

# **Planning for Ethnic Tourism:**

Case Studies from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China

by

Li Yang

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# Planning for Ethnic Tourism: Case Studies from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China

## **Abstract**

Ethnic tourism has emerged as a means that is employed by many countries to facilitate economic and cultural development and to assist in the preservation of ethnic heritage. However, while ethnic tourism has the potential to bring economic and social benefits it can also significantly impact traditional cultures, ways of life and the sense of identity of ethnic groups. There is growing concern in many places about how to balance the use of ethnicity as a tourist attraction with the protection of minority cultures and the promotion of ethnic pride. Despite the fact that a substantial literature is devoted to the impacts of ethnic tourism, little research has been done on how to plan ethnic tourism attractions or to manage community impacts of tourism. This research addresses the need for more research on planning for ethnic tourism by exploring the status and enhancement of planning strategies for ethnic tourism development.

Drawing upon existing literature, a conceptual framework was developed and adopted to study ethnic tourism in a well-known ethnic tourist destination in China – Xishuangbanna, Yunnan. The research analyzes how ethnic tourism has been planned and developed at the study site and examines associated socio-cultural and planning issues. The framework is employed to compare and evaluate the perspectives of four key stakeholder groups (the government, tourism entrepreneurs, ethnic minorities and tourists) on ethnic tourism through on-site observation, interviews with government officials, planners and tourism entrepreneurs, surveys of tourists and ethnic minority people, and evaluation of government policies, plans and statistics.

Economic advantages have been a driving force in ethnic tourism development. The government and tourism entrepreneurs are the main powers in developing ethnic tourism, but most of them are not ethnic members. Their administrative and commercial involvement in tourism strongly shapes the ways of staging, packaging and representing ethnic culture in tourism sites. Authenticity of attractions is not determined by the resource providers, the ethnic minorities, but is shaped by decisions of government and entrepreneurs. The commodification of ethnic culture and the production of cultural events and other tourist products are manipulated to fit the interests of business and political mandates. Minority people are usually marginalized or disadvantaged economically and politically because they have limited control over tourism resources and activities. Most minority people employed in tourism hold only low-paying jobs.

The findings show that the production and commodification of ethnic culture is often accompanied by tensions among economic, political and cultural goals. Economic motives often outweigh other goals in tourism development. Thus, the balance between the use of tourism as a form of economic development and the preservation of ethnic culture should be addressed in tourism planning. More effective planning is required to mitigate negative impacts and to reinforce the positive aspects of ethnic tourism.

**Keywords:** Ethnic tourism, ethnic minorities, commodification, authenticity, tourism planning, Yunnan, China

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## Chapter One Introduction

Ethnicity has been increasingly promoted as a tourist attraction and as a strategy to generate income and foreign exchange for ethnic communities. Many countries have taken advantage of their cultural diversity and employed ethnic tourism to stimulate local economic development. Simultaneously, ethnic tourism has become a powerful force to strengthen the identity of ethnic groups. It presents enormous opportunities for ethnic groups to showcase their rich cultures and heritages and to revive their traditions, languages, and cultural pride. However, the commodification and marketing of ethnicity for tourism also creates a variety of issues, from the preservation of ethnic communities to the construction of ethnic identities and the changing of ethnic values. Although there is substantial literature that documents the impacts of ethnic tourism, little research has been devoted specifically upon planning for ethnic tourism. The significance of planning in the development of ethnic tourism is frequently overlooked. However, the issues of how to develop ethnic tourism in order to achieve a balance between economic and social goals, how to protect traditional cultures as economic and social rewards are sought, and how to create mutually beneficial partnerships between the tourism industry and ethnic communities need to be addressed in tourism planning and development.

This chapter first defines the concept of ethnic tourism and ethnicity, and then discusses the relationship between tourism and ethnicity. Also, the research goal, objectives and questions are outlined. Finally, the structure of the dissertation is presented.

### **1.1 Definitions of ethnic tourism**

Numerous definitions of 'ethnic tourism' have been proposed by various authors. This section begins by reviewing some of these definitions. A new definition, based on the review of the existing definitions, is then proposed.

The first use of the term 'ethnic tourism' is attributed to Smith (1977) who defined ethnic tourism as tourism 'marketed to the public in terms of the "exotic" customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples, exemplified by the case studies on the Eskimo, the San Blas Indians of Panama and the Toraja in Indonesia... [that often include] visits to native homes and villages, observation of dances and ceremonies, and shopping for primitive wares or curios' (p.2). McIntosh and Goeldner (1990) restated the views of Smith by identifying ethnic tourism as 'traveling for the purpose of observing the cultural expressions and life-styles of truly exotic peoples. Such tourism is exemplified by travel

to Panama to study the San Blas Indians or to India to observe the isolated hill tribes of Assam. Typical destination activities would include visits to native homes, attending dances and ceremonies, and possible participation in religious rituals (p.139-140).

Van den Berghe (1992) described ethnic tourism as "that form of tourism where the cultural exoticism of natives is the main tourist attractant. It involves complex ethnic relations and a division of labor among three groups: tourists, tourees (natives who, literally, make a spectacle of themselves), and middlemen (who mediate tourist-touree encounters and provide catering facilities)" (p. 234). Harron and Weiler (1992) defined ethnic tourism as travel "motivated primarily by the search for first hand, authentic and sometimes intimate contact with people whose ethnic and/or cultural background is different from the tourist's" (p. 84). They emphasized direct experience with the host culture and environment, usually by visits to native homes and villages to observe and/or participate in native customs, ceremonies, rituals, dances and other traditional activities. In the above definitions, the quest for cultural otherness in ethnic tourism as "cultural/ethnic exoticism" is highlighted. Often, "exoticism" refers to pre-modern, technologically unsophisticated and rural societies who live in remote or isolated areas, and who behave in a way considered as "exotic" for members of mainstream societies.

Most of the existing studies of ethnic tourism concentrate on visits to exotic and often peripheral destinations, which involve performances, representations and attractions portraying or presented by small, often isolated, ethnic groups (Smith, 1989; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999). Some scholars suggest that ethnic tourism should also include studies of travel involving friends and relatives exploring their ethnicity in other locations (King, 1994; Pitchford, 1995). According to King (1994), ethnic tourism also applies to travel whose primary motivation is ethnic reunion. This is exemplified by travelers from the "New World" (typically North Americans) tracing their ancestry in the "Old World" (such as in Scotland or Ireland). Pitchford (1995) also suggested the inclusion of major ethnic groupings within the definition, such as the Welsh in the United Kingdom. Their desire for identity and independence is connected to the representation of their culture for tourism. Travel for the purpose of ethnic reunion is a significant activity in the countries of North America and Australasia whose recent history has been built on migration, but it is also significant in other parts of the world, including Africa, Europe and Asia.

In light of the above discussion, ethnic tourism may be defined as tourism motivated primarily by

the visitor's search for exotic cultural experiences through interaction with distinctive ethnic groups. It includes tourism trips during which the experience or consumption of artifacts, performances, and other products associated with an ethnic group are an important part of trip motivation or activities. Here, an ethnic group is a socio-culturally distinct group of people who share a common history, culture, language, religion and way of life.

The terms 'aboriginal tourism' (Mercer, 1995; Getz and Jamieson, 1997) and 'indigenous tourism' (Butler and Hinch, 1996) are sometimes employed interchangeably with 'ethnic tourism' to refer to the same phenomenon. Butler and Hinch (1996) defined indigenous tourism as 'a tourist activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction'; indigenous people being 'races of people who are endemic or native to a destination region' (p.9). Butler and Hinch considered the degree of control and the presence or absence of indigenous themes as the main features in defining indigenous tourism. Aboriginal tourism or indigenous tourism involves indigenous people specifically, while in ethnic tourism ethnic groups could be but are not necessarily indigenous people.

## **1.2 Concept of ethnicity**

It is necessary to introduce the concept of ethnicity before discussing tourism and ethnicity. 'Ethnicity' is an elusive concept that has a wide variety of theoretical interpretations and approaches to it. All approaches agree that ethnicity is related to the classification of people and group relationships. According to Eriksen (1997), the word 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek *æthnosí*, which originally meant heathen or pagan, and then it changed to refer to racial characteristics. According to MacCannell (1984), 'ethnicity' does not refer to any specific characteristic of heathens and infidels; it typically connotes a structural contrast between us/them and the actual use of ethnicity reflects the conceptual space between bio-genetic ideas of race and socio-genetic ideas of culture. In daily language, ethnicity has an implication of minority issues and race relations, but in social anthropology it refers to aspects of relationships between groups who consider themselves and/or are considered by others, as being culturally distinctive (Eriksen, 1997).

Social scientists often define 'ethnicity' according to attributes of membership that include: racial, territorial, economic, religious, cultural, aesthetic or linguistic distinctions (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross, 1995). 'Ethnicity' can be generally defined as 'the existence of culturally distinctive groups within a society, each asserting a unique identity on the basis of a shared tradition and distinguishing

social markers such as a language, religion, or economic specialization (Winthrop, 1991, p.94). De Vos (1995) described ethnicity, in a narrow sense, as "a feeling of continuity with a real or imagined past, a feeling that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition" (p.25). Ethnicity refers to "difference in language, religion, color, ancestry, and/or culture to which social meanings are attributed and around which identity and group formation occurs" (Nagel, 1995, p.61). The common feature of these definitions is that ethnicity consists of "strongly bounded, unique cultural identities, associated with a presumed ancestry and rooted in strong kinship ties" (Hall, 1995, p.183).

The nature of ethnicity raises intense debates within academia, leading to a spectrum of views ranging from the primordial to the instrumental perspectives (Cornet, 2002). For primordialists, ethnicity is seen as a natural, ascribed property, which contains certain unchanging characteristics that persists through history (Banks, 1996). Culture is regarded as being independent from other social and political changes in society; culture and cultural activities are often seen as static features that are immune to external influences (Aoki, 2002). This view is implicitly linked to race and kinship. Characteristics such as a common language or dialects, religious beliefs, social and cultural customs, common origin or shared territory may form the key aspects of the group (Geertz, 1973). In this view, people can be classified into exclusive bounded groups according to physical and behavioral differences, based on a shared ancestry (Linnekin and Poyer, 1990).

Geertz (1973) described the primordial perspective as "the congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, [that] are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves" (p.259). Keyes (1975) suggested that ethnic identities implicate a "primordial" relationship between people. From the primordial perspective, Smith (1991) declared that a group's identity is based on a mix of shared values, memories, myths and traditions that allow the members of the group to distinguish themselves from others. Royce (1982) defined ethnic identity as "the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group" (p.18). In a similar vein, Sillitoe and White (1992) described an ethnic group as a socially distinct group of people who share a common history and culture and often a religion as well. Likewise, De Vos (1995) defined an ethnic group as "a self-perceived inclusion of those who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include folk religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin." (p.18). The key aspect that distinguishes ethnic groups as culturally distinctive is shared ancestry or origin.

The instrumental approach regards ethnicity as 'a continuing ascription which classifies a person in terms of [his/her] most general and inclusive identity, presumptively determined by origin and background' (Barnard and Spencer, 1996, p.192). The instrumentalists view ethnicity as a tool that can be used to gain political power, recognition or even sovereignty (Cohen, 1996). Ethnic identity is seen as more fluid, nested and changeable, and it is based on voluntary identification (Linnekin and Poyer, 1990). It changes over time and, thus, it is a variable rather than a constant (Hettne, 1996). This approach emphasizes understanding the processes by which ethnic identities and boundaries are created, modified and maintained (Barth, 1969). From the instrumental perspective, De Vos (1995) indicated that 'the ethnic identity of a group consists of its subjective, symbolic or emblematic use of any aspect of a culture, or a perceived separate origin and continuity in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. In time, these emblems can be imposed from outside or embraced from within.' (p.24). Cohen (1981) also defined an ethnic group as 'a collectivity of people who share some interests in common and who, in interaction with other collectivities, coordinate their activities in advancing and defending these interests by means of a communal type of organization, manipulating in the process such cultural forms as kinship, myths of origin, and rites and ceremonies' (p.308). Royce (1982) described an ethnic group as 'a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style, based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style' (p.18).

These two approaches to ethnicity also influence the study of relationships between tourism and ethnicity. From the primordial perspective, ethnicity is viewed as a series of 'givens' such as religion, genetics, language, values and customs associated with a particular community. Ethnicity in tourism is often viewed as 'an elemental attachment, and as possessing firmness and immutability'—social mobility does not change this sense of ethnicity' (Hitchcock, 1999, p.19-20). The primordial approach regards ethnicity as a force powerfully rooted in the past and experienced in the present as overpowering and ineffable (Wood, 1998). For instance, van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) described ethnicity as 'rooted in a primordial sense of shared descent' and as being 'formulated with reference to concrete cultural markers' (p.348). They further pointed out that the presence of tourists affects ethnic groups in two ways: (1) it makes ethnic people less exotic and traditional; (2) it transforms ethnic people into 'tourees', that is, performers who modify their behaviors for gain according to their perception of tourists' expectations. From the primordial perspective, existing materials and culture constrain the options of ethnic entrepreneurs because ethnic cultures are not all equally marketable. Furthermore, the strength and content of shared myths,



memories and symbols can affect the likelihood of ethnicity being turned into tourism products (Wood, 1998). For example, in Michaudís (1997) study in Northern Thailand, a powerful sense of Hmong identity has limited both involvement in tourism and the cultural impacts of trekking tourism. This case shows that the contemporary construction and identification of primordial factors is critical (Wood, 1998).

In contrast, the instrumental or situational perspective regards ethnicity as a set of processes and social relations that emerge and are shaped according to the social circumstances in which the individuals (or groups) are located (Hitchcock, 1999). Barth (1969), a pioneer of the instrumental approach, refused to see ethnicity as the property of ethnic groups and emphasized social relations between and within ethnic groups. The underlying assumptions of this approach are that ethnic identity is commonly ambiguous, subjective and situational (Cohen, 1978), and that ethnicity is both mutable and negotiable through social interaction between tourists and local people (Hitchcock, 1999). The instrumentalist emphasizes the plasticity of ethnicity and its use as a resource in competition for scarce resources (Wood, 1998). This approach offers more dynamic views of ethnicity as it discards simplistic conceptions of culture as a bounded entity and stresses ethnicity as a set of social relationships and process by which cultural differences are communicated (Hitchcock, 1999). Clifford (1986) described cultural identity as 'an ongoing process, politically contested and historically unfinished' always mixed, relational and inventive' (pp.9-10). Wood (1997) indicated that ethnic identity is not fixed and inherited from the past, but rather constantly reinvented, reimagined or symbolically constructed. The instrumental approach also highlights the material interests, which various groups, such as ethnic entrepreneurs, states and locals perceive in the promotion of ethnic identities, markers, boundaries, and practices in the context of tourism (Wood, 1998). Instrumentalist interests may change as tourism evolves.

Ethnicity is a challenging concept due to its variability and the complexity of its interrelation with social structures (Hitchcock, 1999). It involves various understandings, identifications and negotiations of ethnic identity as well as spatial, political, economic and socio-cultural influences. Ethnicity is closely related to shared ancestry or origin, stereotypes and traditions, which are recognized both by insiders and outsiders as being fundamental attributes of a specific cultural group. However, ethnicity is not an absolute, static concept but fluid, flexible, dynamic and changeable depending upon different social settings and the perspectives of different individuals. Furthermore, ethnicity has been increasingly adopted as a strategy to fit a particular situation, such as using

ethnicity to promote tourism development. Meanwhile, the images of tourism provide the means by which local people can be identified and encountered, and may also help to reshape ethnicity and strengthen the identity of ethnic groups.

In light of both primordial and situational perspectives, in this research, a combination of these two approaches will be adopted, resulting in the following definition:

Ethnicity refers to both a cultural heritage shared by a group and a form of social organization or relations, which changes over time according to political and socio-economic circumstances.

### **1.3 Tourism and ethnicity**

A number of sociologists and anthropologists have studied ethnicity in the tourism context from different angles (Smith, 1977, 1989; van den Berghe, 1980; 1992, 1994; van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984; MacCannell, 1984; Picard and Wood, 1997; Wood, 1984; 1998; Jamison, 1999; Hitchcock, 1999). The common theme of the literature is that as ethnicity is commodified, recreated or marketed or through tourism, it has become a marketable, profitable tourist attraction worldwide (Smith, 2001).

In ethnic tourism, tourism and ethnicity share a close relationship in which ethnic identities are represented or constructed through tourism images (Henderson, 2003). Ethnicity permeates many aspects of tourism (Hitchcock, 1999), while tourism impacts ethnicity in a variety of ways. One of the significant impacts of tourism is that it can strengthen ethnic identity through the promotion of ethnic cultures, arts, performances and festivals (Graburn, 1989; van den Berghe, 1992; Jamison, 1999). Constructions of ethnic identity on the basis of interactions with outsiders is not a new phenomenon as demonstrated by Leach (1965) and Barth (1969), but what is of growing significance is the injection of tourists' visualization, experiences and discourse into cultural construction (Wood, 1998). The revival of ethnic culture is sometimes stimulated by tourists' interests and demands. Indeed, tourism has provided some ethnic groups with an otherwise unavailable means of educating the outside world about their plight (Klieger, 1990; Schwartz, 1991; Hillman, 2003).

Tourism can assist in enhancing awareness of ethnic cultures that are being undermined by internal and external forces, protecting the cultural heritage of marginalized ethnic minorities, and promoting

the restoration, preservation and re-creation of ethnic attributes that were seen as dying or passing (MacCannell, 1984; Henderson, 2003). The cultural exoticism of the ethnic groups to others is the primary attraction for tourists in ethnic tourism and, hence, ethnic people become a 'living spectacle' to be observed, photographed and interacted with when exoticism is sought by tourists (van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984). The most marketable forms of cultural exoticism are the more spectacular aspects of the lifestyles and artifacts of ethnic groups, which are often considered 'backward' by the dominant majority society (Oakes, 1998; Wood, 1998). Indeed, the objects of ethnic tourism are often geographically and socially marginalized ethnic groups who remain in an inferior position to an overwhelmingly dominant majority ethnic group (Cohen, 1989; Toops, 1992; Simpson, 1993; Dearden and Harron, 1994; Wood, 1997; Oakes, 1998; Swain, 1989; Xie, 2001).

In response to pressures from tourism, 'reconstructed ethnicity' has emerged as the reintroduction, display, maintenance and preservation of ethnic forms of life for the entertainment of tourists, and it may be both a commodity to be bought and sold as well as a rhetorical weapon of inter-ethnic relations (MacCannell, 1984). The marketing and commodification of ethnicity for tourism embrace a broad range of ethnic issues, from the preservation of ethnic communities to the construction of ethnic identities to the development of ethnic values. While commodification of ethnicity is often decried in the literature as a form of cultural degradation, Firat (1995), for example, argued that cultures (e.g. ethnic, national, regional) that are unable to transfer their qualities into spectacles or commodities appear to vanish and become museum items. The selling of ethnicity is likely to make ethnic peoples more self-conscious and reflexive about the culture they may have previously taken for granted (Volkman, 1984, 1990; Wood, 1997; 1998).

The advent and development of tourism not only impacts ethnic identities, but ethnic markers are selected to symbolize group culture and to demarcate ethnic boundaries (Wood, 1998). Tourism has the potential to stimulate the reproduction and reconstruction of ethnic relations, and to redefine ethnic boundaries (MacCannell, 1984; van den Berghe, 1994; Wood, 1997, 1998). Historically, tourism was seen as an external force, acting upon a pre-existing ethnic culture. However, tourism is increasingly viewed as being an integral part of the process by which ethnicity is represented and constructed, and as a key force in processes of defining, maintaining and modifying ethnic boundaries (Wood, 1998). For instance, tourism has become an integral part of Balinese culture and the interaction with tourists is an important component in the definition of ethnic identity in Bali, Indonesia (Picard, 1997).

In multi-ethnic communities, tourism may not only support ethnic cohesion and provide opportunities for ethnic boundary fusion, but it can also stimulate both inter-ethnic competition and cooperation (Jamison, 1999). For example, in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, Adams (1997) observed that tourism promotion increased inter-ethnic competition, rivalry and mutual suspicion between the highland Toraja and the lowland Buginese. In the coastal area of Malindi, Kenya, Jamison (1999) found that tourism acts as a catalyst for the re-interpretation of ethnic identity of local communities. Tourism creates conditions for increased ethnic contact and competition, and hence stimulates ethnic conflict, but it may also ease conflict through cooperation and negotiation within and between ethnic groups. Tourism has also contributed to the growth of diasporic ethnic communities around the world (Wood, 1998). Appuradai (1996) indicated that the emergence of diasporic communities is a key factor shaping modern ethnic identities.

Van den Berghe emphasized in several of his works (1980, 1992, 1994) that tourism does not just affect ethnicity but often constitutes a form of ethnic relations, particularly in developing countries. Commonly, there are three economically unequal groups involved in these relations: the tourist, the *ítouree* and the middleman. The *ítouree* is the native-turned-actor, in other words, a native who modifies their behavior to meet tourists' demands. The middleman is the broker who manipulates ethnicity for gain and mediates the interaction of tourist and *ítouree* (Van den Bergh and Keyes, 1984). Often, the economic benefits of tourism accrue disproportionately to the dominant group functioning as the middleman (Wood, 1997). The marketing of ethnicity and culture embraces the role of the state and tourist entrepreneurs in the development of ethnic tourism, the modification and recreation of ethnic attributes and consciousness, and the formation of ethnic stereotypes in tourist-*ítouree* interactions (Van den Bergh and Keyes, 1984). Wood (1997, 1998) indicated that tourism tends to represent and reinforce dominant patterns of ethnic stratification at the beginning, but the dynamic nature of the tourism industry also offers the potential for changing those patterns.

In many developing countries, the states are key players not only in developing tourism but also in defining, shaping and regulating ethnicity. During the process of promoting tourism, states become planners of tourism development, marketers of cultural meanings and arbiters of cultural practices (Wood, 1984). The state determines the place of ethnic identities in tourism marketing and development, and decides what ethnic images are chosen and manipulated to enhance the destination's tourist appeal (Henderson, 2003). The case studies in Asian and Pacific countries presented by Picard and Wood (1997) address many issues involved in the intersection of tourism,

ethnic identity and state policies. The studies also reveal that the state's roles in facilitating tourism and shaping ethnicity can both reinforce and conflict with each other. The relationships between tourism, states and ethnicity are dynamic and changing. Involvement in tourism may change an ethnic group's relationship to the state and to other ethnic groups, and even change the relationship within the group as well (Wood, 1984, 1993).

As Leong (1997) stated, while tourism can enhance an awareness of national identity, it also confers privileges on ethnic minorities and promotes ethnic diversity. Ethnic differentiation was previously seen as a problem (or issue) for many states because ethnic groups compete for scarce resources and make demands on states, and their loyalties may threaten the territorial or cultural unity of a country. Today ethnicity is commonly utilized by those involved in tourism as a resource to generate income and foreign exchange (Leong, 1997). However, in doing so, there is the potential to question dominant political ideologies instead of reinforcing them (Henderson, 2003). Touristic concerns are becoming an important part of official and public discourses concerning ethnicity (Wood, 1998). The importance of markets in shaping ethnic identity and display is also growing as capitalist development induces more unregulated markets. In many cases, tourist entrepreneurs are also actively involved in representing and constructing ethnicity.

Today, celebrations of ethnic diversity or 'local colour' constitute an important aspect of global culture and of tourism as well (Kahn, 1997). At the same time, tourism has become one structural component of the global phenomenon of ethnicity and ethnic stratification (Wood, 1998). With the broad integration of ethnicity into tourism worldwide, the representation, consumption and experience of ethnicity has become fashionable. 'Ethnic' has become a popular tourist icon and has been consumed and promoted locally and afar, from ethnic restaurants, neighborhoods and markets to ethnic museums, themed parks and tourist villages. In some countries, the commodification of ethnicity is intensified in the creation of ethnic theme parks in which ethnic diversity is both celebrated and interpreted within an official nationalist discourse of 'unity in diversity' (Wood, 1998). Ethnic theme parks have become major attractions for both domestic and international tourists in many Asian countries (Oakes, 1998). Wood (1998) observed three tendencies in terms of the touristic experience of ethnicity: (1) ethnicity has become an object of purposive, self-conscious consumption of commodities and experiences produced for sale in markets; (2) ethnic commodities have become increasingly manufactured through packaging, staged authenticity, and re-creations; (3) ethnicity has become the object of a socially-structured 'gaze', constructed out of interactions

between insiders and outsiders; (4) touristic ethnic experience becomes an important component of social activities. Today, it is not just the ethnicity of others that can be consumed by tourists; people increasingly consume their own ethnicity in touristic forms (Wood, 1998; Smith, 2001). Ethnic identity has become gradually more blurred in the contemporary tourism and cultural globalization process, and the boundaries between tourism and other social and cultural activities have also increasingly faded (Wood, 1998).

#### **1.4 Research goal, objectives and questions**

The purpose of this research is to identify the main socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism that need to be addressed through more effective ethnic tourism planning. A key outcome of this research will be the development of possible strategies for mitigating these impacts through more sensitive and informed planning of future developments. The ultimate goal is to provide general recommendations for ethnic tourism planning and policy-making in a developing country like China.

The research examines ethnic tourism in a region in which ethnic tourism is established as a major tourist draw. Xishaungbanna in Yunnan, China is a good site to study ethnic tourism because of its great ethnic diversity and tourism potentials. The research will analyze the current status and development process of ethnic tourism, and examine how ethnic tourism has been planned, and what planning theories (if any) and approaches have been used in Xishaungbanna. It will document the context in which ethnic tourism has evolved, and examine the associated socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism that need to be addressed by those involved in planning.

In order to achieve these general goals, the following objectives are proposed:

1. To examine the perceptions and objectives of the main stakeholders (governments, tourism entrepreneurs, ethnic people and tourists) towards ethnic tourism in Xishaungbanna;
2. To examine ethnic tourism plans and the planning process in Xishaungbanna;
3. To identify key socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism in Xishaungbanna that need to be addressed through planning;
4. To explore implications of the case study findings for the planning of future ethnic tourism developments elsewhere in China.

These objectives will be explored through case study methodology. The main questions that will be answered through this research project are:

1. Who/what organizations are responsible for the planning and development of ethnic tourism at the study site? What are their specific roles and responsibilities? How are they involved in ethnic tourism planning and development?
2. What planning theories (if any) and approaches have been used by the authorities when developing ethnic tourism in Xishaungbanna? What is the scope and content of relevant ethnic tourism plans?
3. What are the expectations and perceptions of tourists towards ethnic tourism at the study site? What are the primary motivations of tourists for visiting in Xishaungbanna? How do they feel about ethnic products, services, and their experiences in Xishaungbanna?
4. What are the attitudes and perceptions of Xishaungbanna ethnic minorities towards ethnic tourism development in their region? How do they perceive the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic tourism on their community? What involvement do ethnic communities have in the planning and development process in Xishaungbanna?
5. Based on the answers to above questions, what socio-cultural issues of ethnic tourism need to be addressed by planning? What planning strategies need to be developed to deal with these issues? What recommendations can be developed to facilitate the development of ethnic tourism?

### **1.5 Structure of the dissertation**

The dissertation is comprised of eleven chapters. Chapter one defines the concept of ethnic tourism and presents the research goal, objectives and questions. Chapter two critically reviews the tourism and planning literatures relevant to this research to establish the theoretical context. In line with the research objectives, a conceptual framework for studying ethnic tourism is proposed and is tested empirically in the context of Xishaungbanna, Yunnan, China. Chapter three describes the study area and specific study sites, and the rationale for their selection. The historical background, geographic distribution and current status of China's ethnic minorities and ethnic tourism development from the national level to the local level are introduced. Chapter four covers the research methods that were employed in the field research and data analysis. The research challenges and limitations are also discussed.

Chapter five to eight examine perspectives of four key stakeholder groups on ethnic tourism. The discussion is guided by the conceptual framework. Chapter five examines the role of the government (at different levels) in tourism development, and their involvement in and attitudes toward ethnic

tourism. Chapter six analyzes the perceptions of tourists and their motivations and attitudes toward ethnic tourism. Their assessments of the ethnic attractions, perceptions of ethnic product features, and satisfaction with their experiences are discussed. Chapter seven explores the role of tourism entrepreneurs and their perceptions of ethnic tourism. Chapter eight analyzes ethnic minorities' perceptions of tourism impacts and their perspectives on ethnic tourism. Chapter nine summarizes and compares the perspectives of the four stakeholder groups.

Chapter ten provides a general overview of tourism planning practices in China and an evaluation of tourism planning in Banna. Planning goals, objectives, policies and processes as well as the approaches to and implementation of plans are examined. The planning issues and challenges are also addressed. Finally, chapter eleven reiterates major research findings relevant to the research objectives and questions, provides implications for tourism planning, and recommendations for future planning of ethnic tourism. The contributions and limitations of the research are also discussed and future research directions are suggested.



## Chapter Two Theoretical Context

This chapter presents the theoretical context of the study through a comprehensive review of the tourism and planning literatures. First, tourism, development and planning are discussed, and then the concepts of authenticity and commodification are introduced. The potential impacts of ethnic tourism and ethnic tourists are also described. Theories of and approaches to tourism planning are examined as well. Furthermore, multicultural planning and stakeholder theory are analyzed. Finally, a conceptual framework is developed and its content is explained.

### **2.1 Tourism, development and planning**

With the rapid growth of the tourism industry, it has become a key sector in the world economy and is a critical source of economic growth and development in many countries (WTO, 2006). Between 1950 and 2004, international tourism revenue increased from US\$2.1 billion to US\$622.7 billion (WTO, 2006). According to WTTC (2006), the tourism sector accounted for 10.3 percent of world GDP by 2006. In the same year, there were 234 million jobs in the industry, making up 8.2 percent of total employment worldwide. Tourism has become the leading industry in many countries, as well as the fastest growing economic sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings and job creation worldwide. Tourism, thus, is regarded as an effective means of achieving development in destination areas (Sharpley, 2002).

#### **2.1.1 The concept of development**

It is important to understand what is meant by the term 'development' before discussing tourism development and planning. Development is an ambiguous term that is commonly used to refer to a process through which a society moves from one condition to another or a progression from a simpler or lower to a more advanced, mature, or complex form or stage. Development has several meanings including 'economic growth, structural change, autonomous industrialization, capitalism or socialism, self-actualisation, and individual, national, regional and cultural self-reliance' (Harrison, 1988, p.154). It can be considered as 'a philosophy, a process, the outcome or product of the process, or a plan guiding the process towards desired objectives' (Sharpley, 2002, p.23).

The concept of development has evolved over time with economic, political, and social trends. The study of development usually involves the application of methodologies and conceptual models

borrowed from anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology.

Traditionally, development was defined in terms of western-style modernization achieved through economic growth (Redclift, 1987). Early theories of development were theories of economic growth and transformation rarely concerning themselves with internal social, political or cultural considerations (Sharpley, 2002). Development was assumed to be an inevitable outcome of national economic growth and progress. This perceived primary role of economic forces in bringing out the development of a society has often been taken as axiomatic, so that development and economic development have come to be regarded as synonymous (Mabogunje, 1980, p.35). Indeed, until the 1950s, there was a widespread tendency to reduce the problems of development to economic problems (Todaro, 2000). The path from underdevelopment and economic development was seen to lie along a series of economic steps or reforms (Rostow, 1960). As a result, development was defined based on economic performance, measurements or indicators, such as GNP or GDP. Social and cultural factors were only recognized to the extent to which they facilitated growth (Brohman, 1996; Malecki, 1997).

By the late 1960s, many countries recognized that economic growth not only failed to solve social and political problems but also caused or exacerbated them (Seers, 1969). Although some countries achieved their economic growth targets, the levels of living of the masses of people remained for the most part unchanged (Todaro, 2000, p.14). Therefore, the aims of development expanded to incorporate investment in education, housing and health facilities in the development process, but economic growth and modernization remained the fundamental perspective (Sharpley, 2002).

During the 1970s, the concept of development expanded beyond simple economic growth to include broader social objectives collectively and moral, ethical and environmental considerations (Mabogunje, 1980; Goldsworthy, 1988). The traditional economic growth position was challenged by many scholars (Seers, 1969; Sen, 1994). Seers (1969, 1977) addressed development in terms of the reduction of poverty, unemployment and inequality, and introduced the concept of self-reliance into his definition. According to Goulet (1968), development can be properly assessed only in terms of the total human needs, values and standards of the good life. There are three core values present in this 'good life': the sustenance of life, esteem and freedom. Todaro (1994) also outlined these three values and three objectives of development, including increasing the availability and distribution of basic human needs, raising the standard of living (higher incomes, better education,

provision of more jobs, and greater individual and national self-esteem), and expanding the range of economic and social choices so that individuals and nations are not dependent on other people and countries.

Similarly, the United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Report (UNDP, 1990) defined development as the enlargement of people's choices, the most critical being to lead a long, healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to the resources needed for a decent standard of living. Along with an increased environmental awareness, development has expanded to encompass the highly debated term, sustainability (Redclift, 2000). A widely cited definition of sustainable development proposed by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, 1987) is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (p.43). Although the term sustainable development is criticized for being vague, it provides a general vision for development.

The concept of development has evolved from a process narrowly defined as economic growth and modernization to "a far-reaching, continuous and positively evaluated change in the totality of human experience" (Harrison, 1988, xiii). The goal of the process is the self-actualization of individuals within a society, embracing six dimensions, which include economic, social, political, cultural, ecological and the full-life paradigm (Goulet, 1992; Sharpley, 2002). As the meaning of development has altered over time, the way in which development is measured has also changed. In addition to traditional measures of the quality of life, the more recent measurements include the Human Development Index, the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare, and political and civil liberty indices (Telfer, 2002).

As development has various dimensions, owing to different usages of the term in different contexts and changes in those uses over time, there is no single, universal definition of it (Pearce, 1989). "Development is a complex, multidimensional concept which not only embraces economic growth and traditional social indicators, such as healthcare, education and housing, but also seeks to confirm the political and cultural integrity and freedom of all individuals in society" (Sharpley, 2002, p.27). However, regardless of the definition of development and whether it is regarded as being a process or a state, it is unlikely to be achieved effectively or efficiently in the absence of sound planning.

### **2.1.2 Tourism development and planning**

The tourism sector has advanced significantly since the Second World War with the rise of mass tourism (Britton, 1982). The potential of tourism to contribute to development is widely recognized in both developed and developing countries. Tourism has been promoted as a development strategy to increase employment, generate foreign exchange and attract investment (Britton, 1982; Cater, 1987), to promote a modern way of life with western values (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Harrison, 1992), and to assist rural transformations of traditional societies (Pi-Sunyer, 1989).

The tourism sector has become an important driver of economic and social development, and for poverty reduction and the redistribution of wealth and power in many developing countries. Tourism is viewed not only as being a catalyst of development but also of political and economic changes (Sharpley, 2002). In modern, industrialized countries, governments have also adopted tourism as an important component of economic strategies for addressing social and economic problems facing peripheral rural areas (Cavaco, 1995; Hoggart *et al*, 1995). Many urban areas have turned to tourism as a means of mitigating the issues of industrial decline as well (Sharpley, 2002).

Development theory and tourism have evolved along the similar time lines and have shared many similar foci (Telfer, 2002). Tourism development is closely connected to four main development paradigms, modernization, dependency, economic neoliberalism and alternative development (Telfer, 2002). During the 1950s and 1960s, tourism was essentially associated with development, which was part of a modernization paradigm (Telfer, 2002). Travel and tourism was viewed as being part of modern society (WTO, 1983). Most tourism developments were undertaken with little consideration of potential social and environmental impacts and had an exclusively economic rationale (Butler, 1993). It was believed that tourism created increases in foreign exchange and employment and that tourist expenditures generate a large multiplier effect, stimulating the local economy (Davis, 1968; Peppelenbosh and Templeman, 1973). However, the perceived benefits of tourism were questioned by many scholars and practitioners (Bryden, 1973; de Kadt, 1979; Graburn and Jafari, 1991). Bryden (1973) indicated that tourism created low multiplier effects and high levels of leakages. De Kadt (1979) pointed out the uncertainty involved in using tourism as a development tool. The negative impacts of tourism in developing countries began to be increasingly documented (UNESCO, 1976), particularly, in disciplines such as anthropology and sociology (Graburn and Jafari, 1991).

The dependency paradigm became prevalent in the 1960s as a critique of modernization and is one of the well-known neo-Marxist development theories (Schuurman, 1993). Dependency theorists argue that developing countries have external and internal political, institutional, economic and social structures, which keep them in a dependent position relative to developed countries (Todaro, 1997). During the post-war tourism expansion, a number of newly independent nations pursued state-led tourism development including the creation of tourism infrastructure to modernize the country and to promote economic self-reliance (Curry, 1990). As a result, governments began to be actively involved in planning of tourism in order to meet increased tourism demands. National, regional and resort master tourism planning commenced in many developing countries (Inskeep, 1991; Costa, 2001).

During the 1960s and 1970s, tourism planning followed an economic rationale and focused on investment incentives and physical planning (de Kadt, 1979; Burns, 1999; Harrill and Potts, 2003). The main concern was to build physical amenities such as hotels, restaurants, and tourist facilities. Meeting the needs of tourists directed tourism planning (Archer and Cooper, 1994). Resident attitudes or citizen participation were often ignored in tourism development. Social and environmental impacts were overlooked by tourism planners between the 1950s and 1970s (WTO, 1980).

As tourism increasingly faced criticism for environmental and cultural exploitation, a few scholars proposed new planning approaches for sustaining tourism on the destination or attraction level in the early 1970s (Gunn, 1972). Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1977) and Kaiser and Helber (1978) developed comprehensive tourism planning models and called for integrating tourism planning into national economic policy. De Kadt (1979) argued the need to consider non-economic costs and benefits of tourism and called for social planning for tourism. Gunn (1979) advocated the participation of multiple stakeholders in the tourism planning process. Murphy (1985) proposed a community approach to tourism planning and advocated resident involvement early in the tourism planning process.

After noting the negative impacts of tourism, a number of governments and development agencies have begun to consider environmental, social and cultural issues in addition to economic concerns in tourism development since the 1980s (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Tourism developments have become subject to impact assessments. Development goals have gradually expanded from a narrow

economic focus to include social and human development. More countries have increasingly adopted careful and integrated planning and the control of tourism development to mitigate undesirable socioeconomic and environmental impacts and to avoid the potential problems (Inskip, 1988).

In the 1980s and 1990s, the economic neoliberal paradigm and tourism development concentrated on international markets and competitive exports as tourism is an invisible export industry in the tertiary sector (Telfer, 2002). The development of economic neoliberalism was a reaction against the policies of strong state intervention (Brohman, 1996). Neoliberals support supply-side macroeconomics, free competitive markets and the privatization of state enterprises. Developing countries are encouraged to attract private investors from developed countries. The international aid agencies have provided funding to assist developing countries to develop tourism plans and infrastructure (Telfer, 2002).

The alternative paradigm has been adopted most recently in tourism development. This paradigm arose out of the criticisms of the mainstream development strategies, which centred on economic growth and the top-down diffusion of growth impulses (Brohman, 1996). Along with a focus on local involvement in the development process, alternative development is closely connected to the environment and sustainability (Telfer, 2002). As globalization is driving tourism markets to become more competitive and diverse, more governments and agencies are becoming aware of the important role of tourism planning in the success of tourism destinations. Sustainable development has become the new paradigm shaping tourism policy and planning (Getz, 2001). It is widely recognized that tourism planning must be guided by principles of sustainable development (Inskip, 1991; Gunn, 1994; Holden, 2000). With the increased concern for sustainability, alternative types of tourism development such as ecotourism, cultural tourism and responsible tourism have been advocated by scholars and practitioners (Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Reid, 2003). Alternative tourism strategies emphasized the 'small scale, locally-owned developments, community participation, and cultural and environmental sustainability' (Brohman, 1995, p.65). Principles such as efficiency, equity, balance, harmony, responsibility, holistic growth, and ecological and cultural integrity are now stressed by those writing on tourism planning (Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Reid, 2003).

In summary, as the concept of development has evolved from a sole focus on economic growth to a more holistic definition that includes economic, social, cultural, political and environmental aspects

(Telfer, 2002), tourism development has shifted from a narrow concern with economic growth to a more holistic approach taking into account economic and socio-cultural impacts, political boundaries and environmental sensitivity. Also, tourism planning has evolved from an emphasis on physical design toward a more integrated and sustainable community approach.

### **2.1.3 Implications**

The above discussion of development and tourism planning has been included in order to locate the thesis in these evolving and interconnected domains. This thesis is concerned with tourism development where development is viewed in a broad sense to encompass economic, environmental, socio-cultural, and even political dimensions. Modernization is a process akin to development and modernity is a state that is the outcome of modernization processes. However, while modernization is often viewed as a process closely linked to western forms of development, that need not necessarily be the case. Indeed, Oakes (1998) has argued in the context of Chinese minority peoples that modernization and the resulting state of modernity may exhibit distinctive non-western attributes.

Whether one is dealing with development in its various guises or modernization, whatever form this may take, planning is a process that is used to guide the changes that these terms imply so that they occur in an orderly manner. Planning is the overall process of guiding change and it can involve the use of a variety of procedures that are likely to vary with circumstances. Thus, in a sense, the procedures are the specific means through which planning is undertaken and through which the planning processes are implemented. This thesis concentrates upon broader planning issues although, at times, it will also be necessary to discuss procedures.

## **2.2 Concepts of authenticity and commodification**

Authenticity and commodification are important concepts in ethnic tourism studies as well as critical issues in tourism practice.

### **2.2.1 Authenticity**

Since MacCannell (1973, 1976) introduced the concept of authenticity into tourism studies, authenticity has received considerable attention and debate in the literature regarding what it is, who possesses it and where it can be found (Cohen,1988; Bruner 1989, 1994; Silver, 1993; Littrell, Anderson and Brown, 1993; Harkin, 1995; Hughes, 1995a; Daniel, 1996; Brown, 1996; Salamone,

1997; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999; Wang, 1999a, 2000; Waite, 2000; Taylor, 2001; Xie, 2001; Xie and Wall, 2002; Edelman, 2005; McIntosh and Johnson, 2005).

Authenticity is a philosophical concept and has been employed to describe other peoples' realities (Taylor, 2001). The roots of authenticity can be traced back to the Greek word *authentes*, meaning 'one who acts with authority' and 'made by one's own hand' (Bendix, 1997, p.14). Over time, authenticity has gained a broad range of meanings, such as original, genuine, unaltered, trustworthy, guaranteed, hand-made, as the term has been applied by diverse disciplines and injected with modern values. In tourism, authenticity is often used in conjunction with or to replace many of ideas that are similar to those expressed above: essential, original, unique, genuine, true, real, native, indigenous and traditional. However, authenticity is a slippery and contested term rather than a fixed property of an object or a situation (Xie, 2001). It has often been regarded as the most important criterion for the development of ethnic or cultural tourism (Xie and Wall, 2002). Authenticity is linked to different socio-political settings and local cultural characteristics. It contains a sense of boundary among a variety of conventions, rules or regulations (Cohen, 1988; Kasfir, 1992). Authenticity, both for tourists and for hosts, is always an evolutionary and ongoing perspective, as tourists' expectations change and as culture evolves (Wood, 1998).

There are three approaches to authenticity in tourism experience: objectivism, constructivism, and postmodernism (Wang, 1999a).

### (1) Objectivism

From the objective perspective, authenticity is seen as an agreed-upon and objectively defined entity (MacCannell, 1992). There are 'objective' criteria that are used to evaluate authenticity. Therefore, even though tourists think that they have achieved authentic experiences, these might not be counted as authentic by anthropologists (Wang, 1999). Selwyn (1996) argued that there are two kinds of authenticity that tourists seek: knowledge – arguably of the physical environment; and social atmosphere – the pursuit of 'authentic social relations and sociability' (pp.7–8). Authenticity can be viewed as being a desired experience or benefit associated with visits to certain types of tourism destinations (Smith, 1990). Products of tourism such as festivals, rituals, artifacts, cuisine, housing, and costumes are usually described as authentic or inauthentic depending upon whether they are made or enacted by local people according to traditions (MacCannell, 1976). In this sense, authenticity implies a traditional culture and origin, and a sense of the genuine, the real or unique



(Sharpley, 1994). Handler (1986) described the search for the authentic cultural experience as the search for 'the unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional' (p.2).

According to MacCannell (1973, 1976), the quest for the authentic is seen as a feature of modernity and a motif of modern tourism. Cohen (1988) also indicated that authenticity is a modern value whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernization upon contemporary society. Modernity can be understood as (1) the overall process of social change that accompanies economic development, and (2) westernization (Larkin and Peters, 1983). Modern humans seek authenticity because a more authentic cultural life is presumed to have been lost (Shepherd, 2002). Tourism has been described by MacCannell (1976) as, in part, a quest for reality and authenticity that may be found in other historic periods and other cultures. Tourists, in this view, seek pristine, primitive, purer or simpler forms of existence in other times and other places, when and where modernization has not yet taken place. However, 'staged authenticity' is used by suppliers to recreate the past as if it were still present. In attempts to create an appealing package, tourees (hosts) put their culture (including themselves) on sale and 'to the degree that this packaging alters the nature of the product, the authenticity sought by the visitor becomes 'staged authenticity' provided by the touree' (MacCannell, 1979, p.596).

Adopting Goffman's (1959) distinction between back regions and front regions, MacCannell (1973, 1976) identified six different stages from overtly front stage (a place built for tourists, representing inauthentic, contrived experience) to explicitly back stage (where locals live their true lives away from the gaze of tourists and that represents authentic, intimate experience). Thus, the quest for authenticity is a movement from the front to the back stage. Anything marked and coded for tourist consumption is 'staged' (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990). Once tourists consume the marked sites - front stage, they conclude that there must be some 'real' or 'truly authentic' sites behind the facades and, thus, a quest for the unmarked 'authentic' begins. However, many are satisfied with staged authenticity. When tourists turn to search for the real or originals they become victims of staged authenticity. Boorstin (1964) condemned mass tourism as 'pseudo-events', which were created through commodification. For him, tourist experiences are kinds of 'pseudo-events' because tourists seek contrived experience. Boorstin's concept of 'pseudo-events' is related to the authenticity of the 'original' and thus it also implies objective authenticity. The objective approach devalues the veracity and importance of the tourist's experience from their own perspective, which is a serious weakness of this approach.

## (2) Constructivism

While some contemporary tourism scholars agreed with MacCannell's view that tourism, by turning culture into a commodity, replaced real with 'staged' authenticity (Boorstin, 1964; Fussell, 1980; Dovey, 1985), more recent work questions this objective conception and increasingly regards authenticity as a relative and socially constructed concept (Handler and Linnekin, 1984; Spooner, 1986; Cohen, 1988; Bruner, 1989; Lanfant, 1989; Wood, 1993; Littrell *et al*, 1993; Xie, 2001, 2003; Xie and Wall, 2002). Handler and Saxton (1988) distinguished two aspects of authenticity: the authenticity of toured objects and that of tourist experiences. The toured objects often are the visual arts, where authenticity is generally an external judgment made by the spectator/analyst. It is based on consumers' tastes, perceptions and categorization of genres and styles (Kasfir, 1992). For instance, when purchasing local arts and crafts, tourists judge authenticity through a variety of aspects, such as uniqueness and originality, workmanship, aesthetics, cultural and historic integrity, craftsman and materials, shopping experience, and genuineness (Littrell *et al*, 1993). 'Made by local hands' is a very important criterion in evaluating 'authentic objects' (Asplet and Cooper, 2000). The tourist experience is often associated with the performing arts and the 'living history' of ethnic or indigenous peoples. It is an 'experiential' authenticity in which 'individuals feel themselves to be in touch with a 'real' world and with their 'real' selves' (Handler and Saxton, 1988, p.242). In this sense, authenticity is a desired and actively pursued experience by tourists, which is perceived to reflect and give access to the daily life of host communities (Vallee, 1987).

