P11	M	30-40	Urban	MANCHU	22k	2k	201	Non-expert
P12	F	30-40	Urban	UYGHUR	3642k	1368k	181	Expert
P13	F	20-30	Countryside	TIBETAN	541k	97k	226	Non-expert
P14	M	20-30	Countryside	DONG	103k	10k	309	Expert
P15	M	20-30	Countryside	TUJIA	2233k	415k	76	Expert
P16	F	30-40	Urban	TIBETAN	541k	97k	226	Non-expert

Fig. 2. Demographic Information of Vlogger Participants. In the column Expert/Non-expert, expert refers to a vlogger who is an ethnic cultural expert either recognized by the *Douyin* platform as shown in Fig 3 (“Music Man”), or self-identified as cultural experts on her personal page publicly (such as ethnic dancing, food-making)).

the same ethnicity as other vloggers. These creators often shared and exchanged ideas of making minority vlogs with each other, so they self-defined to be representative of a certain type of minority vloggers. Therefore, even though we only had a limited number of interviewees, we believe that our interview data provided rich insights into the understanding of EM vlogging practices in China.

**4.2.2 Data Analysis.** After the interview, we iteratively coded the interview data of vloggers using thematic analysis [8]. NVIVO software was used to support the coding process. First, the two authors familiarized themselves with the data by reading the transcripts and memos carefully. They then open-coded two participants’ transcripts independently, later meeting to discuss and compare codes. After that, the first author coded the remaining data through an iterative process, in which she met with the second author regularly to discuss the codes and iterated on the findings. The emerging codes included new items, e.g., “Imagined audience changed through time”, and “root-finding for active citizenship”. In the second round, all authors discussed the codes and worked together to collapse codes through the axial coding process into the seven major themes presented in this paper, including Affordance and participation in cultural conversations (5.1); EM “cultural breakthrough” (5.2); Cultural experts as initiators and influencers (6.1); Engagement of other non-experts EM (6.2); Cultural vlog for intercultural inclusiveness and ethnic culture visibility (7.1); Cultural vlog for poor alleviation and income opportunity (7.2); Cultural vlog for positive ethnic images (7.3).

### 4.3 Researchers’ Positional Statement

Our research approach stemmed from existing research works, while the diversity of authors’ backgrounds within our team was a source of intellectual as we challenged one another’s assumptions. One author self-identifies as an EM raised in China’s EM region. One author self-identified as an EM but was raised in the ethnic majority region in China. The other two authors self-identify as ethnic majority and were raised in EM regions in China. EM region has a comparably higher population of a particular EM group [1].

## 5 ETHNIC MINORITIES' VLOGGING PRACTICES IN CHINA (RQ1)

In this section, we present how EM in China start cultural vlog-making activities and how this practice becomes a trend from intra-ethnicity to inter-ethnicity in social media.

	Imagined Audience	Content Initiator	Motivation	Strategy	Platform Use	Vlog Content on Douyin
Others from the same EM (RQ2)	Cultural Expert	<b>Cultural:</b> Save, sustain and promote EM culture	Educate cultural skills and knowledge	Douyin	Teaching Language	
			Document memory	Douyin	Recording Singing, Dancing, Food making	
	Others from the same EM	<b>Social:</b> Reinforce ethnic minority identity, and domain knowledge exchange and sharing with other EM cultural experts	Call for Identity Building and Confidence Building within EM	Douyin	Reminiscent of Hometowns	
			Invite other EM expert to participate and Apply social capital built from other sources	WeChat	—	
	Others from the same EM	<b>Economic:</b> Become a social media influencer with more online traffic	Share employment information within EM	Douyin	—	
			Interact with other EM members and Disclosure own cultural identity	Douyin WeChat	Sharing Featured Everyday Life	
Mainstream viewers (RQ3)	Cultural Expert and Others from the same EM	<b>Economic:</b> Create income opportunities for EM communities and areas	Participate in New Celebrity Economy in Collaboration with the State	Douyin	Introducing Merits and Local Products	
			Invite Tourism	Douyin	Introducing Beautiful Scene and Everyday Environment	
	Cultural Expert and Others from the same EM	<b>Cultural:</b> Enlarge the visibility of EM culture and broaden the EM cultural influence	Increase Cultural Inclusion through Story-telling	Douyin	Introducing History	
			Perform Active Citizenship and Collective Surveillance	Douyin	Root-finding	

Fig. 3. Ethnic Minority (EM) Cultural Vlog Creation Practice around *Douyin* Platform. The columns “Video Content” “Multi-Platform and Feature use” are from video data; “Motivation” and “Strategy” are from interview data analysis.

### 5.1 Experts' and Non-experts' Co-involvement in Cultural Conversations on *Douyin*

Our interview findings show that cultural vlogs were initially popular among the cultural experts community, such as ethnic song singers, dancers, and inheritors of cultural heritage. In this paper, 10 of the participants were cultural experts either recognized by *Douyin* platform as showed in Fig 4 (“Music Man”) or self-identified as cultural experts (vloggers introduced themselves as experts on the platform publicly). Defining experts as both self-identified and platform-recognized experts falls within the lens of postcolonial computing: the importance for the community members to retain agency and ownership of their culture [30]. Ethnic cultural experts perceived vlogs as part of their digital portfolio, demonstrating their own creativity and attracting potential secular opportunities in addition to communicating the cultural content with other experts. As P15 shared, *“In the beginning, these vlogs came from us, the cultural inheritors. We had the need to share our culture. And many of us are educated and know some new platforms are popular. But many others who have been in EM regions all their lives cannot initiate this activity.”* The social responsibility toward preserving and promoting their culture was a catalyst for content sharing. Their higher technological literacy and

educational experiences afforded them knowledge and resources to initiate ethnic and cultural vlog activities online.

Other non-experts (without official identification on the platform) subsequently participated in this ethnic vlog-sharing trend. Initially, viewers of the ethnic videos stimulated a shift into becoming vloggers. Most non-expert participants shared that the use of *Douyin* requires low technology literacy since both recording and editing could easily be done using mobile phones. *Douyin*'s accessible features for creating short video content generation emboldened them to imitate the cultural experts and engaged in vlog-sharing behaviors, re-producing similar ethnic content, and becoming ethnic culture influencers. For example, *Douyin*'s crowd-sourced ‘music library’ further lowered the bar for non-experts to participate in vlog making while presenting their cultural identity. For example, non-experts can freely select ethnic songs from the experts' ‘music library’ and add them to their own vlog within one click (Fig. 4 – button: “use this music in my vlog”). The utilization of the ‘music library’ feature makes ethnic culture flexible and accessible online.

