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Get Rich or Die Mining: Minor Voices and Transnational Contexts in Midi Z's *Jade Miners* and *City of Jade*

Abstract

This article examines how minor voices are formed and mobilized in transnational contexts with particular attention to film about the illicit jade trade in Myanmar (formerly Burma). Due to the location of the jade mines, those mining for this valuable commodity face government intervention and censorship and war in Kachin state. Midi Z's films *Jade Miners* (2015) and *City of Jade* (2016) directly tackle these issues through equipping miners with GoPros in order to get footage in these dangerous treks for jade. This article argues that minor voices are formed in two distinct ways in Midi Z's films. The first is through the presence of Midi Z himself as a director who explores his family's history and by extension the history of the region. He develops what I call the Sinophone voice, which is inherently involved in the intersections of minor transnationalisms and the process of localization. The second way is through the use of GoPros. The lightweight portability of these recording devices allows the miners to make their own footage and use technology in subversive ways. Through the presence of these minor voices and smaller forms of media, invisible and precarious populations that are socially, economically, and politically marginalized are rendered visible despite state censorship and the active erasure of these groups.

"Those Buried Inside are Already Dead"

A group of men crowd a ditch at the end of Midi Z's film *Jade Miners* (2015), and those closest to the foreground are seen frantically digging. The rest of the group stand behind them as if they are ants crawling back into the hill watching silently as those in the front continue to dig without any visible leeway into the hill. The audience then learns that a jade mine has collapsed, and miners are trapped in the collapsed hillside. This scene in Midi Z's documentary film highlights the precarious positions these miners occupy to earn a living. The same scene plays in *City of Jade* (2016), and a bystander says, "Those buried inside are already dead." Not only is their job illegal in Myanmar (formerly Burma) as far as the private mining of jade goes, but their lives are also at stake. The mine collapse is but one danger in their quest to strike it rich. Yet, this is their everyday socio-economic reality. They make

their way on treacherous excavations on a daily basis to provide for themselves and their families. Because of these precarious conditions, the filming of jade mining in Myanmar is especially difficult. With the hazardous terrain of the jade mines as well as the political conditions of the region, the director chose to equip the miners themselves with GoPro cameras.

This article explores how alternative modes of filming, such as the use of GoPros, are mobilized as a form of subversive subjectivity in precarious socio-economic conditions. I argue that the use of the personal perspective by precarious subjects resists state representation and erasure and provides a means of depicting those who are invisible due to their socio-economic position. Specifically, in the case of Myanmar, Midi Z's *Jade Miners* and *City of Jade* exemplifies how the use of smaller means of recording can reveal the daily lived reality of those living in perilous conditions rendering them

visible with their own authorial voice. At the same time, such a voice has its own limitations when the director picks and chooses the scenes to include and edits the footage. This claim, however, ignores the Midi Z's own uncertain positionality in relation to the filmmaking industry as a director born in Myanmar as a Han Chinese minority, living in Taiwan, with films distributed through different Sinophone networks. Considering both the director's positionality, the daily toiling of the jade miners, and the transnational aspects of the film's circulation, I propose that digital media usage on small scales allows for minor voices to emerge and construct their own forms of representation outside of the boundaries of the state.

The use of GoPros and the accessibility of filming that they provide as been well documented. From the inception of GoPros, the question of filming action and giving access has been a central issue. Philippe Bedard has described the GoPro vantage as a disembodied perspective that highlights what he calls a "techno-aesthetic," which considers both the technical descriptions and the mode of perception that the GoPro provides. While these scholars articulate issues around GoPro aesthetics, the notion of politics remains unresolved. As Jacques Ranciere writes, "[...] a sensible politicized exists that is immediately attributed to the major forms of aesthetic distribution such as the theatre, the page, or the chorus. These 'politics' obey their own proper logic, and they offer their services in very different contexts and time periods." An in-depth discussion of GoPro aesthetics, therefore, needs to consider the politics behind aesthetic practice.