Handler (1986) described authenticity as a cultural construct of the Western world. Cohen (1988) defined authenticity as a socially constructed concept and stated that its social connotation is negotiable. Many researchers agree that authenticity is not a primitive given but results from a negotiation process with a judgment or value imposed on the setting or product by consumers (Weiler and Hall, 1992; Stebbins, 1996; Walle, 1996; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999; Xie and Wall, 2002). It is a contextually determined, ideological and changing concept (Silver, 1993; Littrell *et al*, 1993, Salamone, 1997; DeLyser, 1999). In other words, it is not absolute or static but will change over time and when different cultures interact. The experience of authenticity is pluralistic as criteria for the judgment of authenticity vary greatly between different people (Littrell *et al*, 1993; Wang, 1999a). The degree of authenticity sought depends on the tourists' profile and is relative to each person's definition, expectation, experience, behaviour and interpretation of authenticity (Redfoot, 1984; Pearce and Moscardo, 1985, 1986; Cohen, 1988; Littrell *et al*, 1993). Therefore, authenticity

is an injection of tourists' own cultures, beliefs, expectations, preferences, stereotyped images, perceptions, and consciousness onto toured objects and experiences (Adams, 1984; Bruner, 1991; Laxson, 1991; Silver, 1993; McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999a).

Even though something initially may be 'inauthentic' or 'artificial', it may subsequently become 'emergent authenticity' over time (Cohen, 1988). Crick (1989) declared that all cultures are 'staged' and to some extent 'inauthentic'. 'Cultures are invented, remade and the elements reorganized' (p.65). Following Crick's statement, Edelheim (2005) claimed that neither the backstage nor front-stage icons are authentic: both are as authentic as each other. According to Edelheim, tourists can make their experiences authentic because they are the persons who experience the phenomena and if they are not there, those experiences would not happen. In this way, 'all descriptors found in Australia can be seen as "real" cultural symbols' (p.258). Originals or traditions can be invented and constructed according to the context and people's needs (Bruner, 1994). Zeppel (1995, 1997) identified authenticity as situational authenticity (tourists' responses to the physical setting) and behavioral authenticity (related to tourists' personal needs) in a study of tourists' experiences at Iban longhouses in Sarawak. For constructivists, what tourists are in search of is 'symbolic' authenticity that is a result of social construction rather than objective authenticity (*i.e.*, authenticity as originals) (Culler, 1981, Wang, 1999a). The toured objects are experienced as authentic not because they are originals, but because they are perceived as the signs or symbols of authenticity (Culler, 1981). An underlying assumption of most constructivists is that tourists are active creators of authenticity and the authenticity is marketed according to tourists' demands (Chhabra, 2005).

### (3) Postmodernism

Unlike objective and constructive views, some postmodernist researchers approach the issue of authenticity in tourism by deconstructing the notion of authenticity (Wang, 1999a). They do not consider authenticity as a problem; instead, they deconstruct the conception of authenticity through deconstructing the boundaries between the copy and the original, or between the sign and reality (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1986; Fjellman, 1992; Brown, 1996; Ritzer and Liska, 1997). In this approach, the main concern is the illusion of authenticity rather than a definitive reality. Hyper-reality has been used to represent such illusions. Most postmodernists cite Disneyland as a typical model of hyper-reality. The justification of the contrived, the copy, and simulation is implied in the approach of postmodernism (Wang, 1999a). Eco (1987) indicated that replicas are so well made that

they become better than the original, not just real, but 'hyper-real'. From a postmodern perspective, the world is filled with simulations and not originals (Baudrillard, 1983). The boundary between the real and the fake is increasingly blurred (Fjellman, 1992). Tradition is changing and being reinvented and, thus, authenticity is redefined.

Hyper-reality has become an element of modern tourism. For instance, cultural parks present staged authenticities to tourists in a convenient setting, which is better than the real from a postmodern perspective (Edelheim, 2005). In response to this postmodern trend, Cohen (1995, 2004) stated that postmodern tourists are less concerned with the authenticity of the original because they are in a playful search for enjoyment and they are more concerned with the impact of tourism on fragile host communities. Furthermore, 'staged authenticity' as a 'substitute' for the 'original' can help to protect a fragile toured culture from being disturbed. Some scholars contend that modern technology can make the inauthentic look more authentic (Fjellman, 1992; McCrone, Morris and Kiely, 1995). Producers can make a commodity exclusive and hard to find in order to label it as an authentic item (Revilla and Dodd, 2003). Thus, in this postmodern world, many tourists are in search of the 'genuine fakes' (Brown, 1996) or inauthenticity (Ritzer and Liska, 1997).

Wang (1999) criticized the limitations of conventional 'object-related authenticity' and suggested 'activity-related authenticity' ñ existential authenticity as an alternative authentic experience in tourism, regardless of whether or not the toured objects are authentic. He defined existential authenticity as 'a potential existential state of being that is to be activated by tourist activities' (p.352). It involves personal feelings and is similar to what Brown (1996) called an 'authentically good time'. In existential authenticity, people are true to themselves (Berger, 1973), and feel 'much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life' because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily (Wang, 1999a, p.351-352). Nostalgia and romanticism are often effective means to realize the ideal of authenticity. Wang also related his existential authenticity to Selwyn's (1996) division between 'hot authenticity' and 'cool authenticity'. The 'cool authenticity' connects the experience of a 'real' world to authenticity as knowledge, while 'hot authenticity' links the experience of a 'real' self to authenticity as feeling. This 'hot authenticity', in relation with the authentic self, is a reflection of existential authenticity (Wang, 1999a). Indeed, Wang shared MacCannell's (1973, 1989) basic assumption that modern societies create alienation, a reduced possibility of being true to oneself and, hence, modern humans are in search of the authentic self via tourism activities in order to relieve self-constraints, escape the

mainstream lifestyle or resist the rational order of institutions in modernity. Fundamental to MacCannell's perspective is that the quest for authenticity is doomed to failure because of the contradiction between tourists' desire for authenticity and the staged authenticity in tourist places. From Wang's perspective, existential authenticity including intra-personal and inter-personal authenticity can be achieved by means of tourism. The difference between object-related and existential authenticity is that the former is an attribute of concrete artifacts or touristic objects, while the latter is a kind of feeling that is constructed in a social process. However, Wang defined authenticity only from tourists' perspectives and did not consider suppliers' views. His existential authenticity is a form of experiential authenticity.

Taylor (2001) also abandoned object-related authenticity and argued that sincerity is a more appropriate term for authenticity's present applications. In Taylor's analysis, sincerity is the outcome of a moment of interaction between the locals and the tourists, where they 'meet half way' (p.9), but where 'authenticity may be defined in terms of local values' (p.24). He views tourism as a set of communicative events and emphasizes the locals as the main determinants of authenticity. He further concludes that authenticity is tied to tradition and the creation of authenticity relies on the reproduction of the past that is a model of the original. The nature of sincerity obtained by tourists tends to vary according to the levels of tourists' interests and their experiences with various ethnic groups (Moscardo and Pearce, 1999; Zeppel, 2002). In addition to Taylor, a number of scholars support this 'supply-driven authenticity' and argue that authenticity should be defined by the hosts themselves according to their unique cultural traditions and values (Keelan, 1996; Ryan, 1997; McIntosh, Hinch and Ingram, 2002; McIntosh, Zygadlo and Matunga, 2004). In this way, a 'sincere' interaction between hosts and guests can create an authentic experience based on values acceptable to hosts and, hence, instances of cultural offence could be prevented or lessened in an exchange of cultural experiences (McIntosh and Johnson, 2005).

Getz (1997) indicated that in festival planning, authenticity is measured by the degree of local control and success in mobilizing residents to support and participate in the event. Similarly, Walsh (1996) indicated that authenticity exists in the extent of host control over the cultural displays and experiences presented to tourists. Furthermore, Chhabra (2005), based on his empirical study of Scottish goods sold to tourists at retail outlets and festivals, found that the notion of authenticity flows from the creators and vendors to receivers. His study focused on the vendor's perception of authenticity and showed that vendors who act as liaisons between the producers and the consumers

play a significant role in the transmission of the idea of authenticity. He concluded that authenticity is supply driven and tourists are the receivers of authenticity. An important implication of this supply perspective is that the production of cultural authenticity should be defined and delivered in a 'culturally-acceptable' manner and should respect the local values (McIntosh and Johnson, 2005). However, it is also important to look at tourists' perspectives towards authenticity because tourists also actively contribute to the creation of authenticity and do not only accept the supplier's definition passively.

Most empirical research has addressed the issue of authenticity through the examination of the tourists' perspectives of their experiences of ethnic or indigenous cultures (Moscardo and Pearce, 1999; Ryan and Huyton, 2000; Xie and Wall, 2002; Zeppel, 2002; McIntosh, 2004). Some studies reveal that cross-cultural experiences are affected by the extent of tourist motivations for experiences of ethnic culture and the extent of cultural difference between tourists and hosts (Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach, 1994; McIntosh, 2004). The most 'meaningful' or 'authentic' experiences for tourists occur through informal personal contact with ethnic people, rather than staged cultural events (Prentice *et al.* 1994). However, many studies suggest that tourists obtain authentic experiences through staged authenticity (Hsieh, 1999; Oakes, 1997; Xie, 2003; Edelheim, 2005) and tourists' perceptions of authenticity can depend on images obtained from the mass media (Xie and Wall, 2002). Fewer empirical studies approach authenticity from both hosts' and tourists' perspectives. There are a few exceptions (Xie, 2001; Martinez, 2003; McIntosh and Johnson, 2005).

Xie (2001), in an empirical study of cultural tourism at folk villages in Hainan, China, explored the issue of authenticity from the perspectives of four key players: governments, tourism business, visitors and ethnic communities. His research findings indicated that authenticity is relative rather than absolute and different stakeholders hold different positions on 'authentic' ethnic cultures. He suggested that it is more helpful to evaluate who authenticates and their interests rather than to focus on identification of authenticity. In Martinez's (2003) study of the Haida Gwaii Watchmen program in Haida Gwaii National Park in British Columbia, a distinction was made by tourists and local people between the authenticity of the toured object and the authenticity of the tourist experience. The study suggested that object-related authenticity is based on local cultural meaning, ethnicity, the physical environment, local knowledge and feelings, while experiential authenticity is affected by the object-related authenticity and tourists' perceptions of interactions with hosts. In McIntosh and Johnson's (2005) study at the Nga Hau E Wha National Marae, Christchurch, New Zealand, both

tourist and host experiences of a Maori visit were examined and authenticity was found to lie in the interaction between hosts and tourists, and cultural authenticity was inherently experiential in nature (p.35).

In recent years, there has been increasing discussion about the politics of representation in authenticity, particularly in cultural and heritage sites and attractions (Richter, 1999). The politics of authenticity, as Fees (1996) showed in his study of Campden, UK, is also the politics of identity and of ethnicity. In some cases, the representation of local culture is manipulated in the interests of capital or dominant social norms. Therefore, representations of the 'authentic' culture cannot be divorced from particular beliefs and socio-cultural systems (Waitt, 2000). As Fawcett and Cormack (2001) stated, authenticity is shaped by bureaucratic mandates, entrepreneurial interests/economic necessities and personal commitments. Jamal and Hill (2004) in a discussion of aboriginal cultural sites also stated that the politics of authenticity are also the politics of space, identity and ethnicity (lived heritage). Like Wang's (1999) approach, Jamal and Hill address authenticity from three dimensions: the objective (real), the constructed (sociopolitical) and the personal (phenomenological), and from two other aspects: space and time. They also developed a framework for employing indicators of authenticity in heritage or cultural sites. The framework categorizes various dimensions and aspects of authenticity, but it is not clear yet how this framework is applied in practice. Ryan and Huyton (2001) suggested using 'authorization' to replace authenticity as it redirects the questions to 'Who authorizes?' and 'What is authorized?' instead of trying to define a fluid and complex concept.

The difficulty with the conception of authenticity is that it is more than a simple idea underlying original objects, but involves various perspectives, value statements, judgments, stereotypes, and spatial and socio-political influences. Fundamental to the concept of authenticity is the dialectic between object and subject, there and here, past and present, and modern and traditional, or even 'primitive' (Taylor, 2001). What is authentic is shaped by the local values, stereotypes, personal feelings, concerns, experiences and commitments, the interaction between consumers and suppliers, and social atmosphere. Therefore, authenticity is not a firm property but is a relative, interpreted and socially constructed concept. The perception of authenticity is a dynamic, fluid, negotiated and creative process, and constantly changes in response to the context and individual perspectives. Authenticity may be in the eye of the beholder and it is not easy to generalize a definition of authenticity.

In this research, a constructivist view will be adopted in conceptualizing the authenticity of tourist experiences as well as the perspectives of other stakeholders. At the same time, a more objective view, such as uniqueness, originality, workmanship and stereotypes will be employed in recognizing the authenticity of toured objects. In addition, the local traditions and values will influence the definition. Therefore, this research will combine the constructive and objective perspectives and adopt the following definition:

Authenticity is a relative, flexible, and jointly constructed concept that involves a negotiated and creative process with stereotypes, judgments, and local values imposed on the setting or products by a variety of stakeholders, including tourists, hosts and suppliers.

### **2.2.2 Commodification**

Commodification is often an issue tied to authenticity. Commodification in tourism development is a key factor in the negotiation of authenticity because tourist products are often the markers of an authentic experience (Halewood and Hannam, 2001). Although the contemporary literature is largely critical of the commodification of manifestations of culture (MacCannell, 1973; Greenwood, 1989; Adams, 1990; Jolly, 1992; Wood, 1997; Taylor, 2001; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004), some recent literature has become more neutral (Cohen, 1988; Xie and Wall, 2002; Damer, 2004; Hang, 2004). Cohen (1988) defined commoditization as 'a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange values, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is stated in terms of prices from a market' (p.380). In the process of commodification, folk arts and crafts, traditional cultures, exotic lifestyles and performances are represented, manufactured, and transformed into marketable tourist products and put on the stage for sale.

Cultural commodification often produces a social situation in which local people alter their behaviours and even their lives to suit the demands of tourists, which raises many debates about authenticity and commodification. On the one hand, the commodification of culture and cultural activities led by tourism is often seen as a primary factor in the destruction of local authenticity (MacCannell, 1973; Greenwood, 1989; Wood, 1997; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004). Many critiques regard culture on stage as culture out of context, and thus as a violation of authenticity



(Taylor, 2001). Authenticity seemingly disappears in the face of commodification and such a perspective is difficult to refute (Clifford, 1986). Commodification destroys the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations and substitutes it with staged authenticity, which thwarts the tourists' genuine desire for authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1973). It has been criticized as the 'bastardization' and 'pollution' of authentic ethnic cultures (Wood, 1997). Over-commercializing cultural products can lead to the loss of inherent cultural value and significance for the locals (Murphy, 1985; Greenwood, 1989; Ryan, 1991; Browne and Nolan, 1993). Commodification places tradition and authenticity in 'jeopardy' as tourism tends to reproduce culture in staged settings (Taylor, 2001).

On the other hand, some scholars argue that the commodification of local culture does not always destroy it; it can transform and even stimulate its further development (Cohen, 1988; MacDonald, 1997; Xie and Wall, 2002). Commodification does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, instead, it may preserve traditions by generating demand for or attributing value to them (Cohen, 1988). It can give a culture a new strength and legitimacy (MacDonald, 1997). It also can be a means of revitalizing traditions and creating new cultural forms (Craik, 2001). Cultural products can 'acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public' (Cohen, 1988, p.383). The process of commodification 'does not necessarily break down a place-based sense of identity or render it flat and inauthentic; instead, it becomes an important factor in the ongoing construction of place identity' (Oakes, 1997, p.36).

Commodification can turn into a positive mechanism in the pursuit of authenticity (Xie, 2003). For instance, touristic cultural performances, festivals and ceremonies commonly incorporate the staging of authenticity, as ethnic peoples strive to produce authentic encounters. Such instances are a mixture of traditions and innovations, which is often criticized as the cause of the loss of cultural authenticity (Greenwood, 1989; Oakes, 1998). However, some studies show that for some tourists, the commercial reproduction of the past or the 'otherness' may suffice as an authentic product (Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Lewis, 2002; Xie and Wall, 2002). Xie and Wall (2002) have found that the commodified ethnic dance performance has been turned into an 'authentic' aboriginal cultural expression and many tourists are satisfied with staged performances and believe that they obtained an authentic experience. Edelman (2005) argued that it is not possible for the average tourist to experience the 'real', 'authentic' life and that is why staged authenticity becomes better

than the real thing. Some studies suggest that many ethnic communities are willing to trade their cultures for economic benefits and to satisfy tourists' quest for authenticity, but only when ethnic groups take control over their cultural displays and performances, can their cultures and identities be sustained in the process of commodification (Swain, 1990; Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, 2004).

The concepts of authenticity and commodification have been well discussed in the tourism literature and contribute substantially to ethnic tourism studies. However, the existing literature focuses more on 'What is authenticity?' rather than 'How has authenticity been used?' and 'How has authenticity driven the ethnic tourist market?' Most empirical research has addressed the issue of authenticity from the tourists' perspective, but little research examines this issue from multiple perspectives. As the perception of authenticity is not only shaped by tourists' feelings, experiences and stereotypes, but also by local values, bureaucratic mandates, and entrepreneurial interests/economic necessities (Fawcett and Cormack, 2001), it is important to understand the issue of authenticity from multiple perspectives and understand how it has been shaped by and used in ethnic tourism.

### **2.3 Potential impacts of ethnic tourism**

The emergence of ethnic tourism has been considered to be a mixed blessing for host populations due to the positive and negative consequences that result. There is a lot of research focused on describing and understanding the impacts of ethnic tourism on the host community (Smith, 1977, 1989; Esman, 1984; Cohen, 1988; Swain, 1989; Wood, 1997; Oakes, 1992, 1997, 1998; Xie, 2001, 2003; Martinez, 2003; Li, 2004). Some studies are concerned about the negative consequences, such as cultural and environmental destruction (Cohen, 1987; Greenwood, 1989; Selwyn, 1996; Wood, 1997; Oakes, 1998) and economic exploitation (Britton, 1982; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Conversely, others welcome ethnic tourism for its culturally constructive contribution (Boissevain, 1996; Xie, 2001; Li, 2004), its conservation of natural and cultural resources (Pigram, 1980; Jim, 2000; Henderson, 2003), and its positive economic impacts (Swain, 1989; Pitchford, 1995; Chow, 2005).

In earlier studies, ethnic tourism was often decried as a destructive force leading to the decline of traditional cultures and causing problems for the host community, such as increased social tension, socio-cultural breakdown and an erosion of the sense of identity and place (Smith, 1977, 1989; Esman, 1984; Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1989; Klieger, 1990; van den Berghe, 1992; Wood, 1997). As van den Berghe (1992) stated, ethnic tourism has created a situation akin to a human zoo, in

which many locals feel that their privacy is invaded, they are frequently stared at and photographed against their will, they are shocked by the demeanor or dress of their unwanted guests, and their children are spoiled or develop demeaning begging behavior (p. 235). Some scholars point out that ethnic tourism is in danger of consuming the cultural commodity on which it is based (Altman, 1988; Turner and Ash, 1975; van den Berghe, 1994; Swain, 1989) and damaging the host culture (Xie, 2001; Li, 2004). Touristic consumption is sign-driven and media-driven, subject to the dictates of commodity exchange and consumption patterns (Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). Ethnic tourism is seen as a development which has the power to dilute unique and authentic traditions with standardized stereotypes tailored to the exotic yearnings of the Western traveler (Oakes, 1992, p.3).

The criticism of culture by the pound is often adopted in the earlier studies of cultural impacts of ethnic tourism on ethnic communities. Ethnic tourism tends to be interpreted as leading to negative impacts by commodifying cultural manifestations and destroying their cultural meanings (Cohen, 1988). As van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) stated, the very presence of tourists transforms the native into a tourist who fakes his culture to satisfy ethnic tourists' thirst for authenticity; meanwhile the tourist invasion assaults his culture and subjects it to the homogenizing process known as modernization (p.346).

A number of studies have stressed the commodification and degradation of ethnic culture, and the denigration of sacred sites (Urbanowicz, 1989; Guan, 1989; Crystal, 1989; Hitchcock and Brandenburgh, 1990; Klieger, 1990; Swain, 1989; Li, 2004). Here, the term commodification refers to a pattern of commercialized tourism, which is often criticized in tourism literature as the bastardization and pollution of previously authentic ethnic cultures for the purpose of touristic display (Wood, 1997). These case studies show that host groups develop phony-folk-cultures to meet tourists' desires for cultural otherness, which leads to the loss of original meanings and cultural significance of ethnic traditions. The scholars express their anxiety about the survival of ethnic cultures.

The cultural impacts of ethnic tourism have been closely linked to issues regarding authenticity. The concept of authenticity in tourism studies has been shaped by the work of MacCannell (1973, 1976). MacCannell (1976) suggested that a host community, motivated by economic benefits, misleads tourists into accepting modified attractions as authentic, creating a false touristic consciousness.

In most cases, tourists eagerly seek backstage (genuine or non-contrived) experiences. In order to satisfy the modern tourists' demands for authenticity, hosts often create staged authentic presentations of their own culture to make it more appealing to tourists. Although some tourists may not be satisfied by these staged representations, they offer the potential to protect the ethnic community from unwanted social impacts. In some cases, staged authenticity can be a desirable strategy to deal with concerns about tourism destroying genuine cultural experiences or creating unwanted negative social impacts by having masses of tourists in traditional villages.

Ethnic tourism has also been charged with causing social impacts, including increased social tension, socio-cultural breakdown and an erosion of the sense of identity and place (Esman, 1984; Daltabuit and Pi-Sunyer, 1990; Goering, 1990; Johnston, 1990; van den Berghe, 1992; Xie, 2001; Li, 2004). Esman (1984) indicated that tourism increases contact between different cultural groups, which can produce stress, especially where the tourists are perceived by locals as being rich and leisured and where they are poor and are obligated to take servile roles. Harron and Weiler (1992) suggested that there is reinforcement of inequities as a result of cross-cultural contact between the tourists and hosts, but that the effect is not usually very significant. In reality, the social, cultural and economic effects of tourism are difficult to isolate from the broader effects of urbanization, modernization, migration, and development (Harron and Weiler, 1992; Wood, 1993; Crick, 1994; Nash, 1996). More precisely, other factors, such as the particular features of the destination, the local culture, who controls the tourism development, and how tourism is developed also determine the types of impacts of ethnic tourism on host communities (Martinez, 2003).

On the other hand, much research also reveals the positive consequences of ethnic tourism (Swain, 1989, 1990; Harron and Weiler, 1992; Pitchford, 1995; Oakes, 1998; Xie, 2001; Henderson, 2003; Hillman, 2003; Walsh and Swain, 2004; Li, 2004; Chow, 2005). The common aspects are often economic benefits, including higher incomes, more employment opportunities and/or higher standard of living (Altman, 1988; Johnston, 1990; Smith, 1989; Xie, 2001). By marketing itself to tourists, a marginalized group can improve its position economically, through the creation of employment and entrepreneurial opportunities (van den Berghe, 1992). Ethnic tourism can serve as a resource in both the material and cultural aspects of ethnic struggles (Pitchford, 1995, p.36). In the case of San Cristobal, Mexico, which is similar to a number of other situations of ethnic tourism in remote parts of Third World countries, such as Cuzco, Peru (van den Berghe, 1980), Chiang Mai, Thailand (Cohen, 1989), and Guizhou and Yunnan, China (Oakes, 1998; Li, 2004), ethnic tourism

development is a response of the local entrepreneurial middle and upper classes to new economic opportunities (van den Berghe, 1995). Some researchers, however, have pointed out that most economic benefits are usually gained by outside entrepreneurs instead of the local communities (Crystal, 1989; Goering, 1990, Oakes, 1998; Li, 2004). This economic leakage is a risk for some communities and strategies need to be developed and implemented to minimize such leakages. Also, over time, as the local economy develops, leakages tend to be reduced.

Ethnic tourism also provides an ethnic group with a medium through which to broadcast itself, its history, and its culture (MacCannell, 1973). Tourism may emerge as a potential means of highlighting and assisting in the preservation of threatened minority heritages (Esman, 1984; Henderson, 2003). It can also be a positive force for ethnic revitalization (Harron and Weiler, 1992), including the revival of religious ceremonies, art forms and craft production (Smith, 1989; Crystal, 1989; Hitchcock and Brandenburgh, 1990), as well as in fostering creativity and providing a platform for communities to present themselves positively (Cohen, 1988; Graburn, 1984; Pitchford, 1995). New 'tourist arts' are not necessarily degraded, but can lead to the creation of new art forms (Graburn, 1989). 'Cultural traditions are often reinterpreted and even revived rather than destroyed' (van den Berghe, 1992, p.235-236).

Ethnic tourism can promote self-awareness and pride among local people, and strengthen local identity through inspiring pride in local culture (Esman, 1984; Swain, 1990; Johnston, 1990; Klieger, 1990; Boissevain, 1996; Henderson, 2003). The reinforcing of ethnic identity through tourism has been observed in Bermuda (Manning, 1979), among Cajuns (Esman, 1984), in Bali (McKean, 1989), among Native American Indians (Simpson, 1996), in Malta (Boissevain, 1996), among Malaysians (King, 1993), in Yunnan and Guizhou, China (Swain, 1989; Oakes, 1998; Walsh and Swain, 2000; Hillman, 2003; Li, 2004), in Singapore (Henderson, 2003), and elsewhere. Ethnic tourism can provide an important opportunity for ethnic image construction and projection (Roosens, 1989).

In Esman's (1984) case study of Louisiana Cajuns, tourism has helped to promote the retention and revitalization of Cajun identity and has perpetuated an ethnic boundary that might otherwise have disappeared through acculturation. As summarized by King (1993), the task of tourism development in Malaysia, similar to many Southeast Asian countries, has partly been to 'engender a local awareness of cultural matters and national identity and heritage, and to enhance national pride and commitments' (p.109). Oakes (1998) wrote that in Guizhou and Yunnan, which share southeast

Asia's patterns of regional ethnic diversity, ethnic tourism is regarded as an important development strategy that will result in a modernized national culture with a civic sense of commitment and a common sense of identity (p. 39). Tourism representations convey the complex realities of identity in Singapore; tourist interest and funding can help to protect and raise awareness of marginalized ethnic cultures that are being undermined by internal and external forces (Henderson, 2003). In Hillman's (2003) study, Shangri-la's new tourism has become a force for strengthening Tibetan identity, has increased ethnic awareness and has stimulated the rejuvenation of culture for Tibetans whose traditions were previously ridiculed and suppressed. Walsh and Swain (2000) investigated the practice of domestic ethnic tourism at Lugu Lake, home of the 'matriarchal' Mosuo, and suggested that 'Chinese domestic tourists create modernity at their periphery and reaffirm their modern Chinese identities' (p. 59).

'The local interest in ethnic identity is both a cause and an effect of tourism' (Esman, 1984, p.461), creating a situation of what McKean (1989) calls 'cultural involution', which refers to local Balinese people who use the resources generated by tourism to enhance rituals that are culturally meaningful and contribute significantly to the economy of the island. Myers (1995) suggested that the production as well as the consumption and circulation of cultural objects constitute an important part of the self-production of aboriginal people. The representation of aboriginal culture for attracting tourists reproduces and shapes local culture. In the process, not only the local people are involved, but also tourists and the tourism industry. When local people take some control over the content of the images that are presented through a regional or local tourism board, then 'tourism has the potential to play a strategic role in a campaign for cultural revaluation and preservation' (Pitchford, 1995, p.36).

The impacts of ethnic tourism have been well researched and developed into a rich body of literature. These studies enhance the understanding the interaction between tourists and local ethnic communities, and the resulting consequences. The concerns of scholars and their suggestions can be conducive to planning for future development. However, most studies have focused on the impacts of ethnic tourism mainly from the tourists' point of view, and have overlooked the other factors. In reality, the impacts are difficult to isolate from the broader impacts of urbanization, modernization, migration, and economic and cultural development (Harron and Weiler, 1992; Crick, 1994; Nash, 1996). Studying the impacts of ethnic tourism only from the tourism industry itself can be narrow because other factors, such as the particular features of the destination, the local culture,

the role of the state and tourism entrepreneurs, and the development process also determine the types of impacts of ethnic tourism. A holistic view and systematic research are needed in the future study.

Moreover, most impact analyses are based on an examination of western tourists' impacts on ethnic hosts (Chambers, 1997; Sofield, 2000). The analysis is usually oriented towards an evaluation of the relationships between western tourists and hosts in developing countries. The role of domestic tourism in affecting ethnic hosts has been largely ignored; however, in many Asian countries, domestic tourism strongly shapes and disseminates ethnic images and stereotypes of ethnic groups (Li, 2004), and the majority of tourists are domestic tourists. Therefore, the examination into how domestic tourists affect ethnic hosts will be an important part of future research.

## **2.4 Ethnic Tourists**

Traditionally, ethnic tourism has been used to refer to tourism directed to a culturally, geographically, and economically isolated ethnic enclave. Such enclaves, usually poor and undeveloped, are often portrayed in the tourism literature as being besieged by 'affluent tourists' from the industrialized and urbanized world. Ethnic tourism thus was assumed to be catering to 'only a limited number of visitors motivated by curiosity and elite peer approval' (Smith, 1977, p.4). With the growth of ethnic tourism in recent years, the category of ethnic tourists has been expanded. Today, ethnic tourists are not only a special type of tourist who travels to observe the exotic cultural expressions and life-styles of ethnic peoples in remote villages, but also include tourists who consume ethnic products at cultural parks in metropolises as well as 'ethnic reunion travelers' who are motivated by reunion with their cultural roots (King, 1994). Travel for the purpose of ethnic reunion is a significant activity in the countries of North America and Australasia whose recent history has been built on migration, but it is also significant in other parts of the world, such as Africa, Europe and Asia.

The profile of ethnic tourists has been explored in a number of studies (van den Berghe, 1992; Silver, 1993; Dearden and Harron, 1994; Hughes; 1995b; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999). In Dearden and Harron's (1994) study of trekkers in the hills of Northern Thailand, ethnic tourists were found to be relatively young, the majority was tertiary-educated and a third had professional occupations. Hughes (1995b) suggested that there are two possible market segments for ethnic tourism: the 'post-industrial' segment and the 'post-modern' segment. The post-industrial tourists are likely to be sensitive to their effects on the host people and are concerned with behaving responsibly in ethnic

contact situations. The post-modern segment tends to be a highly active and flexible group, who enjoy contrived spectacles while being aware of their inauthenticity. Dannís (1996) work supports the post-modern segment by indicating that they are not concerned with authenticity as long as the visit is enjoyable. Van den Bergheís (1992) study supports the interpretation of post-industrial tourists by noting that consumers of ethnic tourism are highly educated and respect cultural diversity. They are frequently sensitive about their impact on the local culture, aware of the irony that their presence and behaviour can destroy the authenticity they seek. Silver (1993) proposed a new group of ethnic tourists who are similar to post-industrial tourists. This group consists of sophisticated and well-educated people seeking to be morally responsible and politically correct when pursuing authentic experiences.

Moscardo and Pearce (1999), in an empirical study at an aboriginal cultural park in Australia, identified four distinct groups of ethnic tourists based on their levels of interest in various aspects or features of ethnic tourism experiences. These four groups were the Ethnic Tourist Connection group, the Passive Cultural Learning group, the Ethnic Products and Activities group, and the Low Ethnic Tourism group. This study revealed that there are two types of post-modern ethnic tourists: one group enthusiastically embraces all aspects of cross-cultural contact (Ethnic Tourist Connection group) and one is interested in fun and activities but reluctant to contact ethnic people directly (Ethnic Products and Activities group). The Passive Cultural Learning group of post-industrial tourists is concerned with their own impacts and is disinterested in the commercial aspects of the experience. The Low Ethnic Tourism group is not made up of post-modern or post-industrial tourists and has low levels of interest in ethnic tourism. They are the most likely to visit the park as part of tour or because someone else in their travel group wanted to visit. The study also indicated that it is important for ethnic groups to understand how potential markets are likely to respond to the products that they develop, when they use tourism to their advantage.

These studies provide distinctive perspectives for understanding ethnic tourists, including identifying who are ethnic tourists, their motivations, expectations, perceptions and satisfactions regarding ethnic products and experiences. Most studies define ethnic tourists as pursuing exotic cultural experiences as their primary motivation but, in reality, there may be other motivations determining their tours. For instance, they visit an ethnic village because it is a part of a package tour or because someone else in their travel group wants to visit. It is difficult to distinguish ethnic tourists from the overall tourist market because an ethnic tourist can be a sightseer, shopper or



conference attendee. Therefore, it is not easy to define ethnic tourists. Future research is needed to investigate the profile of ethnic tourists broadly and to clarify the concept of ethnic tourists. Furthermore, as noted earlier, there is lack of research on domestic tourists who are the main component of the ethnic tourist market in many developing countries. More systematic research and surveys are needed to study domestic tourists.

## **2.5 Theories of and approaches to tourism planning**

Tourism planning to date has emerged as a specialized area with its own approaches, principles and models drawing on urban planning theories and methodology (Tosun and Timothy, 2001). There is extensive research dedicated to developing general tourism planning models, theories and approaches (Murphy, 1985; Inskip, 1991, 1994; Prentice, 1993; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1998; Gunn, 1994, 2002; WTO, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Hall, 2000; Harrill and Potts, 2003; Burns, 2004).

### **2.5.1 The definitions of tourism planning**

Tourism planning has been defined in a number of ways. Some definitions are market-oriented; they emphasize tourism planning as guidance for the use of tourism assets and the development of tourism in a marketable way (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997). Mill and Morrison (1992) highlighted marketing as an effective tool for sustaining competitiveness of a destination; they stated that tourism planning involves 'an identification of the procedures that the destination area should follow to research, plan, regulate, develop and service tourism activity' (p.10). Some other definitions place power in a governmental bureaucracy; they stress tourism planning as a political process that 'empowers some and disadvantages others' (Wall, 1996, p.41).

Murphy (1985) suggested that 'tourism planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic, and environmental benefits of the development process' (p.156). In a similar way, Wahab and Pigram (1997) defined tourism planning as a process that leads development to be adaptive to the requests of the tourists, responsive to the desires of local communities, while also being socio-economically, culturally and environmentally sound' (p.279). Timothy (1999) considered tourism planning as 'a way of maximizing the benefits of tourism to an area and mitigating problems that might occur as a result of development' (p.371); however, maximizing benefits and minimizing costs cannot happen at the same time (Wall, 1996). Evans' (2000) definition, which is modified from Page (1995), is as

follows: 'a process considering social, economic and environmental issues in a spatial context in terms of development, conservation and land use' (p.308). With an emphasis on achieving development goals, Gunn (2002) described tourism planning as a commitment toward the goal of the enhancement of visitor satisfactions, better business, sustainable resources use, and community integration. This research will adopt a common cited definition given by Getz (1987):

A process of research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality (cited in Getz, 2001, p.256).

### **2.5.2 The history and evolution of tourism planning**

In discussing the history and evolution of tourism planning, it is necessary to understand its roots i.e. the history of urban planning and tourism. Most tourism planning approaches have been influenced by urban planning (Gunn, 2002). Modern planning started to emerge in England in the aftermath of the Industrial Revolution in response to poor living conditions (Costa, 2001). Rationality emerged as the dominant paradigm in the post-World War II years and the Rational Comprehensive Planning Model (RCP) became a theoretical foundation of planning (Klosterman, 1998); Incremental Planning (Lindblom, 1959) evolved out of the profession's disillusionment with rationalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s, followed in short order by preoccupation with Advocacy Planning (Davidoff, 1965) and Transactive planning (Davidoff, 1975) from the mid-1960s through the 1970s. Communicative action theory (Forester, 1989) has been evolving since the early 1980s. These planning approaches or models will be explained in the following section.

Two significant changes have occurred in the history of modern urban planning (Taylor, 1998). The first occurred in the 1960s with the shift from the 'Blue Print' planning or urban design tradition to systematic and rational planning to cope with urban sprawl, increasing population densities, reduction in open space, inadequate housing, water shortages, sewage contamination and spreading diseases that emerged during this phase. The second change happened in the 1970s and 1980s and it shifted the role of planners as a technical expert to a 'facilitator' i.e. drawing more on other people's views to the making of planning judgments in attempt to narrow the gap between planning theory and practice (Taylor, 1998; Brooks, 2001).

The evolution of tourism planning is similar to that of urban planning, but slower (Burns, 1999; Costa, 2001). The origins of tourism planning may be traced back to the 1950s and, particularly, related to the social, economic and urban developments that emerged during this period (Burns,

1999). With growing disposable income, reduction of working hours and with improvements in transportation and recreational facilities, people started to travel more frequently to areas away from home. In this period, tourism planning was not an identifiable and specialized field; it was subsumed under the umbrella of urban planning (e.g. urban design, land use, housing layout, civic arts) (Costa, 2001). Despite the growth of tourism, the state developed only a minor role in the field and planners were not much concerned with tourism. The main concern was to build physical amenities such as hotels, restaurants, and tourist facilities. In the absence of particular tourism planning instruments capable of regulating the tourism system, tourism development was often left to private developers and leisure service providers who did not look much beyond the possibilities of private profit (Heeley, 1981; Costa, 2001; Harrill and Potts, 2003).

The need for specialized planning in the tourism field has developed to meet rapidly increased tourism demands since the 1960s (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). The rapid expansion of the tourism industry has brought economic benefits as well as social and environmental problems. Mass tourism threatened resources and destinations. The expansion of tourism was undertaken by entrepreneurs who were interested in short-term profit, but little concerned with the long-term impact of tourism on the physical and social environment (Murphy, 1985; Harrill and Potts, 2003). As a result, governments became more involved in planning of tourism. National, regional and resort master tourism planning or rational comprehensive tourism planning commenced in the late 1950s (Inskeep, 1991; Costa, 2001). In the Asia-Pacific region, for example, Hawaii included tourism as a major component of its 1959 state plan; through the 1960s and 1970s, tourism plans were formulated for such areas as Taiwan, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, Malaysia, Bali, Fiji, and the Great Barrier Reef and central regions of Australia. In Europe, major tourism plans were prepared for Yugoslavia, Cyprus, Corsica, and the Aquitaine Coast of France. Some of the Caribbean islands also developed tourism plans (Inskeep, 1991).

During the 1960s and 1970s, tourism planning followed an economic rationale and focused on investment incentives and operation without critical analysis of the tourism sector (de Kadt, 1979b; Burns, 1999; Harrill and Potts, 2003). Master tourism planning approached its apex in the 1970s, featuring a lack of political will in shaping tourism development to the destination's own needs and desires (Burns, 1999). Tourism planning was regarded as a simple process of matching the tourist market with the products. The facilities of the tourism industry developed haphazardly (Gunn, 1988). As Archer and Cooper (1994) stated, meeting the needs of tourists directed tourism planning and

marketing. Resident attitudes or citizen participation were often ignored in tourism development. Environment and host communities were not considered in the tourism planning process (Gunn, 1988). The absence of proper tourism planning control, the inadequacy of legislation, and ineffective tourism organizations led to the failure of many tourism plans during this period (WTO, 1980; Costa, 2001). Tourism increasingly faced criticism for environmental and cultural exploitation. Critics demanded that planners protect the environment, and respect the local cultures, traditions and values of residents to avoid negative impacts. More efficient and effective planning approaches were needed.

Beginning in the early 1970s, a few scholars proposed planning approaches for sustaining tourism on the destination or attraction level. Gunnís (1972) *Vacationscape: Designing Tourism Regions* integrated landscape design principles with a regionís tourism resources. The emphasis on physical planning was advocated by Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1977) and Kaiser and Helber (1978), who developed comprehensive tourism planning models and called for integrating tourism planning into national economic policy. Many early attempts at tourism planning were rudimentary market assessments to which a physical plan for tourist facilities and infrastructures was added; social and environmental impacts were overlooked by planners between the 1950s and 1970s (WTO, 1980). De Kadt (1979b) argued the need to consider non-economic costs and benefits of tourism and called for social planning for tourism. Following the advocacy movement in urban planning (Davidoff, 1965), tourism planners in the late 1970s began to recognize the need for a more participatory approach (Harrill and Potts, 2003). For example, Gunn (1979) advocated the participation of multiple stakeholders in the tourism planning process.

Tourism planning, mirroring the ìrationalî and ìsystematicî approaches in urban planning, has been carried out in many places of the more and less developed world in the 1980s (Inskeep, 1991). After noting the social and environmental consequences of careless and myopic tourism planning, a number of governments and development agencies have begun to consider environmental, social and cultural issues in addition to economic concerns in tourism development (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). More countries have increasingly adopted careful and integrated planning and the control of tourism development to mitigate undesirable socioeconomic and environmental impacts and to avoid the potential problems (Inskeep, 1988). Baud-Bovy (1982) proposed a model for the Productís Analysis Sequence for Outdoor Leisure Planning (PASOLP), which used an integrated and interconnected approach taking into account not only tourism markets but also the countryís

structures and the nature of the tourism resources. Getz (1986) developed an integrative system model of tourism theory and practice and advocated a more scientific approach to tourism planning. With the emphasis on the tourism system, the model comprises understanding the system, system modeling, projection and forecasting, and the implementation of control strategies. Baud-Bovy's and Getz's models contribute to the shift in the tourism planning emphasis from an (excessively) economic perspective, towards an integrated view of the system, i.e., a comprehensive and systematic approach (Costa, 2001).

The tourism policy model proposed by Mill and Morrison (1985) also provided useful guidelines about the way in which tourism planning should move forward. They implicitly suggested that the tourism planning emphasis should be shifted from 'plan preparation' to 'tourism policy-making' and 'strategic planning'; destinations should address their problems in a strategic rather than a normative way (physical planning) (Costa, 2001). The model implies that it is impossible to reach 'purely technical solutions' because the planning of destinations is affected by the 'internal' and 'external' factors of the tourism system. As tourism's impacts are most apparent at the level of the destination community, many researchers have called for a need to decentralize planning and to integrate it into broader community development objectives (Murphy, 1985; Haywood, 1988; Long, 1993; Prentice, 1993; Simmons, 1994; Timothy, 1998). Community-driven tourism has become a major research theme since the 1980s. Murphy (1985) proposed a community approach to tourism planning and advocated resident involvement early in the tourism planning process before irreversible decisions are made. The author also emphasized social and environmental issues as critical elements of successful tourism planning. However, in many cases, tourism development merely resulted in a poorly planned 'tourist bubble', i.e. a standardized, mass-produced tourism venue (Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Harrill and Potts, 2003). Pearce (1989) argued that tourism planning should become more concerned with integrating tourism with broader social and economic development plans.

Despite the progress of tourism planning models and practice, the evolution of tourism planning theory during the 1970s and 1980s was slower than its urban planning counterpart (Costa, 2001). For example, some of the backbones that supported tourism planning theory up to the early 1990s were imported from the rational planning paradigm that dominated urban planning theory and practice up to the 1970s. Although tourism literature expanded rapidly in the 1980s, tourism planning did not follow suit. Inskip (1988) demonstrated that principles, techniques, and models of

tourism planning were few and far between in the literature up to the 1990s. Jafari (1990) found only two references to urban and regional planning when researching the subject of doctoral dissertations in tourism between 1951 and 1987.

Tourism planning has evolved from a design orientation toward a more inclusive and sustainable community approach since the 1990s (Harrill and Potts, 2003). The advance of computer technology and information systems has provided new tools for tourism planning. Globalization is driving tourism markets to become more competitive and diverse. Thus, tourism planning has become more critical for the success of tourism destinations. More governments and agencies are becoming aware of the importance of tourism planning. Publications on network, collaboration, partnership and participation theory during the 1990s (Healey, 1992; Cappellin and Batey, 1993; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Costa, 1996; Hall, 1999) also contributed to the evolution of tourism planning theory and practice. Sustainable development has become the new paradigm shaping tourism policy and planning (Getz, 2001). It has provided a new impetus for tourism planning and been identified as a primary planning approach and development theme (Inskeep, 1991; Gunn, 1994; WTO, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Hall, 2000; McCool and Moisey, 2001; Harrill and Potts, 2003; Burns, 2004). WTO (1993) also produced a sustainability guide for tourism planners.

The present tourism approaches take into consideration the constraints of the market and of the resources as well as the political, economic and socio-cultural circumstances of the country. They focus more on the concept of community participation and stakeholder involvement. More attention is now given to effective ways of implementing the plans and sustaining the resources. Principles such as equity, efficiency, balance, harmony, responsible, adaptability, holistic growth, and ecological and cultural integrity are strongly advocated in tourism planning (Timothy and Tosun, 2003; Reid, 2003). The replacement of the top-down and hierarchical approaches by bottom-up and participatory planning is more encouraged by scholars and practitioners because destination communities are seen as critical for the future of tourism development (Simmons, 1994; Davidson and Maitland, 1999; Burns, 2004). Community empowerment, better coordination of the tourism stakeholders, and closer links between private, public and non-profitable organizations are also emphasized in the tourism planning.

### **2.5.3 Contemporary tourism planning approaches**

Tourism can be planned at many levels, including international, national, regional, or local and site level. Destination or site planning focuses more on land use, facility design and physical development (Inskeep, 1991; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 2000), while national or regional planning is more involved in policy and master plans, and is often done at a conceptual or strategic level (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). With the goals of tourism development expanding to achieve sustainable development and incorporate environmental considerations and community desires, tourism planning approaches have undergone considerable refinement and adjustment (Murphy, 1985; Inskeep, 1991; Harrill and Potts, 2003). The major approaches to tourism planning can be identified using six categories: comprehensive planning, community planning, integrated planning, strategic planning, incremental planning, and sustainable development. These approaches are discussed for illustrative purposes. They are not totally distinct, nor is the list exhaustive, but they overlap and will evolve with time.

#### **(1) Comprehensive planning**

Comprehensive planning is commonly adopted in tourism development. Its root is in rational comprehensive planning, or synoptic planning, which is a dominant theory in modern planning practice. Rational comprehensive planning, based on scientific rationality, emphasizes facts and objectivity. It includes six phases: 1) identify problem and articulate goals; 2) survey conditions and make predictions; 3) design alternative plans; 4) compare and evaluate alternative plans; 5) adopt one plan and implement it; 6) monitor current trend and evaluate outcome of plan (Hodge, 2003). It favours technical knowledge and centralized decision-making. The purpose of comprehensive planning is to improve coherence among all relevant elements (Bannon, 1976).

Comprehensive tourism planning is an approach where all aspects of the tourism system are allegedly planned in a holistic manner (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). This approach regards tourism as an interrelated system and emphasizes that all aspects of tourism development, including its institutional elements and environmental and socioeconomic implications, should be planned and organized comprehensively (Inskeep, 1991). All of the elements of tourism can be modeled as an interrelated system including demand and supply sides (Harssel, 1994; WTO, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Gunn, 2002). The demand side comprises international and domestic tourist markets and local residents who use the tourist attractions, facilities and services; the supply sides include tourist attractions and activities, accommodation, transportation and other tourist facilities and

services. A balance should be achieved between the tourism demand and supply sides. All components of the system should be coordinated to avoid conflicts between different sectors. Leiper (1990) described the tourism system in a similar way with 'tourist generating regions' linked to 'tourist destination regions' by means of a 'transit route'. The tourism system is a component of the whole environment including human, socio-cultural, economic, technological, physical and political spheres (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Jenkins (1980) suggested that 'as a wide-ranging activity tourism must be approached through multidisciplinary analytical studies' (p. 28). Because tourism involves a variety of industries, the comprehensive approach has the advantage of taking a broad (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). The tourism system will function more effectively if it is planned in a comprehensive way with coordinated development of all the components of the system (WTO, 1994).