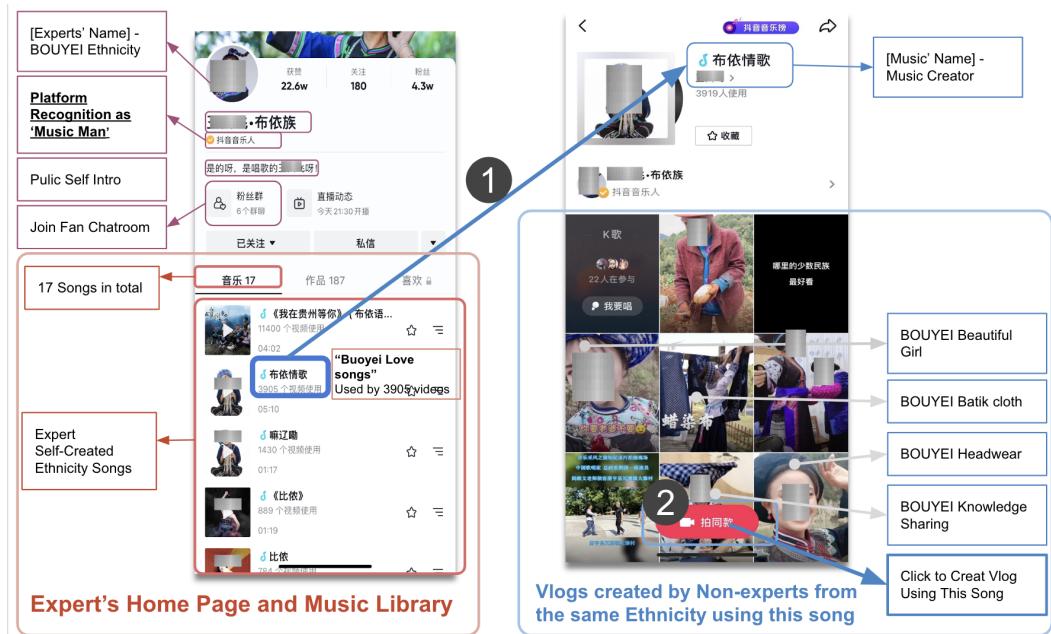


Fig. 4. Non-expert users can recreate their own vlogs using expert vloggers' self-created ethnicity music from 'music library' via two steps: (1) click one song from the expert's self-created ethnicity songs list on the expert's home page (2) click the pink button to create a video using this song on the music page. (This example shows P1's music “Bouyei love song” has been used by 3905 videos on various ethnic topics such as Bouyei knowledge sharing)

## 5.2 Ethnic Minority “Cultural Breakthrough” from Intra-ethnicity to Inter-ethnicity

**5.2.1 Vloggers' Imagined Audience Expand From Same Ethnicity Members Only to Broader Mainstream Viewers.** From the interviews, we identified two categorical groups of imagined audiences: viewers from the same EM as the vlogger and viewers from other EM different from the vlogger (also called “mainstream viewer” in the following).

The geographical distribution of EM in China has led to some people in the minority inhabiting regions to continuously and primarily interact with their own people. Therefore, the EM vloggers

first defined their imagined audience as people of the same ethnicity, as P2 said, “*I started to post cultural vlogs as personal portfolio and to share, educate cultural skills and knowledge for people within the same ethnicity.*” For the expert vloggers, they especially saw other intra-ethnic cultural experts as the imagined audience at first. Some experts were invited by other experts from the same ethnicity by word of mouth or private messages through WeChat (an instant messaging and social media mobile application widely used in China). Further on, they found that other members from the same ethnicity were also interested in such videos and created more cultural/spiritual content accordingly.

Expert vloggers recalled the sudden realization that their audience included mainstream viewers (users from Han Majority); a single video gained unusually high view counts. Confirmed by P6, “*There are just so many viewers all of a sudden for a single video, I remember in that video I was talking about a popular television costume drama from the 1990s, which was built upon our culture. My other videos were around 5k views while this one got 50k views. And from the comments, I start to have the sense many people from other ethnicities like to know more about us.*” They perceived ‘ethnicity’ as the major diving line in their audience viewership. They collected their followers’ and viewers’ ethnic information by clicking on their commenter’s personal profiles and analyzed the change in the distribution of the audiences’ ethnicity to further cater to the needs of users from different ethnicities.

**5.2.2 Vloggers’ Use Majority Language to Increase Video Visibility.** As we provided in the context, Chinese majorities use Mandarin as the official language. We found that despite most EM in China having their own ethnic language, most ethnic vloggers used Mandarin in their captions or audios as a strategy to increase video visibility and scaffold the majority of viewers’ understanding of the content.

In total, only 248 videos from 846 annotated videos were not recorded in Mandarin and did not provide Mandarin captions. Interview results for four vloggers revealed that those vlogs were made when they had just joined the platform with the imagined audiences as intra-ethnicity viewers. This was of note since our research was done in Mandarin, including the participant recruitment process; therefore, we were not able to reach populations not proficient in Mandarin. Furthermore, our findings (RQ2 & RQ3) focused on the vlogger experience in the user population proficient in Mandarin. They may reveal limited insights into the user population not proficient in Mandarin.

**Summary** We found that *Douyin* provided a platform for cultural non-experts to participate in conversations typically dominated by experts. It featured a ‘music library,’ allowing for a cost-effective way of spreading and transmitting ethnic culture. Furthermore, EM members initially imagined an audience from their own ethnicity when sharing cultural vlogs before experiencing a “cultural breakthrough,” leading to intercultural dialogue with viewers from outside of their ethnicity. To understand why and how EM vloggers created different content for intra-ethnicity viewers and mainstream viewers, we further explored RQ2 and RQ3.

## 6 VLOGGING MOTIVATION AND STRATEGIES FOR INTRA-ETHNICITY COMMUNITIES (RQ2)

In this section we identified different social and cultural factors for EM cultural experts and non-experts to make cultural vlogs for the audience that is within the same ethnic communities. We also analyzed the strategies they used, how they interacted with platforms, and used corresponding features (The 1st row in Fig. 3).

## 6.1 Cultural Experts as Initiators and Influencers

In the previous section, we mentioned that cultural experts and non-experts from EM collectively participated in the ethnic culture-sharing activities on *Douyin*. Among them, minority cultural experts became the “initiators” and “influencers” of these activities to some extent. The subsection summarized EM cultural experts’ main motivations for sharing minority culture vlogs as well as the content and interaction strategies triggered by specific motivations.

**6.1.1 Vlogs and Music Libraries for Cultural Preservation, Maintenance, and Dissemination.** At the cultural level, an important motivation for ethnic cultural vlog sharing was that vlogger consciously wanted to protect, maintain, and promote ethnic culture. Driven by this motive, they mainly adopted two strategies: 1) they regarded vlogs and ‘music libraries’ as the database for documenting ethnic culture memories; 2) they actively taught ethnic culture knowledge and language.

**Using Vlog and Music Library to Document Ethnic Cultural Memories.** For EM culture experts have continuously dealt with the dilemma of traditional ethnic culture erasure. Among them, uploading these minority cultures, especially ethnic music, dances, and customs, to public platforms like *Douyin* has become a new attempt to “preserve” their cultures. Firstly, *Douyin*’s music-driven short video sharing mechanism suits the needs of EM’s “audio-centered” cultural attributes. In our interviews, all of the interviewees emphasized the importance of minority music in the creation of their content. Three of our participants (P1, P4, P8) channel focuses on singing and composing ethnic folk songs. P4 shared recordings of herself singing Yi People’s folk songs. As a user of both DONG Language and MIAO language; P8 sang, recreated, and edited traditional songs. P1 explained the necessity of EM music in sustaining culture: “*Our history and spirit sing in songs, passed from generation to generation. We learn our culture by singing songs of tales; we find our lovers by singing beautiful mountain songs...It is not just Bouyei, but all EM in Guizhou Province.*”, as shown in Figure 1(3). The oral-centered tradition naturally drove these individuals to use video and audio to record EM culture.