Aesthetic practice and politics intersect in Midi Z's construction of the voice through the GoPro and deploying a minor voice, or a voice that is working in small scales. The notion of a minor voice is one that is at once linguistic, cultural, and moving on the boundaries of various transnational flows. At the same time, this minor voice is also facilitated by the small scales of technology that Midi Z mobilizes in *City of Jade* and *Jade Miners*. More specifically, both of these films use the smallness of the GoPros to navigate the complex filming conditions in Myanmar's precarious jade mining industry. While the GoPro has long been associated with extreme sports and some tourism, the GoPro is a tool that can further highlight the politics of

aesthetics and seemingly invisible conditions of precarious subjects. The GoPro with its lightweight and portable recording mechanism is a digital supplement to the minor voice and its politics in Midi Z's films. The first section of this article will look at the politics of filmmaking in Myanmar in relation to Midi Z and examine how his own voice emerges from his films that work to counterbalance Myanmar's representation of minority and marginalized groups through an analysis of the Sinophone and transnational networks in which he participates. I then scrutinize the jade mining industry alongside the film, *Jade Miners*, to shed light on how the miners create spaces where their own voices can facilitate their own means of representation. Ultimately, this article illustrates how Midi Z's documentary films render invisible populations seen and minor voices heard.

Midi Z's City of Jade: Personal Histories and Illicit Industries

Midi Z has directed numerous feature films including, *Return to Burma* (2011), *Poor Folk* (2012), *Ice Poison* (2014), and *Road to Mandalay* (2016). More recently, he released a documentary titled *14 Apples* (2018) about monks in Myanmar. All of these films were shot in Myanmar. *Jade Miners* and *City of Jade* are no exception, and these latter films are companion documentaries that focus specifically on the role jade plays in Burmese society. *City of Jade* is also a family history and illustrates the intersection between the personal, society, and the state. The film focuses on Midi Z's discovery of who his brother, Zhao De-Chin, was during his quest for jade and his journey after his release from prison in Mandalay, the second largest city and economic center of the upper region of Myanmar. Conversations with his brother about drug addiction and family hardship during the time his brother disappeared are interwoven with scenes of backbreaking work mining jade.

In this section, I discuss the notion of minor voices in transnational contexts in relation to Midi Z's *City of Jade*. I derive this notion from Francois Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih's minor transnationalism. The representation of the jade industry in *City of Jade* is mediated by what I

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call Midi Z's Sinophone voice. Through an analysis of Midi Z's *City of Jade* and his own transnational traversing, I argue that Midi Z exemplifies how minor voices can impact the representation of marginalized groups in spaces where representation is tightly controlled. It is a minor voice, but this does not mean that the voice is less important or impactful, but rather one that resists state hegemony from the margins by revealing family history and its interconnection with state policies and socio-economic conditions.

The notion of a minor voice comes from Lionnet and Shih's explanation of minor transnationalism. Lionnet and Shih critique the failure of transnational theories to take minorities into account. Discussions of transnationalism focused on center-periphery dynamics tend to reaffirm a center rather than displace it. At the same time, minorities are not simply parts of the periphery but are also part of the center. Influenced by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's work on minor literature where minorities write in a major or dominant language, Lionnet and Shih's work on minority subjects argues that they are not mutually exclusive from the center but also part of a national collective. Moreover, these minority subjects who participate in central discourse have their own perspectives that contribute to the formation of the center. Lionnet and Shih argue, "The transnational, therefore, is not bound by the binary of the local and the global and can occur in national, local, or global spaces across different and multiple spatialities and temporalities." In other words, the transnational is made up of minor dynamics that inflect the way in which the national, local, and global are imagined in space and time. Moreover, the minor emphasizes the ways in which such categories like "local" and "global" shift and transform over time.

With minor transnationalism in mind, I propose to consider the notion of a minor voice when analyzing Midi Z's films. I take the minor from minor transnationalism and minor literature where it denotes a marginalized position, but the minor does not mean that the subject is invisible or completely eradicated from conversations in the center. Here, the minor emphasizes how those in the margins can participate in central discourses. Whether such participation is effective for positive

or negative change, however, is up for debate. The minor, therefore, is a position of action rather than of change. While some actions and dissent may be ineffective at changing center-periphery dynamics, it does not take away the legitimacy of such actions and perspectives.

I propose the term "voice" to resonate particularly with Shih's articulation of the Sinophone, where language takes a central position in thinking about identity politics. The voice in this case is not simply that which is verbally articulated, but it is a mode of participation through language. The notion of language in Sinophone studies has mainly been concerned with speech and writing. The Sinophone has also been discussed in terms of a "Sinophone cinema," but that is also mainly concerned with speech acts, dubbing, and subtitling. In short, the Sinophone as theoretical lens has put spoken and written language at the center of its debates. The term, "voice" also implies a speech act, but for Midi Z's films, this voice is not limited to speech and includes an authorial voice. Such as voice constructs representations in multiple registers including the visual and aural.