Comprehensive tourism planning is the most common approach used in less developed countries (WTO, 1994; Wall, 1996). Many developing countries prepare five-year national or regional master tourism plans and identify 'tourist zones' where development will be concentrated (Getz, 2001). Government is the driving force, requiring comprehensive planning for the nation or regions. WTO (1994) has documented many examples of national and regional level comprehensive tourism planning in developing countries, for example, the Comprehensive Tourism Development Plan for Cyprus in 1988. This planning approach considers economic, social and environmental factors and examines all major aspects of tourism with emphasis on environmental problems and carrying capacities of tourism areas. Plans developed in this approach typically recommend a controlled growth development strategy as the best way to achieve the development objectives. Often large-scale tourism planning has been aided by the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program.

Ideally, comprehensive tourism planning contains holistic, process-oriented and interdisciplinary thinking and tries to examine and synthesize different angles from an overall perspective (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). However, in developing countries, it is usually conducted in isolation from the interests of local communities, and lacks communication and cooperation with local residents (Tosun, 2001). This approach has been both supported and criticized. Some authors argue that the approach is imperative for tourism development because it has requires a broad perspective rather than being myopic or isolated (Jenkins, 1992; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998), while others hold that it is time and money consuming, often rigid, inflexible and unrealistic (Murphy, 1985).



## (2) Community planning

The community approach to tourism planning originated in the early 1980s because of the perceptions of tourism's negative socio-cultural effects on destination communities. According to Murphy (1992), communities are groups of people residing in the same region with common interests and identity. As tourism continues to expand and community changes happen, the need for increased public participation and, in particular, a community-based approach has come to the forefront of tourism planning (Getz, 1983; Haywood, 1988; Loukissas, 1983; Murphy, 1985, 1988; Keogh, 1990; WTO, 1994; Timothy, 1999; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Gunn, 2002; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Community-based planning is derived from the advocacy, transactive, participatory and collaborative planning traditions. Advocacy planning abandons the objective, non-political view of planning contained in rationalism. Planners should advocate and defend the interests both of government and of other interest groups, organizations or individuals who are concerned with proposing policies and the results of the planning process (Davidoff, 1965). Transactive planning, based on communicative rationality, emphasizes that citizens and civic leaders, not planners, have to be at the core of planning if plans are to be implemented (Friedmann, 1973). It does not view planning purely as a scientific technique, but considers planning as a decentralized function incorporating interpersonal dialogues and mutual learning.

As more communities develop their tourism potential to diversify their economy and enhance their cultural identity, there is a growing awareness of the appropriateness of community involvement in the planning process. Through community involvement, tourism development can be based on a consensus of what the community wants (WTO, 1994; Timothy, 1999). Rosenow and Pulsipher (1979) stated that 'people who must live with planning decisions should be involved in their formulation' (p.81). In the past decade, community-based tourism planning has become increasingly accepted by tourism planners as an important element in sound tourism planning. Community planning has two sub-approaches: community participation in planning and stakeholder collaborative planning. Community participation in planning has been used extensively in many disciplines; however, it is relatively new in tourism planning, particularly in developing countries where democratic participation is less visible in decision-making (Mitchell, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Community participation in tourism planning is oriented to balancing community aspirations with the tourism development, and to promoting local control so that local people benefit the most from tourism, thus preventing or mitigating negative social impacts and avoiding conflict

situations. Because the local community is seen as an important component of the tourism product, community participation in the decision-making process is essential for sustainable tourism development (DiAmore, 1983; Murphy, 1985; Simmons, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998).

Participatory planning needs to find ways of creating mutually beneficial partnerships between the tourism industry and local communities (Murphy, 1992). After discussing the difficulties facing public participation and constraints that prohibit community involvement, Haywood (1988) proposed a diversified approach (planning as a process for designing the future; for innovation; for learning; for influencing; and for managing) to help integrate a community into tourism planning. Keogh (1990) stated that a public participation program should provide concerned residents of destination areas with adequate information for a more effective participation in community tourism. Community participatory planning can be viewed from two perspectives: public participation in the decision-making process and local involvement in the benefits of tourism development (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1990; Wall, 1995). Timothy (1999) added a moral perspective, that is, education of locals about tourism. He also recognized that local socio-cultural and economic conditions may constrain the implementation of the participatory planning principles. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) identified three sets of issues affecting community participation in tourism planning: scope of participation, intensity of participation and degree of consensus. Consultations with locals and grass-roots empowerment are seen as being effective ways to involve the community in participatory planning (Timothy, 1999; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Empowerment in tourism refers to providing residents with economic, psychological, social and political power (Friedmann, 1992; Scheyvens, 1999); however it can be difficult to achieve this empowerment, especially political empowerment, in non-democratic countries.

The community of Bouctouche Bay, New Brunswick provides a good example of successful participatory planning of tourism integrated with the overall community growth (Gunn, 2002). The project has obtained worldwide acclaim because of its public-private partnerships, respect for community attitudes and aspirations, and celebration of culture and heritage (Gunn, 2002). Another often-cited community tourism planning case in Waikiki, Hawaii demonstrated the involvement of local residents in planning successfully through extensive efforts, such as the large number of long-term residents' attitude studies (Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001). The community tourism initiative in the Sri Lankan national tourism plan also presents an effective approach to involve local communities in the tourism development process (WTO, 1994). Several approaches are

recommended to achieve community involvement, such as establishing local tourism committees composed of all the relevant parties and community tourism centres where tourists and residents can obtain information and buy and sell local products.

It is now widely accepted that all stakeholders, not just residents, should be involved in community tourism planning at the grass-roots level (Murphy, 1988; Simmons, 1994; Scheyvens, 1999; Tosun, 1999, 2000) because plans not supported by all stakeholders will be difficult to implement. A stakeholder is defined here as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organization's purpose' (Freeman, 1984, p.52). Therefore, a group qualifies as a stakeholder if it has a legitimate interest in an organization's activities (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). In tourism, stakeholders include the private and public sectors who manage, provide or deliver tourism opportunities, such as government agencies, business associations, developers, tour operators and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and those parties directly and indirectly affected by tourism, such as local communities and tourists.

The tradeoffs among various and sometimes conflicting interests of multiple stakeholders should be considered in the planning process. Because of the lack of coordination and cohesion within the fragmented tourism industry, stakeholder-based collaboration has been advocated for planning tourist destinations in order to resolve conflicts between the different objectives of stakeholders and to advance shared visions (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Collaboration is 'a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain' (Gray, 1989, p.227). It provides a dynamic, process-based mechanism for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Based on McCann's (1983) work, Gray (1985, 1989) proposed a three-stage collaboration model for community-based tourism planning. These stages are: (1) problem-setting (identifying key stakeholders and issues), (2) direction-setting (identifying and sharing future collaborative interventions), and (3) implementation.

Drawing on collaboration theory, Jamal and Getz (1995) advanced Gray's collaboration model and presented propositions for facilitating each stage of the collaborative initiatives. Jamal and Getz (1995) defined stakeholder collaborative planning as 'a process of joint decision-making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organizational, community tourism domain [designed] to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain' (p.188). On this definition, Sautter and Leisen (1999) conceptualized

how stakeholder theory as a normative tourism planning tool can be used to promote collaboration among key players in the planning process. Hall (1999) suggested a collaborative approach requires participation and interaction between the various levels of an organisation or unit of governance and between the responsible organisation and the stakeholders in the planning process to realise horizontal and vertical partnerships within the planning process (p.277). Timothy and Tosun (2003) proposed a participatory, incremental and collaborative (PIC) model for destination community tourism planning. The model is process-oriented and combines participatory and collaborative principles. Incrementalism will be applied towards the end of the process when plans are drafted and recommendations made.

Many examples of public-private collaborative efforts and participation by community members in local tourism planning are offered in the tourism literature (McGinnis, 1992; Oaks, 1992; Ritchie, 1993; Gill and Williams, 1994; Gunn, 2002; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). These studies highlight the necessity of involving key stakeholders and refining the processes for joint decision making in community-based destination planning (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Murphy (1988) documented an innovative collaborative exercise in several communities in British Columbia. Tourism interest groups' workshops were used to bring the industry and community together in order to develop a synergistic partnership and allow broad-based community input into tourism planning and marketing. Getz and Jamal (1994) described collaborative planning in the rapidly growing mountain destination of Canmore, Alberta involving the municipal government, local environmental groups, and a non-profit residents' organization.

Fitton (1996) provides another example from rural communities in south Pembrokeshire, Wales. Since the 1980s, the communities in the region have been involved in tourism planning and received benefits from the development. Residents strongly supported tourism as long as they remained in control. Another successful example of collaborative planning is represented by the Waianae Coast Community on the Hawaiian Island, Oahu (Sautter and Leisen, 1999). Tourism planners have adopted a relationship-based approach among the various stakeholder groups (i.e., residents, local business people, tourists, private investors and community groups) in order to promote a 'value-based' development that enhance the values of the Hawaiian people and culture through educating the tourist market. Jamal, Stein and Harper (2002) advocated a neo-pragmatic approach to multi-stakeholder-based collaborative planning in protected areas. Through their Banff National Park (Canada) and the Banff-Bow Valley Round Table case study, they identified two general problems

that inhibit effective collaboration: labeling or categorizing (e.g., 'environmentalist'), and applying abstract principles, terms, or concepts (e.g., 'ecological integrity,' 'intrinsic value'). They recommend a more fluid, flexible and adaptive approach for collaborative planning that focuses on the political rather than the metaphysical aspect of issues, purposes, peoples, and planning processes in protected areas. Priskin (2003) indicated that workshops are a suitable tool for collaborative planning for nature-based tourism in the Central Coast Region of Western Australia because they can bring stakeholders together to discuss tourism issues in depth. He also highlighted difficulties in implementing collaborative tourism planning at a regional level.

Community tourism planning can enhance local community participation in the planning process; however, it may lead to conflicting objectives and development recommendations, and it is can be costly and time-consuming. Public participation is regarded as unnecessary, troublesome or unrealistic in some developing countries. Traditional practices that preclude public involvement are hard to change. Timothy's (1999) empirical research in Yogyakarta, Indonesia indicated that resident participation in decision making is virtually non-existent in that city. Cultural and political traditions have heavily impeded public participation in planning. Timothy and Tosun (2003) pointed out that public participation is done officially in some parts of the world, and it amounts to little more than tokenism (Wall, 1995). They further indicated that true public participation cannot be achieved due to lack of adequate representation of the entire community population or because of missing open and meaningful dialogue. The constraints (e.g. political structures, cultural traditions, economic situations, human resources) to community tourism planning are not easily overcome, especially in developing countries. Each community needs to find its own way to conquer obstacles and planners should balance the relative tradeoffs of costs and benefits. Tourism planning conducted in developing countries should consider local conditions and avoid imposing only western ideologies on other societies (Timothy, 1999).

### (3) Integrated planning

Integrated planning acknowledges that planning of a specific project demands inputs from different sectors, agencies or disciplines (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). It is an approach to planning that cuts across sectoral planning (Conyers and Hills, 1986). In tourism, integrated planning refers to an approach to facilitate incorporation of inputs within the tourism system (internal integration) and beyond the tourism system (external integration). Internal integration refers to the incorporation of various components of the tourism system, both the demand and supply factors and the physical and

institutional elements, and the incorporation of the local tourism market into regional, national and international tourism markets (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). External integration implies the incorporation of tourism into the macro system, that is, overall development policies, plans and patterns of a country or region (Inskeep, 1991; WTO, 1994). In this sense, tourism should not be planned alone; instead, it should be planned within a broader development framework or context. Integrated planning should incorporate the regional economic, social, political, and environmental circumstances within which tourism operates (Marcouiller, 1997). Tourism planning has shifted from non-integrated approaches between the 1950s and 1970s (Gunn, 1965; Gravel, 1979) to more integrated approaches since the 1980s (Getz and Jamal, 1994; Murphy, 1988). Non-integrated approach focuses on specific projects, markets or sites without considering the wider implications, linkages and trade-offs (Gravel, 1979; Marcouiller, 1997).

As Baud-Bovy (1982) stated, 'any tourism development plan has to be integrated into the nation's socio-economic and political policies, into the natural and man-made environment, into the socio-cultural traditions, into the related sectors of the economy and its financial schemes, and into the international tourism market' (p. 308). Gunn (1988) suggested that continuous tourism planning must be integrated with all other planning for social and economic development as an interactive system. Sometimes, the integrated planning approach is also called comprehensive planning because all the elements of tourism are considered in the planning and development process (WTO, 1994). Integrated tourism planning is more than adding tourism planning to other sectoral plans; it requires a harmony in the process of integration (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). The integrated approach, as a continuous and flexible process, can be applied at various levels with a different emphasis at each level (Murphy, 1985). In this approach, 'there is a programmed learning and continuous improvement' (Gravel, 1979, p.123). It could increase efficiency, equity and adaptability, as all elements of the tourism system are planned together and integrated into the overall regional development plan (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Marcouiller (1997) called for a need to develop planning frameworks that address tourism development within the broader context of community or regional development goals. Kernel (2005) emphasized the need for an innovative, integrated approach to tourism planning, which is flexible enough to build capacity, synergies and coordination in the region.

Examples of integrated tourism planning can be found in the systems approach for rural recreation development presented by Long *et al.* (1988) and visitor management planning in the United

Kingdom reported by Human (1994). Murphy (1985) introduced the Ontario's Tourism and Outdoor Recreation Planning System as an early example of integrated planning. The planning system adopted the Product's Analysis Sequence for Outdoor Leisure Planning Model (PASOLP) created by Baud-Bovy and Lawson in 1977. A monitoring and feedback process was highlighted in the system. Socio-economic and natural side-effects can be monitored and the plan can be changed if its external effects are negative (Murphy, 1985). The Integrated Tourism Master Plan for Uganda in 1993 is an example of an integrated approach (WTO, 1994). The plan examined all aspects of tourism as an integrated system and incorporated economic policies, tourist facilities and services, market prospects, financial and manpower resources, and the institutional system into the planning process. The integrated approach was also adopted by the Republic of South Africa as a tool aimed at integrating sectors, geographic areas and the private organizations into sustainable tourism development (Gauteng Tourism Authority, 2003).

#### (4) Strategic planning

Strategic planning originated in the private sector and has been increasingly adapted for use by public sector organizations (Kaufman and Jacobs, 1987). Strategic planning is a continual, iterative process which makes explicit the goals of an organization, the environments within which it operates, and the actions required to achieve the objectives (Seasons, 1989, p.20). It creates a feasible match between internal needs and resources, and external environmental conditions (Olsen and Eadie, 1982, p.16-17). The process of strategic planning is comprised of several steps: identification and clarification of mandates, mission formulation, specification of objectives, external environmental assessment, internal environmental assessment, strategic issue identification, strategy development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation (Bryson and Roering, 1998). The SWOT model is commonly used in strategic planning. The model includes internal factors (strengths and weaknesses) and external factors (opportunities and threats) analysis. Strategic planning is action-oriented and focuses on strategic issues and opportunities.

Strategic planning moved from the business context to regional and urban planning in the 1980s, and since then it has been increasingly incorporated into tourism planning (Baidal, 2004). The use of strategic planning can be very valuable for the successful development of tourist destinations (Brownlie, 1994; Gunn, 2002). The strategic approach to tourism planning focuses more on the identification and resolution of immediate issues (WTO, 1994), and the search for strategies for future development. It attempts to cope with unexpected events and a rapidly changing environment.

It enhances the analysis of the external and internal environment, and encourages social participation and the creation of a sense of ownership and cooperation among stakeholders (Hall, 2000; Baidal, 2004). In a highly competitive tourism market, strategic planning may help tourist destinations or organizations to optimize the use of human and natural resources, and to balance the needs of all stakeholders (Brownlie, 1994). However, the strategic approach treats planning as a single event (London, 2002), rather than as an ongoing process. This limits its implementation.

Gunn (2002) has documented a case of strategic planning for a small tourist destination - the Orkney Islands, Scotland. The islands face a common growth dilemma ñ how to maintain environmental assets while attracting more tourists. A committee of representatives of the Orkney Islands Council, Orkney Enterprise, the Orkney Tourist Board, and the hotel and travel agency businesses was set up to prepare the Orkney Tourism Strategic Plan in 1997. The plan conducted a SWOT analysis and called for more cooperation among all interest groups involved in tourism development. A steering group with diverse membership was recommended to work with subgroups (e.g. archaeology, heritage, sport and festivals) in order to balance the protection of environment and economic and social returns from tourism (Gunn, 2002).

A tourism strategy designed for Szolnok County, Hungary demonstrates successful strategic planning practice (Fletcher and Cooper, 1996). The agricultural-based and sensitive environmental features of the county required that tourism be developed in a controlled and systematic way. Tourism attractions and facilities were ìdiscoveredî while the related problems and issues were identified after a major survey of the tourism resources and market. A strategy plan was developed to ensure tourism would optimally meet the needs of the county while maintaining local control and mitigating the risk of social or environmental damage. An implementation program was designed to carry through the initiatives of the plan and to assist small and medium-sized tourism enterprises to flourish. Immediate, medium-term, and long-term action strategies were formulated that require close cooperation among local authorities, enterprise agencies, and entrepreneurs.

#### (5) Incremental planning

Incremental planning was advocated by Lindblom (1959) on the basis of his belief that progress was best achieved by making changes in little increments over long periods of time. He positioned this approach as a more realistic alternative than rationalism, which he saw as promoting unrealistically large and dramatic change in a short period of time. As most planning is geared to solving existing



problems, planning is seen as less of a scientific technique and more of a mixture of intuition and experience. Planning needs a more realistic approach, that is, piecemeal, incremental, opportunistic and pragmatic (Taylor, 1998).

Incremental tourism planning grew out of a general dissatisfaction with the traditional rational approach, which focused on central control and rapid development, and often led to hostile and polarized relationships without resolving the problems (McCool and Moisey, 2001; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Comprehensive tourism plans are too rigid to cope with rapidly changing environments. The deficiencies of many previous tourism plans indicate that planning is an ongoing process and should be flexible in order to adjust to new situations (Baud-Bovy, 1982). Tourism, as a multi-sectoral activity, is very sensitive to the changes in political and economical environments, thus it requires a flexible and incremental planning approach to its development (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Getz (1986) suggested using constant evaluation and reassessment in the planning process in order to make planning more adaptable to changes in the tourism system. Inskip (1991) defined incremental tourism planning as 'a continuous process with adjustments made as needed, based on monitoring and feedback, but within the framework of maintaining the basic objectives and policies of tourism development' (p. 29). According to Tosun and Jenkins (1998), the incremental approach is based on core values of continuity and flexibility. 'Continuity' means that the planning process should be based on continuous research and feedback while 'flexibility' implies that planning should be adaptable and able to respond to rapidly changing environments. This approach promotes efficiency as it allows higher levels of predictability and flexibility (Getz, 1987; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Planners can readjust and modify programs and projects if unexpected events or issues appear.

Timothy and Tosun (2003) indicated that the incremental approach fits best into spatial planning that often arises at destination or site levels. Gunn (2002) suggested that continuous planning is quite useful for planning destinations. He calls for the creation of a tourism action committee composed of developers, business, non-profit organizations and residents from the major city in a destination region, satellite towns, counties and regional government, as a tool for initiating a continuous tourism planning process. The duty of the committee is to foster the renewal of the destination zone plan periodically, such as every five years, and promote the development of new and expanded attractions. Timothy and Tosun's (2003) participatory, incremental and collaborative (PIC) model for destination community tourism planning reflects the principles of incrementalism and

emphasizes a careful selection of development options, gradual implementation, and regular and continuous monitoring and evaluation. There are not many cases that can be used as clear examples of incremental tourism planning (Timothy, 1998), probably because this is still a relatively new approach in tourism practice.

#### (6) Sustainable tourism planning

The concept of sustainable development has become a buzzword since the publication of *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This report defines the term as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (p.43). Sustainable development has received much emphasis across diverse disciplines and has become a preoccupation for some academics, planning practitioners and policy-makers since the 1980s. Sustainable development has evolved from stress on maintaining natural resources for present and future generations to emphasizing cultural diversity and durable concern for social issues of justice and fairness, and a strong orientation towards such a development that is environmentally beneficial and lasting (Ahn, Lee and Shafer, 2002). Given the popularity of the term, it is not surprising that it has been picked up in the tourism field and where it refers to the maintenance of the long-term viability of good quality natural and human resources (Bramwell and Lane, 1993). Sustainable tourism development is regarded as meeting the needs of present tourists and host communities while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future (Globe 190 Conference, 1991).

Sustainable development has been identified as a tourism planning approach by many scholars (Inskip, 1991; WTO, 1994; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998; Hall, 2000; Gunn, 2002; Baidal, 2004), although it is debatable whether the term is a concept or an approach. The idea of sustainable tourism has been criticized due to difficulties in operationalising it, especially at the regional scale (Butler, 1993; Pigram, 1995). However, planning for sustainable tourism development is widely advocated in the tourism literature in order to achieve balance between economic growth, environmental preservation, and social justice (Inskip, 1991; Butler, 1993; Gunn, 1994; Coccossis, 1996; Hall, 2000). Sustainable tourism development requires a holistic, integrative planning approach that recognizes the interconnectedness of the human and biophysical environments (Wall, 1997; Hall, 2000). Inskip (1991) defined the sustainable development approach as 'tourism [that] is planned, developed and managed in a manner that natural and cultural resources are not depleted or degraded, but maintained as viable resources on a permanent basis for continuous future use' (p.

29).

Ideally, sustainable tourism should meet the needs of the local community, satisfy the demands of the tourists, and balance tourism development with resource protection in order to safeguard the requirements of future generations (Hunter, 1995; Pearce, 1995; Loannides, 2001). Sustainable development focuses on combining present benefits with the protection of future opportunities (Horochofski and Moisey, 2001), and implies a moral commitment to future generations (McCool and Moisey, 2001). The sustainable approach deals with tradeoffs and seeks for a delicate balance between conflicting economic, environmental and social equity objectives. It is a multidisciplinary approach to planning as it should take into consideration all the interrelated factors (Baidal, 2004). The sustainability approach is important because any development will bring some changes in the social and natural environment, and most tourism development depends on the natural environment, historic heritage, or cultural resources. McCool (1994) suggested that planning for sustainable tourism requires a technical planning system that addresses problems and forces explicit decision making, and a public involvement process that is oriented toward consensus building. He further indicated that the Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) planning framework can be used to assist in achieving sustainable tourism. The LAC planning process was originally developed to manage change in designated wilderness areas, where sustainable use is mandated by law (Stankey *et al.*, 1985). In a case study of a county on the coast of Texas, USA, Ahn, Lee and Shafer (2002) used the LAC framework as a guide to examine three communities' attitudes toward tourism and to inform the process of planning sustainable tourism development on a regional scale.

Despite the popularity of the term sustainable development, its practical implementation has proven elusive. However, examples of the sustainable development approach have increasingly appeared. Bosselman *et al.* (1999) cited the case of South Pembrokeshire, Wales as an example of successful sustainable tourism planning. Sponsored by the South Pembrokeshire Partnership for Action with Rural Communities (SPARC), a participatory planning program was developed to make plans for tourism growth. The objective of the plan was to achieve controlled growth of tourism, and to protect local natural and cultural resources. The partnership adopted an integrated approach to stimulate the development of new attractions. The sustainable development approach has been often adopted when planning national parks, where resource protection is a dominant theme. Williams and Brakeís (1990) study at an interpretive resort complex, Wilpena Station, within Flinders Range National Park, Australia is an example of sustainable planning for cultural tourism. The complex

was planned to meet the needs of park visitors and to control the consequences of park visitation. In attempting to balance visitation with resource protection, the plan incorporated the issues of visitor control, interpretation, tour guide training, resource capabilities and zoning of uses to avoid conflict. The plan also required cooperation between national park officials and commercial enterprise developers.

The tourism development of the Hopi Reservation in Arizona demonstrates sustainable tourism planning that balances cultural protection with tourism (Gunn, 2002). The traditional culture is identified as the main attraction and most vulnerable resource. The Hopi have planned their tourism with a view to achieving sustainable development, which protects traditional culture as economic and social rewards are sought. The Hopi Cultural Center has been revitalized and more accommodations and services have been added within the reservation.

It is worth noting that planning approaches adopted in tourism practice are often chosen by pragmatic rather than by conceptual analysis or reasoning. There is no single model of best tourism planning practice (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). In practice, a tourism planner will adopt a particular approach or incorporate elements of several approaches depending upon the financial situation, and the political and social settings of the planning exercise. Tourism planning focuses on practical implementation, particularly in developing countries. Most of the described approaches to tourism planning have been formulated and advanced in the west; therefore, they may not be transferable to or applicable in developing countries without modification and adaptation. It is necessary for developing countries to approach tourism planning by taking into account their own socio-cultural and political circumstance, and financial and human resources (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998).

#### **2.4.4 Challenges and opportunities in tourism planning**

A review of literature indicates that tourism planning has evolved from a narrow concern with physical planning to a market-oriented and industry-dominated approach with little public input, and then to a more balanced form of planning, i.e. comprehensive, flexible, integrated and community participatory planning that recognizes economic and socio-cultural impacts, political boundaries and environmental sensitivity. Despite the rapid expansion of the theory and practice of planning, tourism planning is still looking for its own identity and ways of evolving in the future (Costa, 2001). As argued by Inskip nearly two decades ago (1988), general planning literature carries little reference to tourism planning, and it is not yet being taught as a separate subject in university

planning departments. In fact, even tourism management schools teach it only to a limited extent (p.360). This is still true today. There are few tourism planning courses and programs available, which makes it difficult to receive formal training in tourism planning. Tourism planners are generally geographers, urban planners, anthropologists, economists or other tourism experts. Few urban planners are specialized in tourism and to plan tourism adequately, it is necessary for them to have an overall understanding of the complicated tourism system and specific knowledge of tourism principles and methodologies. Tourism experts who lack formal training in planning need to understand general planning theories, principles and models in order to provide suitable and effective tourism plans.

Globalization, rapid technological changes and intense market competition are strongly influencing the tourism industry. Long-term success of tourist destinations depends on sound planning and careful management responses to internal and external threats. With the continuing expansion of tourism, there is a growing need for tourism planning in many areas. Challenges and opportunities both exist in the field of tourism planning. In some countries or regions, tourism planning still suffers from fragmented and conflicting interests or objectives, which in turn dilutes coordination of the private and public sectors, communities and tourists, and precludes cooperation and collaboration among stakeholders. In addition, some western planning techniques and approaches to tourism are not well adapted to the problems of developing countries that face more physical and social constraints. Tourism planning is a relatively new specialization in planning and requires more research and experimentation for the refinement of its theories, principles, models and policies; particularly important here are the conceptualization of tourism planning theories, the formulation of planning models to fit different situations, and analysis of socio-cultural and environmental implications.

Although the tourism literature provides general tourism planning principles and approaches, surprisingly, little attention has been paid to ethnic tourism planning although it is crucial to the successful development of ethnic tourism. Nevertheless, existing tourism planning principles and approaches can be applied to ethnic tourism because they have cultural aspects similar to ethnic tourism. For instance, the planning approaches adopted by aboriginal interpretive centres in national parks or cultural heritage sites that attempt to balance cultural preservation with tourism development can be transferable to ethnic tourism planning.

## 2.6 Multicultural Planning

The urban planning literature on multicultural planning has implications regarding ethnic diversity for local planning. There is an emerging literature about how urban planning should respond to ethno-cultural diversity and how to better accommodate the needs of a multicultural society (Thomas and Krishnarayan, 1994; Thomas and Ritzdorf, 1997; Qadeer, 1997, 2000; Sandercock, 1998, 2003; Sandercock and Klinger, 1998; Burayidi, 2000, 2003; Thomas, 2000; Ellis, 2001; Pestieau and Wallace, 2003; Sandercock, 2003; Uyesugi and Shipley, 2005). The literature suggests that as both a discipline of study and as a planning service, urban planning has been very slow in recognizing the significance of ethnic minority populations, and addressing cultural diversity and its different demands (Burayidi, 2000; Sandercock, 1998, 2003; Sandercock and Klinger, 1998). Even in well-established multicultural cities, such as Toronto and Vancouver, the planning institutions do not initiate plans that deal directly with ethnic issues and they often address such issues after they arise, not before they occur (Au, 2000; Yiftachel and Aharonovitz, 2005).

The growing ethno-cultural diversity in many cities around the world has challenged planning practice in community services and facilities, land use and zoning, economic development, and architecture and urban design. This has led to a debate in many cities about the appropriate balance between respecting diversity and defending standard planning norms in urban development (Pestieau and Wallace, 2003). As a result, a wide range of solutions has been suggested - most of them theoretically - in the attempt to cope with these new challenges and to integrate ethnic minorities into urban planning. A number of scholars have advocated an integrated more culturally sensitive approach when planning in an ethno-culturally diverse city (Au, 2000; Burayidi, 2000, 2003; Burstein, 2000; Burstein and Grenier, 2000; Qadeer, 2000; Thompson, 2000). This culturally sensitive approach stresses the consideration of culture as part of the planning process. As Rahder and Milgrom (2004) noted, city planning should consider 'social, cultural and ethnic differences from the perspective of the various communities involved and' develop new skills, not for managing diverse communities, but for learning and working with those communities to achieve 'space for [social, cultural and ethnic] difference' (p.29).

Burayidi (2003) emphasized that planning should become pre-emptive in addressing cultural diversity rather than being a reactive measure taken when tensions amongst ethnic groups arise. However, it is not easy for planners to incorporate multiculturalism into planning because the planning system is dominated by the culture of the majority and based on beliefs in universal norms

and rational models and policies (Qadeer, 2000; Wallace, 2000). Drawing upon an investigation of planning practice in England, Beebeejaun (2004) argued that planning authorities have addressed the needs and interests of ethnic minorities in a superficial manner despite their good intentions. He called for greater attention to be paid to how the ideology of the nation limits the actions of planners. Qadeer (2000) argued that a multicultural approach involves revising planning policies, regulations and processes, realigning planning models and criteria, and rethinking planning principles to serve diverse groups fairly. Not only is it important to recognize, accept and respect the diversity of language, lifestyle, family structures and social values (Au, 2000), it is important to engage minorities in the planning decision-making process through public meetings and consultation of ethnic media, associations and communities (Qadeer, 1997).

These studies have addressed the planning issues in multicultural societies and have provided solutions and strategies to resolve such issues. They also shed light on planning for ethnic tourism as the studies deal with similar cultural issues. However, these solutions seem to be more theoretical rather than practical regarding the actual planning of multicultural communities. More empirical research is needed to address how to approach planning from a multicultural perspective, how to alter the planning system to accommodate cultural needs of diverse ethnic minorities and how to mediate conflicts amongst dominant and minority groups in planning practice.

## **2.7 Stakeholder Theory**

Although the study of stakeholder theory does not address ethnic tourism directly, it provides valuable insights for understanding and managing stakeholders in ethnic tourism. Stakeholder theory developed from political science and business management research (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000). According to Preston (1990), stakeholder theories for managing an organization originated in the early 1930s in the United States, where the General Electric Company identified four major interest groups as the company's primary stakeholders - customers, employees, the general public and shareholders. Since Freeman's (1984) pioneering work, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, stakeholder theory has been advanced rapidly in the management, planning and public administration literature (Freeman, 1984; Clarkson, 1995; Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Jones, 1995; Stoney and Winstanley, 2001; Johnson and Scholes, 1999; Burby, 2003; Friend and Hickling, 2004; Bryson, 2004). Today, there is an extensive literature on stakeholders and how they influence policy, organizations or project decision-making processes (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000). Particularly in the field of management, stakeholder theory has evolved into a systematic tool with

clearly defined ways to identify and approach stakeholders, and to ascertain stakeholder positions, levels of interest and influence, to scan the current and future organizational environment, and to develop strategies for managing important stakeholders (Varvasdvaszky and Brugha, 2000).

The modern conception of a stakeholder is based on Freeman's (1984) definition of a stakeholder as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organization's objectives' (p.46). Donaldson and Preston (1995) defined a stakeholder as a group or individual who has a legitimate interest in an organization's activities. Similar to Freeman, Carroll (1996) defined a stakeholder as an individual or group who can affect or is affected by the actions, decisions, policies, or goals of the organization. Generally, stakeholders are identified by their interests in the organization and they have either the power to affect the organization's performance and/or have a stake in the organization's performance. Typical stakeholders are considered to be stockholders, employees, customers, suppliers, governments, and local communities (Carroll, 1996). Pesqueux and Damak-Ayadi (2005) made a distinction between 'primary' stakeholders who have a direct and contractually determined relationship with the organization, and 'secondary' stakeholders who can be impacted by organizational actions, but without having any contractual connection to it. Pelle Culpin (1998) identified stakeholders as institutional stakeholders (those involved in laws, regulations, inter-organizational entities, plus professional organizations that may be specific to a given industry); economic stakeholders (actors operating in the markets of the company in question); and 'ethical' stakeholders emanating from ethical and political pressure groups (cited in Pesqueux and Damak-Ayadi, 2005). Although stakeholder theory is closely related to organizations, it has been extended beyond a narrow business focus to other areas, such as policy and planning (Innes, 1996, 2004; Vidal, 1997; Margerum, 1999; Burby, 2003; Friend and Hickling, 2004).

Stakeholder theory has been used in a number of ways and involves different methodologies. Management articles tend to use stakeholder theory to explain the function of corporations, to understand and evaluate stakeholders from an organization's or stakeholders' perspectives, and to guide analysis of the structure and operation of corporations, while planners employ stakeholder theory to assist policy analysis and formulation, to conduct strategic planning and evaluate threats and opportunities for change, to facilitate consensus building, public participation and stakeholder collaboration in a planning process, or to facilitate efficiency, effectiveness and equity in planning and decision making. It is widely accepted that stakeholder analysis or assessment is a useful vehicle to generate knowledge about relevant individuals and groups, both within and outside of an



organization, so as to understand their interests, interrelations and behaviours; to assess the their impacts on decision-making or implementation processes, to manage stakeholders and identify opportunities to mobilize their support for achieving specific objectives, to understand the policy context and assess the feasibility of future policy directions, and to facilitate the implementation of projects, specific decisions or organizational objectives (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000). The growing popularity of stakeholder analysis reflects an increasing recognition among managers, policy makers, planners and researchers of the important role of stakeholders who have an interest (stake) in and the potential to influence the actions and goals of organizations, projects or policy directions (Mason and Mitroff, 1981; Crosby, 1992; Walt, 1994; Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000; Burby, 2003).

Stakeholder theory is a much discussed area (Bronn and Bronn, 2003). As summarized by Donaldson and Preston (1995), there are three approaches to stakeholder theory: descriptive/empirical, instrumental, and normative. This distinction is rooted in a centuries-old philosophy of science, in which description presents the way that the world actually is, normative theory prescribes how the world should be, and instrumental theory links means and ends (Freeman, 1999) ñ in other words, how to achieve a desired end. Descriptive studies document how organizations manage or interact with stakeholders, normative stakeholder theory prescribes how organizations ought to treat their stakeholders, and instrumental stakeholder theory focuses on how organizations pursue their interests through managing relationships with stakeholders (Freeman, 1999; Butterfield, Reed and Lemak, 2004). These three approaches are not totally distinct, but overlapping and mutually supportive (Jones and Wicks, 1999). Descriptive papers have first tried to identify and classify the main stakeholders and, subsequently, normative and instrumental articles have attempted to provide guidance and directions for the actions of organizations in order to meet the particular requirements of specific stakeholders (Antonacopoulou and MÈric, 2005).

Stakeholder theory has often been used for descriptive purposes, either explicitly or implicitly (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). For instance, stakeholder theory has been used to describe the nature of corporations (Brenner and Cochran, 1991), to analyze organizational phenomena such as decision processes, information disclosure, or stakeholders' characteristics (Antonacopoulou and MÈric, 2005), to examine the actual approaches of organizations towards their stakeholders (Friedman and Miles, 2004), how board members deal with the interests of constituencies (Wang and Dewhirst, 1992), and how organizations are managed (Clarkson, 1991; Halal, 1990; Kreiner and

Bambri, 1991). Brenner and Cochran (1991) used stakeholder theory for two purposes: to describe how organizations operate and help predict organizational behavior (p. 452). Descriptive studies are employed to document or explain organizational characteristics and the actual behavior of managers, firms and stakeholders (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Butterfield, Reed and Lemak, 2004). Descriptive articles provide many classifications of cooperative or competitive stakeholders (Donaldson and Preston, 1995).

The descriptive approach often starts from simple descriptions and expands to generate explanatory and predictive propositions (Donaldson and Preston, 1995). Much of the descriptive research addresses basic questions (e.g., what, when, how, and why) regarding stakeholder and organization behavior (Butterfield, Reed and Lemak, 2004). For example, Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) indicated that managers will respond to stakeholders who have power, legitimacy, and an urgency of claims. Similarly, in an empirical work, Agle, Mitchell and Sonnenfeld (1999) also found that stakeholder attributes and salience are related to their power, legitimacy and urgency of claim. Although some scholars argue that the descriptive studies are the least developed among the three approaches (Jones and Wicks, 1999), significant contributions have been made over the past decade (Agle *et al.*, 1999; Frooman, 1999; Mitchell, Agle and Wood, 1997; Scott and Jehn, 2003). The descriptive approach not only contributes to understanding stakeholder-stakeholder and stakeholder-organization relationships from the stakeholders' points of view but also contributes to instrumental insights.

There is considerable work in stakeholder theory that has been instrumental or strategic in nature (Butterfield, Reed and Lemak, 2004). The instrumental approach has emphasized that organizations should attend to the needs of stakeholders beyond fiduciary duties in order to reduce risks to their reputation and long-term profitability (Friedman and Miles, 2004, p.95). According to Donaldson and Preston (1995), instrumental stakeholder theory attempts to link stakeholder approaches to commonly desired objectives of organizations, such as profitability, stability and growth. Usually, it examines the connections between stakeholder management and the achievement of organizational objectives. The instrumental approach is essentially hypothetical, that is, if you want to achieve (avoid) results X, Y, or Z, then adopt (do not adopt) principles and practices A, B, or C (Donaldson and Preston, 1995, p.72). It implies such statements as if you want to maximize shareholder value, you should pay attention to key stakeholders (Freeman, 1999, p.233). The instrumentalists tend to employ means-ends reasoning and focus on the impact of stakeholders on the organizations and how

relationships with stakeholder groups can be managed (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Harrison and St. John, 1996; Rowley, 1997; Jones and Wicks, 1999).

Freeman's (1984) work *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach* is built on instrumental premises. It suggests that if organizations want to be effective, they will pay attention to those stakeholders who can affect or be affected by the actions of those organizations. It follows that stakeholder management is fundamentally a pragmatic concept (Freeman, 1999). According to Donaldson and Preston (1995), many instrumental studies of organizational social responsibility make explicit or implicit reference to stakeholder perspectives and suggest that adherence to stakeholder principles and practices achieves conventional corporate performance objectives as well or better than rival approaches (p.71). Kotter and Heskett (1992) observed that highly successful companies such as Hewlett-Packard, Wal-Mart and Dayton Hudson commonly adopt a stakeholder perspective and are concerned about people who have a stake in the business, such as customers, employees, stockholders, and suppliers. An assumption of an instrumental approach is that managing stakeholder interests is in the best interest of the organization and can improve organizational performance (Berman *et al.*, 1999; Butterfield, Reed and Lemak, 2004).

Much of the stakeholder literature has been built on a normative basis in the belief that organizations have a social responsibility to attend to their stakeholder groups (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Friedman and Miles, 2004). Normative concerns dominated stakeholder theory from the beginning and this tradition has continued in the contemporary literature (Kuhn and Shriver, 1991; Marcus, 1993; Carroll, 1996). Normative stakeholder theory involves ethical concerns and normative philosophy. It focuses on the moral obligations of managers with regard to their stakeholders (Butterfield *et al.*, 2004) and tries to identify and interpret the philosophical guidelines and moral foundations for the operation of organizations (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Jones and Wicks, 1999). The underlying assumptions of the normative approach are:

[1] Stakeholders are persons or groups with legitimate interests in the procedural or substantive aspects of an organization's activities. Stakeholders are identified by their interests in the organization, whether or not the organization has any corresponding functional interest in them. [2] The interests of all stakeholders are of intrinsic value. That is, each group of stakeholders merits consideration for its own sake and not merely because of

its ability to further the interests of some other group, such as the shareowners (Donaldson and Preston, 1995, p.67).

Normative stakeholder theorists declare that organizations should consider stakeholder interests not only for instrumental or strategic purposes or because of stakeholders' power, legitimacy or claims (Mitchell *et al.*, 1997) but also out of moral obligation (Butterfield, *et al.*, 2004). Organizations should heed the needs, interests and influence of those affected by their policies and operations (Frederick, 1992); managers should respond to stakeholder interests 'within a mutually supportive framework' (Donaldson and Preston, 1995, p. 87); the organization should serve and coordinate the interests of its various stakeholders, and it is the moral obligation of managers to strike an appropriate balance among stakeholders' interests in directing the actions of the corporation (Buchholz and Rosenthal, 2004). According to Butterfield *et al.* (2004), although normative theory is often used to guide the operation of organizations regarding when and why managers should pay attention to stakeholder interests, empirical work has usually failed to support the notion that firms work with stakeholders for normative reasons (Agle *et al.*, 1999; Berman *et al.*, 1999).

All these three approaches tend to focus on the organization: its needs; the composition of its stakeholders and who are 'important' or 'legitimate'; and its communication policies or strategies towards them (Friedman and Miles, 2004). The traditional distinction among the descriptive, instrumental, and normative dimensions is not always clearly delineated as some scholars combine the three into a single approach (Donaldson and Preston, 1995; Butterfield *et al.*, 2004). For instance, in Driscoll and Crombie's (2001) descriptive case analysis, there are instrumental and normative implications for stakeholders and target firms. Some stakeholder articles combine pragmatism and ethics in order to encapsulate diverse viewpoints; thus, profit-seeking objectives and moral concerns are sometimes considered together in the research (Antonacopoulou and MÈric, 2005). Jones and Wicks (1999) integrated the moral basis of relations between managers and stakeholders, with other practical implications. In Greenley and Foxall's (1998) stakeholder model, they proposed that ethical concerns have economic consequences, although they are not the only factors.

Donaldson and Preston (1995) argued that stakeholder theory is managerial in a broad sense. Managerial implications have been addressed by many articles on stakeholders. From a managerial perspective, Harrison and St John (1994) stated that stakeholder management should include communicating, negotiating and managing stakeholder relationships and motivating them to respond

to the organization in ways that benefit it. According to Freeman (1984), an organization that effectively manages its stakeholders must understand three key concepts: identification of stakeholders, their respective perceived stakes and the processes necessary to manage the organization's relationships with its stakeholders. Stakeholder management involves taking the interests and concerns of various stakeholder groups or individuals into account in order to reach a management decision which satisfies most stakeholders to some extent, at least the key stakeholders (Buchholz and Rosenthal, 2004). Most researchers agree upon that the concept of stakeholders is now ' commonplace', that any stakeholder can have an impact on an organization, and that an understanding of stakeholders can be used to enhance an organization's performance. Antonacopoulou and MÈric (2005) declared that stakeholder theory extends the organizational frontiers to all stakeholders and that all stakeholders, ideally, should shape the organizational structures and decisions.

Although the notion of stakeholder has been articulated within business management from the early 1930s (Clarkson, 1995), the widespread use of stakeholder concepts and approaches in common parlance is a relatively recent phenomenon (Brugha and Varvasovszky, 2000), especially in the field of tourism. Since the late 1980s, the stakeholder concept has been increasingly applied in tourism research and practice, and stakeholder involvement in tourism planning, development and management has been much discussed (Murphy, 1988; Simmons, 1994; Robson and Robson, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999; Sautter and Leisen, 1999; Tosun, 1999, 2000; Araujo and Bramwell, 2000; Fennell and Przeclawski, 2003; Timothy and Tosun, 2003). Current stakeholder concepts employed in the tourism literature are built on concepts from management science. Tourism stakeholders usually include the private and public sectors that provide, deliver or manage tourism opportunities, such as government agencies, business associations, developers, tour operators and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and those parties directly and indirectly affected by tourism, such as local communities and tourists.

Tourism researchers and practitioners have become increasingly aware of the importance of stakeholders in the planning and management process, and the need to assess levels of their interest and power for these can influence particular projects or organizational objectives. Many scholars have advocated the inclusion of stakeholders in the tourism planning process (Gunn, 2002; Ioannides, 1995; Markwick, 2000) and have suggested that tourism planners should consider the interests of all stakeholders before projects are implemented (Sautter and Leisen, 1999; Hardy and

Beeton, 2001; Vincent and Thompson, 2002) because plans can be difficult to implement if stakeholders do not cooperate. Gunn (2002) emphasized that the successful implementation of tourism development plans is often based on the support of stakeholders such as residents, entrepreneurs and community leaders. Yuksel, Bramwell and Yuksel (1999) suggested that the incorporation of stakeholder views and interests is likely to reduce conflicts in the long term by 'drawing on the knowledge and insights of stakeholders' (p. 359). Because the knowledge of planners concerning specific circumstances is inevitably partial, consensus building with stakeholders can help them to understand organizational interests and the public interest, thereby making planning more inclusive (Innes, 1996).

It is increasingly seen as being important to involve the multiple stakeholders affected by tourism, including environmental groups, business interests, public authorities and local community groups, into tourism planning (Gartner, 1996; Williams, Penrose and Hawkes, 1998; Araujo and Bramwell, 2000). Although it can be difficult and time-consuming to involve a wide range of stakeholders in the planning and management process, participation by diverse stakeholders may foster the development of more sustainable forms of tourism by increasing equity (Timothy, 1998). Broad stakeholder involvement has the potential to facilitate the making of more equitable trade-offs between stakeholders with conflicting interests, and to promote decisions that enjoy a greater degree of 'consensus' and shared ownership (Warner, 1997). In an empirical study, drawing on data assembled from 60 local governments in Florida and Washington State, Burby (2003) demonstrated that broad stakeholder involvement contributes to both more inclusive plans and their implementation.

Much of the tourism literature holds a normative view and argues that all stakeholders should be involved in community tourism planning and development at the grass-roots level (Murphy, 1988; Simmons, 1994; Reed, 1997; Scheyvens, 1999; Tosun, 1999, 2000; Markwick, 2000). Sautter and Leisen (1999) indicated that consideration should be given equally to each stakeholder group without giving one priority over others and that collaboration among stakeholders is essential in sustainable tourism development. Stakeholder collaboration has been increasingly advocated as an effective approach to planning and management for resolving conflicts between the different objectives of various stakeholders and to advance shared visions (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Margerum, 1999). Collaboration provides a dynamic, process-based mechanism for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development (Jamal and Getz, 1995). Hardy

and Beeton (2001) pointed out that stakeholder identification and involvement are major steps towards achieving community partnerships and collaboration within tourism. Collaboration and partnerships are fundamental to the development of bonds and networks among diverse stakeholders for their mutual benefits (Briassoulis, 2002). However, in spite of a growing interest in collaboration, Margerumís (1999) empirical research revealed implementation weaknesses. In his study, although stakeholder groups may reach consensus on objectives, they had difficulty implementing this consensus due to lack of strategic direction, insufficient community involvement, low stakeholder commitment, lack of responsibility, and conflicting values. Reed (1997) suggested that research should focus more on explaining the impacts of power relations among stakeholders on community-based tourism rather than identifying mechanisms to disperse power because it is difficult to redistribute power.

Although the use of stakeholder concepts and approaches is now common, issues of who chooses stakeholder groups and who is responsible for reaching agreements are still under-researched in the literature. One of the most serious shortcomings within stakeholder theory is that the concept is business or organization-centered and thus the identification of stakeholders is usually from the perspective of the organization (Robson and Robson, 1996). In addition, the determination of values for each stakeholder and the representation of stakeholders are questioned by some scholars (Ambler and Wilson, 1995). Burby (2003) indicated that stakeholders who participate in plan making are commonly limited to government officials, development interests and neighborhood groups. Reed (1997) stated that stakeholders in tourism planning 'who traditionally hold power may resist its redistribution, thereby hindering attempts for collaboration' (p.197). When there is a power differential among different stakeholders, equal representation becomes problematic (Timothy and Tosun, 2003). True stakeholder-based collaborative planning can be best achieved when power is more evenly spread among stakeholders (Gray, 1989; Parker, 1999). However, this may be impossible to achieve because those who make financial investments and thus carry real financial risks usually have more power than those who are not invested in the project. Moreover, identification of tourism stakeholders is very complicated because the potential stakeholders for any one tourism initiative are numerous. With diverse stakeholder groups, the balance of power and leadership role among stakeholders is problematic. In spite of its complexities and weaknesses, stakeholder theory implies the beginning of a new ethical paradigm, particularly for the tourism industry (Robson and Robson, 1996). Therefore, the stakeholder approach is a commendable endeavor for tourism planners and managers to follow.