Besides, *Douyin*’s unique ‘music library’ feature has become a “museum” for recording the intangible culture and memories of EM. Cultural expert vloggers uploaded self-created ethnic music to *Douyin*’s ‘music library’ to create “digital memory”, as P1 said, “*If a folk song is not inherited by the next generation, it may be lost, but after I uploaded it to Douyin, it is preserved here.*” P10 also emphasized the importance of music recording behavior. He considered his vlog with his ‘music library’ as a knowledge base that in the future could become part of the ethnic historical data. He related, “*Only what is recorded can be passed on.*” These ethnic music recording practices indicated the role of multi-modal information on social media, especially video-sharing platforms, in documenting culture and knowledge.

**Enhance Intra-ethnic Cultural Understanding and Identity through Teaching Ethnic Languages.** Another strategy that cultural experts used to increase cultural sustainability through vlogging was to teach the knowledge of minority cultures and local ethnic languages. Five participants mentioned that they taught the viewers to speak their ethnic languages to construct cultural identity (P1, P4, P8, P10, P12). P1 taught ethnic languages by folk song singing in the BOUYEI community, as shown in Fig. 1(3). Similarly, P9 wrote in the personal introduction: “*Learn Zhuang Language with me!*” The multilingual social context placed unique challenges for EM vloggers’ language teaching, especially under the impact of the ethnic majority language - Mandarin. Since younger intra-ethnic viewers were more familiar with Mandarin characters, vloggers added captions that borrowed pronunciations from Mandarin characters and translated them to Mandarin as an effective teaching strategy. As shown in the annotation of Fig. 5(1) and (3), P9 taught ZHUANG Language in her video by annotating ZHUANG Language using pronunciation and meaning from Mandarin.

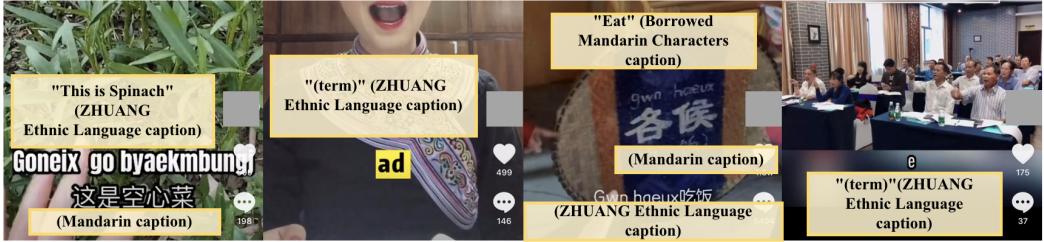


Fig. 5. Zhuang Language teaching by pointing to real-world objects; systematically teaching grammar and pronunciations; building the connection between Zhuang Language & Mandarin & recordings on Zhuang Languages learning classes (P9)

**6.1.2 Vlogs for Strengthening Ethnic Minority Identity and Connecting People with Same Ethnicity.** From perspectives that focus on a more macro social or ethnic influence, the use of vlogs strengthened EM's identity and built ethnic confidence. Motivations on how to objectively view "minority identity" and make more people of the same ethnic group more comprehensively understand and be proud of "minority identity" were also topics that these ethnic culture experts were exploring through their vlogs. Some vloggers argued that under the Han-dominated national discourse, many EM people were somehow completely assimilated into the modern and mainstream culture; as P15 said, "*Our own culture is disappearing, even though it is a natural process of history. Many young people are moving to the cities, leaving their hometowns and losing their "minority" identity.*" They did not expect minority people to cling to their old way of life and all their traditional culture, but they hoped the younger generation of EM could accept modern education and ideas while embracing their ethnic identity. As P10 related, "*Ethnic culture also has new blood, which we, these ethnic culture inheritors, have been working on. I don't want people of my ethnic group to be unable to identify with their own ethnic group.*"

Therefore, they considered vlogs as a way for them to express their love for their culture and their hometowns. They also hoped that these expressions could help others of the same ethnicity to recall their ethnic roots. Some vloggers wanted to support ethnic people living far away from their hometowns, by remotely allowing them to reminisce about their ethnic culture. The major topic of P8 vlogs centered around walking on hometown streets while singing ethnic songs; she said "*Because I hope that everyone, especially people who is in the same ethnicity, knows that our hometown has developed quickly while maintaining and integrating with our own cultural characteristics, and we, as an EM, are proud of our identity and our hometown.*" P6's vlogs introduced his hometown's history and the recent developments therein, especially cultural events that happened in his hometown. Doing so, he hoped people from the same ethnicity could still feel attached, and connected to their ethnicity and hometown. P6 said that he received feedback from viewers of the same ethnicity, stating that his vlogs decreased their sense of isolation and that they were able to recall memories of their people while being so far away from home. One of the top comments he received was "*It has been twenty years since I left my hometown. Your Douyin dragged me back to my hometown..*" As these examples show, vlogging establishes a connection between people in faraway places and their ethnic roots, thus enhancing their sense of identity. These were vital motivations for vloggers to produce videos with content related to their ethnic regions.

**6.1.3 Vlog as New Medium for Domain Knowledge Sharing and Exchange with other ethnic cultural experts.** On another socially motivated aspect for ethnic culture experts to use vlogs to share their culture stems from the connection with other cultural experts. As P1 shared, "*We actually started*

*out using vlogs as a professional communication platform, where I would sing folk songs and other people who could also sing would comment on them in the comment section. I've met a lot of people who share the same love for ethnic culture.*” These people with the same ethnic cultural skills formed a community on *Douyin*, where they shared their cultural skills and collaborated on ethnic culture re-creation, P1 reinforces this motivation, stating, “*This approach has both improved the quality of our videos, as our idea exchange and collaboration has inspired us to create better ethnic and cultural content. It also brings more traffic because many of the people who follow us are of the same ethnicity and our audience profiles are very similar, so we can draw traffic to each other*”. Using vlogs to share ethnic culture helped them meet more people with the same ethnic-cultural skills, on the basis of which they engaged in rich cultural exchange and communication.

## 6.2 Engagement of Non-expert Ethnic Minority: Objective Cultural Promotion with Subjective Non-Cultural Intention

Under the influence of EM cultural experts, other EM became involved in sharing vlogs sharing ethnic content on *Douyin*. Unlike the cultural experts, in our interviews, these non-expert EM vloggers mentioned more non-cultural motivations for sharing these videos, such as to achieve personal economic goals or to build a larger social circle. Although their initial motivation was not cultural sharing, their participation objectively led to the growth of minority vloggers’ voices on the *Douyin* platform as an influential “ethnic, cultural promotion” trend.