The Sinophone voice is a minor voice that takes minor transnationalism and the Sinophone into account while seriously considering various representational registers. Some researchers have referred to this population as "Burmese Chinese" or the Chinese diaspora in Myanmar, but this disregards the transnational traveling of this population. The Sinophone is a concept that displaces the centrality of China and reinforces the importance of the process of the localization of Chinese culture, language, and ethnicity among other identifying factors. Midi Z's work and its circulation exemplifies this complex network of minor dynamics. Born in Myanmar to an ethnically Han Chinese family in Lashio in eastern Myanmar, Midi Z moved to Taiwan on a scholarship when he was sixteen years old. He went on to study filmmaking with Hou Hsiao-Hsien. Already, his transnational traversing and his Sinophone background go hand in hand. By way of his Han Chinese background, migration to other Sinophone sites, like Taiwan, is seen as a possibility due to networks of migration. Furthermore, his background also provides him the necessary skills to negotiate within Sinophone

spaces. More specifically, he can speak Mandarin and uses it in his films. Although it is accented and not necessarily the lingua franca of the Sinophone sphere, Mandarin is an essential tool to navigate within Sinophone networks, and it is a means of access to these communities.

City of Jade features the Sinophone voice in a literal way with its use of accented Mandarin narration as well as its intermingling with Burmese. The Mandarin the director speaks is also one that is localized with its own terms and intonations. The director narrates the film in the localized version of Mandarin, and he has conversations with his brother in the same language. When talking to the other miners, however, they switch into Burmese. It is important to note that the narration done by the director is in a localized and creolized Mandarin rather than Burmese. For example, after some miners in his brother's company get their drills taken away, the screen goes black, and all we hear is some muffled conversation. The director encounters what could be plain clothes police or thieves, the camera just records the sound of the conversation between the aggressors and the director. After negotiating by saying that he is a tourist, the director says, "They only wanted scooter" (他們只想要摩托車). While the majority of this sentence is in accented Mandarin, the word scooter is in Burmese rather than Mandarin. The director's language, therefore, is a creolized Mandarin with a regional accent. His interactions with the miners show that he is fluent in Burmese, but he chooses to narrate in his native language. Much of the narration is his family history and state history. While I will address family history later in this section, state history is narrated in a non-sanctioned language and is, instead, told in a language that is considered a creole and foreign within Myanmar. Burmese history, such as the elections in 1990 and the student uprisings in 1988, in *City of Jade* are told in localized Mandarin, and through this linguistic discrepancy, resistance to the state narrative of history begins to take shape. This linguistic difference highlights the fact that the history of the state can be told in a minor language.

His films, their circulation, and reception also shed light on minor dynamics and the Sinophone voice. Midi Z himself has expressed his ambivalence as a director and the difficulty to categorize

his national origin. In an interview, he says, "It doesn't really mean anything to me when people call me a Taiwanese director, a Myanmar director or a Myanmar-born Taiwanese director." These nationally based terms of Taiwanese, Myanmar, or Myanmar-born Taiwanese director create mutually exclusive categories that do not account for the transnational circulation of his films. Midi Z's films are screened in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and America to name a few. When his film *Road to Mandalay* screened in Myanmar, however, audiences also claimed it is not a Myanmar film. Myanmar has not always been welcoming of the director, and the majority of his films have been shot covertly because of government censorship.

It is amid this sense of national ambivalence and filming conditions in Myanmar, that *City of Jade* was made. It is necessary to discuss Midi Z's background and transnational movement because of the content of *City of Jade* in that it directly deals with his own family's history. While the director is narrating, his family history is interspersed with events from Myanmar's past struggle with democracy as well as the on-going situation in the region. Filming in the region is exacerbated by restrictions and censorship in place in Myanmar. The region that *City of Jade* takes place is even more harrowing with its ethnic war between the Kachin and the Myanmar military. The film also reveals that malaria is an issue when the scene cuts to a miner in bed, the only scene in an indoor space in the film, and another person telling them that they will give the miner a test for malaria soon. These dangers to the miners threaten the family narrative that the director tells. These two histories impinge on each other vying for space and the audience's attention.

The fighting and violence between the Kachin and the military is also told in relation to the story of his brother and his family. Rather than giving all of the information about the ceasefire between the Kachin Independence army (KIA) and military, details of Midi Z's family take center focus when he narrates over images in the film. In a way, the metahistory of Myanmar is mediated by the smaller histories of the family. Midi Z's narration of the entire film does not feature any linear narration of state history or events, but it is as if the telling of current events in Myanmar is dependent on

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the revelation of family history, particularly of his own family history. Speaking broadly, in the film, metahistory is mediated by and dependent on small histories.