Freeman's definition of a stakeholder will be adopted in this research. The research will describe how decisions are currently made in ethnic tourism development (descriptive), and then address how tourism planning might be improved (instrumental) and what should be done (normative). Thus, all three approaches will be involved in the research, but the normative view on how to achieve equity, efficiency and effectiveness in tourism planning and development will be emphasized. Other factors, e.g. profitability, will also be of concern. The perspectives of four key stakeholder groups – governments, tourism entrepreneurs, ethnic groups and tourists will be taken into consideration. The research will attempt to speak for marginalized or disadvantaged stakeholders such as ethnic groups and explore means to involve them into tourism planning and management processes.

## **2.8 Conceptual Framework**

In light of the literature review and in line with the research objectives, a conceptual framework for studying ethnic tourism has been developed and is presented in Figure 2.1. The framework presents a structure to guide research on ethnic tourism, addressing socio-cultural issues and development strategies. The framework consists of three parts: (1) key stakeholders of ethnic tourism; (2) socio-cultural issues; and (3) potential resolutions.

### **(1) Key stakeholders in the development of ethnic tourism**

Four key groups of stakeholders have been identified as units of analysis: (1) government (at various levels); (2) tourism entrepreneurs; (3) ethnic people; and (4) tourists. The research will compare and evaluate their perspectives on ethnic tourism development and their assessment of ethnic cultural representation and authenticity. Each of the four stakeholder groups has different motives, goals, and objectives. Many stakeholders are not members of ethnic minorities. The stakeholders are presented in a similar form in the diagram but in reality they have different status and power (which can change over time).

### **(2) Socio-cultural issues**

The development and promotion of ethnic tourism involves a number of socio-cultural issues or contradictions that should be addressed by a planning process. These include protection of the culture of ethnic minorities, the use of tourism as a form of economic development, and the need to provide a tourism experience that meets visitor expectations and that also provides adequate economic returns from products that are deemed appropriate by the host community. Adapted from



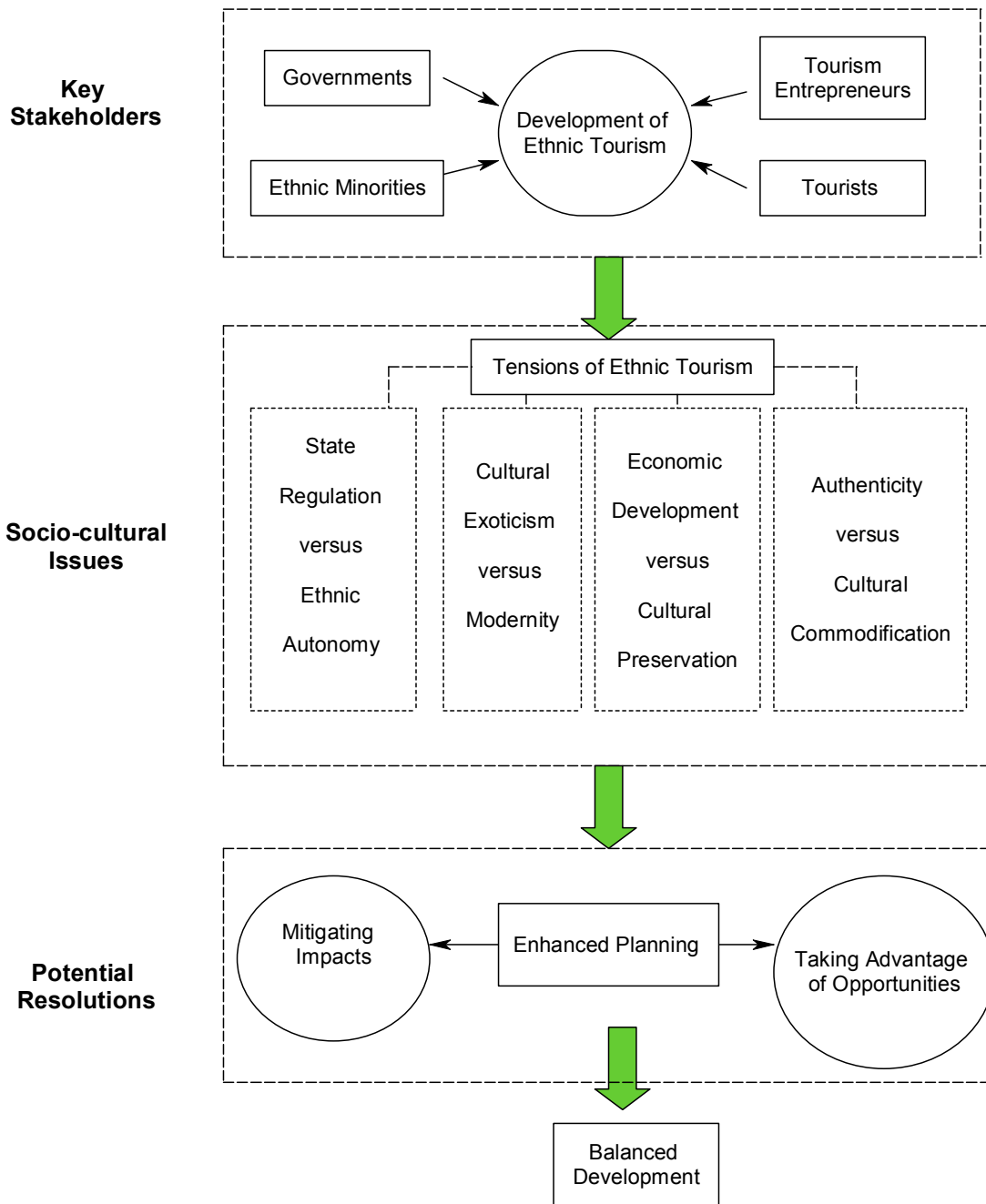
Swain's (1989) and Xie's (2001) work, the main tensions of ethnic tourism are summarized as follows:

- I. state regulation versus ethnic autonomy
- II. cultural exoticism versus modernity
- III. economic development versus cultural preservation
- IV. authenticity versus cultural commodification

The struggle between state regulation and ethnic autonomy is a critical characteristic of ethnic tourism. The contradiction between the desire of many tourists for cultural exoticism and the ethnic people's desire for modernity is a major tension in ethnic tourism. The struggle between economic development and cultural preservation is also a critical issue. Cultural exoticism is a primary draw for tourists. However, political, economic and cultural forces work to integrate minority groups into majority society and the mainstream culture. The conflict between tourists' quests for authenticity and the commodification of ethnic cultures is a significant issue. These tensions provide a broad picture from different perspectives to understand the impacts of ethnic tourism and to examine the socio-cultural issues.

### (3) Potential resolutions

The tensions identified from the literature are among the main issues that should be addressed by the planning process. Enhanced planning is proposed to promote future balanced tourism development in order to mitigate negative impacts of ethnic tourism. Enhanced planning is concerned with greater stakeholder involvement and greater consideration of environmental and socio-cultural issues in addition to the economic rationale. A balanced development would take into account the perspectives of multiple stakeholders in the development, so as to achieve balance among the interests of stakeholders and among economic growth, environmental preservation, and social justice. Due to the unbalanced involvements of tourism stakeholders, enhanced planning will require greater awareness and education of all stakeholders, and the creation of forums for exchange of information and negotiation. It may not be possible for the powerful stakeholders to relinquish their power, but improvements could be made initially through education and information exchange. The gradual replacement of the top-down and hierarchical approaches by bottom-up and participatory planning should be encouraged in tourism planning.



**Figure 2.1 A Conceptual Framework:  
Planning for Ethnic Tourism**

## **2.9 Summary**

In this chapter, the theoretical context is presented through a detailed review of tourism and planning literatures relevant to ethnic tourism. In light of the literature review and in line with the research objectives, a conceptual framework is developed to guide research on ethnic tourism.

The literature review leads to the conclusion that neither the tourism nor the planning literatures have paid much attention to ethnic tourism planning. So far, little research touches upon how to plan the development of ethnic tourism. There is not a specific book or dissertation available that concentrates on planning for ethnic tourism. There is a sizeable gap between ethnic tourism studies and planning practice initiatives, resulting in misdirected planning strategies for ethnic tourism because of a lack of knowledge in the ethnic tourism arena for planners and, conversely, a weakness in the planning area because of a lack of tourism expertise. Research is needed to link ethnic tourism studies with planning research and practice.

## Chapter Three Study Area

The conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two presents a structure to guide research on ethnic tourism. In this chapter, the selection of the study area and specific study sites are justified. A detailed description of the study area and selected villages is presented. It is hoped that this chapter will foster a better understanding of the research setting in which the conceptual framework was implemented, and set the stage for a discussion of the research methods that were adopted. The latter will be discussed in the following chapter. This chapter introduces the history and current status of China's ethnic minorities and ethnic tourism development from the national level to the local level. As a multi-ethnic region and popular ethnic tourist destination in China, Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture in Yunnan Province, southwest China was chosen as the study site.

Section 3.1 covers the historical background, geographic distribution and current state of ethnic minorities in China and also provides a brief outline of the tourism sector in China. Section 3.2 starts with a description of the geographic attributes, history and resources of Yunnan. This is followed by an introduction to the tourism sector, ethnic minorities and ethnic tourism in Yunnan. Section 3.3 presents a background to the geography, history, resources and ethnic minorities of Xishuangbanna, and then introduces the local economy and the development of ethnic tourism. In Section 3.4, two specific ethnic attractions are described and their selection as study sites is justified. Section 3.5 is a summary of this chapter.

### **3.1 China**

China is the largest country in area in East Asia with a total of 9,600,000 sq. km and the fourth largest in the world, after Russia, Canada, and the United States. It also has the largest population of any country in the world with 1.3 billion people - approximately one fifth of the world's people (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2005). China is a multi-ethnic country with a large number of ethnic and linguistic groups. Fifty-six ethnic groups have been identified and recognized by the central government. The Han Chinese make up 92% of the population, while 55 minority groups (many of which include subgroups) compose 8% (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2005). Great cultural, regional, and developmental differences exist between them. In addition to the 56 official ethnic groups, there are some Chinese who classify themselves as members of unrecognized groups. While Han Chinese people constitute the vast majority of China's total population, the population distribution is highly uneven with large parts of western China having Han Chinese as a

minority. The Han people inhabit mainly the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River, the Yangtze River and the Pearl River valleys, and the Northeast Plain, while minorities are scattered over approximately two-thirds of China, mainly in the border regions from northeast China to north, northwest and southwest China (Information Office of the State Council of the PRC, 2005). Yunnan Province, home to 25 minority groups, has the greatest diversity of minority peoples in China.

### **3.1.1 Ethnic minorities in China**

Ethnic groups or minority nationalities in China are called *shaoshu minzu* where *shaoshu* means *a small number* and *minzu* indicates *race, nationality*. China has a long history of intrigue and strife over ethnic boundaries, and separation and fusion of various cultures. The categorization and classification of *marginal* groups has always been part of the political project of forming and maintaining an empire and contemporary China (Cornet, 2002).

Historically, China was an immense land with diverse tribes. The Han people, themselves the product of the intermingling of many tribes, were among the first to settle down and develop an agrarian society. As early as 221 BC, China was united for the first time during the Qin Dynasty (221-206 BC). The subsequent Han Dynasty (206 BC - 220 AD) further consolidated the country's unification. As the Han state expanded, they displaced many indigenous peoples who are the ancestors of today's minority groups. The Han expanded to the south along the fertile river valleys in search of better farming land, while some minorities were pushed into undesirable peripheral lands, such as high mountains or swampy lowlands (Lee, 2001). Generally, the Han did not expand to the west and the north, which were occupied by nomadic people, herders and hunters who were the ancestors of the present-day Tibetan, Mongolian, Uygur and other Muslim minorities (Jagchid and Symons, 1989). As the Han prospered, they became the envy of the horsemen of the north such as the Huns, the Mongols, and Manchurians. Over a 2,000 year period, waves of invaders breached the Great Wall and poured into the Chinese heartland. In attempt to avoid the invasions, the Han moved southward and met with an enormous diversity of cultures. Some groups were pushed further south, others stayed and assimilated. In imperial China, the entire territory of China was ruled by the minorities on two occasions. During the Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368 A.D), China was ruled by the Mongols and in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.) by the Manchu. The minorities maintained their domination over the Han Chinese by preserving their own identity and suppressing the Han.

After the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, in the early 1900s, Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Republic of China, acknowledged five ethnic groups: the Manchurian, Tibetan, Mongolian, Tatar and Han, though after his death, the Nationalists denied the existence of different ethnic groups. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, an effort to make a census of the minority population and categorize minorities began. The state launched a large classification project to identify and recognize as nationalities those who qualified out of over four hundred groups applying for national minority status. Detailed studies and field research were initiated in 1953. By 1957, 54 ethnic minority groups were recognized as independent nationalities (the Jino were recognized in 1979, making 55). According to the fifth national census conducted in 2000, the population of all the 55 ethnic minority groups was 104.49 million, making up 8.41 percent of the total population of China (IOSC, 2005). They populate two-thirds of PRC territory containing much of China's natural resources (Sautman, 1999a). The population of various ethnic groups differs greatly. Of the minorities, 18 have over a million people each, 17 over 100,000 each, 1 over 50,000, and 19 have fewer than 50,000 people each (NBSC, 2005, see Table 3.1). While hundreds of Chinese dialects are spoken across the country, a minority language is not simply a dialect. Rather, it is a language with distinct grammatical and phonological differences from Chinese. At least 80 distinct languages belonging to five language families are spoken by the minorities (Trueba and Zou, 1994). Twenty-one minority groups have unique writing systems.

Ethnic classification is heavily influenced by that of the former Soviet Union. It is based on a number of criteria that determine if an individual is a member of a group that was ever linguistically, economically, geographically, or culturally distinct from the Han majority population (Fei, 1981). Recognition as an official minority under this classification provides certain entitlements, such as permission to have more than one child, access to local political office and post-secondary education, special economic assistance and tax relief programs (Gladney, 1999). The state defines not only who comprises an ethnic group but also where group lands are located. The goal of the Communist Party is to grant minorities equal and autonomous status, as stated in the constitution of the People's Republic of China. Since the mid-1950s, China's minority policy has granted ethnic minorities specific 'autonomous' reserves - areas officially governed for and by local indigenous peoples - and specific legal rights at the state's discretion (Swain, 1990).

Minority reserves vary in size from small counties to large provincial units. China has established 155 ethnic autonomous areas, which cover 6,117,300 sq km making up 64 percent of the country's

territory (NBSC, 2005). In addition to five autonomous regions (Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, founded on May 1, 1947; Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, founded on October 1, 1955; Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, founded on March 5, 1958; Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, founded on October 25, 1958; and Tibet Autonomous Region, founded on September 9, 1965), China currently has 30 autonomous prefectures, 120 autonomous counties and more than 1,173 ethnic townships (IOSC, 2005). According to the fifth national census, 44 minorities have their own ethnic autonomous areas accounting for 71 percent of the total population of ethnic minorities in China (NBSC, 2005).

The head of an autonomous government should be a citizen of the minority group with regional autonomy. An autonomous government should include an appropriate number of ethnic members. The autonomous government enjoys more extensive self-government rights than their counterparts in other areas, including enacting self-government regulations and other separate regulations in light of the particular political, economic and cultural conditions of the ethnic group, having independent control over the local revenue, and independently administering local economic development, education, science, culture, public health and the internal affairs of their ethnic group. The central government assists in the training of minority officials and professionals as well as providing financial aid.

Most of China's minorities inhabit the poorest western regions of the country in terms of economic development, which have the lowest levels of industrial development, urbanization, provisions for health care and education, communication and transportation infrastructure, and general standard of living (Postiglione, 1992). Minority people mainly engage in traditional farming and pasturage and the slash-and-burn method of farming is still practiced in some minority areas. Many minorities have suffered from low agricultural productivity and an underdeveloped economy. A large portion of their populations are illiterate or have a low level of education. Although the western provinces have mineral, animal or botanical resources, the western Chinese people – especially the minorities – have rarely been the beneficiaries of the wealth. This is because almost all economic activities were controlled from the eastern provinces of China and abroad before 1949. After the founding of PRC, ethnic people have gradually gained more power and control over their economic activities. However, ethnic minorities have traditionally been less entrepreneurial than the Han. Hence, they have benefited less from China's recent economic boom than the Han have. Meanwhile, because most of China's minorities live in mountain regions with important natural resources or strategic

international borders, it is extremely important for the central government to find ways to incorporate minorities historically, politically, socially and economically. Therefore, western minority regions have been given much attention by the central government since the 1980s. For example, policies like the 'Go West' program and 'Poverty Alleviation through Tourism Development' are attempts to redress this inequity between the levels of economic development in eastern China versus western China. Today, China's minority status carries privileges such as permission to have more children (outside urban areas), payment of fewer taxes, and they have easier access to post-secondary education than does the majority Han Chinese (Gladney, 1999).

Because of their isolation in mountain areas, the minorities have preserved their culture and traditions. Traditionally, China's minorities have been described as exotic, colourful, 'primitive' as well as marginal representatives of earlier forms of society, 'living fossils', and savages and barbarians (Tong, 1989). They survive in relative isolation and many live in traditional ways permitting the romantic envisioning of them as 'primitive' peoples living in places that are far removed from the complexity and confusion of contemporary society (Schein, 1994). Minority people are portrayed as distinct, different, and unique, invariably clothed in exotic costumes and possessing unusual customs (Gladney, 1999). Like most dominant cultures, the Han majority considers itself to be in the cultural and technical vanguard, the manifest destiny of all the minorities (Gladney, 1999). The Han consider themselves as representative of 'higher' forms of civilization, and thus more evolved and modern. However, the so-called 'peripheral' minorities have played a crucial role in China's official vision of history, culture and development, in influencing and constructing contemporary Chinese society and identity (Gladney, 1999). Minorities have become a marked category of people, characterized by sensuality, colorfulness and exotic customs in tourism development (Gladney, 1999). This contrasts with the nature of the Han self-image, that is, civility and modernity.



**Table 3.1 Population and Geographic Distribution of Ethnic Minorities**

(Data of the Fifth National Census, 2000)

Ethnic Group	Population (person)	Main Geographic Distribution
Zhuang	16,178,811	Guangxi, Yunnan and Guangdong
Manchu	10,682,262	Liaoning, Hebei, Heilongjiang, Jilin, Inner Mongolia and Beijing
Hui (Muslim)	9,816,805	Ningxia, Gansu, Henan, Xinjiang, Qinghai, Yunnan, Hebei, Shandong, Anhui, Liaoning, Beijing, Inner Mongolia, Tianjin, Heilongjiang, Shaanxi, Guizhou, Jilin, Jiangsu and Sichuan
Miao	8,940,116	Guizhou, Hunan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Chongqing, Hubei and Sichuan
Uygur	8,399,393	Xinjiang
Tujia	8,028,133	Hunan, Hubei, Chongqing and Guizhou
Yi	7,762,272	Yunnan, Sichuan and Guizhou
Mongolian	5,813,947	Inner Mongolia, Liaoning, Jilin, Hebei, Heilongjiang and Xinjiang
Tibetan	5,416,021	Tibet, Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan
Bouyei	2,971,460	Guizhou
Dong	2,960,293	Guizhou, Hunan and Guangxi
Yao	2,637,421	Guangxi, Hunan, Yunnan and Guangdong
Korean	1,923,842	Jilin, Heilongjiang and Liaoning
Bai	1,858,063	Yunnan, Guizhou and Hunan
Hani	1,439,673	Yunnan
Kazak	1,250,458	Xinjiang
Li	1,247,814	Hainan
Dai	1,158,989	Yunnan
She	709,592	Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangxi and Guangdong
Lisu	634,912	Yunnan and Sichuan
Gelao	579,357	Guizhou
Dongxiang	513,805	Gansu and Xinjiang
Lahu	453,705	Yunnan
Shui	406,902	Guizhou and Guangxi
Wa	396,610	Yunnan
Naxi	308,839	Yunnan
Qiang	306,072	Sichuan
Tu	241,198	Qinghai and Gansu
Mulam	207,352	Guangxi
Xibe	188,824	Liaoning and Xinjiang
Kirgiz	160,823	Xinjiang
Daur	132,394	Inner Mongolia and Heilongjiang
Jingpo	132,143	Yunnan
Maonan	107,166	Guangxi
Salar	104,503	Qinghai

Bulang	91,882	Yunnan
Tajik	41,028	Xinjiang
Achang	33,936	Yunnan
Pumi	33,600	Yunnan
Ewenki	30,505	Inner Mongolia
Nu	28,759	Yunnan
Jing	22,517	Guangxi
Jino	20,899	Yunnan
De'ang	17,935	Yunnan
Bonan	16,505	Gansu
Russian	15,609	Xinjiang and Heilongjiang
Yugur	13,719	Gansu
Ozbek	12,370	Xinjiang
Moinba	8,923	Tibet
Oroqen	8,196	Heilongjiang and Inner Mongolia
Drung	7,426	Yunnan
Tatar	4,890	Xinjiang
Hezhen	4,640	Heilongjiang
Gaoshan	4,461	Taiwan and Fujian
Lhoba	2,965	Tibet

Source (NBSC, 2005)

### 3.1.2 Tourism sector in China

Travel in China dates back thousands of years. It was a privilege of emperors, scholars or monks, but not an ordinary activity for common people nor was it an industry. Back in the 1920s and 1930s, the travel business existed in China with a small size and was dominated by the wealthy people or adventurous foreigners (Zhang, Pine and Zhang, 2000). After the government of PRC was formed, from 1949 to 1978, tourism was only a form of special political activity - a diplomatic activity serving foreigners with permission to visit China. Domestic tourism hardly existed, and outbound travel was limited to diplomats and important government officials at public expense. Initiated and encouraged by China's economic reform and open policy to the outside world in the late 1970s, tourism began to be regarded as an economic activity with the main function of generating foreign exchange. Along with the changes in Chinese political and economic systems as well as the improvement in transport and accommodation infrastructure and tourism facilities and services, tourism has developed rapidly since the 1980s. Since 1986, the tourist sector has been included in the national social and economic development plan. Since then, many local governments in China have identified the tourist sector as one of the leading or pillar industries in their locality. The State

has continued to foster tourism as a new economic growth point since 1998. Today, the tourist sector plays a significant role in the country's national and local economies.

According to the NBSC figures of 2004, with 41.76 million international arrivals with overnight stays, China ranked the world's fourth. With international revenue from tourism of over US\$25.7 billion, China ranked seventh. Domestic tourism has also grown vigorously. In 2004, the number of domestic tourists reached 1.1 billion, earning a total of 471.07 billion Chinese Yuan (CAD\$67.74 billion). The total revenue from tourism is 684 billion Chinese Yuan (CAD\$98.34 billion), accounting for a 5.02 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). With the improvement of the Chinese people's living standards, Chinese citizens have an increasingly strong interest in traveling abroad. In 2004, the number of Chinese citizens who had traveled to other countries reached 28.85 million (NBSC, 2005). Currently, China has become a top tourist generating country in Asia. According to the World Tourism Organization's (WTO) forecast, China will rank first among the top world destinations and fourth among the world top tourist generating countries by 2020 (Zhang, Pine and Zhang, 2000).

## **3.2 Yunnan Province**

### **3.2.1 Site and resources**

Yunnan Province, 394,000 square kilometers in size, is located on the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau in Southwest China and is home to the nation's greatest geographical and cultural diversity. It shares a border of 4,060 km with Tibet and Myanmar (Burma) in the west, Laos in the south, and Vietnam in the southeast. It is shielded from the rest of China by the mountainous provinces of Sichuan, Guizhou and Guangxi. Yunnan means 'south of the clouds' in Chinese, which suggests its past remoteness from the rest of China. Yunnan is a land of great natural and cultural beauty with snow-capped mountains and glaciers in the north, tropical forests in the south, karst topography in the east, three parallel rivers running through the west, and plateaus and lakes in the centre. Yunnan was chosen as the study site because of its great cultural diversity. There are 25 officially recognized ethnic minorities comprising about one-third of the province's total population and two-thirds of Yunnan's territory (Lee, 2001). It is the most ethnically diverse province in China.

Hemmed in mountains and disadvantaged in traffic convenience, Yunnan is considered as one of China's undeveloped areas with more poverty-stricken counties than other provinces because of its isolation, though the region is actually abundant in natural resources. Geographically, Yunnan is the

sixth largest of China's 23 provinces and 5 autonomous regions. There are 16 prefectures and cities and 129 counties in Yunnan (of which 8 are autonomous prefectures and 29 autonomous counties) with a total population of 44.15 million (NBSC, 2005). Despite its large size, Yunnan has remained isolated throughout most of recorded history. Emperors of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) set up a local prefecture and appointed local officials in Yunnan. From the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) through the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Yunnan was under the jurisdiction of the central government with an administrative system of *Tusi* (aboriginal office), and the cultural and economic exchanges between Yunnan and other parts of the country were more frequent than before (Interviews with Vice-director of Yunnan Academy of Social Science, 2006). Historically, Yunnan was a peripheral and remote province, far from the mainstream of Chinese life. The isolated physical geography has preserved Yunnan's natural scenery and the exotic cultures of numerous ethnic groups. As an important gate of China to Southeast Asia and South Asia, Yunnan has been regarded as a significant frontier area due to its military and trade importance.

Yunnan is a vast land, rich in cultural and natural resources. Yunnan has a unique array of fascinating landscapes, including year-round snow-covered mountains and glaciers, lakes and hot springs, highlands, coniferous forests and tropical rainforests. The eastern part of Yunnan Province is high plateau at 6,000 feet altitude (Yunnan Statistics Bureau, 2005). This area is the agricultural and industrial heartland of the Province. The provincial capital, Kunming (ì spring cityî), is named after its mild climate, and is located in this region. The flowers around Kunming bloom through all four seasons. Its warm and sunny climate is conducive to travel all the year round. Southern Yunnan has steamy subtropical weather and rainforests, where wild animals including elephants, tigers and monkeys roam the jungles. In the far west, the snow-covered mountains of the eastern Himalayas channel some of Asia's greatest rivers through deep canyons. The Salween, the Mekong and the Yangtzi rivers race side by side just 80 kilometers apart (Lee, 2001). The west of Yunnan is far less accessible than the east. The sparse population of western Yunnan consists mainly of tribal groups that have relatively little contact with the outside world.

Yunnan is well known as the ì kingdomî of plants, animals, non-ferrous metals, and medicinal herbs in China. Many rare species of plants and endangered animals live here. Forests, totaling nearly 10 million hectares, or 8 percent of the nation's total, cover 25 percent of Yunnan. More than half of China's 30,000 types of high-grade plants, 18,000, can be found here. There are more than 3,000 kinds of rare animals (55 percent of the national total), 31 kinds of birds (64 percent of the national

total), and 130 kinds of reptiles (42 percent of the national total) (Yunnan Statistics Bureau, 2005). More than 150 kinds of minerals have been found in the province. Yunnan is home to the Gaoligongshan National Nature Reserve, which is ranked as one of the world's most biologically diverse regions.

Yunnan is attractive with its rich tourism resources, including a beautiful landscape and unique ethnic cultures. The 25 indigenous ethnic minorities (of which 15 are found only in China), nearly half of the country's total (55 minority groups), give a rich patina of diversity and colour to the Yunnan scene. Ethnic minorities contribute to the attractiveness of the province with their colorful costumes, traditional way of life, unique songs and dances, their fairs and fascinating festivals. The Water Splashing Festival of the Dai, the March Fair of the Bai, and the Torch Festival of the Yi are appreciated by visitors. One of the titles of a favorite song of the Yunnan people reflects their tradition of hospitality, 'Guests from afar, please stay!'

Both cultural and natural richness make Yunnan a prime region for tourism development. The spectacular mountains, gorges and canyons as well as diverse ethnic cultures have a strong appeal to tourists. The magnificent but steep Meli Snow Mountain, with an elevation of 6740 meters, has still not been climbed (Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). The Lunan Karst topography covers an area of 350 square kilometers and forms one of the wonders of the world - the Stone Forest (Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). The Tiger Leaping Gorge near Lijiang is 3,200 meters high from the mountain top to the water surface of Golden Sand River (which is full of rapid currents and precipitous overhanging cliffs). More than 40 highland lakes are scattered in the mountains (Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). The best-known tropical tourism area, Xishuangbanna in the Mekong River valley, is a land of Buddhist shrines. With subtropical gardens and preserves, exotic Dai and other minority cultures has become a big tourist draw. Isolated by extremely steep mountains from easy communication with the outside world, 'Shangri-la', referred to in James Milton's *Lost Horizon*, may be one of the last areas where one can observe cultural layers going back thousands of years. Picturesque Lijiang, listed as a 'World Cultural Heritage' site by UNESCO, is a region of gorges, lakes and active horse breeding. The Naxi people here still use hieroglyphic writing. The popular tourist spot, Dali, is the home to 1.3 million Bai (Swain, 1989). Many factories make Bai marble souvenirs and textile products to sell and Bai women sell their embroidered handicrafts along the streets (Swain, 1989). Since this area was opened to foreigners in the mid-1980s, it has become a popular spot among Western tourists.



**Province of Yunnan**



Figure 3.1 Map of Yunnan Province

Source: <http://www.johomaps.com/as/china/yunnan/yunnan1.html>

### **3.2.2 Tourism in Yunnan**

Yunnan's pleasant climate, magnificent landscapes, beautiful scenery and colorful ethnic culture constitute important resources for potential tourism development but unfortunately, tourism activity was limited by the state from 1949 to 1978. Both domestic and international tourism were almost non-existent in Yunnan during this period. Like the rest of China, tourism in Yunnan started to grow steadily after 1978 with implementation of the 'open door' policy and economic reforms. Yunnan's natural and cultural richness has been increasingly used to facilitate tourism development and stimulate the regional economy (Morais, Dong and Yang, 2006).

Since 1978, Yunnan's tourism sector has undergone several stages of development. From 1978 to 1988, the tourism sector started to grow and the role of tourism was gradually transformed from 'mere government reception work' to an 'economic industry'. In the 1970s when the Yunnan Provincial Bureau for Tourism and Sightseeing was established, there was only one travel agency (Kunming Branch of China's International Travel Agency) in Yunnan province and 8 hotels mainly run by the government with less than 300 rooms. As more preferential government policies have been adopted to support tourism development and with the continuous improvement of the transportation system and tourism facilities and services, Yunnan's tourism sector developed rapidly from 1988 to 1995. Tourism was identified as a 'big industry' and 'an important sector of the provincial economy' by the provincial government and included in the provincial master plan for social and economic development for the first time in 1988. During this period, several national conferences on tourism development were held in Yunnan and initiated a series of strategies and preferential policies, which further facilitated the development of the tourism sector. The role of the tourism sector shifted from being a convenient way of earning foreign exchange to become a comprehensive modernization strategy.

In 1995, the provincial government identified the tourism sector as one of four pillar industries (tobacco, tourism, biological resources and the mining industry). Since then, the tourism sector has been further integrated into Yunnan's economy and planned and developed as a major industry. Economic liberalization and fiscal decentralization resulted in increased incentive for the Yunnan government to promote tourism development in the 1990s (Xu, 1996). Further, the promotion of tourism as a growth point of the national economy in 1998, the implementation of China's strategy for the development of the western region in 1999 and joining the WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2001 have provided excellent opportunities to advance tourism development in Yunnan. With

more investment from home and abroad, road infrastructure and tourism facilities have been markedly improved.

A variety of tourism events and festivals hosted by the Yunnan government have also facilitated tourism growth, such as International Tourist Carnivals, Tourism Trade, and Fairs; and the World Horticulture Exposition in 1999, which drew numerous Chinese and overseas tourists. The provincial government announced the development plan to construct a 'Great Ethnic Cultural Province' and 'Great Tourism Province' in 1999. A series of tourism rules and regulations, in addition to state laws and regulations, have been issued by the provincial and local governments to secure the tourism market. In an attempt to improve the tourism planning and management, overseas tourism experts and consultants have also been sought to help prepare tourism master plans or tourism development programs. For example, the Master Plan for Tourism Development (2001--2020) was formulated in 2000 by consultants from WTO (World Tourism Organization), which provided new concepts and approaches to tourism planning in Yunnan.

Taking advantage of its rich tourist resources and positive tourism policies, the tourism sector in Yunnan has achieved significant progress. It has become a new focal point for economic growth and is playing a significant role in the provincial economy. According to Yunnan official statistics, the number of overseas tourists received by Yunnan increased from 1,299 in 1978 to 34.76 million in 2005, and domestic tourists increased from 0.13 million to 6.86 billion; the foreign currency generated by tourism increased from USD\$0.13 million in 1978 to USD\$528 million in 2005, and the revenue generated by domestic tourism increased from 1 million RMB in 1978 to 38.62 billion RMB (Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). In 2005, the total tourism income reached RMB 43 billion (CAD\$6.18) occupying 12.8% of the GDP of the province; and there were 1.6 million people directly or indirectly engaged in the tourism sector (Interviews with officials in the Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). Tourism has made a considerable contribution to the adjustment of industrial structure, the opening up of Yunnan to the outside world, the development of the service industry, and efforts to eliminate poverty and to ease unemployment pressure in Yunnan. Furthermore, the proposed creation of the Lancang-Mekong tourism zone in collaboration with Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, and the development of the Sino-ASEAN Free Trade Zone will continue to bring opportunities for Yunnan's integration into the ASEAN tourism zone and enlarge the international tourism market for Yunnan.



Today, Yunnan is a well-known tourist destination. Many tourist zones or attractions have been established. In summary, there are 9 national level and 46 provincial level scenic areas and spots; 18 national forest parks and 9 provincial forest parks; 21 national level and 209 provincial level key cultural relics and historic sites; 5 national level and 4 provincial level famous cultural and historic cities in Yunnan (Interviews with officials in Yunnan Tourism Bureau, 2006). According to a national survey on tour consumption tendency conducted in 2000, Yunnan Province was ranked as the most attractive tourism destination in China to urban Chinese citizens (People's Daily Online, 2000).

In accordance with the 'Master Plan of Tourism Development in Yunnan (2001--2020)', and 'the Eleventh Five Year Plan for Tourism Development in Yunnan (2006--2010)', Yunnan will be developed in line with the overall layout of 'one tourism center, five major tourist areas, six selected tourist routes, eight tourism products with distinctive features, and three tourism rings'.

Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province and the arrival point for tourists, has been promoted as the gateway to the province and is developing into a significant economic and cultural centre, as well as a sightseeing and holiday tourist resort in Southeast Asia. Taking advantage of its favorable geographical location at the centre of Yunnan and the abundant tourism resources in the area, Kunming tourism products and services are planned to be further developed, including sightseeing, leisure holidays, commercial meetings and exhibitions, sports and fitness tours.

Five major tourist areas - northwest, northeast, southwest, southeast, and west Yunnan - are being developed and promoted. Six tourism routes have been identified and are in the process of development and promotion: (1) the centre of Yunnan route for sightseeing, holidays, meetings and exhibitions; (2) the northwest 'Shangri-la' ethnic culture exquisite tourism route; (3) the southwest tropical rainforest and inter-nation exquisite tourism route; (4) the west border tourism, and volcano and terrestrial heat tourism route; (5) the southeast karst formation scenery and border tourism route; (6) and the northeast culture and history, inter-provincial tourism route.

In the light of the demands of tourist consumption at home and abroad, and the trend of tourism development, efforts have been made to develop eight major tourism products: biological tours, ethnic culture tours, border tours, commercial meetings and exhibition tours, leisure and holiday

tours, sports and fitness tours, scientific investigation tours, and exploration tours. Three major tourism rings are starting to be created by combining the domestic and international tourism markets. The first is the provincial tourism ring linking up all the major scenic spots, resorts and all the major tourism cities in Yunnan. The second is the domestic ring, which combines Yunnan with the closest provinces and autonomous regions of Tibet, Sichuan, Chongqing, Guangxi, Guizhou, and links Yunnan to the developed provinces and cities in the coastal areas. The third one is the international ring connecting Yunnan with the Southeast countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar and Laos.

### **3.2.3 Ethnic minorities and ethnic tourism in Yunnan**

Yunnan is a microcosm of China with respect to minority groups. As noted earlier, there are 25 officially recognized ethnic minorities comprising 38 percent of the province's total population (44.15 million people) and occupying two-thirds of Yunnan's territory (Yunnan Statistics Bureau, 2005). Their different cultures, languages, religions, costumes, foods and folk customs make up a unique human landscape, which intrigue both Han Chinese and foreigners.

Most of Yunnan's ethnic groups have a history of conflict and subsequent negotiation with the Chinese state (Swain, 1990). The plains of Yunnan were originally home to numerous aboriginal tribes. The Chinese state invasions over several centuries pushed them into mountainous areas, where many ethnic groups, direct descendants of those original tribes, live today (Lee, 2001). Many groups, such as the Bai, Naxi, and Dai, have long histories of their own state development, but were conquered by the Chinese state centuries ago. The Dai, numbering 1,158,989, speak and dress much like their relatives in Thailand. The Naxi, numbering 308,839, have a history of matrilineal organization and a religious tradition that incorporates the indigenous, Chinese and Tibetan (NBSC, 2005). The Chinese state colonized the Naxi area through a system of native overlords, and then garrisoned Lijiang in the 1700s. The Sani Yi was incorporated into the state by Han Chinese pushing into Yunnan from the northeast (Swain, 1990).

Today, ethnic groups are widely distributed in the province. Ten ethnic minorities live in border areas and river valleys, including the Dai, Muslim, Manchu, Bai, Naxi, Mongolian, Zhuang, Achang, Bouyi and Shui, with a combined population of 4.5 million. Some live in low mountainous areas, including the Hani, Yao, Lahu, Wa, Jingpo, Blang and Jino, with a combined population of 5 million.

Some live in high mountainous areas, including Miao, Lisu, Tibetan, Pumi and Drung, with a total population of 4 million; and the others live in compact communities, each with a population of more than 5,000 (China Internet Information Center, 2006). A lot of minority groups live in relatively inaccessible and impoverished regions of Yunnan, including snow-covered mountains, subtropical gorges and forests. Their isolation is due to lack of infrastructure throughout these areas and rugged mountainous terrain. The harsh environment is not conducive to sedentary, year-round agriculture. Arable land is in short supply.

These areas also have limited industrial potential as they are landlocked and many local people are illiterate or semi-literate. Not surprisingly, economic development has been limited and poverty is rampant in these areas (Lee, 2001). Although the central and provincial governments have provided financial assistance for the poor, some minorities are still living in marginal conditions and struggling to survive because they lack the ability to be self-supportive. However, because of their isolation in mountain areas, the minorities have preserved their culture and traditions, and these have proven to be appealing to the world. Therefore, ethnic tourism has been proposed for poverty alleviation, stimulation of the local economy and attraction of foreign capital. Ethnic tourism provides an alternative to an otherwise impoverished local agricultural economy and offers locals the chance to benefit directly in ways they could not from scenic tourism. The ethnic groups have been gradually incorporated into tourism through the commodification of ethnicity in the production and consumption of ethnic goods and ethnic ways of life.

Yunnan began to embrace ethnic tourism in the early 1990s as a means of helping the minorities to break their isolation, cast off their 'backward' status, and as a vehicle for economic development and cultural sustainability. Ethnic tourism is not just seen as a propaganda and marketing tool, but also as a process of development and integration encouraging minorities to become modern (Oakes, 1998). Minority people and their cultures are increasingly being promoted as tourist attractions. Ethnic costumes, handicrafts, festivals and architecture all become tourism products. Cultural pluralism, as a principal factor for successful ethnic tourism, is highly encouraged by the state. Representations of exotic culture and charming customs have become the heart of marketing Yunnan's tourism. Ethnic groups have been promoted as colorful and exotic components of Yunnan's overall tourism marketability. Minorities have varying degrees of input into the government's tourism plans. Some groups, such as Dai, Sani Yi, Bai and Naxi have actively pursued ethnic tourism development and become popular tourist attractions, while some have less

participation in tourism due to their areas' remoteness, its problematic transportation and its poor infrastructure.

In recent years, with an improving provincial infrastructure providing transportation routes, economic diversification, tourism investment and education, isolation is lessening for some minorities. Several geographically distinct minority areas have been developed by Yunnan for both domestic and international tourism and have become popular tourist destinations, including Xishuangbanna in the south tropical region, home of the Dai, Hani and so on; Shilin, Lunnan in the east high plateau, home of the Sani Yi; Dali in the mountainous west, home of the Bai; Lijiang in the northwest mountains, home of the Naxi; and Shangri-la in the northwest, home of the mythical paradise of the Tibetan Himalayas. All of these areas have other minorities who also live there. Services for tourists, such as minority-run guesthouses and restaurants, and production and sale of souvenirs based on ethnic dress and handcrafts have become significant sources of cash income for minority people in these tourist areas (Swain, 1989).

Ethnic tourism has been well developed into three types: ethnic dance and musical dinner, ethnic minority villages, and tourism packages that combine exotic ethnic culture with magnificent natural landscapes. A series of replica ethnic villages has been built for entertaining tourists with a conveniently staged version of ethnic hospitality. Such representations of minority culture have become ubiquitous features for promoting the province not only makes Yunnan more appealing to tourists, but also establishes a model for the cultural development of minorities. 'Local colour', essential for successful ethnic tourism, is often used to facilitate tourism growth.

### **3.3 Xishuangbanna**

#### **3.3.1 Geography, history and resources**

Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (hereafter referred to as Banna) is located in Yunnan Province in the southwest periphery of China. It borders Burma to the southwest and Laos to the southeast with a borderline of 966.29 kilometers (Bannan Statistics Bureau, 2006). Banna is considered to be a buffer zone between China and southeast Asia, and an important gate to southeast Asian countries. Its significance in military and trade has drawn substantial attention from the central authorities. 'Xishuangbanna' is the Mandarin transliteration of 'Sipsong Panna' in Dai language. 'Xishuang' means 'twelve' and 'banna' means 'one thousand pieces of land', thus 'Xishuangbanna' can be directly translated into 'twelve thousand pieces of land', which refers to its

old twelve administrative districts. Covering an area of 19,125 square kilometers, Banna is composed of one municipal city of Jinghong, two counties of Menghai and Mengla, and 31 townships (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2006). Jinghong, meaning 'City of Dawn', is the capital of Banna. It is the political, economic and cultural centre of Banna. The area is accessible by plane from Kunming and also from Bangkok as Jinghong Airport is the second International Airport in Yunnan.

Banna enjoys great fame for its subtropical scenery, rich animal and botanical resources, and diverse ethnic cultures. Banna was selected as the study site because it is a spectacular area with the greatest ethnic diversity in Yunnan. It is home to 13 officially recognized ethnic groups with a total population of 880,837 by the end of 2005 (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2006). Dai people are one of the original inhabitants of this region and they are the most populous group comprising about 35 percent of the total population. The Han makes up 25 percent and the other eleven minorities altogether make up about one-third. In fact, the Han is a minority group here. Banna has mountainous topography. The flatlands make up only 4.9% of the total territory and the rest is hilly. The landscape is composed of basins, valleys, hills and mountains with elevations ranging from 477 to 2,429 meters. There are a total of fifty plains with an area over 1153 square kilometers or 6 percent of the total land (Gao, 1998; Sysamouth, 2005). The Lancang River (upper reaches of Mekong River) flows across the region from northwest to southeast before reaching Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

The Banna region has a typical monsoon climate -- hot, rainy and humid. The uplift of the Himalayas leads to the penetration of warm and moist tropical air from the Indian Ocean to Banna in the summer, and creates a barrier preventing cold air from the north reaching the region in the winter (Cao, Zou, Warren, and Zhu, 2006). Its average temperature is 18 to 21°C. The rainy season is from May to August, during which about eight-five to ninety percentage of the annual rainfall (between 1,100mm and 2,000 mm) comes. The subtropical climate here has created the impressive subtropical rainforest scenery and high biodiversity. A wealth of animals and plants thrive in its 20,000 square kilometers subtropical forest. With large subtropical rainforests and rich flora resources, it is called as 'the Kingdom of Plants' in China. It contains over 5,000 species of plants making up one fifth of China's total plant diversity (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2005). Among these plants, 343 are regarded



monkeys, deer, giant lizards, giant boa constrictors, and other rare animals. The Dai people used to call the Langcang River *ìNanlanzhangî*, meaning *ìa river to water millions of elephantsî* and Jinghong City as *ìMengjingyongî*, meaning *ìthe peacock domainî*. Covering 2680 sq km, 12 percent of the prefecture area is reserved as five national natural reserves (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2005). Lots of rare flora and fauna that are close to extinction elsewhere as well as precious medicinal plants and herbs that now flourish in the reserves. Minority people live in harmony with nature in the reserves.

The term Xishuangbanna comes from the Tai Lue language and originated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century of the Ming dynasty, but the presence of Dai ancestors was first recorded in the Han dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.) (Jiang, 1983). According to historical records, the ancestors of the Dai resided in the Banna area more than two thousand years ago (Cao, 1988). Their ancestors were one tribe of the Baiyue people (Kui, 1997). In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the headmen of the Dai tribes sent diplomats to the Han's capital, Luoyang, to honor the emperor of the Han and dedicate their treasures. In 1180, the chief of a Dai tribe, Payacheng, conquered other tribes in the Jinghong area and built the Jinglong Golden Temple Kingdom, which was subordinate to the authorities of the Song Dynasty (960ñ1279 A.D.) and paid tribute to the imperial rulers (Wu and Ou, 1995). Subsequently, the kingdom conquered twelve local districts, which had to pay tribute to them. Since then, the Dai established its ruling position in Banna.

The Jinglong kingdom prospered during the 15th and the 16th centuries and maintained a close relationship with other Thai kingdoms. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Banna became part of the Nanzhao Kingdom in Dali, which was under the jurisdiction of the authorities of the Tan Dynasty (618ñ906 A.D.) (Gao, 1992; Yun, 1998). In the following Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.), the central authority set up *Cheli Xuanweishi* (local administrative office) and appointed hereditary headmen of the Dai as local officials. During this period, a local administrative system - the *Tusi* (aboriginal office) system was formally established and consolidated during the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.) (Yun, 1998). In the Qing Dynasty, Banna was under the direct control of the central government with the further implementation of the *Tusi* system, and the cultural and economic exchanges between Banna and other parts of the country increased (Li, 2004). Under the *Tusi* administrative system, *Zhaopianling* was the highest lord of Banna who controlled all the land, forest and water in this region. He and his clan members ruled twelve districts, thirty-

four basins, and numerous villages and households (Li, 2004). Each administrative level had its head responsible for conducting irrigation and gathering taxes and tributes from a lower level (Guan, 1993).

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, Han people and other ethnic groups migrated to Banna in considerable numbers, changing its ethnic composition and natural landscape (Wu and Ou, 1995). The influence of Han Chinese on the area greatly increased after the Nationalist Revolution of 1911 as a Han general and his forces moved to Banna as 'protectors' of *Zhaopianling's* suzerainty. However, the brutality with which the troops treated the local people caused great discontent (Komlosy, 2004). After the foundation of PRC, socialist reforms abolished the old landownership and Banna became fully integrated into the Chinese political system in 1950.