**6.2.1 Vlog for Attracting Traffic from the Same Ethnicity and Achieving Personal Economic Purposes.** Many minority vloggers who were not cultural experts claimed that sharing minority vlogs was largely motivated to achieve personal economic goals. In order to attract the attention of others of the same ethnic group to increase traffic, they adopted strategies mainly to strengthen their own ethnic tags and post some job offers targeting the ethnic group. In the process of analyzing the content of those videos, we saw that many of them had titles containing the words “*looking for EM worker, please contact*” (Fig. 6(2)) and many of them also posted their recruitment needs on their profile pages on *Douyin*, as shown in Fig. 6 (1). P16 explained “*Many of our current workers are elderly Hui people who only speak the Hui language, so we are specifically recruiting people of the same ethnicity on Douyin, which makes it more cooperative.*” Although their motivation for sharing was largely directed toward increasing traffic and recruiting workers, they still needed to build trust with viewers of the same ethnicity. To do so, they shared many scenes demonstrating the work and life of minority groups in their videos, such as “*Hui headdress making*” and “*Hui headdress culture*”, as shown in Fig. 6 (1). This non-culture-driven sharing behavior objectively promoted the recording of minority traditions and cultures.

**6.2.2 Deepen Intra-ethnic Social Connections through Multiple Interactions with Same-ethnic Audiences.** Another motivation for non-expert minority vloggers was to connect with other members of the same minority group. Being minorities in a country where Han Chinese are the dominant group, some feel a sense of “cultural fragmentation” when interacting with the dominant culture on social media, which initiates their search to find people with similar cultural backgrounds online. P13 said, “*I had left Tibet to study in the city, and at that time I wished I could meet many people from Tibet on social media. I was trying to relieve my self-isolation.*” In order to make intra-ethnic viewers become loyal fans, EM vloggers purposefully interacted with them in a unique way, using the shared language of their EM. Thus, they created an encrypted conversation with people of the same ethnicity, forming a close community separate from mainstream viewers external to the ethnic group. This camaraderie leads vloggers to continuously engage with the same type of EM video content. P7 interacted with viewers using Mandarin characters’ pronunciation to form Yi sentences in comments. The combination of Mandarin characters did not transfer any information to those



Fig. 6. Non-expert Vloggers Looking Ethnic Workers and Deepen Intra-ethnic Social Connections through Comments and Group Chat

who did not know their languages, as shown in Fig. 6(3). Using such a “conundrum”, commenters and vloggers provided each other with emotional support. For example, as P13 said, “*I usually use the Tibetan language to give feedback to viewers from Tibetan ethnicity. This will make me and viewers of the same ethnicity feel a strong connection between each other.*” Some vloggers turned on live streaming in *Douyin* to facilitate more direct communication with fans of the same ethnicity, facilitating conversations in ethnic languages. In order to further deepen their connection with their fans of the same ethnicity, they also established their own hometown/ethnicity social groups on *Douyin* (shown in Fig 6(4)). They used these groups to transfer their video subscriber to a more loyal relationship, where they guided their fans to communicate with other group members within the same ethnicity in a safe communication space for EM.

**Summary** We found that cultural experts used vlogs and ‘music libraries’ to document ethnic cultural memories and promote intra-ethnic cultural understanding by teaching ethnic languages. Furthermore, these vlogs were also used to strengthen EM’s identity and confidence by reminding them of their hometown. Additionally, vlogs provided cultural experts with a new platform to share domain knowledge with others. On the other hand, non-experts who engaged in ethnic vlog sharing trends in *Douyin* had different motivations that were mainly economic and social. Despite this, their involvement indirectly increased the visibility of minority vloggers and attracted more people with ethnic identities to watch related vlogs.

## 7 STRATEGIES FOR ENGAGING BROADER ETHNICITY COMMUNITIES AS VLOGGING AUDIENCES(RQ3)

As EM vloggers’ videos were gradually seen by more mainstream users (Han Chinese) through recommendation mechanisms of *Douyin*, EM video creators began to create content for the mainstream audience proactively. Their imagined audience changed from being limited to the EM group to both EM and the mainstream audience, and new motivations emerged on cultural, economic, and social levels. In general, minority vloggers took the responsibility of expanding their ethnic influence and made their minority-related videos “culturally breakthrough” by adopting various video content creation strategies.

## 7.1 Vlogs for Inter-cultural Inclusiveness and Ethnic Culture Visibility

Both cultural experts and other minority vloggers took the initiative to take responsibility in promoting “our culture” to the mainstream audience and took this as an important motivation to keep producing ethnic culture vlogs. As mentioned above, non-expert minority vloggers were not initially involved in cultural dissemination, but as they create minority-related vlogs for the long term, they gradually took on a higher level of recognition of their ethnic identity, leading them to become, along with ethnic culture experts, promoters of ethnic culture when facing an enlarged audience group. They mainly adopted two strategies. 1) they improved the mainstream audience’s understanding and awareness of minority cultures by retelling ethnic history and showing ethnic characteristics. 2) they tailored the videos to the needs of the mainstream audience to some extent to make their ethnic and cultural content more acceptable to the general public.

**7.1.1 Raising Ethnic Cultural Awareness in Mainstream Audiences: Objective Records and Subjective Narratives.** To improve the awareness of ethnic culture by the mainstream audience, EM vloggers tried to present ethnic live styles comprehensively and objectively. The widely used one was recording what they observed in everyday life from a third-person perspective. P2 recorded a local elderly weaving traditional pattern cloth by hand, as P2 explained, *“I just want to document and share it objectively. I want more people from outside to understand our culture...”* P3, a student majoring in social science, used ethnographic skills to help record the ethnic culture objectively, such as interviewing local citizens to provide rich empirical content in his vlogs.

In addition to the recording itself, EM vloggers subjectively processed the recorded content, emphasizing the ethnic, and cultural content they want to present to the “mainstream audience”. As P6 said, *“While recording, in fact, we have used our methods and perspectives to retell history, and subtly interpret history. After choosing what to tell or record, you already have a subjective historical perspective. Therefore, there is no complete objectiveness.”* Under the subjective processing of minority vloggers, the EM life that mainstream viewers saw on *Douyin* might be “glorified” to some extent, and minority ethnic vloggers consciously spread the “minority culture” that they thought should be recognized by mainstream viewers.

**7.1.2 Catering to Mainstream Audiences: Creating more “Acceptable” Content and a “Tagged” Ethnic Identity.** As the influence of ethnic vloggers gradually expanded and targeted at a more mainstream audience, how to attract the mainstream audience became a factor for vloggers to consider when creating ethnic culture-related content.

**Tagged Identity: “Marketing Gimmick” or Cultural Promotion?** Our participants mentioned difficulties in attracting new followers from mainstream viewers because most viewers in *Douyin* were always seeking excitement, lacking patience for in-depth understanding. P2 found that although mainstream viewers “like” and “feel fresh about some ethnic content that is novel for them”, such “novelty” also made it hard for viewers to empathize with EM’s real happiness. P2 said *“...people watch us because the vlog is visually and auditorily new, and stimulating, but they are less likely to follow us to keep seeing who we are and what our culture is really like.”* As P2 said, the mainstream audience, faced with a lot of new information on the Internet, watched EM vlogs mainly for seeking “curiosity”. Meeting the demand of these viewers, minority vloggers “tagged” themselves to some extent, reinforcing their minority identity and deliberately emphasizing the things that made minority life different from the majority of urban life. P2 created vlogs that included various aspects of *“revealing the uniqueness of our ethnicity”*.