In the film, there are no depictions of the 1988 student uprisings or of the KIA fighting with the Myanmar army. In fact, there are almost no scenes of the army or KIA at all. Only one tense moment



Fig. 1: Jade miners fleeing from state authorities trying to crackdown on the illegal jade mining industry.¹⁸

is shown on screen of miners trying to escape authorities on small rafts on a drag line. Even in this particular scene, there is no clear aggressor shown and only the miners are seen fleeing. Events are only relayed by Midi Z's narration of these events, and they are never shown. When the miners are confronted by the KIA or Myanmar soldiers, the audience can only experience it through the miners telling the story of their survival. One miner says that he just dropped all his tools, including a very expensive electric drill, and ran for his life. He says that he did not know they were soldiers until they started shooting at him. In this story, the miner only speaks of the dangers, and the audience is not privy to what the scene looked like. This visual absence of the KIA and the state army points to the shrinking importance of state events and overall presence in these marginalized spaces. The audience can only hear what may or may not be authorities when a group of men take the director's scooter. It is as if the state itself becomes a marginal figure since it is not allowed to be seen in *City of Jade*.

The depiction of state events is reliant on Midi Z's accented narrative. His speech does not align with the official language of Myanmar, Burmese, in its telling of state events. In this voice over narrative,

the conflict between the KIA and the state military is also not in Kachin, but it is in another marginal language in Myanmar. He is a linguistic outsider to both the Kachin and Burmese, yet their history is dependent on his telling in a creolized language. Furthermore, their presence in the film and of any metahistory at all is a visual lacuna instantiated by aural articulations. In other words, Midi Z's minor transnational subjectivity embodied by his creolized language constructs the major events and history in Myanmar. The Sinophone voice is that which constitutes history and social conditions despite its perceived marginality and uncertainty.

Jade Mining and GoPros: Filming Precarity in Myanmar

Minor voices in Midi Z's films are not only showcased by the literal voice the director uses to narrate over *City of Jade*. In *Jade Miners* for instance, the minor is embodied by the miners themselves. More specifically, their use of GoPros in conjunction with Midi Z's subjectivity and editing of the footage illustrates the collaborative nature of minor voices. Despite their precarity and overall invisibility in terms of state and at times international recognition, they are able to craft their own representation through a collaborative effort from the margins. Midi Z's film *Jade Miners* depicts the daily lives of jade miners in Kachin state in Myanmar. The film is 104 minutes long and consists of only twenty shots. It begins with the miners setting out at night, and the shot is only lit by their small headlamps. The film continues as they trek down steep and dangerous terrain, dig for jade, and wash what they think might be jade only to find out that it is most likely not. Aside from digging, the miners eat together, take naps in the day, and repeat the jade mining cycle. This repetition is punctuated by some phone calls with family at home, very brief conversations with each other, and the occasional mine collapse. The work they do is dangerous and illegal, and this tension is heightened by the fact that there is still a civil war in Kachin state between the KIA and the Kachin Independence Organization against the Myanmar Army.

Philip Vannini and Lindsay M. Stewart have dubbed what they call the "GoPro gaze" to describe



Fig. 2: Miners attempt to excavate other miners trapped in a mine collapse.¹⁹

the “sensuous and more-than-representational manner” in which landscapes and spaces are depicted in the audiovisual form. Influenced by the “tourist gaze,” Vannini and Stewart theorize the GoPro gaze as portraying the world in vivid detail and ensuring that danger, risk and pain is not erased. The perspective provided by GoPro footage can provide a site where viewers are immersed in the moving images. Alanna Thain writes about an ecosophical approach to the film, *Leviathan*, which uses GoPro footage in an “ethico-aestheical” way. Working from Raymond Ruyer’s *survoler* or the “self-survey,” Thain explains that the use of a GoPro camera invokes “the immersive sensation of *survoler*...[which] refuses the corrective distancing from sensation as a way of knowing the world [...]” In other words, the images from GoPros are a form of surveying, watching, and viewing the self. In her work on the role of photographic technologies in Israeli military rule, Rebecca Stein’ notes that GoPros and other recording technologies can be utilized by the state, but such constructed politics can also fail when visual lapses occur. Extending both Ranciere’s claims and Stein’s analysis of the politics of photographic technologies, the use of GoPros in Myanmar’s is political. GoPros are not simply used to film action or adventure sites but are tools to record precarious activities and to make visible, individuals who are rendered invisible by the state.