A new autonomous prefecture government was established in 1953 under the leadership of the CCP and the provincial government. With preferential minority policies, Banna started socialist construction. The central and provincial governments assisted Banna in developing education and technology, building roads and houses, setting up schools, hospitals and factories, importing economic plants, and developing rubber plantations and tourism (Wu and Ou, 1995). Many thickly forested regions were cut down to make way for roads, houses and cash crops such as tea, rubber and fruits (Sysamouth, 2005). Medical doctors and health workers came from Shanghai, Kunming and other cities to help indigenous people fight against diseases such as malaria, smallpox and bubonic plague, which have been brought under control. Some hill tribes were resettled from highland to the lowland areas. Research institutions were established to research biodiversity, herb medicines and protection of natural resources. Factories were built to process rubber and tea. Compulsory elementary schools, middle school and secondary schools were set up to eliminate the illiteracy. Local newspapers, radio and television systems were created. The socio-cultural and natural landscape of Banna changed dramatically as the state attempted to incorporate Banna as an integral part of China.

During the Great Leap Forward (1958) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), many socialist projects were conducted with little consideration of local culture and customs of minorities (Komlosy, 2004; Sysamouth, 2005). Policies implemented by the state directly affected the life of minorities. Ethnic religions were suppressed and many temples were shut down. Buddhist monks were forced to disrobe and return to secular life. After 1980, encouraged by the state's economic



reforms and open-door policy, the local government started to explore strategies to stimulate economic growth and develop new industries. Many regional development projects were carried out to improve the road infrastructure, housing, school and public services. Meanwhile, ethnic religious and customs began to revive. Minority traditions and cultures started to be promoted as tourist attractions. In the late 1990s, in addition to many local development projects, a large-scale regional development project was initiated, centering on the Lancang and Mekong River. With the aids of national and international funds, many poverty alleviation programs and construction of rural projects have been carried out and are currently occurring. Banna has gone through dramatic changes in the past fifty years and today it has been increasingly subjected to the pressures of modernization and economic development.

### **3.3.2 Ethnic minorities**

Banna is often called the land of the minorities or a cultural mosaic as well as a land of transnational (living across national borders) peoples (Wu and Ou, 1995). In addition to the Han, there are 12 officially recognized aboriginal ethnic minorities living in Banna, including the Dai, Hani (it is called *ì Ainiî* by the locals), Yi, Lahu, Bulang, Jino, Yao, Miao, Muslim, Wa, Zhuang, Jingpo, as well as several unrecognized groups, including the Kemu, Laopin and Bajiao. According to the official statistics (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2006), the ethnic minorities had 671,295 people in 2005 making up 76.2 % of the total population of Banna. The Dai, numbering 209,542, made up 34% of the total population, followed by the Hani 19.9%, Lahu 6%, Yi 4.9%, Bulang 4.7%, Jino 2.3% and Yao 2.1%, and the other ethnic groups constituted the remaining 2%. Unrecognized ethnic groups have about 4,236 people in Banna. In recent years, many scholars and students, both locally and from abroad, have flocked to Banna to research the history and culture of the minorities.

Banna has 13 townships bordering Lao and Burma, and 8 ethnic groups living across national borders. For historical reasons, these groups are scattered in several Southeast Asian countries including Thailand, Vietnam, Laos or Burma, but each group is closely tied by their cultural and religious bonds as they come from the same root and share a similar culture. The Dai share a similar culture, religion and language as the Thai in Thailand and Vietnam, the Lao in Laos and the Shan in Burma. The Miao and Yao are also found in Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. Hani are in Laos, Thailand, and Burma, and the Lahu are in Burma and Thailand (Wu and Ou, 1995; De Boer, 2000). According to Wu and Ou (1995), historians suspect the ancestors of the Dai, Thai, Shan, and Lao are the Baiyue who occupied an extensive area from the Yangtze River to the northern Indo-Chinese

Peninsula (including Burma, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam) before the third century AD. The ancestors of the Wa and Bulang are thought to be the *ìPuî*, who inhabited the area between western Yunnan and the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The Miao and Yao are descendants of the *ìWu Xi Manî* who lived in Hunan province before the third century A.D. A subgroup of *ìWu Xi Manî* moved southwestwards and entered Yunnan in the fourth century and subsequently split into the Miao and Yao. The Hani, Lahu, Yi and Jinuo are descendants of the *ìQiangî*, who used to occupy northern Yunnan, eventually migrating to southern Yunnan in the seventh century A.D.

Han people traditionally considered Yunnan as a remote, isolated and backward area, and avoided settling there. Especially, tropical areas in south Yunnan were regarded as an *ìuncivilized areaî* and hotbed of malaria, miasma and other endemic diseases. Accordingly, very few Han people liked to reside in Banna. Although during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, a large number of Han people moved to Banna, Han inhabitants accounted for less than 3 percent of the total population (Sysamouth, 2005). After the foundation of socialist China, the number of Han people increased rapidly. The first large-scale arrival of the Han started with the creation of the state-run farms for rubber plantations in the mid-1950s, and the substantial increase of the Han happened during the 1960s and the 1970s. The state mobilized a large number of Han immigrants, mainly soldiers, to Banna for the construction of rubber farms. The second large migration took place between the late 1960s and the mid 1970s. Masses of *ìIntellectual youthî*, mainly from Hunan, Shanghai and Sichuang, were sent to Banna to learn from the people in the countryside under the state policy of *ìGo to Mountains and Countrysideî*. After the Cultural Revolution, most youth returned to their homes, with only a few staying in Banna to work in the state-run rubber farms. The third migration, consisting of government officials, business people and entrepreneurs from other parts of China, occurred during the 1980s and 1990s. The number of the Han increased from about 5,000 people (2.8%) in 1949 (Sysamouth, 2005) to 209,542 people (24%) in 2005 (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2006). The increased presence of Han Chinese and the widespread use of Mandarin have brought various changes to Banna and have had a profound impact on the culture and life of the minorities.

Today, the Dai, Han and Hani are distributed all over Banna, while other ethnic groups with smaller populations inhabit compact communities in specific areas. The Yao and Miao are located in the east and southeast while the Lahu and Bulang reside in the west (Wu and Ou, 1995). The Dai, inhabiting the areas along the Lancang, Salween and Ruili rivers, are the largest indigenous group comprising 35 percent of the total population of Banna. Dai is pronounced *ìTaiî* by the natives. *ìDaiî* means

people who ardently love freedom and peace. The Dai has three subgroups including the Han Dai (Dry Dai), Shui Dai (Water Dai) and Huayao Dai (Colorful-waist Dai). The Dai people in Banna are Shui Dai. Before 1950, the Dai controlled the Banna region. They have occupied the area for over a century. They are settled in the basins and low valleys with an elevation range from 500 to 1000 meters and which provide access to fertile land, suited to irrigation (Kui, 1997). They cultivate paddy rice and cash crops such as rubber, sugar cane and tropical fruit in addition to earning cash from handicrafts. The agricultural productivity of the Dai is higher than that of other minorities as Dai people have a well developed agriculture based on an extensive irrigation system. Traditional Dai homes are located on river or lake embankments and are built of bamboo on stilts, with hinged walls, and a trap door and ladder leading below. Most Dai are Theravada Buddhists, and the religion plays a central role in their culture. Buddhist temples are found in every village. The Dai language is the second most common language in Banna, after Mandarin.

The other minorities, including the Hani, Lahu, Jino, Bulang, Yi, Miao, and Wa, inhabit the highland areas and grow upland rice which needs little irrigation. They also grow varieties of tea, including the well-known Pu'er tea. The terraced rice paddies of the highlanders rise many hundreds of feet up steep mountain slopes. Villages of two or three story houses are often located on hillsides. Houses are traditionally built on wooden supports and are constructed from bamboo, mud, wood, and stone, and in some areas have mud walls and thatched roofs. The minorities often exchange their agricultural products or other goods among different groups.

### **3.3.3 Local economy**

Banna is an agriculturally-oriented prefecture. Fifty years ago, Banna was a predominantly rural area and production of grain and tea were the major agricultural activities. Before 1950, the Dai mainly engaged in paddy rice production while other minorities practiced shifting cultivation and depended on slash and burn agriculture and hunting. Even today, some minorities still practice slash and burn agriculture. Hunting in the forests has been prohibited by law. A few wealthy Dai households occupied tile-roofed houses, but most residents lived in simple huts made of bamboo, wood or cogon grass and experienced a hard life due to their isolation and lack of technology. They used bamboos, rattan or other wild plants to make farm tools. They bartered hunted prey for salt, gun powder and iron tools with traders passing by their villages.

In 1953, land tenure policies were reformed. The prefecture government placed all the land under the state and collective titles and declared the equality of all ethnic groups. Shifting cultivation was regarded as a backward means of production. The government encouraged highlanders to open paddy land close to rivers and learn how to grow irrigated paddy rice as practiced by the Dai. In the 1960s, with the aid of the government, many minorities learned to use more advanced technologies to develop paddy rice agriculture, enhance grain production, grow cash crops, and improve animal husbandry. Some highlanders were relocated to lowland areas. From the 1950s to the early 1980s, the People's Commune System was applied through the whole country. Under this system, all aspects of rural life were incorporated into a single commune and all production activities were arranged by the commune. Farmers lost independent control of their lands and they were divided into production groups and made responsible for cultivating a certain amount of land. Politics and administration, production management, finance and welfare, education, healthcare, social security, and public services were exclusively integrated into the Commune System (Sysamouth, 2005). The government controlled the market and supplied the necessities. Production was low under the central-controlled system due to the lack of incentives.

Poverty has been reduced since the mid-1980s due to the implementation of the land reform policy, the "Household Production Contract System", and the introduction of modern agricultural technology and the cultivation of commercial crops. The household production system greatly improved the productivity of farmers as the household became the basic production unit and their production activities were arranged to meet market demand. Minorities started to implement more intensive agriculture and pay more attention to the management of their fields, build irrigation systems in order to improve the productivity. With the growth of the local economy, the income of farmers has increased gradually. Lowlanders who have better access to transport and markets have done better than the highlanders. For example, the Hani and Jinuo often fall behind the Dai farmers who are always the first to grow new cash crops like watermelon, banana and sugar cane (Kui, 1997).

In 1999, the Land Management Law replaced the Household Production System, which enables farmers to cultivate land for a period of thirty years instead of redistributing land every three to four years. As land tenure policies changed, minorities planted more and more cardamom, rubber, tea and other cash crops in order to gain a cash flow. Meanwhile, with the development of the free market, more minority farmers engage in doing business with Han people by selling grains, vegetables and

fruits at the farmers' market in the town or selling rubber and tea to merchants who come to their villages. Inspired by the Han, some Dai farmers started to collect rubber, tea or soybeans from villages and then sold to Han merchants at higher prices. However, minorities have still kept their traditions of exchanging agricultural products among different groups. Since the 1990s, the pattern of land use and the natural landscape of Banna have altered significantly as paddy rice growing has been replaced by new economic plants, primarily rubber.

For thousands of years, the indigenous minorities of Banna lived in harmony with nature, participating in a culture of using and managing natural landscapes and resources, including shifting cultivation, fuel wood gardens, and home garden ecosystems (Wu and Qu, 1995). They understood relationships between humanity and the environment, and recognized the hierarchy of forest→water→cultivated field→grain→humanity (Wu and Qu, 1995). They believed that forests provide water through rivers and then water irrigated fields which produce grain for humans. They collected wild bamboo shoots, fungi, mushrooms, vegetables, and edible insects from the forests. They also grew crops without the aid of chemical or organic fertilizers, herbicides or pesticides. Caring for the environment and protecting forests were important virtue of minorities. The holy hills of the Dai provide a good example of a traditional approach to environmental conservation. A holy hill is a strictly protected natural virgin forest in which gods reside. All animals and plants inhabiting the holy hill are believed to be the creatures of the gods, and thus, they are inviolable. Any activities including hunting, forestry and planting are prohibited in the holy hill. These holy hills are oases of undisturbed biodiversity of the region. However, this harmonious relationship is threatened by economic development that involves extensive rubber plantation, illegal exploitation, deforestation, soil erosion, environmental pollution, and development without comprehensive planning (Wu and Qu, 1995).

Rubber was first introduced to Banna in 1948, but plantations did not start until 1953 (Interviews with local people). In order to meet the needs of rubber, the Chinese state sent professionals to Banna in the early 1950s to look for suitable places for growing rubber. Lands below 800m elevation were found to be good sites for rubber plantations. In 1956, the state began sending soldiers from Hunan Province to Banna to clear the forest for rubber plantations. Many wild animals and precious plants disappeared as a result of deforestation. A collective of state-run farms was created to grow rubber trees. Encouraged by the state, rubber plantations grew significantly. By 1990, in addition to many smaller local rubber plantations, 10 national rubber farms involving

140,000 people were set up in the basins in Banna (Wu and Qu, 1995). Especially, in the past ten years, rubber plantations expanded radically due to the rapid rise of rubber prices. Driven by economic benefits, more and more people, including local officials, minority farmers, and business people locally and from the outside, have joined rubber plantations or invested in the associated business. The area growing rubber trees has expanded to 1200m elevation although rubber production declines above the 800m elevation (Interviews with local officials). The number of rubber trees has become an indicator of the successful livelihood of villagers. A lot of village lands, clan lands and family lands previously used to grow crops have been converted to grow rubber, and even water source forests have been cut down in order to open up more lands for rubber trees.

Traditional environmental and ecological knowledge are much devalued when indigenous people are facing the market economy. Rubber plantations, covering 1898 sq km in 2005, have become a major agricultural activity (Government of XDAP, 2006). Producing 190,700 ton rubber, Banna has become the second largest rubber production area in China (Government of XDAP, 2006). The rapid growth of rubber plantations has stimulated the local economy and brought many benefits to local governments and communities, but also caused tensions between local people and the new arrivals as they competed for the limited resources and posed a threat to the natural environment and resources. Many environmental issues such as deforestation, land degradation and soil erosion emerged. These negative impacts were ignored for a long time and now the trend of growing rubber trees is out of control. However, this issue has been recognized by the government, which is trying to introduce limits on rubber tree growth.

Similar to rubber plantations, tea production has grown rapidly in Banna in the past twenty years. The region is the base for Pu'er tea that is highly valued for its wide health benefits. In recent years, Pu'er tea has become more and more loved by the tea drinkers around China and it is also becoming more popular among the western countries. Banna was famous for its tea, which was one of the best goods in the market in the Song Dynasty (960ñ1279 A.D.) (Interviews with local people). Later, tea plantations were abandoned due to poor management and exploitation by traders and rulers. They were restored in the late 1950s and prospered in the 1990s. In the past ten years, driven by the market, tea production expanded enormously. Due to traders' price marks up, the market price of Pu'er tea has increased extraordinarily and exceeded its true value. More and more people have invested in Pu'er tea, which encouraged expansion of tea plantations. In the areas which are not suitable for rubber trees such as Menghai county, tea trees cover the mountains. Again, driven by

high profits, forest lands have been changed to grow tea. In 2005, tea plantations cover 284 sq km (Government of XDAP, 2006).

The rapid growth of tea has benefited local communities to some extent, but also brought environmental problems such as deforestation, land degradation and soil erosion. Forest coverage in Banna has been reduced at a rapid rate. The coverage was about 66.9% in 1950 and dropped to 63.2% by 2005 according to official statistics (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2006). However, some studies show that the coverage of forests is much lower than that officially reported (Wu and Ou, 1995). In recent years, more local people have started to be aware of their costs of the rubber and tea trees. Some local villages are facing water shortages and have to relocate for water supply. As the decrease of the forests contributes to diminishment of fauna and flora, local people and the environment suffer enormous losses. Despite the efforts made by the local government to restrict more lands from being used for rubber and tea plantations, the results have not been satisfactory. New regulations are called for forbidding rubber and tea plantations from expanding. Establishing new industries, such as the flax industry, has been proposed by the local officials. Flax plantations are now being experimented with and promoted in some areas of Banna. However, it is a question whether flax production is a good solution to replace rubber. Promoting the tourism sector has also been suggested by some scholars to replace rubber plantations as the major industry of the region.

In 1999, the annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Banna reached 4.4 billion RMB (CAD\$0.63 billion), approximately 2.4% of the Yunnan Provincial GDP. In 2004, the annual GDP increased to 6.88 billion RMB (CAD\$0.99 billion), ranked 12<sup>th</sup> among Yunnan's prefectures (Government of XDAP, 2006). Over twenty years' development, Banna's economy improved and the economic structure was modified greatly in favour of the development of tertiary industries. The composition of primary, secondary and tertiary Industries in the local economy were adjusted from 61.54:16.61:21.85 in 1985 to 34:26.1:39.9 in 2005 due to the growth of tourism and trade (Banna Statistics Bureau, 2005). The proportion of primary industries fell dramatically while tertiary industries expanded. Here, primary industry includes farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishing. Secondary industry includes mining, quarrying, manufacturing, production and supply of electricity and construction. All other industries are included in the tertiary industry ñ transportation, communications, wholesale and retail trade, finance, tourism, education, health and so on. Agriculture still plays a substantial role in the local economy in spite of the rapid growth of the tertiary industries.

### **3.3.3 The tourism sector and ethnic tourism**

Banna's subtropical climate, beautiful rainforest landscape, well-preserved Dai bamboo houses, frontier location, and multi-ethnic culture indicate a great potential for tourism development. Tourism activities were almost non-existent prior to 1980 due to the restrictions of the state. Ethnic tourism in Banna started in the early 1980s. After Banna was designated as one of forty-four national-level scenic sites by the Chinese government in 1982, the popularity of Banna among Chinese and overseas tourists increased gradually. In 1985, the planning committee of tourist zones was established and formulated the first master plan for tourist zones in Banna. In the same year, the Banna Prefecture Tourism Bureau was created, and Jinghong and Menghai were opened to foreigners for sightseeing. In 1986, Banna's first international travel agency was established. During the 1980s, domestic tourism grew slowly and there were only a few international tourists. In the latter 1980s, the establishment of economic ties between China and the ASEAN nations and other neighboring countries and the launch of the Lancang-Mekong corridor development plan brought more opportunities for Banna to develop border trade and tourism. In 1992, the issue of an open-door policy in border regions by the Chinese government had a big impact on the international tourism market of Banna. The agreement among China, Burma, Thailand and Laos enabled tourists to cross the border with less formality, which attracted both Chinese domestic tourists and international tourists from Thailand, Singapore and other countries. A large number of tourists from Southeast Asia flocked to Banna to trace their roots.

In 1991, encouraged by the provincial government to enhance the development of tertiary industries led by tourism, the prefecture government identified the importance of the tourism sector in the local economy and began to strengthen tourism development more actively. Following the preferential tourism policies were instituted and a big wave of infrastructure construction, such as hotels, roads and other communication networks, surged over Banna. The sweeping construction of scenic spots and folk villages started as the local government appropriated the lands and designated villages for the creation of new tourist zones. By 1992, twelve scenic spots and cultural sites were created and several cross-border tourist routes were established. Such significant tourism development stimulated a huge flow of Han workers to Banna. With the completion of the Banna airport in 1992, Han tourists from the north and eastern coast areas of China flocked to Banna. Many were intrigued by images of beautiful Dai women bathing in rivers, wild elephants grazing the rain forests, and attractive Hani and Bulang minority women dancing in the tourist brochures. As a matter of fact,



ìBannaî is a symbolic word in the Han Chinese imagination as an exotic border region, which is a mysterious land and culturally desirable place to visit.

Along with the implementation of the grand development of the western region by the state and the promotion of ethnic tourism by the provincial government, the tourism sector in Banna achieved significant progress during the 1990s. It approached its peak in 1999 with arrivals of 53,882 international tourists and 2,552,000 domestic tourists when the World Horticulture Exposition was hosted in Kunming (TBBP, 2006, Table 3.2). Tourism has become one of the leading industries in Banna. However, the tourism sector has stagnated since 2000 due to many underlying issues in local tourism planning and management, which will be discussed in chapter five. The emergence of new tourist destinations, such as Lijiang and Shangri-la in northwest Yunnan, has also drawn many tourists away from Banna. Official statistics shows that domestic tourists are increasing with slight fluctuations, but international tourists have decreased from 2000 to 2005 (Figure 3.1). Consequently, international tourism revenue is declining while total tourism revenue is still expanding due to the growth of domestic tourism (Figure 3.2). In 2003, international tourists declined dramatically because of the impact of SARS.

Southeast Asian countries have been a major source of international tourists to Banna. The keenest market interest to Banna is in Thailand because the Thaiís have historic ties with the Banna area and the Thai culture is an offspring of the Dai culture of the region. The Japanese are the second largest Asian market as they have much interest in visiting Banna. Western tourists mainly from the US and Europe tend to travel overland from Laos to Banna or from Bangkok on the Mekong River for visits to minority villages. According to Tourism Bureau of Banna Prefecture (TBBP), thirteen tourist sites were established by 2006, of which 5 are ranked as 4A tourist site by the CNTA. There are 140 accommodation facilities, of which 32 are hotels. There are 13 travel agencies, 50 restaurants and entertainment facilities, and 20 sport facilities distributed around the prefecture. By the end of 2005, 15,000 persons were engaged in the tourism sector, of whom 1,357 were tour guides (TBBP, 2006).

The local government has designated many local villages as tourist spots since the 1990s, and has permitted them to engage in tourism business. These villages hospitably entertain tourists with ethnic foods, crafts, dances, songs and wedding shows. Tourists can watch or participate in staged cultural performances, visit minority homes, taste ethnic foods and even stay overnight in bamboo houses. Masses of package tourists have been brought to these tourist villages by the travel agencies.

Many villagers have abandoned their rice cultivation and devoted themselves to tourism business in order to gain a faster cash flow. Dai Yuan, located in Menghan Township and based on five living Dai villages, is a good example of these designated villages. As one of the specific study sites explored in this research, the following section will introduce it in detail. Some purposely-built folk villages were created as well, such as the Banna Ethnic Garden, which is a cultural park with the exhibition of traditional houses, crafts and customs of minorities. Tourists can enjoy dances, songs, and folk customs performed by several minority groups of Banna. Run by Han managers from a state-sponsored farm, the park was also an authorized show window of cultural policy for minority peoples. The park was built in 1987 and was prosperous in the 1990s. However, it has been almost dead since 2000 due to poor management and financial difficulties. It is important to note here that the tourism business of both the designated tourist villages and the purpose-built folk villages tend to be dominated by Han managers. In general, the Han have played a significant role in the development of ethnic tourism in Banna.

With the promotion of ethnic tourism, many ethnic food restaurants run by minorities have appeared in Banna since the late 1980s. Catering for tourists, these restaurants hire many young and attractive minority women from the villages as waitresses and offer dancing shows during dinner. Even the ethnic food is adjusted to suit the tastes of tourists. A Dai food restaurant street provides a good example of the minority themselves creating a tourist culture based on their traditions. In 1986, a Dai family from a small village opened a Dai restaurant on Manjinglan road in Jinghong city. It became very popular among tourists in a short period of time because it was the first Dai food restaurant in Jinghong run by Dai villagers themselves.

Following the success of this restaurant, many similar Dai restaurants with ethnic flavours opened forming a unique Dai food restaurant street. The street became a big tourist draw and created a distinctive cultural flavour in Banna. However, the Dai flavour faded away when the street was reconstructed in the 1990s. Those popular Dai restaurants have been replaced by crowded apartments, hotels and high-rise buildings as a result of the poorly-planned city construction. (This is a typical case of the city construction in Banna.) However, the impact of this Dai street was so significant that some tourists still come to Banna to look for this street today. In addition to ethnic restaurants, a lot of ethnic souvenir shops either owned by minorities or the Han spread over Banna. Both handicrafts made by minorities and machine-made crafts imported from other areas fill the market. These ethnic restaurants and souvenir shops not only contribute to ethnic tourism

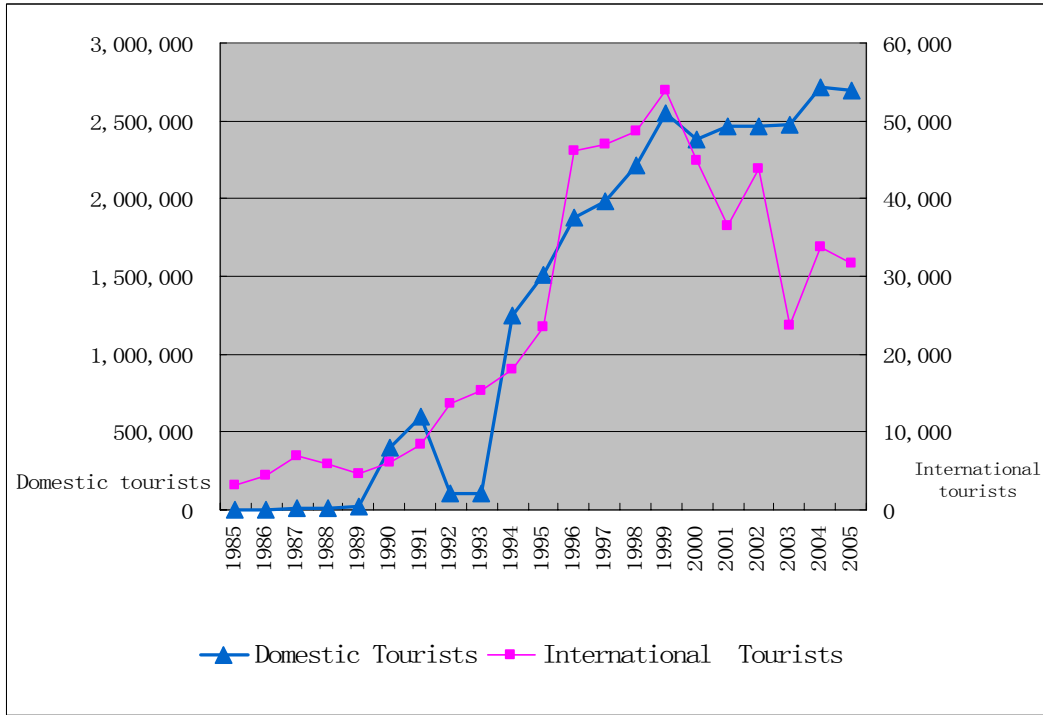
development but also add an alternative to the Han-dominated tourist sector.

**Table 3.2 Number of Tourists and Tourism Revenue in Xishuangbanna**

Year	International Tourists	International Tourism Revenue (Million US\$)	Domestic Tourists	Total Tourism Revenue	
				Million RMB	Million US \$ (Current Value)
1985	3,198	*	2,167	*	
1986	4,437	*	3,802	*	
1987	6,908	*	5,384	*	
1988	5,979	0.3	5,338	*	
1989	4,548	0.21	20,530	*	
1990	6,144	0.78	400,000	*	
1991	8,460	2.05	600,000	36	4.57
1992	13,609	4.47	100,000	10	1.27
1993	15,305	6.5	100,000	207	26.29
1994	18,000	5.52	1,250,000	790	100.34
1995	23,600	7.3	1,514,000	950	120.66
1996	46,227	13.25	1,873,400	1,290	163.84
1997	47,000	15.37	1,980,000	1,300	165.11
1998	48,682	22.08	2,211,200	1,776	225.57
1999	53,882	23.14	2,552,000	1,912	242.84
2000	44,817	21.51	2,377,300	1,830	232.42
2001	36,419	14.08	2,470,100	1,626	206.52
2002	43,783	16.06	2,465,800	2,150	273.07
2003	23,793	10.25	2,473,800	2,050	260.37
2004	33,715	13.12	2,712,300	2,475	314.34
2005	31,715	13.21	2,699,900	2,439	309.77

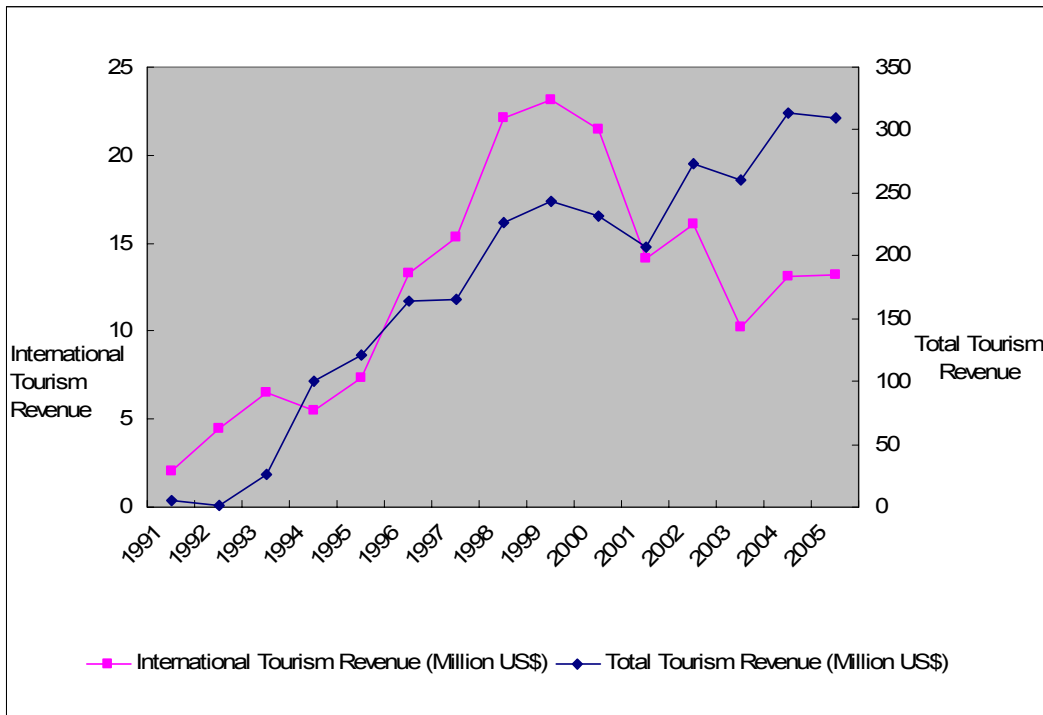
Source: (Banna Statistics Bureau, 1985-1989; TBBP, 2006)

Note: \* represents missing data, which is not included in the official statistics. Data from 1985 to 1989 comes from Banna Statistical Yearbook (1985-1989) and the rest of data from the TBBP)



**Figure 3.3 Tourist Flow in Xishuangbanna from 1978 to 2005**

Source: (Banna Statistics Bureau, 1985-1989; TBBP, 2006)



**Figure 3.4 Tourism Revenue in Xishuangbanna from 1991 to 2005**

Source: (TBBP, 2006)

### **3.4 Selection of specific study sites**

In order to study ethnic tourism from different perspectives and observe dynamic relationships and interactions among multiple stakeholders, two ethnic attractions were selected as the main study sites: Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai. Three criteria were used for selecting specific sites in order to gather data that best answer the research questions. First, the site had to be a popular ethnic cultural attraction. Second, the site had to be based on ethnic communities who engage in tourism business. Third, multiple stakeholders had to be involved in the development of the site. Based on these criteria, the researcher began visiting the main ethnic attractions in Banna to determine which sites would best suit the study given the defined research objectives. Over a month, major tourist attractions were explored, including: Dai Yuan, Mengjinglai Park, Jinuo Cultural Park, Primeval Forest Park, Wild Elephants Valley, Menglun Tropical Botanical Garden, Jingzhen Octagonal Pagoda, Garden of Tropical Flowers and Nanno Mountain Scenic Spot. Site visits were not only necessary for identifying a suitable study site, but also to provide more general and sufficient information about ethnic tourism in Banna. During this period, a number of interviews were also conducted with local officials, researchers, tourism planners, developers and managers, local residents and tourists to identify their perceptions of ethnic tourism in Banna generally, but also at specific sites.

The site assessment and interview process ultimately led to the conclusion that Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai most closely met the site selection criteria and would be the most suitable sites for the purposes of this study. Dai Yuan was determined to be a very suitable site because it is the largest and most successful tourist village in Banna in terms of tourist flow and generated revenue. Mengjinglai, possessing similar characteristics as Dai Yuan, was also chosen as a second study site, allowing a site comparison. It currently receives relatively few tourists, but is being promoted and developed as an ethnic tourism destination. The officials in the Banna Tourism Bureau highly recommended these two sites because the sites are officially designated tourist villages and ethnic communities in the villages had a long history of involvement in tourism. Both sites are representative ethnic attractions in Banna and play significant roles in the ethnic tourism market. They are highly recommended to tourists in the local tourist brochures. They present an exhibition of traditions, customs, folk culture and the way of life of Dai people as well as beautiful subtropical yard scenes and well preserved stilt bamboo houses. Dai Yuan is run by a manager from a state-run farm while Mengjinglai is run by a private tour company. Both sites will be described in turn.

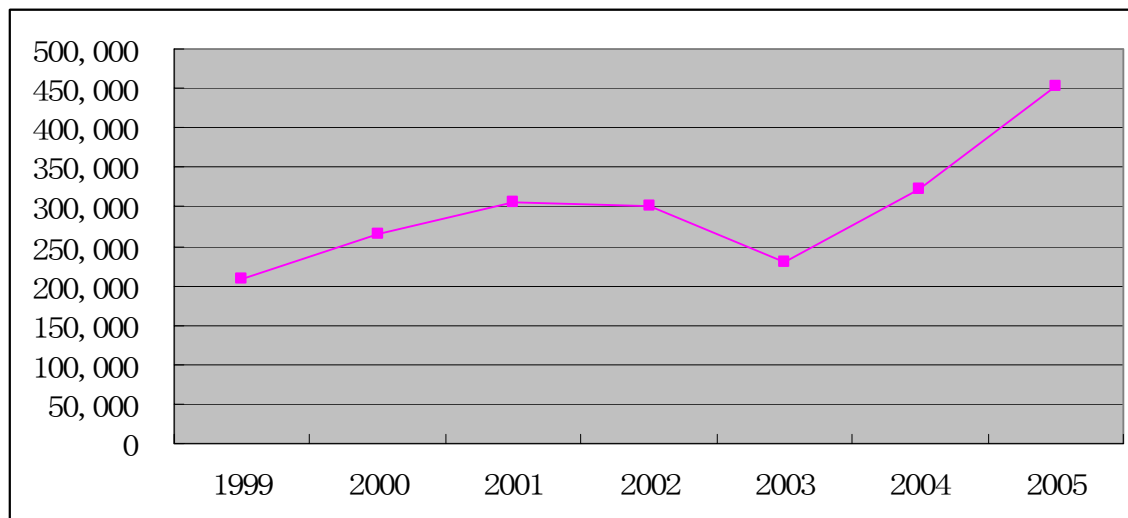
Dai Yuan (Dai Garden), located in Menghan Township, is twenty-seven kilometers away from Jinghong city. It contains five villages in a natural garden setting that present the Dai culture to the visitors. Menghan is one of the basins along the Lancang River. Ganlanba (iOlive Basinî literally) is an alternative name of Menghan, meaning i the brilliant back feature of the peacockî (Li, 2004). It represents the most beautiful and abundant place in Banna. This area is also called i Mengbala Naxiî by the Dai, which means i paradise on earthî .



Figure 3.5 The Splendid Gate of Dai Yuan

Dai Yuan, 334 hectares in size, is a well-developed ethnic attraction. It consists of five natural Dai villages: Manjiang (bamboo village), Manchunman (garden village), Manzha (chefs village), Manga (market village) and Manting (royal garden village). These five villages are well preserved living examples of Dai villages. They include 326 households and 1,536 people in total. A splendid gate has been built at the entrance to the five villages to package the villages as one tourist site. Surrounded by the Mekong River to the south and Longde Lake to the north, Dai Yuan enjoys great fame for its beautiful subtropical yard scenery and exquisite stilt bamboo houses. It was designated as a tourist site in 1999 following the provincial plan of construction of Yunnan as a tourism destination with an emphasis on ethnic cultures. It was ranked as a 4A tourist site by the CNTA in 2001. This is the highest tourist site rating in China currently (5A tourist site rating is proposed currently, but it is not in practice yet).

Dai Yuan has been heavily supported and promoted since 1999 by the local government as a showcase of the culture and life of the Dai people. A variety of activities have been presented to tourists, including staged dance performances, wedding shows, water-splashing events, gourd flute playing, temple tours, exhibitions of traditional Dai crafts and agricultural tools, visits to stilt bamboo houses, and Dai food tasting. Beautiful young girls from these five villages, as well as other villages, have been hired by the company as tour guides, dancers or cultural performers. A small number of young men have been hired as dancers or security guards. Old villagers tend to be hired as craft makers, gardeners or cleaners. The villagers can sell their crafts and fruits along the tour routes and can also provide food and accommodation for tourists. It has become a well-known tourist icon and a model of cultural exhibition and preservation in Banna. The number of tourists visiting the park increased from 209,000 in 1999 to 452,000 in 2005 as shown in Figure 3.3, and tourism revenue increased from 2.46 million RMB (CAD\$0.35 million) in 1999 to 14.6 million RMB (CAD\$2.1 million) in 2005. Many anthropologists, both locally and from abroad, have congregated here to research the cultural change and the impact of tourism on Dai communities.



**Figure 3.6 Visitors in Dai Yuan from 1999 to 2005**

Source: (Interview with the manager of the Dai Yuan, 2006)

Operated by a joint-venture company, Dai Yuan is closely tied to a state-run Ganlanba Farm, which is the largest state-sponsored enterprise in Menghan. In 1998, a private Cantonese company, Guangdong Dongwan Industrial Credit Company, initiated creation of Dai Yuan. The Ganlanba

Farm became co-investors when the Cantonese company was short of funds in 1999. Later, the Cantonese company withdrew its investment because of management issues with the Farm, and the Farm became the biggest stockholder of Dai Yuan. The Yiliang Nanggang Construction Company from Kunming also became a small stockholder when the Cantonese company could not pay back the construction fee, and converted its debt into shares. The executive managers and staff of Dai Yuan are appointed by the stockholders. These managers and staff are mainly Han people from the Farm.

Dai Yuan, however, is not the initiator of tourism business in the villages. The history of tourism development in the villages dates back to the 1980s. After Banna opened its door to the outside, a few tourists came to the villages to visit Dai houses and temples. The temple of Manchunman village, built in 583 A.D., is the biggest Theravada Buddhist temple in Ganlanba. Many important Buddhist ceremonies and religious activities are held in this temple, which attract pilgrim tourists who come to the temple and also wander around the villages. In the early 1980s, the villagers only cultivated paddy rice, fruits and vegetables, and a few of them could speak Mandarin. The villages were isolated from the outside world due to bad roads and poor transportation. With the presence of more tourists, the villagers started to sell fruits and Dai barbecue to tourists, but they still focused on paddy rice agriculture. Some Han people, mainly from Hunan Province, saw the potential business opportunities and initiated individual tourism businesses in the villages. They rented villagers' houses to sell daily necessities and tourist products. Dressed in Dai clothes, they offered Dai food, crafts and Dai house visits to tourists. Most of the Han withdrew because of the limited growth potential of their business in the early 1990s.

Inspired by the Han people, more local villagers started to engage in tourism business after the Han withdrew. Manchunman was the first village involved in tourism business. A bamboo gate was built at its entrance and 1 RMB (0.14 CAD) was charged for each visitor. The profit was shared by all villagers. From 1995 to 1997, a former accountant of the village, who could speak Mandarin fluently and had a middle school education, contracted with the village to develop tourism on behalf of the village in order to gain more profits. In the contract, he would return 80,000 RMB (11,362.39 CAD) to the village each year. He collected 93,000 RMB (13,209.74 CAD) in loans from the villagers and 30,000 RMB (4,260.68 CAD) from the bank, which was used to build a parking lot in front of the temple and improve the roads and natural environment of the village. The entrance fee was then increased to 3 RMB (0.43 CAD). The main tourist activities included visiting Dai houses and



sampling Dai foods. The villagers set up stands to sell food, fruits and crafts to tourists, but agriculture was still their main work. The profit was good in 1996, but quickly shrank in the next year due to high competition among neighboring villages. Learning from Manchunman, the villages Manjiang and Manting built gates at their entrances and charged 1 RMB per visitor. Each village gave bonuses to tour guides in order to have more tourists, which caused intense competition and overall decrease of tourists.

The self-development of the villages was ended by 1998, when the Cantonese company contracted with the five villages to build them into a tourist site. Since then, Dai Yuan has operated these villages as a cultural park and built infrastructure and tourist facilities gradually, including a fancy entrance gate, welcoming square, water-splashing square and fountain, performance theatre, public washrooms and walkways. The village was improved by routing power lines and water pipes underground. The natural environment of the villages has been improved through landscaping and planting of additional trees and flowers. Additionally, the temple of Manchunman was refurbished. The villagers have engaged in tourism mainly through working for the park as employees, selling fruits, crafts or souvenirs, or offering Dai food and accommodation. Some households have abandoned traditional agriculture and leased their rice fields to Han business people in order to gain more cash from tourism business. Overnight home-stay or bed-and-breakfast is very popular during the long holidays and the Dai New Year when local hotels cannot accommodate the masses of Chinese tourists. Dai house touring was the most profitable business operated by village women because tourists usually bought local tea, Dai crafts and silver bracelets or necklaces on their visits. However, this business is shrinking due to the increase in fake silver products being sold at Dai houses as well as a great number of Dai house tours run by Han people elsewhere. Generally speaking, the average living standard of the villages is higher than neighboring villages in terms of disposable income, housing and road infrastructure.

Similar to Dai Yuan, Mengjinglai is also a cultural park that presents the Dai culture to the visitors. It covers 5.6 sq km and is smaller than Dai Yuan. It was ranked as a 3A tourist site by the National Tourism Administration in 2004. It is located in Daluo Township in Menghai County. Daluo, meaning 'a ferry crossing where multi-ethnic groups live together' in the Dai language, is located in Menghai County, southwest of Banna. It is a small town near the China-Burma border and 134 kilometers away from Jinghong city. It is on one of the convenient routes from Yunnan to the southeast countries because it is only 300 kilometers away from Chiang Mai, the second largest city

of Thailand. It is a major place for border tourism in Banna and for trade between the Chinese and Burma people. The border market and tourism were flourishing before the border gate was closed at the end of 2004 due to cross-border gambling issues and the huge leakage of Chinese capital. Tourism has shrunk enormously since the closure of the gate. At the time of research, there were only a few tourists in Daluo.

Mengjinglai, is also called 'the first village of China-Burma', which implies its long history. According to the oldest people in the village, it has more than 1,000 years history and it already existed before Jinglong kingdom was created. However, no official records documented the history of the village. It is a remote and less developed Dai village, which consists of 99 households and 460 people. It borders Burma to the east and is five kilometers away from the Daluo border gate. The history of tourism development began in the late 1990s; a Han person from Kunming invested to develop the village as a cultural park. Later, he withdrew and passed the park to a business man from Hunan Province who contracted with the village for a period of 50 years.

In 2003, the park was purchased by a big private company, the Golden Peacock Tour Company, when the initial developers ran out of funds. Now, it is operated by this company. The owner of the company is an enterprise controlled by Han interests from Zhejiang Province in the eastern coast of China. The enterprise started to invest in the Banna Primeval Forest Park in 1995, and then purchased the Wild Elephant Valley, a state-run park, as well as Jinuo Cultural Park and Nanno Mountain Scenic Spot. In 2003, the Golden Peacock Tour Company was established formally. It also became the major shareholder of the Banna International Travel Agency as well as the owner of cruise operators in 2004. It has expanded dramatically in the past ten years and has become the largest tour company in Banna. The company has appointed executive managers of the park and invested in the building of tour roads, simple tourist facilities for the village as well as a village entrance gate in order to charge the entrance fee.

The village demonstrates excellent exhibitions of traditional Dai crafts and agricultural tools, dance performances, bamboo house tours, temple and pagoda tours. In addition to these attractions, the village is surrounded by beautiful natural scenery including wild gardens and forests. Bordered by the Daluo River to the south, river raft tours add another attraction to the village. However, villagers are not allowed to provide food and accommodation for packaged tourists. The company provides food and accommodation for tourists in its own restaurants and hotels outside of the village. The

villagers can sell their crafts, fruits, and vegetables at a small square playground, in the village which is called Ganbaichang (farm market). However, they cannot sell things along the tour routes or operate their own tourism business without the permission of the company.

The villagers have a relatively poor life compared with people in Dai Yuan. The bamboo houses of the village are much older and smaller than those of Dai Yuan. The village previously depended on small-scale paddy rice agriculture and had a meagre economy as a result. It was geographically isolated and only a few villagers could speak Mandarin. Since the 1990s, tourism, trade, and the expansion of agriculture into rubber plantations, have contributed to the economic growth of the village. The villagers engage in tourism mainly through working for the park as tour guides, craft-makers, dancers, security guards or cleaners. The young villagers work as tour guides and dancers, while the old villagers perform traditional handicrafts, making pottery, wine, and textiles. The park had 100,000 tourists in 2004 prior to the border gate closing, but since the closure this number has dwindled to only about 100 per day. Until the gate reopens, the company has decided to stop new investment and maintain current attractions.

In order to assess the current status of ethnic tourism at Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai, and thus be able to identify associated issues and provide planning direction, the existing tourism-park-community relationships and impacts were explored. The insights from the various stakeholders at each site were sought, including information on park planning, management and operations, community perceptions of the park and tourism, and tourists' perspective. In addition to these sites, the researcher also went to other cultural sites and minority villages to gain a broad understanding of how ethnic tourism was conducted in these areas and different stakeholders' perceptions of ethnic tourism. To the extent possible, the researcher visited these sites and participated in the activities that were offered.

### **3.5 Summary**

Owing to its diverse population and cultural and natural richness, and thanks to the economic reforms and improvement of infrastructure and tourist facilities since the 1980s, China has become a popular tourist destination, which is proven to be a good site to study tourism. Yunnan Province, home to 25 minority groups, has the greatest diversity of minority peoples in China and a well developed tourism sector. Hemmed in by mountains and isolated from the rest of China, minorities have preserved their exotic cultures and maintained uniquely different lifestyles from the Han

Chinese, which have a great appeal to both Han Chinese and foreign tourists. Today, Yunnan has built an image of a world-renowned ethnic tourist destination and a popular place to study minority culture and ethnic tourism. Within Yunnan, Xishuangbanna is the one of most popular destination areas for ethnic tourists. Its tropical climate, beautiful rainforest scenery and diverse culture make it a unique attraction to visitors from rest of the country and abroad. Ethnic culture has been highlighted and promoted in tourism development, and ethnic tourism has become an important regional development strategy in Banna.

This chapter has introduced the historical background and current status of China's ethnic minorities from the national level to the prefecture level as well as tourism development at each level. The history, geographic attributes and resources of Yunnan and Banna are described. Two specific ethnic attractions were selected for further study and discussed as well. Banna in Yunnan Province, southwest China was chosen as the study site to apply the conceptual framework because it is one of the earliest developed and most well-known ethnic tourist destinations in China. It provides a rich site to study the dynamic relationships among ethnic tourism, modernization and commodification of ethnic culture, and associated planning issues. The two ethnic village-based cultural attractions in Banna are good sites to research the tourism-park-community relationships and impacts, the interactions among multiple tourism stakeholders, and to evaluate the roles and attitudes of stakeholders towards ethnic tourism planning and development.

## Chapter Four Research Methods

Chapter three described the study area and the rationale for its selection. This chapter covers the research methods that were employed in a field study of ethnic tourism, including details about the field research undertaken in Xishuangbanna (hereafter Banna), Yunnan, China. In addition to data collection methods, methods of data analysis are also discussed.

Section 4.1 describes the details and experiences in the field research. Section 4.2 introduces the research approach adopted in the fieldwork. Section 4.3 presents the research design and comments upon ethical considerations. Section 4.4 outlines the data collection process and methods. The strengths and weaknesses of research methods are also discussed. Section 4.5 explains the data analysis methods employed. Section 4.6 discusses the research challenges and limitations. Section 4.7 concludes with a brief summary of the chapter.

### **4.1 Field research**

According to Babbie (1989), 'field research is a social research method that involves the direct observation of social phenomena in their natural settings' (p.288). Many of the techniques used in field research have been designed and have been developed through the work of anthropologists (Silverman, 1985). As Schatzman and Strauss (1973) noted, 'Field method is more like an umbrella of activity beneath which any technique may be used for gaining the desired end for processes of thinking about this information' (p.14).