In our interviews, many interviewees said that when they found that special ethnic content could get more likes and attention, they tended to consciously present such things. However, they believed that this “intentional” behavior was not a totally negative thing, but could essentially

promote the spread of minority cultures, as P2 said, “*In most cases, if there is no seeking for curiosity and uniqueness, no one really cares about how minorities live.*” P3 further talked about the relationship between “tagged” identity and ethnic culture promotion, “*After all, symbols or tags are what comes from abstraction to reach a fast and strong transmission effect. Our goal is to first make our culture visible to a wider audience. Then, those who wish to go deeper will have the opportunity to go from the shallow to the deeper. We also produce more in-depth cultural and historical content to meet the needs of people that are really interested in our culture.*” This meant they hoped to use these tagged identities to attract more mainstream audiences, while they also consciously designed deeper content for audiences who were more concerned with minority culture.

**Catering to Audience Needs: Changing Content or Sticking to Ethnic Characteristics?** Some vloggers adjusted their vlog content with the expansion of the audience; as P12 said, “*It is inevitable for EM to integrate into modern society to survive, so we need to understand the needs of the mainstream audience and create content that makes them accept ethnically relevant content.*” To this end, some vloggers focused on cross-cultural dialogue in their vlog creation in order to help mainstream audiences understand the ethnic culture more easily. Although most ethnicities have their own ethnic language, most of them use Mandarin (the governmental language in mainland China) in their vlogs as captions or voice-overs. P1’s ethnic music vlogs had two lines of captions, one in BOUYEI Language, and one in Mandarin, as shown in Fig. 1(3). P8 uploaded two versions of one vlog, one in Mandarin and the other in Yi Language. The Mandarin version had Mandarin captions, while the Yi version had Yi captions. Descriptive captions in Mandarin were also manually added to help mainstream viewers understand the discourse. Due to the lack of automatic caption generators for their languages, participants had to manually add captions for their ethnic languages, increasing their workload for making vlogs.

Some ethnic vloggers also recreated traditional ethnic songs and dances, adding new elements that were more acceptable to contemporary youth and mainstream culture, to solve the problem of “incomprehension” of mainstream audiences, as P15 said, “*It’s like I was born in a Tujia family, but grew up listening to Hong Kong rock music. Now that I’m a musician, I’ve chosen to use my expertise in rock music expression and incorporate ethnic rhythms and vocals to make the whole musical expression more acceptable to the public and the world.*” This catering to the mainstream audience was intensely criticized by some other interviewees, who believed that the current homogenization in *Douyin*’s ethnic creations was harmful, and they should stick to their own culture, as P14 said, “*Although it’s normal to do something because the audience likes this thing, if we want to promote our own culture, we have to keep the special part of our culture.*” These conflicts inspired ethnic vloggers, as well as other stakeholders, to think thoroughly about how to balance between keeping the ethnic characters and adapting to the needs of mainstream viewers to get a larger influence.

## 7.2 Vlogs for Alleviating Poverty in Minority Regions

As an underrepresented and low-resource community, economic opportunities were a major motivation for many participants. Talking about why they wanted more non-minority viewers to see vlogs with ethnic overtones, all participants talked about “*poverty alleviation*” or “*rural development*”. The traffic brought by the uniqueness of EM cultural vlogs gave rise to economic development. These economic gains became the long-term motivation for minority vloggers to create minority cultural vlogs.

**7.2.1 Developing New Internet Celebrity Economy: Douyin as an E-commerce Platform for Selling Local Products.** After some EM vloggers became popular, they began to use the e-commerce features of the *Douyin* platform to sell local ethnic goods, P12 mentioned, “*I sold local goods through live streaming. I sold 15 million RMB of agricultural products in total.*” When vloggers discovered the

influence of selling local products, they started to seek cooperation with the government and local industries, which was a win-win process, as vloggers found a stable source of goods and official support from the ethnic government, while the local economy and industries developed because of the e-commerce opportunities brought by the traffic of ethnic vlogs, as P12 said, “*We help the local government open up more consumer channels through live streaming, while the government’s help allows us to get lower prices for our agricultural products, which is also more attractive to consumers. Ultimately, these profits will also be distributed to our EM farmers, and their lives can be improved!*” Their collaboration with the government in actively selling local goods and ethnic products could both increase their own income and increase the economic vitality of EM regions.

**7.2.2 Developing Local Tourism: Sharing Ethnic Minority Everyday Life to Attract Tourists.** There were also vloggers who were dedicated to presenting the local geography in their vlogs to attract tourists and develop local ethnic-cultural centered tourism. Six participants directly invited the viewer to visit their hometown by showing beautiful scenarios of the local landscape (P1, P2, P3, P6, P8, P10). For example, P2 showed a sea of yellow flowers and invited viewers to see it in person, as shown in Fig. 1(4). P12 introduced local conditions and customs in her county by vlogs to attract tourists. In her most popular video, she was riding a horse in a red robe, shown in Fig. 7(2).. She said, “*After watching the scene of my horse riding, many of my fans expressed their expectation for the sight of ten thousand horses galloping here. Now It is November 2020, but hotels in our county have been booked until January 2021 by tour groups.*” Another direction was to show the local preparedness for tourism. P8 introduced herself as “*knowing English, welcome to Liping*” in her vlogs, shown in Fig. 7(1). P5 recorded a conversation with a local citizen sharing her family’s experience on using Airbnb to make money, as shown in Fig. 7(3). It presented new developments and how local citizens kept pace with the times. Unlike other government-supported tourism development, EM vloggers in China spontaneously attracted tourists by showing the uniqueness of ethnic traditions and customs in their videos. The real-life of minority regions and the good development of tourism infrastructure presented in their videos could, to a certain extent, eliminate the prejudice of other mainstream viewers towards the underdeveloped tourism industry in minority regions, thus attracting more tourists.



Fig. 7. Provide Economics Opportunities for for “My Hometown” (P8, P12, P3)

### 7.3 Vlogs for Positive Ethnic Image: Cross-Cultural Conversation and Active Citizenship

Finally, from a more macro social or ethnic development perspective, vlogs and their comment sections became a public discourse space for EM in China, where they actively participated in cross-cultural dialogues and built more positive and comprehensive images for their own ethnicity

online, thus eliminating the prejudice and misunderstanding of some mainstream people towards EM.

**7.3.1 Collective Moderation: Eliminating Bias and Correcting Misunderstandings.** To reduce cross-cultural misunderstandings, EM vloggers filmed clarification videos or follow-up vlogs to reply to cultural-related disagreements. In their opinion, the video response could solve the controversy more intuitively and thoroughly. For example, P3 posted a vlog (mostly located in Xinjiang Province) on Kazak goat-roasting; however, some viewers commented that the vlogger was not doing it in the right way. P3 made a follow-up video to address the differences between the Kazak goat-roasting and the widely used goat-roasting technique. Our participants mentioned that the recommendation mechanism of the *Douyin* platform did not allow the vlogger's follow-up video to play its proper effect. The platform did not promote the series of videos to viewers together. Thus it was difficult for the vloggers to respond to prejudiced questions from viewers/audiences.