The use of GoPros in *Jade Miners* is a choice of access, convenience, and aesthetics, and more importantly it is a mode of filming that is also about politics. In fact, politics go hand in hand with access and aesthetics. Access and filming in Myanmar



Fig. 3: Jade miners trekking down uncertain terrain to mine for jade in the dark.²⁵

have been and remains extremely difficult, and these conditions are exacerbated by the state of political and social unrest in Kachin state. The advantage of the photographic technology provided by GoPros is that it is both lightweight and portable and able to provide high quality images and video. Aside from the state of war in the region, jade mining in Kachin state is a dangerous endeavor. In the opening sequence of the film, the miners trek down a steep mountainside. Their way is only lit by their headlamps. Carrying heavy filming equipment is not feasible for these miners as they have to navigate a crumbling landscape while holding their mining tools as well. The only sounds the audience can hear are the miners’s heavy breathing and the gravel falling away beneath their feet. The GoPro captures very little in terms of the visuals on screen. It is primarily a black screen with a miner’s back in the frame. This darkness reflects the lack of ideal conditions for filming, making it all the more important to use the GoPro as it is one of the only technologies that can allow miners to film their precarious activities.

These unsteady poorly lit shots contrast in the film with the scenes of the miners during the day eating together, taking naps, and listening to the radio. As the miners go about their daily chores, the GoPro is stationary and used in a long take. In one sequence, a young man is sitting in a makeshift gazebo as he cleans his socks. The camera is placed squarely in front of him as he dusts off his socks from the inside out. The camera does not move while it records this young man. Scenes where the miners are eating are shot in a similar way. The camera is placed in a spot and records the action

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in front of it. It does not have access to the areas around it nor does it track any action. This type of filming might seem contradictory to the purpose of a GoPro, which are supposed to film action and give off a sense of adventure in sports recording. Rather than high speed action or even the physical traversing of uneven terrain, the GoPro in these scenes of *Jade Miners* films slowly and deliberately.

This tension between action and stillness of the GoPro shots is the point where the miners themselves can intervene and have their own voice in the visual form. The GoPro in *Jade Miners* is utilized in an unconventional way by the miners themselves. Their particular method of filming does not mobilize this photographic technology in its intended way. It seems that it is in fact used in an entirely contradictory way. This polarization of the types of shots, however, is too neat and simple of an explanation. The miners are instead mobilizing a technology in a way that keeps their authorial voice intact and includes a networked sense of filming precarity. The miners' conditions of filming cannot be ignored. The danger and action are latent rather than conspicuous. For the miners, being shot by either the state military or independence fighters, being trapped in a cave in, or arrested due to their illicit labor is a perpetual fear. This sense of uncertainty makes shooting with a GoPro apt in that they can run with the machine and take it with them in these conditions. Their precarity is multifaceted. Their lives are literally on the line, and their laboring conditions are uncertain. Their economic precarity is provided by the sense that they may have a job today and be jobless the next. Moreover, they are invisible to those unaware of how the jade trade works. Yet, the GoPro and its filming capabilities make these miners visible through their own means. They can choose to keep the camera still or take it with them on their dangerous journeys. They can choose to turn off the camera when someone is in danger or leave it on to film the precarious straits that they occupy.

The narrative structure of *Jade Miners* also goes beyond the expectation of the GoPro form. GoPro adventure footage has typically included scenes of action, and images that focus on an active lifestyle, but the images provided by the miners and stitched together by Midi Z work in the opposite direction. As one critic writes, "they dig, they eat, they sleep,

and then it's back to some more drilling and digging again. The repetition might be an acquired taste." Indeed, the image of the miners' lives is one where repetition abounds. Even the act of mining for jade itself is a repetitive task. The miners dig up what might be a jadeite rock, wash it, examine it, and determine whether or not it is the valuable commodity for which they are excavating. The twenty shots are made up of the miners digging, eating, napping, or doing some light conversational socializing. The only two scenes that diverge from this are when a miner is talking to his wife and daughter on the phone in the penultimate scene of the film and the mine collapse, which is the last sequence of the film. This repetition reflects the miners' precarious trade in that their lives are stuck on repeat just as their daily tasks seem like a broken tape. New activities or developments are few and far between. While the GoPro adventure footage represents something new and exciting for viewers, for the miners, the GoPro is a means of presenting to an audience their own sense of repetitive precariousness.