From April 2006 to August 2006, intensive field research was conducted in Banna, Yunnan, China. The cultural background and previous research experiences of the researcher in Yunnan contributed greatly to the study. The researcher grew up in Yunnan and is very familiar with the local political system, government policies, and social and economic settings. Knowing the local culture and value system assisted her to quickly launch the field research. The fact that the researcher can speak Yunnan dialect brought much convenience for her as minority people generally can speak the dialect fluently besides their own minority language. Many minorities still have limited abilities to speak Mandarin, especially older people. Young people speak Mandarin much better than the old as a result of the implementation of nine-year compulsory education. Although the researcher is a Han person, being a Yunnanese shortened the distance between the researcher and minorities to a great extent. During the fieldtrips to the villages, the researcher was invited by many minority people to

visit their bamboo houses, taste home-made minority food, and attend their cultural events and religious activities. The researcher was very touched by the kindness, friendliness and hospitality of the minority people.

During the fieldwork, the researcher was able to live with a Dai host family in Dai Yuan for three weeks, which was very beneficial to her research. The village setting provided her with a good opportunity to observe closely authentic minority culture and staged cultural performances, the traditional life of minority people and the gradually changing life style towards modernization, the operation of the park, the relationships and conflicts between the park and villagers, interactions between villagers and tourists, and conflicts among villagers in tourism business competition. This family lives in one of the designated 'model houses' in Dai Yuan. The park has chosen several Dai families with big houses and beautiful natural gardens as model houses to host visiting officials, journalists, scholars or tourists who want to explore the living status of the Dai, experience the village life, or research tourism impacts on Dai people. These 'model houses' have been broadcast in the newspapers or TV programs as 'successful' examples of modern Dai families engaged in tourism business.



Figure 4.1 'Model' Dai house

Many photos on the wall of the researcher's host family showed its long history of hosting government officials and its good tourism business. The head of this family is an important elder in the village who is responsible for traditional religious activities and is highly respected by the villagers. He provided much useful information to the researcher, such as the history of the village and changes in Dai culture and customs. The family incorporated the researcher into their life kindly by making delicious Dai food for her and inviting her to join their evening activities ñ chatting and watching TV, and attending cultural events and religious activities in the village. The researcher was very impressed by their cultural events, which were very different from the cultural activities and performances presented to tourists.

Before living in Dai Yuan, the researcher visited the park several times as a tourist in order to gain a tourist's perspective and to understand the tourist experience. At the beginning of interaction with villagers, people always asked the researcher whether she was a journalist and they were reluctant to answer her questions related to the park operation. After she clarified and explained her research purpose, villagers began to share some information about their tourism business with her, but they still continued to warn her not to release their complaints to the park management. The researcher felt that marked tension existed between the villagers and the park. This was confirmed by her research assistant who was a staff member in the park. He was arranged by the park manager to assist in her work. Although this person is a Han, he grew up locally and can speak Dai fluently. He has worked for the park since it was open and has good relationships with the villagers. With his aid, the researcher collected information about the park, including the operation of the park, visitor statistics and park plans, and discovered sensitive issues that existed between the villagers and the park.

The villagers were very careful about sharing information with journalists because certain issues might be publicized and cause a negative impact on their tourism business. When the researcher got to know some villagers very well and gained their trust, they acknowledged that they had conflicts with the park management and felt that they were being taken advantage of by the enterprise. The villagers were afraid of the powerful park management because they could restrict villagers' business opportunities, reduce the subsidies to the villages, and lower the payment to villagers who worked for the park. Dai Yuan has been highly supported by the local government and broadly broadcast as a 'successful' example of tourism business run by minority villagers and the enterprise in the mass media. However, behind the 'prosperous' picture of Dai Yuan, there are many

underlying issues that need to be addressed and resolved. This research will address these issues in the hopes that they may be mitigated through the application of recommendations for future planning and development.

The research experience in Mengjinglai was similar to that of Dai Yuan. There were many issues between the village and the park. The villagers complained about the operation of the park and felt that they were taken advantage of by the company. As noted earlier, the park manager controlled the tourism business in the village very strictly. The villagers had few opportunities to make cash through their own tourism business. The situation of the villagers in Mengjinglai was worse than that of Dai Yuan.

The park also arranged for a staff member to assist the researcher's work after she interviewed the manager. The assistant was a Dai who was the only minority person in the park management. He had graduated from a secondary school in Kunming and was fluent in both Mandarin and Dai. His responsibility was to help the company to recruit new employees and to mitigate issues between the village and the park. However, he was in an awkward situation between the company and village. On the one hand, he had to implement the company's policies and decisions; on the other hand, being a Dai, he could not ignore the villagers' requests. In fact, he was only loyal to the Han managers. When the villagers asked him to help them solve employment issues, he could not do anything except follow the managers' instructions.

The Dai assistant helped the researcher with surveys of park employees and interviews with older villagers. He translated Dai into Mandarin and Mandarin into Dai when the interviewed elders could not speak Mandarin or Yunnan dialect. Noticing the villagers were reluctant to say their concerns about the park during his presence, the researcher interviewed villagers alone after he had made contacts for her. The village headman, who has a good reputation among the villagers, also helped the researcher to conduct a survey of villagers. He provided general information about the village and its history of tourism development, while his father, who was a previous village headman, introduced the historical background of the village and their religion and customs. Thanks to their help, the fieldwork went smoothly in this village.

## **4.2 Research approach**

A case study approach was adopted in the research to collect data. A case study is the in-depth



examination of a single instance of some social phenomenon, such as a cultural group, a village, or a family (Babbie, 2004). The case study method is known for its simplicity, flexibility and capacity to collect qualitative data for research (Borse, 2004). Beeton (2005) defined a case study as 'a holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding of a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence' (p.42). As noted by Hartley (1994), case studies allow for 'processual, contextual and generally longitudinal analysis of the various actions and meanings which take place and which are constructed within specific social or organizational contexts' (p.212). It is sometimes argued that case studies are likely to reflect the bias of the researcher, who is the primary instrument of research design, data collection and analysis (Beeton, 2005). However, bias is not restricted to this method (Yin, 1994). It can enter into any method.

In an effort to limit personal and methodological biases, triangulation – looking at a phenomenon from multiple perspectives and sources of data – was used to neutralize bias and achieve a convergence of results. Triangulation has been proposed as a means for improving the credibility, dependability and objectivity of study findings (Decrop, 1999). Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (1991) identified four different types of triangulation: (1) data triangulation, where data are collected at different times or from different sources; (2) investigator triangulation, where different investigators independently collect data; (3) theory triangulation, where a theory is taken from one discipline and used to explain a phenomenon in another discipline; and (4) methodological triangulation, where multiple methods including quantitative and qualitative techniques are employed to study a single question. The key to triangulation is the selection of research strategies and measures that do not share the same methodological weakness, that is, errors and biases (Singleton *et al*, 1988). If different methods generate similar findings, the validity of the results increases.

In this study, data and methodological triangulation were adopted to obtain multiple perspectives from stakeholder groups in ethnic tourism. Regarding data triangulation, different data sources, including both primary and secondary sources of information, were used. Primary sources included observations, surveys and interviews. They were complemented by a variety of secondary data, including academic literature, newspapers, online information, official documents and statistics. With respect to methodological triangulation, both quantitative and qualitative approaches involving collection of documentary evidence, on-site observation, semi-structured interviews, casual conversations and questionnaire surveys were employed.

### **4.3 Research design**

In light of the conceptual framework, interview questions and survey questionnaires were designed to collect data in order to answer the research questions and thereby to fulfill the research purposes. Ethics clearance was obtained through the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics prior to conducting the fieldwork.

#### **4.3.1 Interview question design**

Different interview questions were designed for several groups, including government officials and planners, tourism developers and managers, local residents and tourists.

For government officials the following topics were addressed: the process of tourism development in Banna in general and ethnic tourism in particular, the historical background and current status of ethnic tourism, the benefits and negative impacts of ethnic tourism, the policies, plans and efforts for promoting ethnic tourism, perceptions of and attitudes towards ethnic tourism, and suggestions for future development.

For planners the following subjects were explored: the process of tourism planning, planning goals, objectives and approaches, the budget and funding sources for planning, the policies and plans for ethnic tourism, the scope and content of tourism plans, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of tourism plans, constraints for tourism planning, concerns and attitudes towards ethnic tourism planning, and suggestions for planning the future development of ethnic tourism.

For tourism developers and managers the following items were considered: tourism business operation situation, opportunities and constraints for business, impacts of ethnic tourism, perceptions of and attitudes towards ethnic tourism and tourism planning, concerns and suggestions for the planning of future development.

For local residents the following topics were identified: impacts of ethnic tourism, perceptions of and attitudes towards ethnic tourism and tourism planning, involvement in ethnic tourism, concerns and suggestions for planning future developments.

Tourists were asked for the following information: perceptions, attitudes towards and experiences of ethnic tourism, evaluations of ethnic product features, assessments of ethnic attractions, and the levels of satisfaction with their experiences, concerns and suggestions for planning of future development.

The complete list of questions used to guide key-informant interviews is included in Appendix A.

#### **4.3.2 Questionnaire design**

Three separate self-administrated questionnaires were designed for three groups: local residents, tourism employees and tourists. Questionnaires were comprised of both closed- and open-ended questions. A 5-point Likert perception scale was used allowing the measurement of different stakeholders' perspectives on ethnic tourism. Demographic characteristics were also included to permit the measurement of variations in perceptions based on age, sex, ethnicity, education, occupation and income.

The resident questionnaire consisted of four sections. The first section contained 25 attitudinal questions designed to measure perceived tourism impacts on the residents and their community. The impacts included economic, environmental and socio-cultural aspects. Participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement on tourism impacts on a 5-point Likert scale, in which 1 means strongly disagree, 2 disagree, 3 neutral/don't know, 4 agree, and 5 strongly agree. The second section had 5 questions to assess the quality of ethnic tourism products, including the ethnic folk village, cultural performance and ethnic souvenirs. The same scale was used. The third section consisted of 11 questions designed to evaluate the residents' perceptions of tourism development. The last section contained 6 open-ended questions as well as demographic and socio-economic items. The purpose of the open-ended questions was to collect more comments and concerns from residents and to encourage them to indicate their attitudes towards ethnic tourism planning. They were also asked if they would like to participate in planning and, if so, in what ways.

The tourism employee questionnaire consisted of five sections. The first, second and third sections were attitudinal and identical to those of the resident questionnaire and ranked on the same scale. The fourth section had 5 questions that measured employees' satisfaction with their jobs. Participants were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale, in which 1 means very dissatisfied, 2 dissatisfied, 3 neutral, 4 satisfied, and 5 very

satisfied. The last section was a set of open-ended questions. There were 3 questions related to the employee's business and demographic profile, and 4 questions were used to collect more information about tourism employee's attitudes towards ethnic tourism planning and development, whether or not they would like to participate in tourism planning and in what ways.

The tourist questionnaire contained four sections. The 5 questions in the first section were used to explore the tourist's motivations and experiences during the visit. The second section consisted of 19 questions designed to measure the degree of satisfaction with the visit to Banna, including overall satisfaction as well as satisfaction with different types of tourism. They were asked to respond on a scale from 1 -- very dissatisfied to 5 -- very satisfied. The third section contained closed- and open-ended questions. Questions concerning authenticity, expenditures, souvenirs and suggestions for future development of ethnic tourism were asked. The last section provided a demographic profile of the respondent.

Preliminary tests of surveys were undertaken to verify the validity and clarity of the survey questions before the project was conducted formally. A few minor changes were made in the wording and clarification of some questions after the tests. The complete questionnaires are presented in Appendix F, G and H

#### **4.3.3 Ethical considerations**

This research has been approved by the University of Waterloo's Office of Research Ethics (ORE # 13029). Ethical considerations in this research consisted of ensuring that the field work was conducted in a manner that respects local customs, cultures and traditions. The confidentiality of responses of study participants will be maintained and all documents have been kept in a secure manner. A study information letter was presented to all interviewees and survey participants. Appendix A and C contains copies of the information letter and consent form.

#### **4.4 Data collection methods**

In addition to primary data collected through interviews, surveys and observations, secondary data about tourism plans, ethnic policies and tourism flows in the region were obtained from the Government of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (XDAP), Tourism Administration and other government agencies. Secondary data sources are not only a good supplement to primary data sources, but also can contribute to the design of the interview questions and survey questionnaires.

Each research method has particular strengths and weaknesses; thus, by applying mixed methods in research, the weaknesses of one method can be minimized by drawing on the strengths of other methods (Babbie, 2004).

The research began with an extensive review of relevant literature, newspaper articles, online information, official documents, and statistics. Then key-informant interviews with government officials (policy makers, planners, and tourism authorities), tourism entrepreneurs, and ethnic community leaders were conducted in order to understand their attitudes towards ethnic tourism, and to identify the roles and objectives of the government, tourism entrepreneurs, and ethnic people in ethnic tourism planning and development. This was then followed by surveys of tourists, local residents and park employees designed to collect demographic data as well as data on their perceptions, assessments, satisfactions and suggestions. During the survey process, a sample of tourists, local residents and park employees were interviewed on specific topics in more depth in order to better understand their perceptions of issues associated with ethnic tourism. Finally, on-site observation was used to observe relationships and interactions among different stakeholders. The different methods and their links to specific research goals are as follows:

#### **4.4.1 Secondary data collection**

Fieldwork began with the collection and review of relevant literature, newspaper articles, online information, official documents, master plans, and statistics on ethnic tourism. Secondary data sources are an important source of information on the socioeconomic environment and political structure of ethnic tourism. The purpose of the document review was to gain general knowledge about ethnic tourism and to identify key decision-makers and stakeholders in ethnic tourism planning and the development process. Sources of secondary data include provincial, prefecture and city-level tourism administrations, ethnic minority administrations and other relevant government agencies. Information on state policies on ethnic tourism and ethnic minorities, the history, the current situation and magnitude of ethnic tourism, the role of government in directing ethnic tourism, the context in which ethnic tourism has evolved, how ethnic tourism has been planned and socio-cultural responses from the society were collected.

Various information on ethnic tourism generally and specifically with respect to China, Yunnan and Banna was collected. Newspaper articles and online information related to ethnic tourism were carefully reviewed. Published and unpublished government statistics were used to understand the

magnitude and development of ethnic tourism in Banna. The main sources were the records from the Tourism Administration of Banna and the Statistical Yearbook of Banna from 1986 to 2005 ñ the period of tourism initiation and growth. Government policies on ethnic minorities and ethnic tourism were reviewed to understand how policies affected ethnic tourism and minority cultures.

Planning documents including the Eleventh Five-year Socioeconomic Development Plan and Master Tourism Development Plan from the national level to local level were collected. The Strategic Development Plan of Dai Yuan was also gathered. These planning documents were examined to understand the planning process, and issues and constraints in tourism planning. Planning goals, objectives and policies as well as the approaches and implementation of plans were scrutinized.

In addition to government documents and statistics, tourism brochures, magazines, books, video CDs, and flyers related to ethnic tourism were collected and reviewed, which helped the researcher improve her understanding of the development process of ethnic tourism, and provided additional insight into the issues associated with ethnic tourism. These secondary data sources were also used in the design of the interview and survey questions and to inform the interpretation of the content of interviews and the written survey.

#### **4.4.2 Interviews**

After a review of documents, interviews were conducted to explore the roles and attitudes of different stakeholders towards ethnic tourism more deeply. Interviewing is a research method for understanding and making sense of the lives of people at either the informal and formal level (Jennings, 2005). The interview method can help the researcher gain a broad perspective of the area to supplement a specific study. Yin (1994) indicated that well-informed respondents could provide valuable insight into a case study. As Bennett (1996) noted, the main advantages of qualitative interviews include: ñ information on motivations and opinions can be explored that are not easily obtained through quantitative techniques; information not previously thought about can be uncovered; issues can be explored deeply and can be more clearly defined; and personal or sensitive information can be more easily tackledñ (p.108). However, the limitation of this method is that it has the potential biases of those being interviewed. Bias may come from one's own institutional, class and historical position.

**Table 4.1 Key-informant interviews with officials**

<b>Officials at provincial level</b>	Director and Vice-director of Yunnan Tourism Bureau
	Director and Vice-director of Planning Department in Tourism Bureau
	Director of Development and Reform Bureau
	Director of Cultural Bureau
	Director of Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau
	Vice-director of Department of Construction
<b>Officials at municipal level</b>	Governor and Vice-governor of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture
	Director and Vice-directors of Tourism Bureau
	Director of Marketing and Planning Department in Tourism Bureau
	Vice-director of Development and Reform Bureau
	Director and Vice-directors of Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau
	Vice-director of Statistics Bureau
	Director of Construction Bureau
	Director of Economic and Trade Bureau
	Director of Environmental Protection Bureau
	Director of Broadcast and TV Bureau
	Vice-chairman of CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) Municipal Committee
	Vice-chairman of Women's Federation
<b>Officials at city level</b>	Mayor and Vice-mayor of Jinghong City
	Director and Vice-director of Jinghong Tourism Bureau
	Director of Jinghong Planning Bureau
	Director of Jinghong Cultural and Physical Bureau
	Director and Vice-director of Jinghong Streets Office (Community Service)
<b>Officials at township level</b>	Director and Vice-director of Menghan (Ganlanba) Town
	Marketing Secretary of Menghan Town
	Director of Gasu Town
<b>Leaders at village level</b>	Head of Mancunman Village
	Head of Manzha Village
	Head of Manting Village
	Head of Manjiang Village
	Head of Manga Village
	Head of Mengjinglai Village

**Table 4.2 Key-informant interviews with tourism entrepreneurs, planners and scholars**

<b>Tourism entrepreneurs</b>	Vice-manager of Golden Peacock Tour Company
	Manager of Dai Yuan
	Manager of Mengjinglai Company
	Manager of Wild Elephant Valley
	Manager of Tropical Flower Garden
	Manager of Manting Park
	Manager of Jino Cultural Park
	Manager of Mengli Cultural Park
	Vice-manager of Banna International Travel Agency
	Manager of Lvqiao Hotel
	Manager of Jinghong Hotel
	Chairman of Association of Hotels
	Chairman of Association of Tourist Zones

<b>Planners and scholars</b>	Vice-director of Yunnan Academy of Social Science
	Vice-director of Urban and Rural Planning, Design and Research Institute of Yunnan and 5 Planners from this institute
	Vice-director of City Planning and Design Institute of Jinghong and 2 Planners from this institute
	4 scholars/planners from School of Tourism Management, Yunnan University
	1 scholar/planner from School of Tourism Management, Yunnan Normal University
	1 scholar/planner from Department of Tourism Management, Yunnan Financial and Economic University
	Director of Department of Tourism Management, Xishuangbanna Vocational and Technical College and 8 scholars from this department

Personal semi-structured interviews were conducted with three groups. First, forty key-informant interviews were conducted with a mix of government officials at various levels, tourism planning officials, academic planners, private tourism planning consultants, and tourism entrepreneurs involved in directing, planning and managing ethnic tourism. The senior managers of the main tourist attractions in Banna, main local tourism developers, and managers of some big travel agencies and hotels were interviewed. Scholars who are involved in tourism planning or ethnic tourism research were also interviewed. A list of key-informant interviewees is presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Informants were selected from major stakeholder groups in ethnic tourism, including key decision makers in tourism development, directors in the relevant government agencies, influential tourism developers, and planners with rich experiences. Initial informants were identified in a meeting with main government officials in Banna. After each key-informant interview, the respondent was asked to recommend any informants they felt were important to interview in order to generate additional potential informants. Many informants were contacted in advance through the vice mayor of Jinghong or higher levels of government agencies in order to encourage them to participate in the interviews.

The interviews included a consistent set of semi-structured, open-ended questions which were designed to address issues and impacts of ethnic tourism, to gather different stakeholders' perspectives on ethnic tourism, their roles and objectives in ethnic tourism planning and development, and their involvement in planning or managing ethnic tourism. Also included were specific questions about the process of plan formulation and implementation, planning history and public involvement. In the final part of each interview, discussions were carried out to explore different perspectives on ethnic tourism planning and to acquire information on specific planning



cases. On a number of occasions, informants were interviewed more than once in order to clarify some questions and add more insights.

Second, 40 ethnic people including 20 ethnic residents and 20 park employees were interviewed individually or in groups to gather their views on the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic tourism, and their perceptions of the influence of tourists and other ethnic groups, and to assess their degree of involvement in ethnic tourism and tourism planning. Ethnic community leaders, park employees, the elderly and young villagers were all approached. These participants added a great deal of insight into local issues pertaining to ethnic tourism planning and development. In particular, the older villagers provided valuable input on the historical background of the villages, development of tourism business, and impacts of ethnic tourism on communities. Their concerns on cultural change and assimilation, and heritage preservation should be considered in future tourism planning.

Third, informal interviews with 40 tourists (20 Chinese and 20 Westerners) on specific topics were conducted in more depth in order to better understand their attitudes and complaints about their visits. The interviewed tourists were selected through a convenience sampling framework at the airport or in a coffee-shop. Through discussions with tourists, these interviews provided additional valuable information for understanding the tourists' expectations and perceptions, which reinforced information from the tourist surveys. Some tourists provided valuable insights into the issues associated with ethnic tourism, and the reasons for and the implications of these issues.

#### **4.4.3 Surveys**

Surveys were employed to explore how different stakeholder groups perceive and evaluate ethnic products, services and their experiences. Survey research is a good method for measuring tourists' attitudes, assessments and satisfactions in a large population by collecting qualitative and quantitative information. It is believed to be relatively objective (Simmons, 1994). A representative tourist survey can yield results that can be generalized to the population of tourists. According to Babbie (2004), survey research offers advantages in terms of the amount of data that can be collected, and the chance to sample a large population; however, survey research is somewhat artificial and relatively inflexible. It cannot measure social action; it can only collect self-reports of past action or of prospective or hypothetical action.

**Table 4.1 Key-informant interviews with officials**

<b>Officials at provincial level</b>	Director and Vice-director of Yunnan Tourism Bureau
	Director and Vice-director of Planning Department in Tourism Bureau
	Director of Development and Reform Bureau
	Director of Cultural Bureau
	Director of Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau
	Vice-director of Department of Construction
<b>Officials at municipal level</b>	Governor and Vice-governor of Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture
	Director and Vice-directors of Tourism Bureau
	Director of Marketing and Planning Department in Tourism Bureau
	Vice-director of Development and Reform Bureau
	Director and Vice-directors of Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau
	Vice-director of Statistics Bureau
	Director of Construction Bureau
	Director of Economic and Trade Bureau
	Director of Environmental Protection Bureau
	Director of Broadcast and TV Bureau
	Vice-chairman of CPPCC (Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) Municipal Committee
	Vice-chairman of Women's Federation
<b>Officials at city level</b>	Mayor and Vice-mayor of Jinghong City
	Director and Vice-director of Jinghong Tourism Bureau
	Director of Jinghong Planning Bureau
	Director of Jinghong Cultural and Physical Bureau
	Director and Vice-director of Jinghong Streets Office (Community Service)
<b>Officials at township level</b>	Director and Vice-director of Menghan (Ganlanba) Town
	Marketing Secretary of Menghan Town
	Director of Gasa Town
<b>Leaders at village level</b>	Head of Mancunman Village
	Head of Manzha Village
	Head of Manting Village
	Head of Manjiang Village
	Head of Manga Village
	Head of Mengjinglai Village

**Table 4.2 Key-informant interviews with tourism entrepreneurs, planners and scholars**

<b>Tourism entrepreneurs</b>	Vice-manager of Golden Peacock Tour Company
	Manager of Dai Yuan
	Manager of Mengjinglai Company
	Manager of Wild Elephant Valley
	Manager of Tropical Flower Garden
	Manager of Manting Park
	Manager of Jino Cultural Park
	Manager of Mengli Cultural Park
	Vice-manager of Banna International Travel Agency
	Manager of Lvqiao Hotel
	Manager of Jinghong Hotel
	Chairman of Association of Hotels
	Chairman of Association of Tourist Zones

<b>Planners and scholars</b>	Vice-director of Yunnan Academy of Social Science
	Vice-director of Urban and Rural Planning, Design and Research Institute of Yunnan and 5 Planners from this institute
	Vice-director of City Planning and Design Institute of Jinghong and 2 Planners from this institute
	4 scholars/planners from School of Tourism Management, Yunnan University
	1 scholar/planner from School of Tourism Management, Yunnan Normal University
	1 scholar/planner from Department of Tourism Management, Yunnan Financial and Economic University
	Director of Department of Tourism Management, Xishuangbanna Vocational and Technical College and 8 scholars from this department

Questionnaires were distributed to three groups: tourists, local residents and tourism employees. A test of the survey was undertaken in April 2006 to verify the validity and clarity of the survey questions. Surveys were initially conducted among thirty tourists, twenty residents and twenty tourism employees, and a few minor changes were made after the test in the wording of several questions according to respondents' comments and concerns.

Surveys were conducted among Chinese and Western tourists at the airport and main tourist attractions in Banna to gather demographic data and to investigate tourists' perceptions, attitudes towards and experiences with ethnic tourism. The tourists' perceptions of ethnic product features, assessments of ethnic attractions and the levels of satisfaction with their experiences were the focus of the survey. Major tourist surveys were administered by the researcher between May and July from late afternoon to evening, which is the peak period when tourists are waiting to board their transportation. Six research assistants from the Banna Vocational and Technical College helped to hand out and collect questionnaires in turn. Almost every tourist in the airport lounge was approached and asked to participate in the survey. In order to enhance response rates, pens and questionnaires were given to them when they agreed, and then questionnaires were collected after they filled out the form. If there were missing answers in the questionnaires, the researcher asked them to complete the form. However, some people refused to do so because they had no answers or they were rushing to get on a plane. The airport was chosen as the place to conduct surveys due to ease of accessibility and availability of tourists. Tourists are likely to have more free time at the airport when they are waiting for the plane; therefore, they are more willing to participate in the survey than at tourist attractions. They have also completed their local tourism experience and are thus in a good position to comment upon it. Five hundred questionnaires were distributed and four

hundred fifty were collected. There were three hundred fifty copies of complete and valid questionnaires.

The researcher also conducted a small number of surveys at the Dai Yuan and Wild Elephant Valley, but the response rates were much lower than at the airport. About one hundred questionnaires were distributed at these sites and thirty were collected (response rate 30%). Additional surveys were administered by the Banna International Travel Agency between July and August. After the researcher interviewed the manager, she agreed to help with tourist surveys as she was concerned about many problems in tourism development in Banna and was eager to find some solutions. Under her request, all tour guides working for this travel agency helped survey packaged tourists. They gave questionnaires to tourists at the beginning of the trip and then collected forms at the end of the trip. Thanks to this agency, five hundred questionnaires were distributed and four hundred were collected (response rate 80%). However, many questionnaires were not fully completed. There were one hundred eighty-five copies of complete and valid questionnaires.

There were few western tourists in Banna and very few western tourists on package tours, therefore the researcher also conducted surveys at a popular coffee shop in order to get some perspectives from western tourists. Every foreigner in the coffee shop was approached and asked to complete a survey. Morning and late afternoon were chosen to cover the peak times of the day. Most foreigners were cooperative and completed the survey. After they returned the questionnaires to the researcher, some informal interviews or discussions often followed as they explained their perceptions and concerns about their visit. Finally, 35 completed questionnaires were collected (response rate 90%) and 20 informal interviews were conducted.

Surveys were conducted among ethnic communities including ethnic residents and park employees to gather demographic information and to gain their attitudes and concerns about ethnic tourism planning and development. Surveys of ethnic communities were conducted in Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai with the assistance of six village leaders and research assistants. Dai Yuan consists of five natural Dai villages that include 326 households and 1536 people in total. Mengjinglai only has one village that includes 99 households and 460 people. The majority villagers are Dai people and there are a few persons who are from other ethnic groups due to intermarriage or business. Community leaders were approached first to acquire the general information about the villages and get a list of the households in the villages. Considering the low education of many villagers,

questionnaires were distributed to all households in these villages in order to increase the number of responses. Each household was told that the head of the household or another adult above 18 years old in the family could fill out the questionnaire on behalf of the household.

Sixty-three resident questionnaires were collected with a response rate of 64% in Mengjinglai, and 134 resident questionnaires with a response rate of 41% in Dai Yuan. The resident response rates were low because some residents chose to fill out the tourism employee questionnaires instead. The actual response rates were much higher. There is some overlap between surveys of park employees and local residents because some local residents are also working in the tourism sector. They could choose to fill out whichever type of questionnaires they wished because the questions are similar in the questionnaires of employees and residents. If adding questionnaires of employees who were also local residents into resident questionnaires, a total response rate of 96% (95 out of 99) was achieved in Mengjinglai, while approximately 70% rate (228 out of 326) was obtained in Dai Yuan.

Some households did not participate in the survey because nobody in the family was literate and could understand the questionnaire even if the questions were translated into Dai. Some were reluctant to participate in the survey for fear that the researcher was a park-paid surveyor who would report the information to the park as there is a tension between the park and villagers. Thus, the researcher interviewed some households who did not return the questionnaires. With the aids of a research assistant, some villagers answered questions after the researcher explained the purpose of the research and clarified the questions, but some did not wish to participate in the survey. The villagers in Mengjinglai were more cooperative in the survey than their counterparts in Dai Yuan because the survey was new to the villagers as there had been no research conducted in Mengjinglai, while Dai Yuan is an attraction for researchers and the villagers are so used to the survey that they have lost the incentive to fill out questionnaires. Even the general manager of Dai Yuan showed little interest in the conversation with the researcher in the first meeting because he had been interviewed often by Chinese and western scholars. Thus, the general manager was met twice in order to know his views and concerns on the park and ethnic tourism.

Finally, surveys were conducted among park employees including tour guides, ethnic dancers/singers, craft makers, souvenir sellers, restaurant workers, hotel servers, and homestay operators from Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai to gather their attitudes towards ethnic tourism and their concerns with their jobs. About 120 questionnaires were distributed and 94 returned for a response

rate of 78% in Dai Yuan, and 50 questionnaires were distributed and 32 returned for a response rate of 64% in Mengjinglai. Thus, there were 126 employee respondents in total.

#### **4.4.4 Observations**

Observation is used to understand and interpret the meanings and experiences of a group (Burgess, 1984; Silverman, 1993). It involves the systematic description of events, behaviours and artifacts in the study environment (Neuman, 2003), and seeks to uncover, make accessible, and reveal the meanings people use to make sense of their everyday lives (Jorgensen, 1999). Through observation, a researcher can gain knowledge of local behaviours and events, and the meanings attached to those behaviours (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). Data from direct observation can usefully complement information obtained by virtually any other technique (Robson, 2002).

On-site observation was undertaken to observe and record tour guides, ethnic performers, crafts makers and tourists' activities and behaviours, and the interaction between tourists and ethnic people. The observations and impressions collected from the field were recorded in journals and through photography. These data can be used to help fill in gaps in interview and survey data. Through direct participation and observation, the researcher has developed a broader understanding of how ethnic tourism is planned and conducted at the study sites, how and what ethnic products are delivered to tourists, how ethnic cultures are presented to tourists, and what kinds of socio-cultural issues exist.

#### **4.5 Data analysis methods**

Qualitative and quantitative analytical methods were used in the research. All collected data were input into the computer. Qualitative data were coded by classifying and categorizing individual pieces of data. The themes and categories of the data were classified and summarized to interpret the data. The four tensions of ethnic tourism were used as a conceptual organizational tool for guiding the interpretation of the qualitative data.

A qualitative content analysis was carried out on tourism plans, official documents, newspapers and journal articles to learn what the most important issues in ethnic tourism are from the professional and public's perspective, and to understand the planning methods and approaches used in the plans. Content analysis can provide descriptive information, cross checking of research findings or the testing of hypotheses (Babbie, 1989; Marshall and Rossman, 1989). It is a technique for drawing conclusions by systematically identifying specific characteristics or patterns from various forms of

information (Marshall and Rossman, 1989).

In summary, the contents of the documents were analyzed for the following data:

- 1) Environmental and economic profile of the study area;
- 2) Identification of the objectives and roles of major stakeholder groups and key decision makers in ethnic tourism;
- 3) Identification of impacts of ethnic tourism and classification of different perspectives;
- 4) Identification of the major issues in ethnic tourism and possible mitigation measures;
- 5) Identification of planning approaches to ethnic tourism and techniques used in the plans.

The information from content analysis is useful in supporting the concerns and issues identified by various interviewees and survey participants, and it provides valuable insight into formulating planning strategies to mitigate negative impacts of ethnic tourism.

Statistical methods such as frequencies (means, modes and percentages), cross-tabulations, non-parametric tests such as Chi Square, and analysis of variance will be conducted to analyze quantitative data by using statistical software ñSPSS.

#### **4.6 Research challenges and limitations**

A few difficulties arose in the fieldwork. One of the biggest challenges was the collection of planning documents. It was difficult to get planning documents from the entrepreneurs and government agencies. The developers or managers were not willing to release their site plans because planning documents were considered as business secrets and remain confidential. The government agencies were hesitant to release plans because they did not want their plans to be scrutinized or censured by the public. Private planning consultants also did not like to share their plans because of confidentiality reasons.

Another challenge existed in the collection of official statistics. There are plentiful statistics, but they do not coincide or are incompatible with each other. It is not uncommon to find that data for the same item obtained from different sources are not identical. For example, the number of tourist arrivals in Banna in some years in the local statistical yearbook is different from the data of the local tourism administration. Even different levels of tourism administrations use different data for the same items in published documents. It is hard to know whether data from one source is more reliable

than that of other sources. Often official statistics related to economic development or industry indicators are larger than reality due to methodological and political reasons. The lack of consistent and accurate statistics is a big problem in statistical practice in China. In order to know the accuracy of published statistics, the researcher interviewed officials who are responsible for tourism statistics in the Banna Tourism Administration. According to them, the published data are much larger than the actual data. This was confirmed by a manager of a local travel agency who recorded the number of tourists they received annually. It is not the purpose here to explore the reasons for the data problems, but it is worth noting that it is good to be cautious when using official statistics and it is necessary to collect primary data in order to examine the validity of the secondary data.

One of the difficulties encountered was the reluctance of local residents to participate in the survey. Not only many city residents but also some ethnic communities were not interested in the survey. Many city residents were not aware of the importance of the tourism sector in the local economy and some even showed resentment concerning tourism development. A large number of survey respondents did not fill out questionnaires seriously, and only stated that it was not their business to comment on ethnic tourism or make suggestions for future development. Many villagers in the ethnic communities also considered surveys as a waste of time because researchers come and go frequently, but nobody really helps the villagers to resolve their problems and often participating people gained nothing from their research. When villagers asked the researcher whether or not she could help them solve some issues and improve their situation, she felt very frustrated because it was beyond her ability to change their reality. The researcher kept thinking about Seymour (1997, p.63) who noted, 'I suffered by a feeling of guilt, because participating women would gain nothing from the project. I would become yet another researcher floating into their lives for a fleeting moment and then floating out again.' It is hoped that this research would be beneficial to marginalized ethnic communities by identifying issues and providing recommendations to mitigate issues. However, unless the powerful stakeholders are willing to listen and put some suggestions into practice, the current situation of disadvantaged people will be hard to change.

The fieldwork was also constrained by the limits of time and budget. Five months of field research was not a short period of time, but the researcher was anxious about the slow progress of the fieldwork. Researching four stakeholder groups was an enormous task, and both interviews and surveys were very time-consuming. The Banna region is a huge area and it took a lot of time to travel back and forth among different tourist sites. The poor condition of local roads and



transportation as well as the hot and humid climate added more difficulties to the fieldwork. It was necessary to hire research assistants to accomplish this big project. However, due to the limited budget, the researcher could not afford to pay assistants. In fact, all the research assistants she had were volunteers: six students arranged by a college and two park staff arranged by the parks. These assistants helped the researcher with the administration of the surveys to some extent, but there was no commitment to their work as they were volunteers. For example, some students withdrew when they felt the survey work hard. Thus, most of work was done by the researcher alone.

The last obstacle was the local drinking culture. The minorities' hospitality was fully expressed by their drinking customs. They greet guests by offering them a drink of homemade rice wine regardless of whether guests can drink or not. If the guest refuses to have a drink, the host will feel disgraced and leave the guest alone. Minority people generally have a good tolerance for alcohol because rice wine is part of their diet and it can help kill bacteria in the raw meat they eat. Although they do not eat much raw meat today, drinking rice wine is still an essential part of their culture, like their religion. They show their friendship to guests by urging them to drink more rice wine, and guests are expected to return their respects to hosts by drinking wine as much as possible. Drinking became a negative factor when the researcher attended minority cultural events to observe tourism activities, and visited minority houses for interviews or surveys because people always urged her to drink more. If the researcher refused to drink, interviews or surveys could not be done. Sometimes when the interviewees got drunk, the researcher doubted the reliability of their information. It was very hard to avoid drinking alcohol during the fieldwork. This was probably because collecting primary data was new to the researcher who did not know how to handle some social situations. However, the field research was a very valuable learning process for the researcher. She learned to adjust herself to become immersed in the field research, building local networks, reaching people's minds and gleaning their insights. In spite of many challenges, the field research achieved good results and sufficient data were collected.

#### **4.7 Summary**

This chapter describes the methods of data collection and analysis used to carry out this study. A mixed research approach, including qualitative and quantitative methods, as well as a variety of primary and secondary data sources, was applied to answer the research questions. Multiple methods including surveys, interviews, informal discussions, observations, and secondary data review were employed in the fieldwork to gather information about the process of ethnic tourism planning and

development as well as different perspectives from multi-stakeholder groups in ethnic tourism. Quantitative data were coded and analyzed by using statistical software ñ SPSS. Qualitative data were coded by classifying and categorizing individual pieces of data. A content analysis of tourism plans and newspaper articles was used to contextualize and interpret the data.

## Chapter Five Governments

This chapter examines perceptions of an important stakeholder group – the government – and its role in tourism development and its attitude toward ethnic tourism. In China, different levels of government are the key players in directing tourism development through policies and regulation of tourism investment, production and consumption. They function as planners, regulators, coordinators, arbiters and even investors in the process of tourism development. Tourism planning and promotion are controlled primarily by the government.

The chapter is composed of two sections. The first section covers state policies on ethnic minorities and tourism development, while the second section focuses on regional/local policies on ethnic tourism and the perspectives of regional/local governments. Analyses are undertaken in the context of four tensions or contradictions of ethnic tourism from national and regional perspectives. National perspectives were derived primarily from scholarly articles and government documents. Regional perspectives were based on analyses of official documents and interviews. Provincial perspectives are not included in the chapter as provincial policies closely follow state policies and provincial perceptions were already introduced in chapter three.

### **5.1 State policies on ethnic minorities and tourism development**

In the confines of this research, only ethnic cultural policies and their relationships to tourism will be considered in detail. The Chinese state is the main authority in validating ethnic group legal rights and political status as well as a primary promoter, regulator and arbiter in ethnic tourism.

#### **5.1.1 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy**

China has long offered a modicum of customary protection of minority rights. Some specifications of minority rights even existed in the dynastic era (Khan, 1996). A policy of ‘rule by custom’ towards ethnic minorities was adopted by most central authorities of the feudal dynasties, and thus the political unification of China was maintained while minorities were allowed to preserve their cultures and social systems (Government of PRC, 2005). Therefore, minorities remained relatively autonomous during 2000 years of imperial rule.

The policies regarding minority groups were mainly strategic, aimed at protecting borderlands while controlling the minerals and forest resources their territories contained (Dreyer, 1976). Basically,

minorities were required to abstain from outright aggression and to declare loyalty to the emperor (Lee, 2001). Minority languages and customs were tolerated as long as they did not threaten the Chinese state (Dreyer, 1976). The Han Dynasty established the Office of Protector-General of the Western Regions in the area which is now the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, and the Tang Dynasty created the Anxi and Beiting Office of Protector-General in the same area (Government of PRC, 2005). These offices administered mainly political and military affairs. The central authorities of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 A.D.) adopted different policies to govern the minority areas in accordance with local conditions. In the areas where Mongolians lived, a prefecture-county administrative system was used; in Tibet, Grand Ministers were appointed by the central authorities and a religious-political rule of lamas and nobles was adopted by granting honorific titles to the two most important Living Buddhas, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama; in the areas where Uygur people lived, a Beg (a generic term for chiefs of Moslem groups appointed by the central authorities) system was adopted; in places where ethnic peoples lived in south China, a system of *Tusi* (literally 'aboriginal office') was applied (Government of PRC, 2005).

After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1911, minority rights were included in fundamental laws of the Republic of China. These rights were reaffirmed in the Constitution of 1946 (Deal, 1984; Schwarz, 1973). The focus of the minority police at that time was to integrate all groups through assimilation and to preserve national unity (Lee, 2001). When the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took power in 1949, they promised full equality of nationalities and to prohibit acts of 'Han chauvinism', which meant Han self-interest and prejudice. Since 1949, China officially declared itself as being a 'unified multinational country', one republic with numerous nationalities, minorities are granted a degree of autonomy, but are forbidden the right of secession (Lee, 2001). The first national PRC Constitution (1954 PRC Constitution) and the Electoral Law of 1953 announced that Chinese minorities had rights equal with the Han and provided for proportionate minority membership in the legislatures (Eberhard, 1982; Phan, 1996). Equality, unity, mutual assistance and common prosperity have become the basic principles of the CCP in handling the relations between ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has the right to develop its own culture and language, and maintain or change its customs. Ethnic unity plays an important role in China's system of ethnic policies. Therefore, strengthening unity among all ethnic groups has become the essential objective of China's ethnic policy.

The CCP did combat Han chauvinism in minority areas during most of the 1950s and early 1960s

and many policies governing minority areas contained preferential policies (Chao, 1994). However, a subsequent Cultural Revolution-era constitution (1975) reduced the formal autonomy provided earlier. The first post-Cultural Revolution constitution (1978) only very partially restored what had been withdrawn and minority rights were first seriously considered in the 1980s (Sautman, 1999b). The 1982 Constitution (current Constitution) elaborates a wide range of minority rights to be realized through national and local policies in marriage, elections, culture, inheritance, education, language and so on (Xinhua, 1993). As a solution to the issue of ethnic groups, autonomous areas are empowered to adapt, modify or supplement national policies according to local conditions (Sautman, 1999b). The Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL) was adopted in 1984 at the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress. It includes provisions for autonomous organizations, rights of self-government organizations, help from higher-level organizations, training and assignment of cadres, specialists, and skilled workers among the minority peoples, and the strengthening and development of socialist relations among nationalities (IOSC, 2005). In short, the policy has been characterized as one state but many nationalities, or political integration with cultural diversification. The REAL grants autonomous governments the authority to formulate regulations reflecting local minority culture as long as they do not conflict with state policy. Yet, any regulation on the exercise of autonomy that autonomous governments make must be approved by higher authorities (Tan, 2000). The key issue of the minorities' regional autonomy is the right of autonomy.

Progress has been gradually achieved in formulating the autonomous regulations and specific decrees in each autonomous area throughout the years. However, implementation of the REAL varies greatly by region and by minority group. Minorities in the southwest have more freedom to carry out their autonomy because they rarely confront the central authority, whereas the state has tightly controlled religious practices and expressions of cultural identity in Xinjiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia, where relations between ethnic minorities and Han Chinese have been strained for centuries (CCC, 2005). Mutual distrust between Han authorities and these minority groups has led to tighter government control which, in turn, has exacerbated ethnic tensions. Nevertheless, the state has continued to improve minority rights throughout the year. In May 2005, the State Council announced new Regulations on Implementing the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (REAL Implementing Regulations), which strengthen the monitoring mechanisms on REAL implementation and increase compensation requirements for central government extraction of natural resources from

autonomous regions (IOSC, 2005). The Regulations also require local governments to educate minorities about their rights and to draft specific measures to protect their rights and interests.

China's policies towards its ethnic minorities show a considerable concern with national security and ethnic unity because of the strategic location of many of its ethnic peoples; and these concerns dominate and influence other policies, such as those for tourism development (Sofield and Li, 1998). Most minority peoples inhabit China's borderlands, an area strategically crucial to national defense. Although the Han Chinese has a very large population, the minorities occupy vast territory with abundant natural resources. Government policies and regulations are designed to help guide China's ethnic tourism industry through the complexities of tourism investment, production, and consumption (Swain, 1990). When promoting ethnic tourism with the combined purposes of modernizing the economy, ensuring cultural development and integration, the Chinese state faces the paradox that successful minority development sometimes leads to increased ethnic demands. In recent years, some minorities have shown a remarkable talent for expressing their own increased concern for preserving and reviving ethnic characteristics while utilizing tourism to extend their political influence and strengthen their identities (Hansen, 1999). The privileges enjoyed by ethnic minorities have also caused many of those formerly registered as Han to switch to minority status for they can select one of their parents' nationalities.

Sautman (1999b) argued that the long-standing oscillation in China's ethnic policies between assimilation and integration stands as the main obstacle to expanding minority autonomy and the development of tourism and the economy. Assimilation is a process in which Chinese minorities lose their own characteristics and become a supplementary part of the majority through 'Hanification'. Integration involves the incorporation of minorities into the national economy and the mainstream society on a common and equal basis with the Han, so the minorities are politically equal to the Han and do not lose their ethnic identity. Assimilation and integration have been hegemonic at times during the PRC and preceding regimes and both concepts continue to contend for superiority (Mackerras, 1994). Assimilationist currents tend to be based on the social evolutionary theory and reached their apogee in the course of the Cultural Revolution. Integrationist currents have been ascendant in the 1980s and 1990s, but are now under strain due to the concern for preserving ethnic culture (Sautman, 1999b). In recent years, the state has strongly supported multiculturalism and encouraged minorities to maintain their cultural distinctiveness. It is hoped to

establish an environment conducive to national political and economic integration, geopolitical security and patriotism when promoting cultural diversity (Xie, 2001).

In fact, China's ethnic minority policies represent a concession of the CCP's political goals to the social and economic reality of ethnic minorities. The policies have stimulated locally-managed social and economic development. However, the term "must be approved by higher authorities" stated in the Constitution, implies that these "autonomous areas" do not have real independent "self-government", but rather simply a more flexible agenda or framework for the implementation of the state policies (Tan, 2000). As a result, issues and contradictions have constantly emerged in the process of implementing minority policies. Many of these issues represent conflicting interests between the state and autonomous areas. Here, Banna is a typical example of the implementation of minority policies. The state has imposed relatively less control of minorities in Banna as they have accepted central authority, which in turn has made these groups more willing to cooperate with Han Chinese (Tan, 2000).

The frontier location of Banna, and its rich resources and diverse ethnic groups, have been of high concern by the central authority. After the establishment of CCP control in Yunnan frontiers, the state adopted a prudent, step-by-step policy to gain the trust of minority groups, thus consolidating the central authority on the frontier. In Banna, as in other minority regions of China, "nationalities work teams" were organized by CCP and sent to villages to "make friendships" with minorities. A delegation representing the state was dispatched to Xishuangbanna in February 1951, to undertake social surveys, disseminate the Communist minority policies, and mend relationships between the Han and minorities (Tan, 2000). Two years later, the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Region (changed in 1955 to the Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture) was formally established. Zhao Cunxin, the top leader of the Tai Lue kingdom, was appointed as the governor of the Autonomous Region in return for his allegiance to the CCP (Banna official interviews, 2006).

Although the law allows autonomous governments to alter, postpone, or annul national legislation that conflicts with local minority practices, in reality, only limited national laws and state regulations can be modified by autonomous administrations to suit local conditions. The Banna authorities have issued only several autonomous decrees with marked local characteristics, such as *Prohibition on the Ousting of Phi Po (the devil in Dai animism) among Dai People*; and *Prohibition on Killing Twins and Malformed Infants among Hani (Akha)* (Tan, 2000). It is also difficult for minority

officials to enter higher levels of CCP's hierarchy power dynamic. Minority officials in autonomous areas can serve as governors, head of the Congress or chairman of the People's Political Consultative Conference (PPCC), but few achieve the highest position of the local CCP Committee, which possess the highest political power. In Banna, the party leader has never been a Dai or other minority member. Instead, the party leader is always a Han person assigned by the central authority. For example, the former governor Zhao Cunxin, who has been a Party member since 1957, is not even a member of the Party's standing committee in Banna (Tan, 2000). Thus, often, the Han officials make major decisions on managing local resources and handling ethnic affairs on behalf of the state and local minorities.