Besides, EM vloggers collaborated with their intra-ethnicity audience did content moderation actively, which is shown in the Fig. 8(1)(2), P12 topped a moderation discourse in her video's comment area, “*All the race war comments will get deleted.*” The vlogger took it upon herself to remove voices about ethnic discrimination and provoke ethnic antagonism. And P10 said “*I saw a lot of people from my own ethnic group helping me explain the history of my ethnic group. I feel very moved. You know, Douyin will automatically delete some comments that have obvious swear words and other banned words. But those comments that are not so extreme, but reveal prejudice from the majority group in their words, need to do right by our own people.*”, such prejudiced comments that could only be recognized by people knowing the context and culture are shown in Fig. 8 (5).

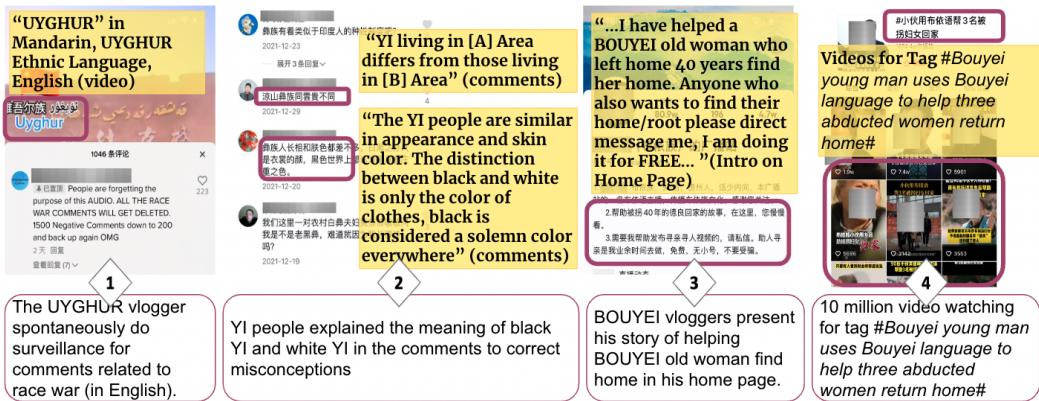


Fig. 8. Ethnic Vloggers Spontaneous Cross-Cultural Conversation and Active Citizenship

**7.3.2 Minority Vlogger and other Stakeholders Collaboration for Social Good.** We also found that vloggers collaborated with other stakeholders to create a positive image and enlarge the influences of EM on social media. P1 and P10 mentioned that they would retweet content that could help present a more positive image of their ethnicity. As an example, P1 and P10 mentioned “cultural root-findings” practice about how their BOUYEI cultural vlogs helped a deaf or hard of hearing elderly woman, which was abducted 35 years ago from her family, find her family members. As P1 said, “*One day I received a message from a viewer of my vlog, who sought help from us.*” P1 showed the message to us, and it said that, “*My mother was “sold” to my father 35 years ago. I am excited to see that she pronouns “eating” similar to you in your vlog! I have recordings of my mother’s speaking;*

*could you please listen and see if she is also from Bouyei;* ‘Because P1 was aware that Bouyei has many branches located in different places in southeastern China, and their language is similar but differs in pronunciation, she started to communicate with other Bouyei people from different regions. Many Bouyei vloggers shared vlogs of related information to help broader Bouyei people identify the location from pronunciation. Finally, the old woman found her home because of the unique culture, landscape, and language of the EM shown in the vlogs.

After the active participation in this activity for social goods, P1 and P10 documented the collaboration process between multiple minority stakeholders through vlogs, which they named “root-finding.” This act of social good was retweeted by a lot of EM vloggers and praised by mainstream audiences. As shown in Fig. 8 (4), they created a tag as “Bouye young man uses Bouye language to help three abducted women return home,” and then everyone who posted about this event used the same tag, and the video under this tag was watched for over 10 million times. Besides, P10 introduced this event on his homepage as, “[vloggers’ name], from Bouyi ethnicity, born in the 90s. Story of Helping abducted Bouye woman Deliang go back home. Here, you can watch this story”. The above examples indicated that the vitality of minority culture displaying and sharing itself made social benefits such as “root-finding” possible, and at the same time, this content, which reflected the active citizenship of EM in public discourse space, in turn, promoted the mainstream audience to have a deeper understanding of minority culture and society.

**Summary** In this section, we found that both experts and non-experts took responsibility and initiative in promoting ethnic culture when facing a mainstream audience. To make the ethnic vlog content more visible to mainstream viewers, some of them changed their content in order to appeal to mainstream viewers by using Mandarin to explain the ethnic culture and incorporating contemporary elements into their vlogs. Additionally, developing e-commerce and ethnic-cultural tourism were potential long-term motivators for them to continue making vlogs, even though these economic factors could only be achieved after the ethnic vloggers became popular on *Douyin*. Moreover, EM used vlogs for active citizenship to build a positive ethnic image, and ethnic vloggers and viewers conducted collective moderation to eliminate any bias in vlog comments.

## 8 DISCUSSION

Our findings shed light on how cultural experts and non-experts in EM participated within and beyond their own community using vlogs on the *Douyin* platform. In this section, building on our findings, we first discussed promoting cultural sustainability and empowering ethnic minority communities. We explained useful platform features (e.g., ‘music library’ Fig. 4) and the ecosystem formed around vlogging in sustaining own culture. Secondly, we discussed our findings around vloggers’ imagined audience and identity work as an ethnic minority online and reflected on the ethnic majority’s role in the practice. Then in the context of contemporary globalization, via the lens of postcolonial computing [30], we enriched understandings of intercultural encounters between EM and ethnic majorities (who were not only the initially targeted user group of the technology but also the cultural identity of technology designers).

### 8.1 Designing for Culture Sustainability

We provided design implications for technology support for EM to seek cultural sustainability. Although this study was conducted with EM in China, our findings contribute to the broader landscape. Further platforms designed for cultural sustainability can learn from our discussions on ways to 1) facilitate the co-involvement of cultural experts and non-experts 2) raise the affordance of cultural sustainability using ICTs

**8.1.1 Co-involvement of Cultural Experts and Non-experts in Cultural Sustainability.** Our findings revealed an ecosystem formed around *Douyin* around how experts and non-experts worked together on cultural sustainability. Cultural vlogs were first used within the cultural expert circle, where experts used them as a digital profile for others to check out their works quickly. Then they uploaded their music to the ‘music library’ for social responsibilities. Others non-experts from the same ethnicity appreciated the experts’ efforts and actively interacted with experts. Meanwhile, non-experts recreated their own cultural vlogs using experts’ ‘music library’ which further increases “traffic” for all EM vloggers (RQ1). We expanded the understanding of cultural sustainability, which was previously led by cultural experts [44], on the co-involvement of cultural experts and non-experts.