Through the manipulation of the GoPro in dangerous terrain, the miners themselves become providers of the authorship of their own lives. They are producers of footage that Midi Z then puts together to make up the film, *Jade Miners*. This documentary project makes visible the invisible populations at work in war-torn regions and in a state where censorship has not yet been completely lifted. The lightweight portability of the GoPro and the high-quality footage it produces is advantageous for the miners as they can both film and navigate the difficult landscape. This convenience leads to a specific aesthetic: one that is usually associated with action, adventure, and sports. Yet, the image that the miners themselves provide is the antithesis of such an image. Aesthetics is always political. Without the GoPro, this group of people and their lives are not seen or recognized by state actors and very rarely noticed by global communities. Their work and lives are hanging in the balance as they trudge through their daily chores shown through their long takes and the repetition of their tasks. Through depiction in their own means with this small media, the GoPro and the footage it produces takes on a political dimension for groups that have been historically erased.

Conclusion: Mining for A Voice of One's Own

Through small modes of media, Midi Z's films that focus on the jade trade allow for the emergence of minor voices. Through the telling of his brother's story and by extension his own family's history, the circulation of the films, and the use of GoPros to film in dangerous and uncertain conditions, voices and images that would either be ignored or actively erased by state censorship are rendered visible and audible. Voices that tell their own stories are pushed to the margins in Myanmar's democratization narrative, but these voices are allowed to speak in their own terms through Midi Z's films. In *City of Jade*, minor transnationalisms and the Sinophone are essential for understanding how a minor voice begins to articulate its own story. As a result, the Sinophone voice of Midi Z recounts his family's small history that is intertwined and interrelated

to the larger history of Myanmar's economic, political, and social development. *Jade Miners* does not feature the director although he does indeed play a part in stitching together the footage provided by the miners. Through the use of GoPros in unconventional ways, the miners themselves become authors of their own footage and image. This use of small and portable forms of digital media allow them to work and film in the war-torn region while featuring their daily lives at the center of the film. Jade mining is arduous and tedious work, and this comes through the repeated scenes of mining, eating, and mining again. The precarious life of an illegal miner is at the core of *Jade Miners*. Midi Z's films allow minor voices and small media that make visible the marginalized and erased. Such a rendering of precarious voices is essential to understanding the politics of cinema, digital media, and the aesthetic practices of filmmaking.

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Notes

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- 11 "Homecoming myanmar: A Midi Z Retrospective," *Cornell Cinema*, n.d., Accessed September 18, 2018.

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https://cinema.cornell.edu/series_LateSpring2018/midiz.html

12 Wen-Chin Chang. *Beyond Borders. Stories of Yunnanese Chinese Migrants of Burma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 8. Chang's discussion focuses on the Yunnanese people, but this exploration of the border crossing exemplifies the interconnection of the region with particular emphasis on Chinese migrants.

13 Olivia Yang.

14 Olivia Yang.

15 Ellen Wiles, *Saffron Shadows and Salvaged Scripts: Literary Life in Myanmar Under Censorship and in Transition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

16 Francis Wade, "The Reckoning: After Decades of Censorship, Burma's Filmmakers Probe Their Country's Dark Past." *Foreign Policy* 205, (2014), 74.

17 Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

18 Screengrab from *City of Jade*.

19 Screengrab from *Jade Miners*.

20 Phillip Vannini and Lindsay M. Stewart, "The GoPro Gaze," *Cultural Geographies* 24, (2017), 149.

21 For the tourist gaze, see J.Urry and J.Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2011).

22 Alanna Thain, "A Bird's Eye View of Leviathan" *Visual Anthropology Review* 31, (2015), 41–48. Thain explains that the ecosophical approach to *Leviathan* is about witnessing without distance, and as a result of this mode of surveillance, the distinctions between social and environmental ecologies become suspended. See also, Raymond Ruyer, *Néo-Finalisme* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

23 Alanna Thain, 42.

24 Rebecca L. Stein, "GoPro Occupation: Networked Cameras, Israeli Military Rule, and the Digital Promise," *Current Anthropology* 58, (2017).

25 Screengrab from *Jade Miners*.

26 Clarence Tsui, "Jade Miners' ('Wa Yu Shi De Ren'): Rotterdam Review," *Hollywood Reporter*, February 2, 2015, Accessed September 28, 2018. <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/jade-miners-wa-yu-shi-769038>