According to the ethnic policy, the state is supposed to provide preferential treatment in tax revenue, budgetary and loan allocations, and to provide autonomous governments with annual special funds and financial subsidies. Autonomous areas are financially subsidized by the state. However, the profits the state gains from its enterprises in autonomous areas often outweigh such subsidies. For example, the average state financial subsidy to Banna in the years 1953 - 1983 was approximately eight million RMB (CAD\$1.2 million), while the state gained tens of millions RMB (millions of CAD) from the state farms in Banna every single year (Tan, 2000). Furthermore, privileges for autonomous areas have gradually lost their original significance or are virtually non-existent in the process of economic reforms as much funding has switched from government allocation to bank loans.

Many local officials interviewed indicated that the state financial aid given to Banna was insufficient and they needed more financial aid and subsidies to alleviate poverty and improve local infrastructure. Many local governmental agencies claimed that they were so poor that they even did not have enough budgets to cover the administration expenditures. They wanted more tax return from the state as local fiscal revenue was very low due to the outflow of revenue. The latest agricultural tax exemption policy began in 2005, which cuts down the agriculture tax and raises the grain price by 60 percent, has also affected local fiscal revenue. The implementation of new agricultural taxation policy has removed financial burdens on farmers and benefited rural communities. However, it also causes severe financial difficulties for the Banna government. As noted in chapter three, Banna is an agriculturally-oriented prefecture and economic plants such as rubber and tea are the major income source. The abolishment of the agricultural tax has resulted in a substantial decrease of local tax revenue. However, the central government has not taken any action



to secure local fiscal revenue. Many officials were very concerned with the outflow of local revenue and future financial sources. The tension between the central and autonomous government has increased over the past three decades.

The reputation of Banna as a famous tourist destination also brings more financial burdens on the local government. A large number of officials from the central and provincial level to local level like to visit Banna frequently for inspection of local affairs as well as sightseeing and relaxation, which leads the local government to spend a huge amount of money every year on hosting these officials and relevant agencies. The reception fee always ranks the highest in the budget of each governmental bureau or agency (Banna official interviews, 2006). Many local officials complained that official reception consumed a lot of their time and local revenue, and they could not even have vacations during long holidays as they had to host these higher level officials. The state has been trying to reduce the local financial burden of official receptions and increase the compensation from the central government for extraction of natural resources, but their policies seem to be ineffective in practice.

In summary, there is a large gap between the state policy and its practice. The ideal political goals do not match ethnic reality and demands. Ethnic policies stress minority loyalty to the central authority, while the fundamental ethnic issues are not solved. There is a tension between the ethnic legal rights and the lack of ethnic control. The central control over development policy and financial resources in minority areas has weakened political and economic autonomy of minorities. Ethnic policies do not simply address interests of minority people. Regional autonomy is essentially a political strategy or tactical policy serving the ultimate goal of socialization, national integration, and political stability in China (Tan, 2000). However, as Eberhard (1982) argued:

[if] we put ourselves in the position of the Chinese government - it does not really matter what the character of that government is - it is hard to think of any other feasible policy toward the compact, large minorities . . . If China should allow them to develop totally on their own and become independent states, it is more likely that they would ally themselves with the neighbours on the other side and become a serious danger for China . . . China wants to create a situation in which the danger of aggression across her border will be minimized. The questions as to whether the people living there like it or not is of secondary importance. One can call this imperialism or colonialism, but after the experience China has had in the last 150

years, and with the situation of the world today, its policy is understandable (Eberhard, 1982, p. 62).

### **5.1.2 Cultural exoticism versus modernity**

Since the adoption of the policy of reform and opening-up at the end of the 1970s, China has turned to the outside world to acquire advanced technology and scientific knowledge needed for modernization. This development is significant for all Chinese, but particularly so for the minorities (Lee, 2001). In the national economic and social development plans, particular considerations have been put on the needs of minorities and preferential policies have been applied to minority areas in order to convert their resource advantages into economic advantages and to speed up their economic development. The Chinese state has adopted a series of policies and projects to assist minority areas in constructing infrastructure facilities, developing their economies, building diversified industries, promoting social and cultural development, and fostering progress of all ethnic groups. Financial support from the central government has been increased. A variety of special-purpose funds have been established by the state, such as 'Subsidy for Ethnic Minority Areas', the 'Stand-by Fund for Ethnic Minority Areas', 'the Food and Clothing Fund for Impoverished Ethnic Minority Areas' and 'the Fund for Ethnic Minorities Development' (IOSC, 2005). Preferential policies have also been applied to minority enterprises in profit retention, self-owned funds and price subsidies.

By the end of 2003, there were 1,378 ethnic manufacturers, which enjoyed preferential policies regarding working capital loan rates, technological renovation loans with discounted interest, and reduction of and exemption from taxes (IOSC, 2005). Many western minority areas of China have benefited in terms of economic, social and cultural development. However, discrepancies in wealth between minorities and Han Chinese have increased, and literacy rates in many minority areas remain far below the national average. Government-sponsored Han migration to minority areas has also exacerbated ethnic tensions. Nevertheless, the state investment in minority regions has raised overall educational levels, improved transportation and communication networks, and trained many minority scholars and officials.

Cultural development has been a focus of the ethnic policy. Indeed, culture as 'a servant of socialist ideology', propounded by Mao and Deng, is still the major theme of the ethnic policy in China today. At the 15th CPC National Congress, former President Jiang Zemin (1997) stated that the

basic goal of the cultural policy is to develop the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics:

Building socialist culture with Chinese characteristics by taking Marxism as guidance, aiming at training people so that they have high ideals, moral integrity, a good education and a strong sense of discipline, and developing a national, scientific and popular socialist culture geared to the needs of modernization, of the world and of the future (Jiang, 1997, cited in China Culture Information Net, 2006, p.2).

According to China's cultural policy, one of the fundamental principles for development of socialist culture is to protect and develop the cultures of ethnic minorities, improve the scientific and cultural level of the ethnic groups, and rescue and protect the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups (Ethnic Affairs Commission of China, 2006). All ethnic groups enjoy the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages as well as the freedom to maintain or reform their customs. The state helps to build cultural organizations and facilities for ethnic groups and accelerate their economic and cultural development according to the characteristics and demands of the different ethnic groups. The ultimate goal is to integrate ethnic culture into the national political and economic framework and, meanwhile, to fill a symbolic and commercial niche in the nostalgic expectations of the modern world (Oakes, 1992).

Promoting cultural development among minorities has been often used by the state to reach out to ethnic people (Shih, 2002). As a post-Mao modernization ideology, cultural development implies change and improvement toward more civilized, elite forms—the attainment of literacy, an education in science and technology, understanding of modern commerce, expertise in enterprise management and even an entrepreneurial spirit (Oakes, 1998, p.136). Any event or activity that celebrates cultural traditions or highlights local colour while promoting economic development and further integration into the socialist market economy is advocated as an example of cultural development (Oakes, 1998).

The state and relevant departments devote great efforts in supporting education for ethnic people, especially in socialism and patriotism, and fostering cultural development by setting up literature and art organizations, ethnic institutes and schools, cultural and mass art centres (Shih, 2002; Oakes, 1998). The Compulsory Education Project for Impoverished Areas launched by the state has been applied to eliminate illiteracy among the young and middle-aged population in western minority areas. In addition to nine-year compulsory education, diverse forms of education programs have

been developed. Admission standards to ethnic institutes and polytechnic schools have been lowered for minority students, and special preference has been given to applicants from minorities with a very small population.

It is believed that the cultural industry can provide the impetus for economic development if effectively promoted. As ethnic regions possess abundant ethnic cultural resources, many western provinces have been proactively seeking new ways of utilizing these resources to accelerate their development. The development of the cultural industry often relies on the joint involvement of governments, enterprises and ethnic people. Ideally, cultural development ensures that minorities maintain and develop their own cultures. Although some western scholars argue that cultural development represents national integration and it works for the state to maintain its regulatory legitimacy over all minorities, this policy has achieved some positive results in minority regions (Lee, 2001). For example, Yunnan has witnessed many minority groups beginning to pursue higher education, achieving advanced technology, and improving economic development through cultural development projects while retaining their traditions and customs (Hansen, 1999; Lee, 2001).

### **5.1.3 Economic development versus cultural preservation**

The opening up for economic and cultural development also led to the promotion of ethnic tourism, which is considered to be an effective means of regional development, particularly for the economy of "backward" and remote minority regions with substantial tourism potential (Zhang, 1989). The opening of ethnic minority areas to tourists is the result of a deliberate policy decision to demonstrate to the world the diversity of Chinese culture and how well the minorities within it are integrated (Matthews and Richter, 1991). Ethnic tourism allows minorities to maintain their unique ethnicity while also modernizing. It is a way for the Chinese state to reconcile ideals of a Chinese nationalism with ethnic diversity (Cornet, 2002). As Qiao (1995) noted, tourism is developed to strengthen local cultural traditions and enhance better cultural understanding among people in different parts of China. Tourism is envisioned as one of the main vehicles of cultural development and national integration (Oakes, 1998). Therefore, ethnic tourism has been adopted by the state to bring the ethnic minorities into mainstream economic and social development.

In many places in China, the need for cultural development encouraged local leaders to focus on ethnic tourism (Oakes, 1998). Tourism policy and cultural policy engage and fit in with each other. Ethnic culture was long regarded as an impediment to development and modernization; today it has

become a fundamental feature of national and local promotional activities. Now that people are allowed to travel around China and also foreigners can enter China, minority cultures are seen as potentially important travel motivators. In response to this new perception, the state has developed ethnic policies to encourage minorities to develop tourism. Tourism has become one of the most promising industries for Chinese ethnic community development (Swain, 1993). A substantial tourism industry is being developed around minority cultures. Oakes (1998) has suggested that ethnic tourism is ideally suited for the poor minority regions, where there are harsh but scenic mountainous environments and socio-cultural distance from modern Chinese economies and lifestyles.

Since the mid-1980s, in conformity with the needs of the modernization drive and the policies of tourism development, China has started large-scale help-the-poor projects to help poverty-stricken minority areas by expanding support and assistance to these areas and encouraging them to develop tourism (Lee, 2001; *People's Daily Online*, 2005). Many minority areas, along the lines of establishing a socialist market economic system, have undertaken a series of reforms concerning state-owned enterprises, taxes, finance, investment, foreign trade, education, tourism, social security, and housing. In 1999, China launched its ambitious West Development project, which was aimed at narrowing the economic gap between the rich east and the poor west of China. Among other initiatives, the project promoted tourism development and cultural industrialization processes. In the strategy for development of western China, the state formulates various preferential policies for the development of tourism, such as authorizing tourism national debts (a type of loan scheme), financial assistance, lower taxation, direct public investment, construction of infrastructure facilities, and new tourism education and training programs. All these have created a very favorable macro policy environment for the development of ethnic tourism. In 2003, ethnic autonomous areas hosted 123.33 million domestic tourists and 2.15 million international tourists, and the incomes from domestic and international tourism reached 56.3 billion Chinese Yuan (CAD\$8.12 billion) and US\$ 600 million, respectively (IOSC, 2005). Ethnic tourism, identified as one of the major pathways to get rid of poverty, has made a significant contribution to the stimulation of foreign trade, investment and the improvement of living standards of minorities.

Along with economic development, the state has also promoted preservation of cultural diversity. Since the 1980s, the state has put much capital and effort into preserving the traditional cultures of the ethnic minorities and protecting their famous historical monuments, scenic spots, rare cultural

relics and other aspects of their identity (Sofield and Li, 1998). In its effort to promote minority cultures, the state has set up special institutions and organized over 3,000 experts and scholars in anthropology, sociology and ethnology to collect, edit, and translate the ethnic cultural and arts materials of the minority peoples. As a result, five series of books on ethnic minorities have been published, totaling 403 volumes (IOSC, 2005). Each of the 55 ethnic minorities in China has its own brief written history. Since 1990, policies and practices more tolerant of traditional minority culture have been adopted, and there has been growth in the strength and vitality of minority traditions, including religions, art and languages (Mackerras, 1994).

Today, an 'ethnic culture boom' is driving ethnic tourism development in China. Ethnic culture is represented and marketed in order to create cultural exoticism, to establish local distinctiveness, to encourage commercialism, and to enhance the links between local ethnic traditions and the nationalism of modern China (Oakes, 1998). Many minorities are using their cultures as enticements for potential investments and tourism development. There are numerous examples of enthusiastic participation by minorities in tourism activities in many parts of China (Sofield and Li, 1998), such as the Sani Yi in Yunnan (Swain, 1989, 1993), the Miao in Guizhou (Oakes, 1998) and the Uygur in Xinjiang (Toops, 1993). Many government-initiated tourism projects highlight ethnic culture to attract tourists. For example, the China National Tourism Administration offered ethnic minority tours to overseas tourists, including 'The Silk Road Tour', 'The Sherpa Trail', and 'The North-West Minority Cultural Tour' (Wei, 1993). Ethnic Minorities Sports Games provide another example. The games not only display the 55 ethnic minorities' cultural heritage in dance, song, traditional arts, crafts and activities, but also include sports competitions such as archery, traditional wrestling, horse and camel-riding, and other sports. The fifth Ethnic Minorities Sports Games, held in Yunnan in 1995, attracted daily audiences of 190,000, about 10% of whom were overseas visitors (Sofield and Li, 1998). The National Minority Art Festival as a grand ethnic culture and art show also provides opportunities for tourists to enjoy aspects of ethnic culture.

#### **5.1.4 Authenticity versus cultural commodification**

China's minorities, portrayed as colorful and exotic, are a big tourist draw. Their costumed images are reproduced in postcards, travel brochures, paintings, batiks, and souvenir dolls; their handicrafts (mass produced facsimiles) are sold at the souvenir stores and tourist hotels (Kendall, 1999). Gladney (1991) described a contemporary Chinese scene in which 'one might even say it has become popular to be 'ethnic' in today's China' (p.5). Mongolian hot pot, Muslim noodle and

Korean barbecue restaurants are reproduced in every city, while minority clothing, handicrafts, and cultural styles adorn Chinese bodies and decorate their homes. Gladney described a popular restaurant in Beijing, Dai Family Villages, 'complete with beautiful waitress in revealing Dai-style sarongs and short tops, sensually singing and dancing, while exotic foods such as snake's blood are enjoyed by the young Han nouveau riche' (p.5). These kinds of examples of consumption of ethnic cultures exist in every Chinese city.

As the modern world is increasingly attracted to exotic ethnic cultures, more tourists are interested in seeing remote ethnic villages, 'primitive' customs and examples of 'uncorrupted' or 'pre-modern' culture. In many places of China, ethnic culture's popularity has encouraged tourism authorities to produce development plans based on the representations of exotic cultural images and charming customs of ethnic minorities. Thus, traditional ethnic culture is being constructed by the national and local tourism industry as a resource for attracting tourists and investments, and for promoting cultural development and ethnic unity. The state, the commercial tourism industry and ethnic minorities all engage in selecting and sifting aspects of ethnic culture to produce 'authentic' cultural images, traditions and lifestyles acceptable to the needs of tourism development.

The commodification of minority culture is accomplished through the representation, packaging and selling of their images, artworks and costumes in ethnic museums, folk villages and tourist sites. Ethnic culture is produced and consumed in trade fairs, in cultural events and festivals, in folk villages, theme parks and ethnic museums, in live performances, on television, in magazines, and in the production of ethnic crafts. Ethnic cultural products are not only designed merely as a showcase of cultural traditions and development, but also are displayed to attract exploitation of their economic value. Most ethnic tourism projects emphasize traditional ethnic culture presented through commercial staged performances. Many highly standardized and performance-oriented folk villages have been built throughout China in order to meet the demands of tourists on tight schedules. Living museums or eco-museums have also been designated or created to preserve and showcase lively authentic facets of ethnic culture with the involvement of ethnic communities. Traditional ethnic festivals, religious ceremonies and pilgrimages, ethnic plays and re-enactments of historical events have been revived around the country, and they and have been used to construct an image of 'authentic' ethnic traditions (Oakes, 1998; Sofield and Li, 1998). Sacred ethnic cultural heritage sites have been rehabilitated as a major component of ethnic tourism.

Ethnic tourism has encouraged the rapid growth of commercial ethnic crafts production as well. Ethnic traditions of producing elaborate crafts, especially batik and embroidery, are valued for their commercial potential in rural industrial development (Oakes, 1998). The tourism crafts industry supports socio-economic change that, in turn, promotes cultural identity (Swain, 1989). Ethnic crafts production enables ethnic people to increase their household incomes without losing an important resource of ethnic culture and identity. Traditional skills can be maintained by producing commercial ethnic crafts. In a successful example of ethnic tourism, Sani Yi's handicraft aesthetics are an integral aspect of Sani identity, as well as an important source of tourist cash (Swain, 1989). In another example in Xinjiang, tourism has promoted the ethnic handicraft industry to such a degree that such items as carpets, atlas fabrics, musical instruments and doppa that are ethnic markers of Uygur people have become iconic tourist souvenirs (Toops, 1993). As minority people grow more aware of their role in the larger tourism market, they begin to seek a larger share of tourism revenues, as well as more independence in managing their tourist activities and developments. Minorities thus construct a sense of ethnic identity through a dialogue involving the state, tourism enterprises and the tourists.

Oakes (1998) suggests that ethnic culture is not only reproduced to meet the demands of commodity production, but also is invented and manufactured in order to meet the local desires for economic integration and tourism development, as well as to contribute to the cultural construction of an alternative modern China. He further identified two dominant ideologies regarding the production and commodification of ethnic culture in China. On the one side, preserving 'traditional ethnic culture' has become important for China's projects of nationalism and modernization; on the other side, there is the pursuit of economic and cultural development in order to combat rural poverty. Promoted as both investment enticement and tourism commodity, ethnic culture is of growing importance in almost all aspects of rural and urban China's economic development.

Guo Lai-xi (1993), one of leading Chinese tourism scholars, argues that tourism affects three aspects of ethnic culture in China: (1) it encourages the revival and continuation of customs and traditions, (2) it 'selects' particular customs and traditions appropriate for development, and (3) it 'creates new culture', which is more developed and modernized while at the same time based on quaint ethnic traditions and customs' (cited in Oakes, 1998, p.140-141). According to Guo, tourism provides opportunities for ethnic people to invent new culture and accelerate their cultural development.



However, along with the positive developments, tourism has brought negative impacts on ethnic communities. Ethnic culture has been devalued or even damaged in some tourist destinations. A number of studies have stressed the commoditization and degradation of ethnic culture, and the degradation of sacred sites (Swain, 1989; Oakes, 1998; Xie, 2001; Li, 2004). Ethnic identity can be lost or changed in the process of commodification of ethnic culture. In Sofieldís (1999) case study of ethnic tourism, the most important image of the Stone Forest in Yunnan used by the state to promote ethnic tourism is of a distinctive pillar known as ìAshimaî, which is outlined in tourism literature as a legendary Sani maiden who was turned into stone while resisting a rapacious overlord. It is in fact an artificial construction taken from many Sani folk story elements. The Sani people themselves never called the pillar Ashima or considered her as their representative. However, today Ashima has been used for cultural integration by the state and for cultural identification by the Sani entrepreneurs. Ashima represents the state appropriation of a major symbol of Sani identity and signifies Sani integration into the Chinese political economy with her image and name is on everything from cigarette brands to tourist souvenirs (Sofield, 1999). Ashima has become both ìMiss National Unityî and ìMiss Local Colourî. Ashima is also Sani despite her national co-option and literal calcification (Swain, 1999).

The commodification of ethnic culture often involves the construction of an ideal model type of village life to be sold. Many ethnic tourist villages are based solely on the replication and display of some selected symbols and markers of ethnic exoticism and bear little distinction from folk cultures being promoted and standardized throughout China. In an effort to make ethnic culture marketable, minority songs and dances are sometimes infused with Han pop songs, contemporary styles and music by tourism entrepreneurs in the name of combining ìtraditional spiritî with ìmodern cultureî (Oakes, 1998). Traditional culture is altered or even distorted. Even some initially preservation-oriented eco-museums have been altered to meet commercial interests. These misrepresentations appeal to the misplaced needs of most metropolitan tourists, rather than minorities seeking to revive their culture and enhance their identity.

Ethnic culture has been exploited by non-ethnic tourism entrepreneurs. Ethnic crafts production provides a good example of the profit-driven tourism economy. Han tailors from other parts of China have migrated into the minority areas and now mass-produce ethnic handbags, costumes and embroidered vests and tunics for consumption by tourists. In some minority areas, the production of ethnic crafts is driven by maximizing gross production to meet the demands of tourists or to generate

any income-earning opportunities. The production is oriented towards profit. Especially, competing crafts factories are less concerned with cultural preservation and long-term benefits and more interested in making quick money; however, the tourist purchase is not just a souvenir, but also a representation of the ethnic folk themselves (Oakes, 1998). This capital-intensive crafts production can destroy the uniqueness and exoticism of the ethnic crafts.

### **5.1.5 Summary**

As a powerful force in the production of ethnic culture, tourism has raised the tension among the state, entrepreneurs and ethnic people due to their diverse goals and interests. For the state, the project of tourism development has sought to package and standardize ethnic culture into an exploitable resource for modernization, thus necessitating the production, preservation, and representation of authentic cultural heritage that contributes to nation building (Oakes, 1998). As Michaud (1993) noted, the modern tourism industry offers national governments "an additional opportunity to extend their powers further into these previously isolated communities by means of increasing the minorities' dependency on the national economy, in turn precipitating fuller and irreversible integration with the national identity" (p.23). For tourism entrepreneurs, they are more interested in economic benefits. Oakes (1998) claimed, "Whether propagandized as 'poverty alleviation' or legitimized as cultural development, tourism for those most actively involved in its development is simply about making money" (p.158). His opinion reflects that economic motives often outweigh other goals in tourism business. Especially in some areas, the tourism industry is reflected by a diversity of competing enterprises each driven by profit regardless of the actual needs of the ethnic people concerned (Xu, 1996). For ethnic people, most of them are concerned with maintaining and protecting their culture while presenting it to tourists. Although some older ethnic people have expressed resentment to the invasion of mass tourists into their places and lives, cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue for young ethnic people as commodification of their culture becomes an effective means of gaining economic benefits (Xie, 2001; Wall and Xie, 2005).

The process of manufacturing and commercializing ethnic culture is full of paradoxes and contradictions (Swain, 1989; Oakes, 1998). The state encouraged both market-oriented economic development and the preservation of symbolic cultural diversity, which are supposed to reinforce one another harmoniously in cultural development. The production and commodification of ethnic culture is often accompanied by contradictions between economic, political and cultural goals. As

Lei (1992) claimed, 'the question of turning traditional culture into a cultural commodity, and marketing that commodity is not simply one of economics, but of the value of a particular ethnic group' (p.33). He further pointed out that in the case of China, ethnic cultural commodification is a bridge between ethnic groups and modernization; the goal is not just to sell ethnic culture, but also to develop and modernize it. Today, there is a growing interest in the preservation of traditional ethnic culture, and how to represent and market authentic ethnic culture and articulate ethnic traditions with the needs of tourism development and modernization in China.

## **5.2 Regional/local policies on ethnic tourism**

The regional and local governments play a fundamental role in local tourism development. With the decentralization of administrative power since the mid-1980s, the Banna government has been actively involved in tourism planning and development.

### **5.2.1 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy**

Ethnic policies set by the state have been vigorously implemented in Banna by the regional and local governments. The development of ethnic tourism has been actively promoted as a regional development strategy and a 'short-cut' for economic backward and poverty-stricken ethnic minorities in Banna since the late 1980s. It is expected that ethnic tourism can help to support the self-reliance economic campaign for rural ethnic communities. As guiding principles, the state policy effectively shapes local tourism practice. The Tourism Bureau of Banna Prefecture (TBBP), as a branch of CNTA, is the main governmental bureau that is in charge of the tourism sector in the Banna region. The main responsibilities of TBBP include: planning for regional tourism development, the formulation of tourism development policies and master plans, overseeing tourist sites, accommodation and travel agencies, monitoring and regulation of the tourism market and tourist service quality (Interviews with tourism officials, 2006). Following the principles and policies of CNTA, TBBP has played a significant role in directing local tourism development and regulating the tourism market.

With the rapid development of ethnic tourism in the 1990s, Banna became a well-known tourist destination. It enjoyed great fame among Chinese and foreign tourists at the early stage of its development. However, rapid growth of mass tourism without careful planning brought many negative impacts on Banna. As more and more Han people swarmed into Banna to look for investment opportunities, a large number of travel agencies, scenic spots and folk villages appeared in the

tourism market. To compete for more tourists, tourist sites had to establish reciprocal relationships with travel agencies, tour guides and bus drivers through sharing the profits from tourist expenditures (Li, 2004). Local travel agencies typically took control over the flow of tourists in Banna because the tourist sites are widely scattered over Banna and they are not accessible by public transportation. Hence, most visitors have to depend on package tours organized by travel agencies. In attempt to receive more tourists, tourist sites had to pay high commissions to travel agencies. The fact that certified tour guides are often temporarily contracted and unpaid employees of travel agencies also consolidates the commission system. These guides do not get pay from the agencies; instead, they have to pay money back to the agencies according to the number of tourists they get. As commission becomes the main source of their income, tour guides make as much profit from tourists as possible through taking tourists shopping, decreasing tour time, misleading tourists to join highly charged programs etc.

The intense competition between the increasing numbers of travel agencies also pressures them to reduce the overall price of package tours to the extent that the market prices are lower than actual costs of the tours. In order to maintain their profits, tour operators pass on as little profit as possible to restaurants, accommodations and tourists sites. This results in a low quality of goods, services and the overall tourist experience, which causes strong complaints and discontent among tourists. This endangers the reputation of Banna and has led to the decline of the local tourism market. There is a popular saying among tourists (which is also told in other tourism destinations in China, such as Hainan, whose market is similarly dominated by group tours): 'it is a lifetime regret not to visit Banna, while one will regret for a lifetime after visiting Banna'. Critical articles about Banna tourism have been published in many newspapers and academic journals. Many scholars have condemned the profit-oriented tourism market, over-commercialized tourist products and degenerated folk customs in Banna (Eng, 1998; Davis, 1999).

Under public pressure, the prefecture government and TBBP had to reconsider and adjust their tourism policies and formulate new policies and regulations to counteract the commission-driven operations and to protect local resources from non-local investors' profit-oriented influences. Sustainable tourism has become a greater concern for tourism policy makers in this region. The new policy asserts that tourism development should be promoted under the control and management of the government, while pursuing the cultural quality of tourist sites, the preservation of cultural traditions and customs of minority peoples, and the conservation of natural environment and bio-

diversity (Interviews with Banna tourism officials, 2006). In accordance with its new policy, TBBP has tightened its regulation of travel agencies and tourist sites. As a result, mass travel agencies that emerged in response to the demands of mass tourism were combined into several big agencies, and many low quality folk villages that once catered to tourists are closed.

One of the most influential regulations was 'Management for rated and designated tourist sites' implemented in 2002 (Li, 2004). The regulation designates the 4A and 3A rating sites as 'must-visit' sites on the itinerary of travel agencies and prohibits agencies taking tour groups to non-rated sites. In particular, the daily itinerary of package tours must include at least a 4A site and a 3A site along the each tourist route. There are five conventional tourist routes in Banna. The designation and protection of highly rated sites has changed the hierarchical structure of the Banna tourism market and greatly impacted the relationships between travel agencies and tourist sites and among the tourist sites themselves. The highly rated sites have been placed in an advantageous status in the local tourism market as the regulation secures them a desirable number of tour groups without paying commission (Of course, the sites still give discounts to travel agencies for package tour groups).

The regulation, however, also puts sites with low ratings (A or 2A), which are mainly small scenic spots or theme parks, in an unequal status in market competition and, hence, has made the survival of these sites more difficult. For example, the manager of Mengli cultural park (it was a 2A site and has just received a 3A rating, complained that the site struggled to survive although it has beautiful scenery and a Dai museum. It is difficult for them to receive more tourists because package tour groups only visit designated 'must-see' sites. Most tourists only stay in Banna for two nights, and it is impossible to visit all rated sites. Currently, there are about 13 rated sites. Furthermore, as more and more sites have been promoted to highly rated sites, the competition among these sites has intensified, which leads to more severe commission-oriented business operations. Although TBBP has reinforced its administrative power in regulating the tourism market with the aim of lessening the negative impacts and promote high quality tourist sites, many issues still are unsolved and continue to jeopardize tourism operations.

In recent years, there have been ongoing debates among officials, scholars and entrepreneurs about whether or not the governmental bureau should interfere with the tourism market and to what extent they should be involved in. Some people think that market forces are more effective than

government formal regulations in a market economy, while others stress the importance of government macro control in a transitional market (Li, 2004). It is commonly believed in China that tourism development will lack direction, coordination and cohesion without governmental involvement, and short-term initiatives might jeopardize long-term potentials (Xie, 2001). The governments not only act as regulators, planners and even investors in tourism development but also serve as coordinators and arbiters among competing interests.

### **5.2.2 Cultural exoticism versus modernity**

Banna's widely publicised image as an exotic land in frontier China was created by the official media for political propaganda in the pre-reform era (Eng, 1998). In 1961, the first Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai, visited Banna and took part in the water-splashing festival of the Dai. This event was extensively reported by the mass media to show the CCP's caring attitude toward ethnic minorities as well as the well-preserved ethnic traditions in Banna (Huang, 1993). Under the state's ethnic policy, minority life in Banna was portrayed as carefree, colourful and joyous (Eng, 1998). Such an image, set in subtropical scenery, was further reinforced and 'mystified' in later tourism advertising and promotion. After the economic reforms, in the 1980s the well known image of Banna became a powerful marketing tool for attracting tourists and accelerating economic growth.

Under the support of the state policies, achieving modernization through economic development has become a pivotal task for the Banna government since the 1980s. The local governments have actively sought foreign and domestic capital to invest in development projects in Banna. The investment not only has contributed to the development of local infrastructure but also has expanded educational access for minorities in Banna, though minority literacy rates and levels of educational attainment remain below those of the Han. Improved road conditions and the completion of an international airport in 1990 greatly enhanced the accessibility of Banna to the rest of the country as well as to other Southeast Asia countries. The Banna region has gradually experienced increased economic output and improved transportation and communication networks, although roads and other infrastructures still need improvement.

Tourism is regarded as being an integral part of economic development by the local governments, and they tend to promote ethnic tourism at the community or village level in order to help to reduce the incidence of rural poverty. TBBP has been actively involved in developing ethnic tourism and marketing minority cultures and customs. They have designated a series of minority villages as

tourist spots in order to meet the demand for mass tourism. These villages catering to domestic tourists, who are mainly Han Chinese from the interior and coastal areas of China, provide fragmented showcases of minority cultures through staged performances and entertainment programs. Minority cultures have been constructed and represented as feminized, exotic and entertaining in the performances. Minority women's beauty, pureness and lack of sophistication have been packaged and labeled as a desirable commodity for tourist consumption.

Ethnic representations are commonly performed by minority women and consumed by male Han urbanites. Minority women have become an ethnic symbol and a feminized cultural commodity. Banna's minorities used to be portrayed as 'primitive' or 'barbarians', while today they have become a marketed commodity, characterized by exoticism, colour and attractiveness. Their portrayal in the public media is not only much more 'colourful' and 'cultural' than the Han, but also much more sensual (Gladney, 1999). The image of Dai and other minority women bathing in the river and dancing in colourful costumes often appears in stylized images throughout China, particularly in tourist brochures and public murals. One of the most famous incidents was a bathing mural at the Beijing International Airport in 1979. When the airport was completed, a huge mural entitled 'Water-splashing Festival, Song of Life' was painted in the terminal building. It featured Banna's exotic natural and human scenes, and the mural portrayed Dai people working, dancing and bathing in a floral jungle motif. However, the bathing mural proved controversial and it was covered up in 1980 (Gladney, 1999). Although minority officials from Yunnan objected to the public display of the minority women's bathing mural as being offensive and denigrating to minorities, minority bathers become popular images among Chinese people. Many Han Chinese have flocked to Banna to gaze upon this minority 'custom'. In fact, few minority women bathe in the river today partially as a result of modernization. As many minority houses have solar-heated bathrooms, people no longer need to bathe in the river. However, representations of unclothed minority women still can be found in the public sphere. The exotic ways of minority people are always a focus in tourism advertising and promotion. The images of minorities are often idealized and romanticized as being natural, simple-minded, free and divorced from the constraints and realities of 'modern life' (Gladney, 1999). Such romantic yearnings inspire Han Chinese to flock to minority areas to seek the desired exoticism. Catering to tourists' stereotyped images, tourism enterprises often exoticize or eroticize minority customs to appeal to tourists.



Figure 5.1 Dai women bath in the river



Figure 5.2 Dai women dance

In the process of exoticizing, representing and selling minority cultures, the Banna government acts as an arbitrator of relations among entrepreneurs, minority people and tourists. It is the government that defines appropriate cultural expressions and representations in ethnic tourism. For example, Dai Yuan presented Dai bathing shows in the performance centre in 1998 to attract tourists. Because Dai



women in the villages refused to participate in the performances, the park hired some Hani women and let them dressed in Dai clothes to perform Dai bathing. This enraged Dai villagers who felt the shows insulted them and distorted their culture, and they asked the prefecture government to cancel the shows. As pornography in any form is restricted in China as illegal, the shows were finally closed with the regulation of the government. Here, the local government, functioning as a middleman, demonstrated its predominant power in solving the conflict between the enterprise and minority villagers.

### **5.2.3 Economic development versus cultural preservation**

As Banna is gradually shifting from subsistence farming to a more diversified economy and to more open, market-based systems, minority people have experienced rapid changes and improvement to their living conditions. The modern lifestyle has entered minority people's lives through economic reforms, education, the mass media and health care. The arrival of tourism also accelerates the process of encountering modernization for minorities. Particularly, the presence of wealthy urbanites in tourist villages has brought more opportunities for minorities to learn about the outside world and it challenges the traditional ways of minority life. In an attempt to achieve affluence, many villagers have abandoned their traditional farming and participate in tourism businesses. With the increase of disposable income, demand for new housing is growing. Minority people have started to build Han-style houses (concrete or brick houses) and purchase modern furniture, TV sets, VCD players and motorcycles. Pursuing modern life has become a widespread trend among minorities, particularly Dai people. Even some families without stable incomes also borrow money from their relatives to build 'modern' homes because they feel ashamed of being poor and falling behind in modern life (Dai villager interviews, 2006).

Tourism development through commodification of ethnic culture effectively accelerates the discourse of modernization among minorities. As minority culture is undergoing radical changes, it faces a major threat in the process of economic development and modernization. Traditional Dai houses are vanishing, while 'alien' architecture (concrete or brick houses) have rapidly appeared in many Dai villages, forming a striking contrast with surrounding stilt bamboo houses. Traditional Dai architecture is built on stilts using bamboo or wood, and with two storeys. People live upstairs, while the lower space is used as a storehouse for farm implements or as pens for livestock. Originally built with bamboo, the Dai house is also called the bamboo house, which is protected from the burning sun and pouring rain by its ample roofs. It was cheap to build bamboo/wooden

houses as minorities used to cut bamboo and trees in the forest freely. After deforestation was restricted as cutting trees became illegal, they have had to buy timber from the market, mainly from Burma. However, it is more expensive to buy wood than concrete and bricks as the price of wood keeps rising. Moreover, bamboo houses are not durable and they need to be repaired every six or seven years. Thus, many minority people prefer to build new houses using concrete and bricks. Today, modern houses are visible in almost every corner of Banna and in each ethnic community. The closer a village is to Jinghong city, the more one can view modern houses in these villages.

The contradiction between economic development and preservation of cultural traditions has been intensified in many tourist villages. With the disappearance of traditional houses, ethnic villages are losing their feeling of exoticism to Han visitors. This results in a substantial decrease in the number of tourists. Several designated villages were closed by the government due to the radical architectural changes of village houses. When the researcher visited one of these villages -- a Dai village near Jinghong city -- she was surprised by many 'splendid' modern brick houses surrounding by a few wooden stilt houses. Some are more luxurious than those of the Han villages. The village was once a popular tourist village and received hundreds of visitors every day, but now tourists are almost non-existent except during the water-splashing festival. When she interviewed some villagers, many complained that the government favored other villages and did not support their businesses. They did not understand that it was their 'modern' houses that made them lose business, rather than the government. They wanted tour groups to visit their village, but Han Chinese are interested only in 'authentic' Dai houses and exotic lifestyles. Even the researcher felt lost in the architectural mixture of this village. It is no wonder that some tourists questioned the authenticity of this kind of Dai village.

Ethnic architecture is one of the alluring features of ethnic culture, and its rapid change has drawn considerable attention among scholars and officials. The preservation of traditional ethnic architecture is of high concern to the local government. The government policies encourage minority people to develop their economy and pursue modernization, but development brings ambivalent results, and changes cannot be avoided.



Figure 5.3 Traditional stilt house (old style)



Figure 5.4 Traditional stilt house (new style)



Figure 5.5 Modernized house (‘alien’ architecture)

During the interviews with tourism officials in TBBP, they expressed a strong concern about the vanishing traditional stilt houses. As commented by a vice-director of TBBP:

It is difficult to persuade [minority] villagers to preserve their traditional houses, even in designated tourist villages. Villagers insist that it is their right to build houses on their land. The government should not interfere with their choice of house styles and construction. However, they want us [the government] to help bring more tourists to their villages. This does not work. Tourists will stop coming if the villages lose ethnic flavour. Probably, the government needs to formulate some regulations to enforce villagers to preserve traditional houses. We [TBBP] do not have power to stop construction of ‘alien’ [modern] architecture, but the Construction Bureau should do something for that (Banna official interviews, 2006).

A Dai official, who is one of a few minority members in TBBP, proposed some challenging questions, which are worthy of attention:

Minority people including the Dai like to build modern houses and want to live more comfortably. There is nothing wrong with that. The traditional Dai houses are small, dark and hot, while brick houses with glass windows can prevent mosquitoes and mice from

entering. We know that tourists only want to see minority people continue their traditions in their traditional houses. This is contradictory because minority cultures are evolving. We try to protect our traditions, but each nation or ethnic group has rights to enjoy the achievements of human civilization and modernization. Should we [the government] leave minorities in poverty to struggle and to survive in their traditional way of life? Should we [the government] leave minorities alone for the purpose of cultural preservation? Many westerners criticize the Chinese governments for interfering with ethnic affairs and for destroying minority cultures, but they do not understand what life is like without clean water, electricity, roads and transportation. It is correct that our governments help minorities build roads, schools and hospitals, and improve their living standards. Of course, economic and cultural development also brings negative impacts. Losing traditions is one of the downsides of development. I think that it is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve a balance between development and preservation (Banna official interviews, 2006).

His perspective not only represents the views of a government official but also applies to some minority people. The researcher repeatedly heard similar comments from interviewed minority people. It is easy to criticize minority people who discard their traditions when pursuing modernity, but should they not also enjoy the achievements of civilization and modernization? Although the minorities' way of life is regarded as intriguing or exotic by tourists, to the minority people themselves, their quality of life is still low and certain aspects of traditional life are absent. For example, sanitary conditions are poor and food supplies are limited in many remote minority villages. The question is where is the balance between development and preservation, and between tradition and modernity? Are designated ethnic villages or eco-museums good solutions? There is considerable research that studies these issues, but it seems that no research has found a good solution to date.

In interviews with officials from the Construction Bureau of Banna Prefecture (CBBP), they indicated that they had already formulated and implemented a regulation on architectural design to conserve ethnic architecture in Jinghong city. The regulation requires that all new buildings near main streets must have a Dai-style roof (a roof that is tall and slanted and open at the bottom in order to keep out the rain while allowing air to circulate) in order to maintain an ethnic atmosphere in the city. As noted in chapter three, Dai buildings have almost vanished from the city due to poorly planned city construction. Jinghong city is a strange mixture of all types of unrelated building styles.



Some newly built streets are broad and modern looking like a corner of a big city, while other streets are rough and narrow like an undeveloped small town. In the survey, many tourists commented that the city design was poor and in low taste. Although the new regulation requires new buildings to be covered with 'splendid' Dai-style roofs, it is hard to say if this regulation can really improve the city because these colorful roofs are not compatible with other parts of the buildings.

Another issue is how Dai minority people view these modern buildings with Dai-style roofs, and whether or not these buildings represent authentic Dai architecture. It is evident that they are 'modern' buildings rather than 'traditional' or 'authentic' ethnic architecture although under the disguise of Dai-style roofs. Furthermore, it should be asked how the city represents other groups' architecture since there are 13 ethnic groups in Banna. It seems that bureaucrats are not concerned about these issues and public views. When the researcher interviewed some local minority people, they stated that the design of new buildings looks strange and does not represent ethnic architecture. Many people pointed out that the vanishing of ethnic architecture, such as Manjinglan Dai street, was a big loss to the city and the government should reconsider the city construction policy. It is sad that many valuable historic buildings and cultural heritage sites were destroyed in the past by blind city construction and urban sprawl. Jinghong, as the gateway to Banna and the arrival point for tourists, has been promoted as a tourist city and a sightseeing and cultural resort. It is essential for the city to improve its cultural quality and attractiveness. The city needs more careful and comprehensive planning.

With respect to village houses, CBBP has not made any regulations to conserve traditional houses because village lands normally belong to the whole village or individual farmers. Villagers have rights to choose their house style and build a house on their land legally as long as the house is not against construction laws. Therefore, it is difficult to require villagers to conserve their traditional stilt houses. However, CBBP is proposing a new plan for the conservation of ethnic architecture. They hired some architectural designers to create new types of Dai houses as substitutes of traditional houses. These houses maintain the layout of traditional bamboo/wooden houses and add glass windows, bathrooms and other modern facilities. New materials, such as resin textile fiber instead of wood or bricks will be used to construct houses. The new architecture is designed to keep ethnic flavour while making the houses more comfortable. However, these model houses are costly because the new house materials are very expensive. Although the officials are confident concerning these new style Dai houses, it remains to be seen whether or not these houses would meet villagers'

needs and suit tourists' desires for cultural exoticism.

Nevertheless, the local government has realized the importance of preservation of cultural heritage. In accordance with the policies of cultural preservation, many governmental bureaus have tried to preserve the endangered aspects of cultural traditions. For example, the Physical and Cultural Bureau has started a census of cultural resources and sent staff to remote villages to collect valuable folklore and legends, and to seek knowledgeable minority elders, handicraftsman and folk musicians to record folk music, history and culture. Eco-museums have been built to present the lifestyle and artifacts of minority people. The Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau (EMRB) has organized Dai cultural experts to research and translate Beiye script into Mandarin and Tai. These efforts have helped preserve some aspects of ethnic culture, but cultural preservation tends to be a dilemma for the government because of the conflict of interests between market-oriented tourism development and cultural preservation. The tension between development and preservation continues to intensify in contemporary Banna as well as in other minority areas.

#### **5.2.4 Authenticity versus cultural commodification**

After Banna was opened to the outside world in the 1980s, the image of 'mysterious and beautiful Banna' has been widely promoted through various media. Its rich cultural heritage and great ethnic diversity is appealing to tourists. In Banna, each ethnic group maintains close contact with each other in terms of economy, culture and social activities. On the other hand, each group retains its own language, religion, and culture in such aspects as production, food, residence, dress, and rituals. In accordance with state-sponsored multiculturalism and provincial-launched construction of a 'Great Ethnic Culture Province' in the 1990s, the Banna government actively promoted ethnic tourism and encouraged commercialization of ethnic cultures. Minority cultures are no longer branded as 'feudal superstition' but have become one basis for future economic growth in the region. Ethnic cultures are not only seen as a resource with commercial potential that can and should be used much as other resources to stimulate economic growth, but they are also regarded as a 'renewable resource', which is subject to the laws of supply and demand and will eventually lead to the development of a cultural industry (Wilkes, 2005).

The commodification of ethnicity in Banna has followed three paths: the government has designated many living minority villages as tourist sites to showcase cultures and lifestyles of minorities; tourism entrepreneurs, who are mainly Han investors, have built a series of replica folk villages or

theme parks for entertaining tourists with a conveniently staged version of ethnic hospitality; and local marketing of ethnic goods and tourist services, such as ethnic dance, musical dinners and minority-run guest houses. Many ethnic families living in or around scenic areas are engaged in tourism development and selling self-made tourist commodities while displaying their culture and customs. 'Local colour' and 'ethnic flavor' have been highlighted and used to facilitate tourism growth. Economic advantages have been a driving force in promoting ethnicity for commodification. The government has documented a range of items that could enable ethnic culture to realize economic value, including censuses of cultural resources, awarding certifications to villages or townships that perform cultural activities well, the establishment of 'culture corridors' or regional tourism routes, holding ethnic festivals, the writing of literary works with 'strong ethnic flavour', and the production of ethnic movies, artifacts or cultural shows (Wilkes, 2005). The government policy has provided authoritative rhetoric for commodification of ethnic culture, and assumed the commodification of elements of minority culture will benefit minority people.

Development of ethnic tourism, as part of the modernization agenda, is expected to assist minorities to catch up with China's market economy. As Banna's cultural heritage and biodiversity have been widely recognized, the commercial value of the exotic 'Otherness' of minority people has been increasingly utilized and exploited by profit-driven tourism enterprises. As individuals, businesses and government agencies engage in ethnic tourism development, the questions of commodification of ethnic culture and the distribution of benefits from tourism activities are worthy of attention. In particular, who takes control of commodification, and who benefits? Governments and tourism entrepreneurs are the main powers in developing ethnic tourism, but most of them are not usually ethnic members. Their administrative and commercial involvement in tourism strongly shape the ways of staging, packaging and representing ethnic culture in tourist sites, and further influence tourism practice of minorities.

The Banna government and TBBP function as the arbitrators of relations among producers, marketers and consumers in the tourism market. Tourism entrepreneurs, who cooperate with the government, often take control of the utilization of ethnic resources, commodification of ethnic cultures and determine cultural expression in the tourist zones. Thus, authenticity of ethnic culture is not determined by resource providers -- ethnic communities -- but by the governments and entrepreneurs. The operation of ethnic tourism is dominated by Han investors, rather than the minorities themselves. The profit-oriented business operations have caused many negative impacts



on Banna and have placed severe pressure on local people and ethnic resources. Recently, as minority people have grown more aware of their marginalized position and demand that more benefit be shared, the tension between minority people and Han entrepreneurs has intensified, and conflicts have kept occurring in many ethnic villages.

The authenticity of handicraft souvenirs is also an issue in the tourism market. In the trend of cultural commodification, traditional knowledge is used for commercial purposes, and minority handicrafts are produced for tourists' consumption. However, when these traditional handicrafts enter the tourism market and compete with products from other sources, they have encountered many challenges. Many traditional crafts, such as wood-carving, minority clothing and handbags, used to be made by villagers but now are produced in factories. Masses of cheap machine-made crafts flood the market and have driven the hand-made crafts from the tourism market. Although the awareness of intellectual property rights is increasing, the legal protection of traditional knowledge and skills is still weak in China. Moreover, how does commodification of traditional handicrafts impact the transmission and preservation of traditional knowledge and skills? When the researcher asked an official in Banna Cultural Bureau about these issues, he responded:

Our goal is to help minorities to develop their culture and protect their traditions but not all traditional culture is worth saving. We will take the essence of culture and abandon its dregs. If handicrafts can't compete with the machine-made products, this simply shows that there is no market value left in them and they should be left in museums (Banna official interviews, 2006).