The active participation of both experts and non-experts suggested that *participatory conservation* (all community members participate in cultural preservation) was the key to preserving cultural heritage and increasing cultural vitality [65]. The platform allowed members with *intrinsic and extrinsic motivation* to participate, and this was easily accepted because it provided *flexibility and accessibility*, and offered a space for *transparent dialogue with mutual respect for history and cultural diversity*. Beyond that, from the practice and attempt of minority vloggers in cultural sharing and interaction in *Douyin*, we gained insights on how other platforms and features could be designed to facilitate participatory conservation with EM:

(1) Platforms should highlight and certify cultural experts’ identities. We found experts were more motivated and proactive by culturally related factors in creating cultural vlogs both intra-ethnicity and beyond their own community. Further emphasizing the identity of cultural experts in the design of the video platform, such as identifying them as “folk art inheritors,” can help facilitate the sharing of cultural content. The certification from the platform can also help non-expert minority vloggers quickly discover high-quality cultural content and facilitate them to recreate some vlogs beyond it.

(2) Platforms should provide more flexibility and accessibility for non-experts, e.g., ‘music library.’ Because of the lack of a unique skill-set, recreating based on experts’ music is a more salient way for non-experts to participate in cultural conversations (RQ1, RQ2).

(3) Platforms should encourage non-experts to focus on content quality rather than attracting mainstream viewers’ attention. We found non-experts were mostly socially and economically driven (RQ3). It was likely non-experts overlooked the merits of the EM cultures, whereas they chose to tag themselves with ethnic names for “traffic.” For example, the system can give non-expert more exposure and recommendation support for making high-quality ethnic culture vlogs.

(4) Our findings in intra- and inter-ethnicity interactions revealed design requirements for ICTs to support cultural sustainability, which was fairly mentioned by prior ICTs due to their primary focus on cultural preservation (e.g., a more *static* view of culture: documentation and prevention, storage and display [34, 44, 50, 65]): “*taking culture as something that is dynamic, collectively produced, and enacted in everyday encounters*” [30]. We are all in a postcolonial world where our cultural identities are understood, negotiated, and changed by each other [30, 47]. Therefore, further ICTs for cultural sustainability should embrace human’s cultural hybridity or a hybrid cultural identity, and design spaces where various versions and perspectives to engage with culture are supported and enacted with each other.

**8.1.2 Affordance in Creation of Digital ‘Semiotics Components’.** It is widely agreed that audio-based performances, such as cultural dances and songs, are essential in sustaining ethnic minority culture in China [38]. Our findings revealed that ethnic minorities used the low-cost feature, “music library”, to sustain their culture by recreating own ethnic music. Community members, especially non-experts, often recorded their own vlogs after they selected a piece of music (Fig. 4– button: “use this music in my vlog”) (RQ1). In such context, ethnic music was used to highlight their identity

to attract viewers (RQ2, RQ3). Ethnic music is considered as a “semiotic component” in cultural vlog – “situated meanings and cultural models connected to various sign systems such as language, gestures, images, or other symbolic systems” [6]. Platform feature ‘music library’ in *Douyin* met such identity expression need with higher affordance and accelerated the spread of cultural products using music as a ‘semiotics component,’ which gave a good example to other video platforms to improve the technology accessibility for low-literacy people. Although *Douyin* allows users to search for music by name, none of our participants mentioned using that. Hence, the future system should actively suggest music related to users’ ethnicity and regions to boost the identity through the ‘music library’.

Previous research also suggested other “semiotics components,” besides ethnic music, are also beneficial for vloggers to construct their cultural identity for their audience. Bhatia found a British-Indian vlogger also used traditional props (diya “oil lit lamp”), accessories (bindi “sticker on forehead”), and gestures (garba “style hand movements”), to construct her Indian diaspora in her tutorials, to attract and boost both her unique and conforming identities [6]. Hence, future systems should expand the ‘music library’ to include more diverse cultural products, such as traditional props, accessories, and gestures. Also, computer vision technology can be applied to automatically recognize such components in videos and enrich its collection quickly, e.g., recent work did scene recognition, landmark recognition, and food image recognition on images [63]. Such designs for building a more diverse and creative cultural library can also be applied to enrich the tags (#) on the system. It will also prompt EM themselves to learn their culture, construct their identity and enrich its visibility.

## 8.2 Empowering Ethnic Minorities Online

Below, we first summarized how *Douyin* platform catalyzed the envision of their imagined audience. Then we zoomed in on how *Douyin* shaped vloggers’ ethnic identity expression. In the end, we reflected on the potential impacts of other agencies on cultural production online in China.

**8.2.1 Ethnicity as the Dividing Line of Audiences.** Litt found when people post on social media, there are different audience groups they think about and fluctuate among abstract audiences (not thinking of anyone specifically) and target audience (personal ties, communal ties, professional ties, and phantasmal ties) [39]. Building on this, our findings further found that people with the same culture/ethnicity are also a type of targeted audience. People create particular kinds of content for people with “cultural ties”, e.g., ethnic language teaching (RQ2). In our study of cultural conversations, vloggers imagined they could co-construct their culture with an audience of the same ethnicity, which was also found in other research focusing on vloggers from India [6]. Moreover, “cultural ties” are not mutually exclusive with other ties in the framework; as the such audience can either be part of someone they already know from a local community (RQ1, RQ2).

Moreover, our research found *Douyin*’s algorithms pushed content initially created for intra-ethnic viewers to mainstream viewers, which catalyzed a “cultural breakthrough”. From cultural sustainability perceptive, the ecosystem formed in response to the exposure provided them with economic, social, and cultural benefits, e.g., tourism. Meanwhile, such forced exposure pushed vloggers to take the mainstream audience in mind(RQ3). Vloggers’ weighing process can be depicted as how to choose from *Integration*(individual has some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while concurrently seeking to participate as an integral part of the larger social network) and *Separation*(individual has an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture, while in daily interactions with other groups) rather from *Assimilation*(individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others) [5].

Our work took the initial steps in understanding how ethnic identity is used in cultural conversations by EM (e.g., using ethnicity to connect people within the same ethnicity RQ2). It added to prior research that looked into how ethnic identity is used in political conversations. For example, for Native American candidates in US elections, the most durable sub-communities are those that center on cultural identities and supports political connectedness between Native American advocates and their followers[68]. Extending on prior work that found social, and political climate in a state or region shaping EM candidate's ethnicity expression online [69], we found the way in which EM interacted with others online and how they speculated online audience's identity seemed to shape how they express their ethnic identity (RQ2).

**8.2.2 Addressing Inter-Ethnic Conflicts and Promoting Inter-Cultural Understandings .** On the other hand, vloggers are pushed to the cusp of mainstream viewers who have significantly different cultural backgrounds, and they are faced with challenges such as context collapse- the flattening of multiple audiences into a single context [45]. It is also common to see disagreement, discrimination, and violence accompanied by intercultural dialogues [27]. Our findings also found that ethnic minority vloggers received hateful messages from viewers of other ethnicities (RQ3). For example, when they posted videos for reminiscing hometowns or traditions, primarily intended for intra-ethnic groups, the mainstream viewers might misunderstand them or misinterpret their message (8(5))(RQ3).

Meanwhile, ethnic minority vloggers, especially cultural experts, often received identity questions and comments from mainstream viewers (RQ3). It echoed previous research that found vloggers who were not White on Youtube were frequently asked about appearances, accents, and ethnicity questions even when the video content itself had nothing to do with cultural and identity [2]. The system should take responsibility to guard vloggers' identity expression and construction and increase viewers' attention to how multiple aspects of identity interact, e.g., [61]. In our findings, ethnic vloggers and viewers participated in collective moderation to reduce misunderstandings from mainstream viewers, and they actively protected their own ethnic culture from being misinterpreted. This collective moderation happened when the system could not detect some comments with obscure discrimination (RQ3). Future systems should actively detect, and allow vloggers to decide whether or not to fold identity questions, and consider what identity users want to reveal. Besides, Some studies proposed respectful technology design [34], and the fundamental consideration is respecting the cultural boundaries on what can be shared (content), how (permission), where (location), and by whom (people). Drawing on these works, we could allow vloggers to set up filters of stereotype keywords [16, 35], use anonymous features in the video to prevent the exposure of minority identity [24], use NLP to detect inappropriate language [3]. Some work also provided possibilities on how to resolve inter-cultural conflicts and further research may investigate how it might integrate with social media websites. For example, through organizing virtual team communication in the online curriculum, strong ties were formed between religious Jews and secular Jews in Israel who participated in the course, and there were obvious changes in their attitudes toward the relationships between these two ethnicity [70].

**8.2.3 Government's Involvement in cultural sustainability using Social Media.** In our study, we found EM collaborated with the local government to sell ethnic goods and attract tourism(RQ3). Our findings could shed light on how to utilize power from different stakeholders to empower ethnic minority development through social media. In recent years, with intensified competition among cities for tourists and investment, Chinese governments have emphasized the central role of cultural resources in their economies and the use of social media to present new brand images [72] [73]. Take Xi'an (a historical city in China, has huge traffic on *Douyin*) as an example, the government

branded Xi'an on social media as “re-creating the Great Tang dynasty” and “revitalizing local folk art” [73].

### 8.3 Reflecting Intercultural Encounters in Design and Research Practice

We discussed our study design rationals through the lens of postcolonial computing [30]. Our findings highlighted the importance of engaging different communities in technology design and showed that system features designed for the majority might not meet the needs of other communities (e.g. collective moderation performed to identify misunderstanding that was not identified by the platform). Moreover, we observed ontological differences between EM and the majority within their interactions. Some conflicts, such as “what parts of the culture should be preserved? What should not?”, “should civilization be the must of indicator cultural development”, is rooted in ontological differences between EM and the majority. EM valued traditions under the ethnic cultural scope (e.g. “eating on the ground”), whereas the majority found them hard to understand and considered their behaviors as “out-of-date” and “uncivilized”. Postcolonial computing suggested guidelines [30] for future work to explore and apply in actual system design for cultural sustainability, such as the participatory design that calls for users to participate in the imagination and specification of work technologies.

In our study on cultural sustainability, we found that the *Douyin* platform recognized experts that had expertise in music as “Music Man”. Our research also highlighted the challenges that designers face in understanding and identifying key roles in expert-led activities, given the complexity of the community with regard to expert versus non-expert, language fluency, and political background. Moreover, our findings showed that cultural experts defined by EM themselves revealed diverse expertise in seeking cultural sustainability such as in the ethnic language (e.g. P9) and food-making process (e.g. P3). As previous studies have suggested, it can be detrimental to the cultural community to place inflexible boundaries around what constitutes “culture” and to focus solely on the most visible aspect of its culture [35, 60]. This is supported by research on social media usage for cultural preservation and in the African context [35], which suggests that people with different social identities seek and discuss indigenous or ethnic cultural knowledge online. Therefore, for a system to support cultural sustainability, the designer should understand the complex roles and contributions of the local community and allow flexibility in defining culture.

Our findings necessitate that researchers conducting studies on existing platforms must be cognizant of the fact that these platforms, which are typically developed by the majority, can be potentially misleading in terms of defining culture. To this end, Klassen et al. [33] recommend that researchers who do not identify as Black or African American but plan to study ‘Black Twitter’ should engage in reflexive exercises to reflect on their own identity, motivations, and objectives for the study.

### 8.4 Limitations

There are 55 EM in China, and there are significant cultural differences among them. Limited by interviewees recruited from 12 EM, our findings might not generalize to all ethnicities and cultures. In this study, we recruited active and dedicated ethnic minority vloggers; thus, the results might not apply to other ethnic people that are not actively sharing vlogs. To notice, since our research was done in Mandarin, our findings revealed limited insight into an understanding user that has a language barrier in using *Douyin*. Such populations are often older than 40 years old that did not undergo the Bilingual Education Policy (learn both Mandarin and ethnic language at school) in ethnic minority regions in China. Future research can be done in each ethnicity’s language and recruit via offline sourcing to reveal deeper social, cultural, political, or economic assumptions of technology usage and design.

Additionally, ethnic minority topics discussed in China are usually connected with politics and sensitive somehow [46], and this may raise concerns that ethnic content on social media may be intervened by government surveillance [54, 67]. In our study, we did not consider much about government surveillance on ethnic vlog content since participants did not provide related input. This is probably because the vlogger participants interviewed did not post political content, comments, and interviews.

## 9 CONCLUSION

Previous work has widely discussed the practice, interaction, and influence of engaging EM in social media. Still, limited studies have discussed why and how EM applies vlogs to sustain ethnic culture. From vloggers interviews and video content analysis, our study explored the ethnic minority vloggers' cultural vlog-making and sharing ecosystem on *Douyin* to sustain its culture. Our findings show vloggers' motivations, the strategy used, the platform feature used, and the video content created varied by the imagined audience. For example, for intra-ethnic viewers, vloggers created videos to teach their ethnic language and reminisce about their hometown for cultivating ethnic identity; for inter-ethnic viewers, vloggers generated videos to overcome ethnic prejudice. We identified two main types of vloggers who contributed differently to cultural sustainability – cultural experts focused on culture itself while non-experts leveraged platform features such as "Music Museum" as a low-cost way to make ethnic culture accessible online. Our study informs researchers and practitioners of the use, challenges, and value of vlogging by ethnic minority vloggers for ethnic minority cultural sustainability.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A THE DISTRIBUTION OF VIDEO CONTENT

Vlog content theme	Description	Percentage
Custom	Introducing own customs (origins or developments), or comparing one's own customs with other ethnic minority's (such as clothing regulations, tribute )	22.7%
Language	Introducing one's own languages (oral or text)	18.0%
People	Including beautiful looking people with ethnic characters and virtuous person under their cultural systems	16.6%
Music	Such as folk song singing and local music performances	13.7%
History	Focusing on the history of certain ethnicity (such as how their ancestors mitigated from northern China to southern China)	11.9%
Food	Demonstrating the food-making process and explained the reasons for eating them (such as goat-killing and religious food)	10.7%
Landscape	Showing the beautiful and unique local landscape of ethnic minority region	6.3%

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