Surprisingly, some scholars also hold a similar view that 'the transmission and protection of ethnic culture can only be real if it survives and develops' (Deng, 1999, P.19), which means that culture has to become a commodified resource with which to facilitate economic development (Wang, 1999b). Only a few minority officials and scholars are concerned that the cultural resource is threatened by short-term profit-driven economic development, and tourist consumption may change the authenticity of some aspects of minority culture.

The Banna government is facing a dilemma between providing authentic tourism resources and commodification of ethnic culture. On the one hand, the government has encouraged packaging and selling cultural commodities aimed at economic benefits and improvement of local livelihoods. On the other hand, being aware of negative impacts, they have restricted inappropriate commodification

behaviors and damaging tourism activities in order to maintain the authenticity and quality of tourist products. However, governmental regulation seems to be weak in the market economy and many issues are still haunting the tourism market.

### **5.2.5 Summary**

Ethnic tourism has been strongly promoted in Banna. The government prizes the bright costumes and quaint minority villages as a lucrative tourism draw. The economic benefits of tourism continue to be the most significant driving force. Most tourism development projects are following conventional tourism paths in which mass tourism plays the major means of gaining tourism income. The government holds a positive attitude towards tourism development, and plays a critical role in promoting ethnic tourism and formulating development strategies. They function as planners for tourism development, regulators in the tourism market, coordinators between competing interests, and arbiters of relations among producers, marketers and consumers.

Like other minority areas, however, the process of developing and promoting Banna's ethnic tourism is full of paradox and contradiction. There is a contradiction of policy in terms of government regulation, ethnic rights and tourism capitalism. The government encourages both market-oriented tourism development and the preservation of cultural diversity, which are supposed to harmoniously reinforce one another in tourism development. However, the interests of capital often conflict with the goal of preserving and developing culture. The paradoxes between commodification and the preservation of ethnic cultural authenticity, and between conservation and change in the process of development are evident in Banna. As concerns over the socio-cultural impacts have been raised by many scholars, the Banna government has reinforced its administrative power in regulating the tourism market with the aim of lessening the negative impacts and promoting high quality tourist sites. However, governmental regulation has not resolved the problems brought by profit-driven business operations and over-commercialized tourism activities. These issues continue to jeopardize the Banna tourism market and hinder tourism development.

## Chapter Six Tourists

In this chapter, results of analyses of quantitative data gathered from questionnaire surveys and qualitative data collected from interviews are presented to examine perceptions of tourists and their attitudes toward ethnic tourism. Tourists are one of the critical stakeholders in ethnic tourism, and their perspectives are central to examining ethnic tourism. Their assessments of the ethnic attractions, perceptions of ethnic product features, and satisfaction with their experiences are important indicators of the success of tourism. Their motivations, perceptions and feedback are very helpful for future planning and the improvement of ethnic tourism.

The chapter first introduces the profile of tourists in Banna, and then examines tourists' perceptions in the context of four contradictions of ethnic tourism. It also addresses environmental and planning issues. Finally, a summary of this chapter is provided.

### 6.1 Profile of tourists

As indicated in chapter four, surveys of tourists generated 600 complete and valid questionnaires. The demographic information and the distribution of the respondents are presented in Table 6.1. The proportion of males (59.7%) is higher than females (40.3%). The gender imbalance can be explained by the fact that the images of beautiful minority women in Banna attract more male tourists than females. Another factor is that males tended to fill out questionnaires when Chinese couples were asked to participate in the survey, based on the observation of the researcher. The questionnaires were distributed to each person of couples. However, women tended to let their male partners complete the survey, although some couples completed one copy together. This can lead to higher proportion of male respondents in the returned questionnaires.

The majority of tourists' ages (73.2%) ranged from 20 to 40, followed by the age of 41 to 50 which made up 17.8%. With respect to marriage status, 86% respondents were married and 13.2% single were single. The latter were mainly young adults or foreigners, and only 0.8% indicated that they were divorced or separated. In terms of geographic origin, 75% of respondents were from the economically developed areas of China, such as the north, northeast and eastern regions and only 6% were from overseas. The majority of respondents were Han Chinese (90%), and Chinese minorities only made up 4%. The foreigners made up the rest (6%). It is not surprising that ethnic tourism attracts predominately Han people from relatively developed areas to see exotic minority

peoples. The number of foreign tourists was low due to the poor English service in the local tourism market for foreigners. There are few English-speaking tour guides in Banna and no English service is available at the airport or tourist sites. The respondents reported a high education level, as 72.3% had received university or college education and 9.3% had graduate degrees. Many were government employees, managers of businesses or self-employed and these groups tend to be relatively well educated.

As indicated, with respect to occupation, government officials and staff occupied the largest proportion of the sample (30.5%), followed by professionals (24.3%), factory workers and company employees (21%), business managers and self-employed workers (16%), and retired people (3%). The monthly income of respondents varied greatly ranging from below 500 RMB (CAD\$74) to above 4000 RMB (CAD\$592), with an average of around 2280 RMB (CAD\$337). About half of the respondents' incomes ranged from 1500 to 2500 RMB (CAD\$222--370), and 32.2% of respondents had a monthly income above 3000 RMB (CAD\$444). The salary variation reflects the large income gap among Chinese people: it corroborates the official documents that China has seen an enlarged income gap between urban and rural households and among urban households in different regions and industries since the shift to a market economy (Li, 2004). The business people reported the highest income among the respondents, followed by professionals and government employees.

In summary, the majority of respondents are highly educated people between 20 and 40 years old, with relatively high incomes, and they had come from the north, northeast and east of China. The finding suggests that it is the newly affluent urbanites who have become the driving force of the tourism market. With the increase of disposable income in urban China, more and more affluent urbanites are eager to leave their artificial world to see the 'otherness' and to seek relaxation and pleasurable experiences.

The following sections examine tourists' perceptions in the context of four contradictions of ethnic tourism. In addition, a supplemental section addresses environmental and planning issues. Respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions of ethnic product features, to assess ethnic attractions and to indicate the levels of satisfaction with their experiences. Although there are several ethnic sites in Banna, Dai Yuan currently is the only folk village included in packaged tours and that has received mass tourists. Mengjinglai and other sites receive relatively few tourists for a variety of reasons (poor service, fewer available tourist products, etc.). Therefore, the tourist survey

mainly investigated Dai Yuan as an example of folk villages. Other survey questions examine the tourists' perceptions of ethnic products and services in Banna in general.

Table 6.1 Demographic characteristics of tourist sample

Categories		Frequency N	Percent (%)
<b>Gender</b>	Male	358	59.7
	Female	242	40.3
	Total	600	100.0
<b>Age</b>	under 20	7	1.2
	20-30	210	35.0
	31-40	229	38.2
	41-50	107	17.8
	51-60	37	6.2
	over 60	10	1.7
<b>Marriage</b>	single	79	13.2
	married	516	86.0
	divorced/separated	5	.8
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Han	540	90.0
	Chinese minorities	24	4.0
	foreigner	36	6.0
<b>Origin place</b>	North China	150	25
	Northeast	91	15.2
	East	125	20.8
	South	84	14
	Southwest	48	8
	Northwest	66	11
	Oversea	36	6
<b>Education</b>	primary school	4	.7
	junior high school	15	2.5
	senior high school	91	15.2
	undergraduate/college	434	72.3
	graduate	56	9.3
<b>Occupation</b>	Government official/employee	183	30.5
	Business manager/self-employed	96	16.0
	Professional	146	24.3
	Factory worker/ company employee	126	21.0
	Farmer	1	.2
	Military or police	11	1.8
	Student	16	2.7
	Unemployed	3	.5
	Retired	18	3.0
<b>Monthly Income</b>	Below 500	10	1.7
	500-1000	9	1.5

<b>(RMB)</b>	1000-1500	55	9.2
	1500-2000	136	22.7
	2000-2500	160	26.7
	2500-3000	37	6.2
	3000-3500	69	11.5
	3500-4000	22	3.7
	above 4000	102	17.0

## 6.2 Cultural exoticism versus modernity

The cultural exoticism of ethnic groups is the primary attraction for tourists in ethnic tourism. From the survey, tourists expressed a high degree of interest in the ethnic cultures of Banna. In addition to enjoying nature, seeing ethnic culture ranked at the top of the primary purposes for visiting Banna. This matches the image of Banna portrayed in the mass media as a mysterious subtropical region with unusual ethnic cultures. Table 6.2 shows that 88.5% of respondents selected enjoying nature, 77.0% seeing ethnic culture and 30.7% relaxation as primary purposes for visiting. Of these respondents, 73.0% selected both enjoying nature and seeing ethnic culture, which reveals that tourists prefer an experience that combines nature and culture. Many tourists who indicated that their main purpose was to enjoy nature also went to the folk villages or visited minority homes. During the interviews with tourists, many people indicated they would like to have both natural and cultural experiences, and that Banna presents an ideal combination of the two. When they were asked whether or not they considered themselves to be cultural tourists, many responded 'probably', 'I do not know' or 'it does not matter'. Although there are many definitions for 'cultural tourist' in the academic world, it is hard to apply them in real world. In fact, today's tourists in Banna tend to be a mixture of cultural and nature-based tourists, and many of them prefer a combination of natural and cultural resources in a tourist destination in order to have diverse experiences.

Table 6.3 reports that 64.2% of respondents participated in package tours, 19.2% were involved in company retreats, 19.3% travelled with families/friends and only 3.5% of respondents travelled alone. This finding corroborates the official documents that indicate that mass tourists come to Banna on packaged tours and often visit ethnic folk villages as a part of tour programs arranged by travel agencies. The finding also reveals that Chinese tourists tend to travel with companions (i.e. families, friends or colleagues) rather than alone. Some people who travel with companions also join package tours in order to decrease the costs of trips. The package tour is the most popular form of travel for Chinese tourists due to its convenience and lower costs. Travel agencies get a series of special deals on airfares, accommodation, meals and entrance fees to parks when organizing tours

and, in these ways, the overall costs of trips are reduced significantly. Furthermore, fierce competition among travel agencies has caused additional price-cutting to encourage more people to join package tours. When tourists join package tours, they pay the expenses prior the trip and then follow the itinerary arranged by tour operators. The tour usually consists of a series of activities such as touring subtropical scenic sites, visiting folk villages or minority homes, shopping at jewellery stores and dining on ethnic food.

Table 6.2 Primary purpose of visiting

	Enjoy nature	See ethnic culture	Relaxation	Sports	Business trip	Visiting family/friends	Other
Percent (%)	88.5	77.0	30.7	6.0	5.0	1.5	1.5

Table 6.3 Travel patterns

	Travel alone	Travel with family/friends	Part of a tour group	Part of a company retreat
Percent (%)	3.5	19.3	64.2	19.2

The ethnic village tour is an important program offered by local tour operators. The survey data show that 92% of respondents visited folk villages and 86% visited minority homes, while only 13.3% visited ethnic museums. Among these respondents, 81.5% visited both folk villages and minority homes as Dai Yuan is in a natural village setting, which provides a convenient way for tourists to visit both in one trip. Here, some tourists regarded Dai house visiting as minority home tours but, actually, they purchased only jewelry or local goods at Dai houses. The finding also shows that Chinese tourists prefer folk villages to museums. The visitation of museums in China is generally low because many Chinese tourists prefer entertaining activities offered by folk villages to static exhibitions at museums. The ethnic museums in Banna are too small to provide substantial exhibitions of minorities' history and artifacts. Thus, museums are not appealing to tourists, and visiting ethnic museums is often not included in package tours. As a result, only a small proportion of tourists went to museums. However, ethnic village tours are very popular both among package tour groups and independent travelers. Dai Yuan, as the largest designed folk village, is often included in package tours.

Catering to tourists' desires for cultural exoticism, the folk villages typically provide the most tangible and spectacular aspects of ethnic culture for the entertainment of tourists. Like other ethnic

destinations, Dai Yuan constructs a romantic and feminized picture featuring a joyful and exotic atmosphere. The standardization of the tourist gaze centres on the feminization of Dai culture ñ beautiful young girls, dance performances, wedding shows and so forth (Li, 2004). The activities in Dai Yuan usually include a walk along the designed tourist routes in the villages to see Dai houses and craft-making or to purchase souvenirs, a temple tour, attendance of a dance performance and water-splashing activity. Some tourists pay extra money to attend wedding shows or sample Dai food or tropical fruits. Some tour guides also take tourists to Dai houses inside the villages to purchase jewellery, Dai crafts and local tea. This is the most profitable business for villagers. However, today, tour guides prefer to take tourists to souvenir stores and fake Dai houses outside of Dai Yuan because these stores offer them higher commissions.

Guides often briefly introduce the history of the villages and some entertaining Dai dating ìcustomsî (which are not practiced any more), but they do not take much time to interpret Dai culture and heritage. They typically rush tourists from the tourist routes to the temple, and to the performance theatre, and then allow tourists to watch dance performances and attend the water-splashing activity by themselves, while waiting at the parking lot chatting with their fellow guides. Normally, they encourage tourists to take battery-powered cars operated by the park to tour the park quickly. Therefore, package tourists have little chance to interact with minority people or explore Dai culture. Their experiences with ethnic customs occur only in the staged settings. In general, the length of stay at the park lasts around two and half hours. The dance performance and water-splashing activity are the highlights of programs in the park, and they normally start at 3:30 pm. Therefore, most tourists come to the park around 2:30 pm and leave around 5:00 pm when water-splashing activities end. The park is peaceful and quiet in the morning and evening, while in the afternoon it is crowded with tourists. During the long holidays, tourists usually have shoulder-to-shoulder experiences in the park.

While tour groups constitute the majority of visitors, it is independent tourists who make their presence more visible in the villages (Li, 2004). Many independent tourists drive their own vehicles from other areas of Yunnan (mainly from Kunming) and even outside of Yunnan to Banna, particularly in ìGolden Weeksî in Octoberó National Day week, Februaryó Spring Festival and Mayó Labour day. These Golden Weeks are designated by the Chinese state as long holidays. In these weeks, people have a week off and are encouraged to travel. Domestic tourism peaks often occur during these times and all forms of transport are extremely busy, with limited pre-booking or



return travel facilities for buses and trains. Popular sites are also crowded with tourists. Therefore, travelers either participate in package tours or drive by themselves. With the increased disposable income and improved transportation, a growing number of affluent urbanites, mainly from Kunming, like to drive to Banna to see exotic otherness and experience different cultures during the long holidays.

Compared to package tourists, independent tourists have more opportunities to interact with minorities as they have more time to walk around the village and visit Dai houses freely. Driven by the desire for cultural exoticism, these tourists wander around the winding alleys of the villages to enjoy beautiful Dai gardens, try home-made meals in the traditional Dai houses, and some stay overnight to experience the 'real' Dai lifestyle. A few of them even establish close bonds with the hosts and visit the village every year. These tourists either search for 'authentic' encounters with Dai people or just seek to relax surrounded by the simple village life. The tranquility of the village and its beautiful scenery impress many urbanites and satisfy their nostalgia for the untouched, the simple and the natural. These urbanites are eager to escape stress and problems associated with modernity such as air pollution, noise and crowded living spaces and seek an idealized simple life and in a pleasant natural setting. Far from the modern life, the Dai villages become a simple and carefree 'paradise' for modern souls to rest in. The interviewed tourists, who stayed in Dai Yuan overnight, commonly stated that they enjoyed the relaxing, simple and pleasant village life, and the villages were worth revisiting and even settling in after retirement. Some indicated that the unforgettable experience in the tour was the closer interactions with Dai people who were friendly, warm, simple, pure and unsophisticated.

As these villages were described as simple, natural, untouched, uncontaminated, idyllic, carefree and pleasant – a haven for fatigued and nostalgic souls to recuperate in (Li, 2004), some tourists who were longing for more authentic and closer encounters with Dai culture, also expressed disappointment with their experiences. Based on the observations of the researcher, villagers typically entertain tourists with Dai food and fruits, but the Dai hosts are often busy preparing food and few of them make active conversations with tourists. The communications and interactions between the hosts and guests tend to be very brief and simple. The hosts commonly greet tourists by saying 'please eat more or drink more' when they bring cooked food to dinner tables. Simple conversations only happen when tourists ask the name of dishes or when the hosts try to sell their crafts to tourists. Many interviewed tourists stated that they felt it was difficult to interact with Dai

hosts because the hosts never seriously answered their questions beyond a couple of sentences (Some Dai people may not speak Mandarin fluently, which limits the conversation). The tourists who were interested in Dai culture had to learn it mainly through observation by themselves. Although they stayed in Dai houses with Dai families, nobody introduced or explained Dai culture to them. Middle-age or young Dai villagers can speak Mandarin, but they always speak Dai to each other and tourists did not understand it. Here, in response to pressures from tourists, Dai language has been used as a rhetorical weapon to maintain Dai identity and as an obstacle to stop tourists accessing the daily life of Dai people. Few tourists could be involved in 'real' Dai life to experience the back stage of Dai culture. As a result, most tourists only have superficial experiences of ethnic customs.

The relationships between Dai hosts and tourists are transitory, and the cultural influence of tourists on minorities is not significant (and vice versa). Many tourists were disappointed with the modern settings inside Dai houses, which did not match their previous images. Television sets, refrigerators and gas stoves are very common in many Dai houses in Dai Yuan due to the income from rubber plantations and tourism businesses. When modernization is actively pursued by Dai people, their lifestyle changes and loses its 'exoticism' for Han tourists. For example, traditional evening activities such as sitting outside and chatting with other villagers have been replaced mainly by watching TV at home. Although some tourists thought that the Dai were still economically and socially backward compared to the Han, many tourists were surprised with the modern life of Dai people. It is rare to see local people wear their traditional costumes in Jinghong city; instead, it is common to see young Dai girls dressed in Han clothes or modified Dai skirts, with cell phones hanging around their necks. However, traditional Dai dresses can only be seen at remote villages or during festivals. With the improvement of their living standards and under the influence of television, Dai people have rapidly copied the Han lifestyle. The modern life of Dai villagers has disappointed some tourists' genuine desires for cultural exoticism.

The findings also suggest that the majority of tourists only see staged culture from the designed tourists routes and activities offered by the folk villages. Few of them felt that they had experienced the traditional lifestyle of minority people, even from the homestay experiences provided by minorities themselves. This can be explained by MacCannell's (1973, 1976) front and back stage model, in which tourists search for the real, authentic or back stage experiences, but they often become victims of staged authenticity and can only see show pieces at the front stage.

### 6.3 Authenticity versus cultural commodification

The conflict between tourists' quests for authenticity and the commodification of ethnic cultures is a critical characteristic of ethnic tourism. As noted in chapter two, what is authentic is shaped by the local values, stereotypes, personal feelings, experiences and commitments, the interaction between consumers and suppliers, and social atmosphere. Many tourists are happy with a 'theme park' approach to presenting culture and are less concerned with authenticity (Xie, 2001), while others would prefer a more 'authentic' experience in a remote village (Craik, 2001). The situation in Banna indicated that a large number of tourists were satisfied with staged authenticity, while a smaller (but considerable) number prefer a more 'authentic' experience in a natural setting.

Table 6.4 Tourists' perceptions of authenticity

Statement	Yes (%)	No (%)	Don't know (%)	Partly/somewhat/sometimes (%)
Ethnic folk villages are authentic	45.3	22.3	27.0	5.3
Ethnic cultural performances are authentic	65.7	15.5	9.2	9.7
Ethnic souvenirs are authentic	45.8	31.2	17.3	5.7

Table 6.5 Knowledge of ethnic culture prior to arrival

	Very familiar	familiar	not very familiar	don't know	Total
Frequency	7	98	432	63	600
Percent	1.2	16.3	72.0	10.5	100.0

Table 6.4 reports the tourists' perceptions of authenticity in terms of folk villages, cultural performances and ethnic souvenirs. Almost half (45.3%) of respondents perceived ethnic folk villages as authentic, 22.3% did not think so, and 5.3% thought folk villages were partly or somewhat authentic. Nearly two-thirds (65.7%) of respondents were satisfied with staged cultural performances, 15.5% did not view performances as being authentic, and 9.7% indicated that performances were partly or sometimes authentic. Almost half (45.8%) perceived ethnic souvenirs as authentic, 31.2% did not view souvenirs as authentic, and 5.7% indicated that some souvenirs were authentic. A considerable number of respondents stated that they could not judge authenticity (27% regarding the folk village, 9.2% the cultural performance, and 17.3% ethnic souvenirs). This is in accord with the fact that many tourists had little information about ethnic culture prior to the trip:

82.5% of respondents indicated that they were not familiar with or did not know about ethnic culture, and only 17.5% of respondents were familiar with ethnic culture (Table 6.5). Those who were familiar with ethnicity showed a higher degree of knowledge in ethnic dance/song and architecture. Almost half (45.5%) of respondents indicated knowing about ethnic dance/song and 39.2% about architecture. This result can be understood from the way Banna culture has been projected in the mass media. The images of attractive ethnic dancers and singers as well as stilt bamboo houses in Banna have been widely portrayed in tourist brochures, newspapers and magazines. Thus, tourists are more aware of the spectacular rather than other aspects of culture, such as the folklore and history.

In general, more respondents perceived cultural performances as being authentic than the experience of the folk villages. This is likely because the cultural performances are more entertaining, so that many tourists enjoy them more than the folk villages. In fact, folk villages such as Dai Yuan are based on living minority villages and, hence, they are authentic. However, it is surprising that less than half of the respondents perceived Dai Yuan this way, which is probably because tourists mainly saw show pieces of the villages along the designated tourist routes in the park. Lack of ethnic information and interpretation also affects these perceptions. As the majority of tourists did not know ethnic culture well, they judged authenticity mainly depending upon their feelings, experiences, stereotyped images, and the context they were in. Their judgements could also be affected by how the village or the show was represented, and by the interpretations of tour guides and park employees. Often, the spectacular images of performance and traditional architecture were mainly used to evaluate authenticity. The perceptions of authenticity were blurred and fluid. Chinese tourists generally are more concerned with their enjoyment of the performance and/or the overall trip, and are less concerned with authenticity.

The detailed interviews with 20 selected Chinese tourists revealed that many of them (80%) were not very concerned with authenticity as long as they enjoyed the performance and/or the overall trip. A small minority (10%) of interviewees thought that ethnic villages were too commercial and did not suit traditional minority culture. Many (85%) stated that the performances were excellent with a variety of spectacular programs, while a small portion of interviewees (15%) thought that the performances were superficial shows, but not high quality programs that could faithfully represent local ethnic culture. Some noticed that dancers repeated performances so many times daily that they did not dance earnestly.

Of those who expressed familiarity with ethnicity, the majority (68%) of surveyed respondents surprisingly saw the performances and 56% the folk villages as authentic. Almost half (47%) perceived the ethnic souvenirs as authentic. These data indicate the widespread acceptance of commercialized shows, villages and/or souvenirs. In general, authenticity of performances and folk villages was not a major concern for the majority of Chinese tourists, as they were aware of the staged settings and were mainly in search of enjoyment or relaxation. However, perceived authenticity of ethnic souvenirs is a concern of many tourists due to the issues of counterfeit products.

Authenticity is a major concern of western tourists interviewed. Of 20 interviewees, only 40% perceived folk villages as authentic; 20% perceived cultural performances as authentic, and 10% considered ethnic souvenirs to be authentic. Many expressed comments suggesting that they felt that ethnic folk villages were tourist-centric and artificial. Most would have preferred to see the local culture in completely natural settings. They felt that visiting non-tourist destination villages where nothing was put on show was the most interesting activity and the most authentic experience. A few (~10%) thought the folk villages and dance performances were very good, and that the performances were somewhat authentic. The houses and other buildings in the folk villages were perceived to closely resemble what they would look like in their natural setting. In one interview, an American stated:

Villages that are merely show pieces do not impress me. I think authenticity can only occur in real villages, not show pieces. Meeting the locals at outdoor markets is the most interesting thing. Please keep ethnicity in local villages, not in a museum!

A Canadian said:

Putting ethnic culture on display is a complicated issue. I believe that it is good to present the culture through education, but strange to look at people like they are in a zoo!

A European stated:

Putting ethnic culture on display depends on the way this is done. It should not be like looking at the animals in the zoo!

Some visitors stated that the appeal of this region was that it is still not highly frequented by tourists and is still authentic, whereas others indicated that ethnic tourism was becoming inauthentic as visiting becomes more popular. Generally, westerners suggested that ethnic tourism should be natural, and that they did not want to see people acting. About 90% of interviewees indicated that

most of the ethnic souvenirs were not authentic and they strongly preferred locally-made (real) handicrafts, and not machine-made crafts.

The Chi-square tests indicated that there was a significant correlation between levels of satisfaction and perceptions of authenticity ( $\chi^2=91$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $P<0.05$  for folk villages;  $\chi^2=154$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $P<0.05$  for performances;  $\chi^2=119$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $P<0.05$  for ethnic souvenirs). Tourists who enjoyed performances or village tours were more likely to select authenticity than others who did not have great experiences. Likewise, people who liked ethnic souvenirs were more likely to select authenticity than those who did not like them.

Table 6.6 Tourists' satisfaction with ethnic attractions (Proportion)

Statement	Very dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Neutral %	Satisfied %	Very satisfied %	Not stated %
Ethnic folk village (Dai Yuan)	1.5	3.0	34.2	45.5	10.5	5.3
Minority home tour	2.2	3.8	31.7	43.2	6.5	12.7
Ethnic festival/event	.8	2.8	26.2	47.7	13.7	8.8
Ethnic museum	.2	1.2	7.7	4.0	.3	86.7

Table 6.7. Tourists' satisfaction with ethnic attractions (Descriptive Statistics)

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Ethnic folk village (Dai Yuan)	568	3.64	0.782
Minority home tour	524	3.55	0.796
Ethnic festival/event	547	3.77	0.77
Ethnic museum	80	3.24	0.698

Tables 6.6 and 6.7 report tourist satisfaction with ethnic attractions, including ethnic folk villages, minority home tours, ethnic festivals/events and ethnic museums. Ethnic festivals/events rank highest in satisfaction and are followed by folk villages and minority home tours. Ethnic museums rank the least in attraction. It is not surprising that tourists were most enthusiastic about ethnic festivals/events, given that the Dai people's water-splashing festival (the New Year of the Dai) is well known nationally. It has attracted numerous tourists from home and abroad. Banna is crowded with tourists who join the celebration of the festival every April. In order to attract more tourists who have not experienced the festival, Dai Yuan offers water-splashing activity once a day. Most

(61.4%) respondents enjoyed the activity and about 40% stated that water-splashing was the highlight of their trip. About half of respondents were satisfied with Dai Yuan and the minority home tours. Table 6.7 shows that their mean ratings are 3.64 and 3.55, respectively, where 1 corresponds to 'very unsatisfactory' and 5 to 'very satisfactory'. The museum tours received the least satisfaction with a mean rating of 3.24.



Figure 6.1 Water-splashing activities in Dai Yuan

Tourists' satisfaction with a series of ethnic products is presented in Tables 6.8 and 6.9. Dance performances were the most popular program among tourists and 72.7% of respondents enjoyed the performances. About 50% stated that dance performances were their favorite programs, especially dancing with minority people. Ethnic costumes and architecture are also popular. Most (72.2%) respondents were fond of colourful ethnic costumes and many of them purchased Dai dresses. A large proportion (60.6%) of respondents was positive about ethnic architecture, particularly the unique bamboo houses. However, ethnic food, souvenirs and wedding shows received a lower satisfaction rating. A considerable number of visitors (18.3%) were not satisfied with ethnic food partly because many were from the north or east of China and were not used to spicy food. As Banna is humid and hot, local people like to eat raw vegetables or meat with hot chili peppers, which may not be familiar to tourists.

The wedding shows offered by Dai Yuan and other parks caused many complaints among tourists, although 27.9% of respondents enjoyed the shows. The wedding shows cater to male tourists and involve them in 'wedding ceremonies' with minority women. However, the shows often defraud tourists by charging high prices without advance notice. When some tourists found this out and wanted to leave the show, the operators would not let them go without paying the fee. Many tourists stated that the parks could charge a reasonable fee for participation in the shows instead of misleading them. These deceptive programs negatively affected the tourists' previous images of 'beautiful' Banna, and therefore might contribute to the decline of the tourism market. Ethnic souvenirs pose a problem similar to the wedding shows. Counterfeit ethnic souvenirs are a major factor in the local tourism market. Many tourists are interested in authentic handicrafts made by local minorities; however, machine-made crafts imported from other areas flood the market due to their lower costs. In fact, it is difficult for local handicrafts to compete with machine-made crafts because handicrafts are more expensive to make and tourists often choose cheaper crafts. Therefore, some minorities imitate the Han business people by selling machine-made crafts and counterfeit jewelry. Several tourists indicated that 'there are few handmade crafts in the local market that can be representative of minority traditions and cultures. What a pity to lose these valuable traditions!' Some tourists suggested that the cultural sites should each have their own unique souvenirs that are memorable and connected to the specific sites, rather than selling identical or similar products everywhere.



Figure 6.2 Wedding show



Table 6.8 Tourists' satisfaction with ethnic products (Proportion)

Statement	Very dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Neutral %	Satisfied %	Very satisfied %	Not stated %
Ethnic architecture	.8	2.5	32.7	46.8	13.8	3.3
Dance performance	.7	1.8	21.7	53.0	19.7	3.2
Wedding show	6.2	11.8	30.7	22.7	5.2	23.5
Ethnic food	5.8	12.5	41.8	30.3	8.2	1.3
Ethnic costume	.8	3.7	20.5	58.2	14.0	2.8
Ethnic souvenir	4.8	14.3	45.5	26.5	4.8	4.0

Table 6.9 Tourists' satisfaction with ethnic products (Descriptive Statistics)

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Ethnic architecture	580	3.73	0.767
Dance performance	581	3.92	0.748
Wedding show	459	3.12	1.016
Ethnic food	592	3.23	0.975
Ethnic costume	583	3.83	0.746
Ethnic souvenir	576	3.13	0.902

Tourists' satisfaction with local infrastructure and services is presented in Table 6.10 and 6.11. The natural environment was the favorite attribute of Banna and 85% of respondents enjoyed the subtropical rainforest landscape. The service quality of tour guides ranked as the second highest attribute in satisfaction. More than half (55.3%) of respondents were satisfied with the service of tour guides and only 11.7% were not satisfied. This is surprising given the insufficient interpretation at the folk villages and frequent shopping in package tours. This could be partly because some questionnaires were administered by a travel agency. Some tourists may not have given honest answers because they did not want to upset the tour guides. However, the researcher found complaints and discontent about the service quality of tour guides among a considerable number of package tourists in the surveys and interviews that were conducted.

There are two kinds of tour guides in the tourism market. One type is typically a Han person, contracted with travel agencies, and the other is a local minority person hired by the tourist sites. Han guides normally have higher education than minorities; however, they often have insufficient

knowledge of ethnic culture. The questionnaires did not distinguish these two types of guides and only surveyed their general service quality. The majority of interviewed tourists (80%) complained that the service quality of travel agency guides was very low. In attempts to pursue short-term personal economic benefits, many guides mislead tourists to purchase counterfeit golden, silver or jade souvenirs at Dai bamboo houses or souvenir shops. They also take tourists to small, low-grade tourist sites that give higher commissions to tour guides, a practice that degrades the images of local minorities. Many souvenir shops cheat customers by charging inflated prices, which causes discontent among tourists.

Most (57.9%) respondents reported overall satisfaction with the trips. Slightly less than half of tourists were satisfied with accommodations (49.7%), tourist facilities (46.5%), transportation (47.8%), and educational information (42.2%). About 10% of respondents suggested that these should be improved, in addition to roads and other city infrastructure. Entrance fees to tourist sites and overall trip price received the least satisfaction among these attributes, indicating that mass tourists are very concerned with costs. The majority of respondents (93.2%) were first-time visitors and only 6.8% were repeat visitors. Almost two-thirds (65.8%) of respondents indicated that they would revisit Banna in the future, while 29% would not and 5.2% were not sure.

The findings suggest that the majority of tourists were satisfied with their experiences in Banna and would like to visit again. However, some over-commercialized cultural performances and counterfeit souvenirs caused discontent among tourists. The service quality of tour guides, tourist facilities and road infrastructure also affected tourists' satisfaction and impede local tourism development. Strategies for resolving these issues need to be considered in future planning of ethnic tourism.

Table 6.10 Tourists' satisfaction of infrastructure and services (Proportion)

Statement	Very dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Neutral %	Satisfied %	Very satisfied %	Not stated %
Natural environment	.5	.5	13.5	56.0	29.0	.5
Accommodation	3.5	7.3	39.0	42.7	7.0	.5
Tourist facilities	2.7	6.0	44.2	39.5	7.0	.7
Transportation	3.8	9.8	38.3	40.8	7.0	.2
Entrance fee to tourist sites	3.7	14.7	42.3	29.5	5.8	4.0

Tour guide service quality	4.0	7.7	29.5	35.0	20.3	3.5
Educational information	1.3	8.3	47.2	34.0	8.2	1.0
Overall trip price	4.2	10.7	48.8	30.3	5.8	.2
Overall satisfaction during the trip	1.7	4.5	35.8	48.2	9.7	.2

Table 6.11 Tourists' satisfaction of infrastructure and services (Descriptive Statistics)

Statement	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Natural environment	597	4.13	0.69
Accommodation	597	3.43	0.863
Tourist facilities	596	3.42	0.817
Transportation	599	3.37	0.896
Entrance fee to tourist sites	576	3.2	0.904
Tour guide service quality	579	3.62	1.032
Educational information	594	3.4	0.809
Overall trip price	599	3.23	0.872
Overall satisfaction during the trip	599	3.6	0.791

#### 6.4 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy

Ethnic autonomy is seen from a tourist perspective as being related to self-control, power over the allocation of resources, and information sharing. State regulation and ethnic autonomy are often regarded as dichotomies by tourists. On the one hand, some tourists want to see authentic expression of ethnic cultures without government involvement; on the other hand, many want the authorities to regulate ethnic tourism. From the surveys, the majority of tourists (90%) supported the state regulation of ethnic tourism development, whereas only about 10% of tourists (mainly westerners) were concerned about ethnic autonomy. Chinese tourists typically stated that the future of Banna's tourism depended on government policies, and that it was the government's job to regulate the local tourism market and promote ethnic tourism development. Many believed that the prosperity of ethnic tourism requires the support of the government. Few of them suggested that ethnic communities should take control of ethnic tourism. This reflects the fact that most Chinese tourists still lack awareness of ethnic autonomy. Only a few suggested that local villagers who live in the

parks should receive a share of the entrance fee, and that it might be better to let local villagers act as tour guides.

The majority of western tourists (28 out of 35) expressed concerns about ethnic autonomy. They suggested that the government should leave minority people and places alone, and that ethnic folk villages should be run by ethnic people instead of the Han managers. Some suggested to introduce a Dai ethnic business acumen for tourism, not a Chinese business of ethnic packaging for tourism. Two interviewees stated that the Chinese government is putting too much pressure on the ethnic people. Less involvement from the government will result in more true ethnic expression.

Although Chinese tourists provided little input on ethnic autonomy, they offered many valuable insights for the improvement of ethnic tourism. Tourists' suggestions for future development are presented in Table 6.12. The questions were open-ended and responses were grouped during the analysis according to the key themes. Regulation of souvenir markets and shopping was ranked highest, as frequent shopping during the tours and counterfeit souvenirs were major concerns of tourists. Almost one-third (30%) of the respondents suggested decreasing shopping activities and regulating souvenir shops. They pointed out that shops were widespread, but that it was difficult to assess the quality and actual value of tourist goods. Banna should develop high-quality souvenirs and tourist products at reasonable prices (and not cheat tourists) if they want to sustain long-term tourism development. Many thought the prices of souvenirs were unreasonably high, and they wanted the government to regulate the souvenir market and prohibit the selling of counterfeit jewelry. A few tourists stated that prices were not a problem, but that souvenirs should be of higher quality. Some suggested decreasing the number of jewelry stores and having more ethnic souvenir stores that sell ethnic costumes, artifacts and handmade crafts. Others recommended developing local products that suit mass tourists and are more convenient to carry around.

Complaints about shopping and souvenirs were also common during the interviews. For example, several interviewed tourists complained:

We came to Banna to relax and enjoy nature and the local culture, but the tour guides took us shopping for unbelievably expensive souvenirs frequently which wasted a lot of time. The shopping time we spent was much longer than the tour. We did not come here for shopping. We would like to buy what we like, but not something we were pressured to buy. We are not interested in counterfeit jewelry or low quality souvenirs. The messy tourism market is

dangerous for the future development of tourism. We never want to come back and we will also tell our friends not to visit Banna. (Interviews with tourists, 2006)

Table 6.12 Tourists' suggestions for future development

Suggestions	Percent (%)
Decrease shopping activities and regulate souvenir shops	30
Develop authentic, exotic and high quality ethnic attractions/products	22
Strengthen the regulation of the tourism market	10
Improve roads, transportation, accommodation and tourist facilities	9
Improve the service quality of tourism workers	8
Reduce commercialization	7
Improve cultural content and attractiveness of tourist sites	7
Develop more participatory programs	6
More information on ethnic culture	2
Improve the quality of food and the dining experience	3
Enhance the marketing and promotion of Banna	2
Promote minority home tours or village tours	1

Strengthening the regulation of the tourism market was suggested by 10% of respondents. They claimed that the local authorities should oversee the tourism market, regulate the market prices of products, and restrict any tourist programs that cheat tourists (e.g., wedding shows) or offend tourists (e.g., taking tourists' pictures without permission) in order to maintain the good reputation of Banna. The service quality of tour guides is also a major concern of mass tourists. Several tourists indicated that the service quality of tour guides and drivers is very low. They often argue with tourists. There are many cheaters in the local market. We regret coming here. About 8% of the survey respondents expressed an urgent need to improve the qualification, working skills and service quality of tour guides and other tourism workers, and to treat tourists sincerely and honestly. They also suggested that the authorities prohibit any misbehaviour of tour guides such as misleading tourists to shop or pressuring tourists to join unwanted programs.

About 22% of the respondents called for developing authentic, exotic and high quality ethnic attractions and products. They suggested developing local tourism with an emphasis on ethnic culture and customs, and strengthening the authentic interpretation and representation of ethnic culture. A small proportion (7%) thought that ethnic tourism was too commercial, which was harmful for long-term development. The quality and cost of products are the major concerns of tourists. A few interviewees had comments like the ethnic products presented to consumers are so commercialized that they have ruined the original ethnic culture; do not let traditional simple and friendly ethnic customs be ruined by the market economy. Many tourists thought the market prices

of tourist products were not stable and standardized. Most market prices exceed the actual value of products. Therefore, most tourists felt they were being cheated by inflated prices. Many suggested improving the quality of souvenirs and other tourist products. Some recommended making more ethnic products that suit middle and lower class customers, and letting people know more about ethnic culture.

A small proportion (7%) of the respondents suggested improving the service, cultural content and attractiveness of tourist sites. They wanted the sites to be kept natural, with fewer human-made things. Many indicated that they preferred natural and eco-cultural attractions to purpose-built attractions. Some thought the programs offered by different tourist sites were identical and that they should offer diverse products or programs. Others stated that the main tourist sites should limit the number of mass tourists to their reasonable capacities. Suggestions such as decreasing the entrance fee to parks, limiting overcharged programs, and merging many lower quality tourist sites to form a few higher quality sites were also raised by some tourists.

Similarly, 7% of the respondents indicated a need to reduce commercialization. They thought that local tourism was too commercial, and that decreasing the commercial content would be conducive to the long-term comprehensive development of tourism. Some (6%) of the respondents suggested developing more participatory programs to let tourists get involved in local life and activities. A few (2%) wanted to learn more about ethnic culture through detailed interpretation of tour guides or educational programs. One percent of the respondents suggested promoting minority home tours or village tours. A few suggested providing more introduction and information about ethnic culture during the cultural performances. Some indicated that, in addition to Dai culture, other minority cultures also should be presented to tourists. Currently, Banna mainly promotes several minority cultures, especially focusing on Dai culture, and tourists have little chance to learn about other cultures. Two percent of the respondents thought that it was important to enhance marketing and promotion of Banna. They suggested making more tourist brochures and video CDs, and promoting Banna tourism nationally and internationally.

The city infrastructure and transportation are also constraints for local tourism development. Nine percent of the respondents suggested improving roads, accommodation and tourist facilities. Some stated that the poor construction of the city did not suit modern tourists' tastes and, hence, city planning and construction need to be improved. A few indicated that the capacity of the airport was

not large enough to suit mass tourists, and that the government should make transportation to the area easier.

Other issues such as sanitation improvement and vendor hassles were raised by 1% of respondents. Some tourists complained that they were pestered by many vendors in the tourist sites, and that the ways some vendors sell products were aggressive. Three percent of respondents suggested improving the quality of food and dining experiences. Some suggested improving the hygiene of local restaurants and increasing the diversity of food in order to suit different tastes.

The lack of service in English is also a concern of foreign tourists. It is very hard for foreigners to get around in Banna without a Chinese specialist. Many stated that English-speaking persons at the airport or directions in English would be helpful. Tourist sites were suggested to have English-speaking guides, and to offer a map with a combination of Chinese, local and English languages. Some suggested putting more English on signs, menus, etc., in order to attract more westerners.

### **6.5 Economic development versus cultural preservation**

Tourists have significant economic impacts on Banna. Local tourism income relies heavily on the number of tourists. Of 600 surveyed tourists, 395 reported their overall expenditures on the trip to Banna. Table 6.13 provides the descriptive statistics of overall tourist expenditures. The average expenditure was 2,941 RMB (CAD\$435), ranging from 100 to 20,000 RMB (CAD\$15 to \$2,959). This indicates a large expenditure gap among the respondents, which is in accord with their large income gap. Figure 6.1 provides the percentages of overall tourist expenditures for the trip. A larger number of respondents (22.8%) spent around 1,500-2,000 RMB (CAD\$222-296) on their visit, and are followed by 20% of wealthy tourists who spent above 4,000 RMB (CAD\$592). In general, 60% of respondents spent below 2,000 RMB (CAD\$296), which closely matches the monthly income of the majority of respondents.

Only 187 respondents reported their expenditure on souvenirs. The average expenditure was 1,455 RMB (CAD\$215), ranging from 100 to 15,000 RMB (CAD\$15 to \$2,220). Such a big expenditure gap on souvenirs is probably due to purchases of jewelry. Figure 6.2 shows that a large portion of respondents (41.2%) spent less than 500 RMB (CAD\$74) on souvenirs, 43.4% spent 500-2000 RMB (CAD\$74-\$296), and 19.7% spent above 4,000 RMB (CAD\$592). At most half (44%) of respondents stated that souvenirs accounted for the largest expenditure during their trip.

Table 6.13 Overall tourist expenditures (Descriptive Statistics)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Overall Traveling expenses (RMB)	395	100	20000	2941	3138

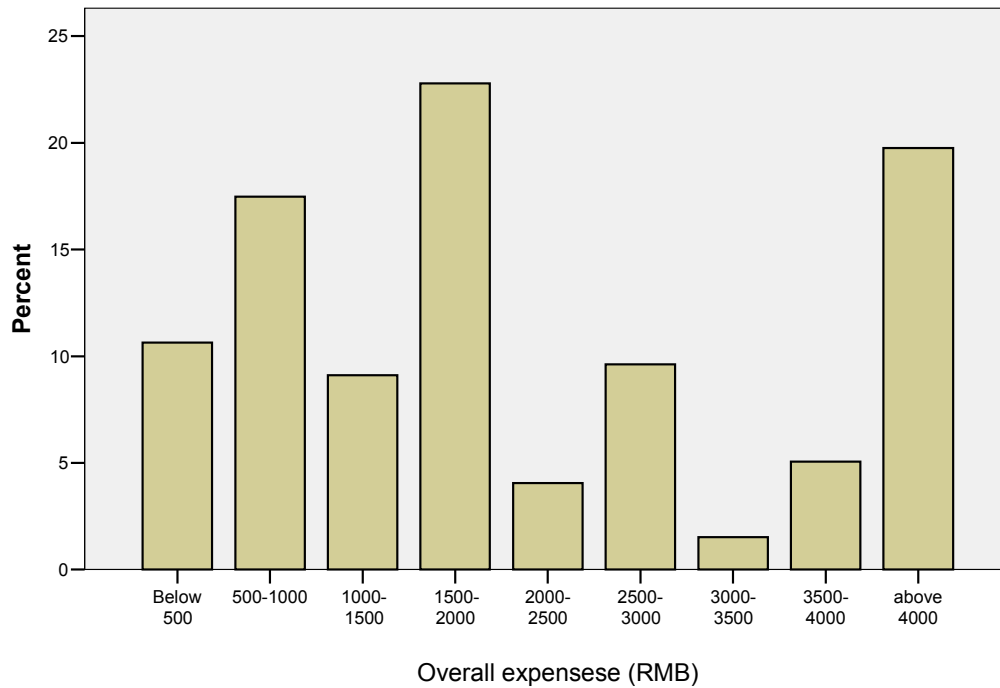
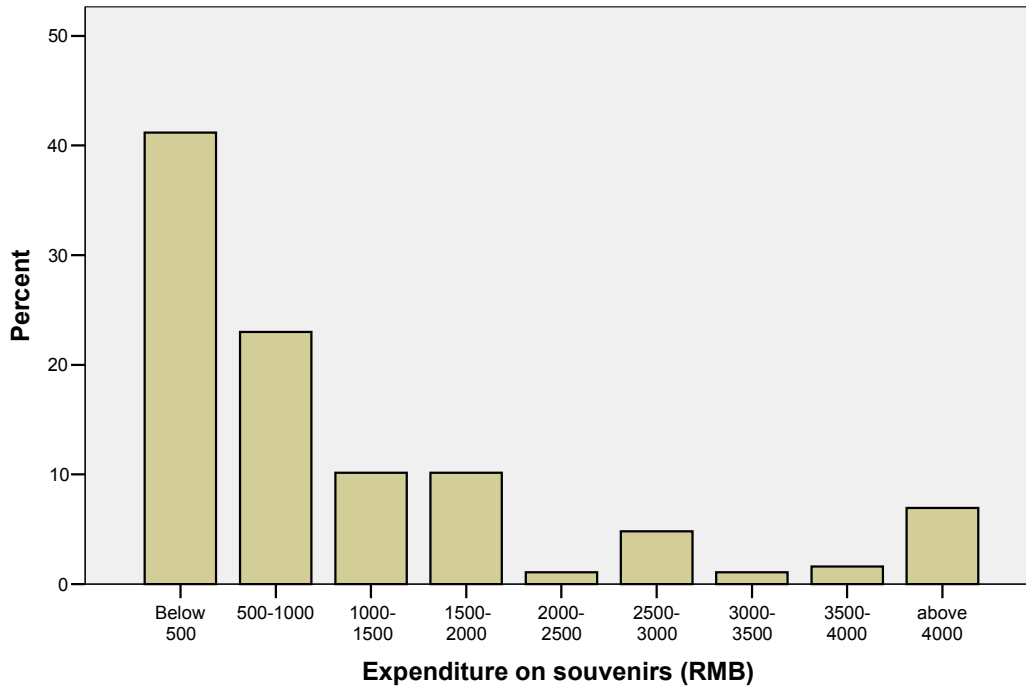


Figure 6.3 Overall tourist expenditure in Banna

Table 6.14 Expenditure on souvenirs (Descriptive Statistics)

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Expenses on souvenirs (RMB)	187	100	15000	1456	2049





**Figure 6.4 Tourist expenditure on souvenirs**

**Table 6.15 Purchased souvenirs during the trip**

Purchased souvenirs	Respondents	
	Frequency	Percent %
Jade/golden/silver products	283	47.2
Pu'ier Tea or herbal medicine	89	14.8
Ethnic costumes and musical instrument	44	7.3
Ethnic crafts	94	15.7
Fruits or local food	70	11.7

Table 6.15 lists souvenirs purchased during the trip to Banna. It is not surprising that jewelry is ranked highest among souvenir items, given that jewelry shops are widespread in Banna. Nearly half of respondents (47.2%) purchased jade/golden/silver products, which can be partly explained by the frequent shopping encouraged by tour guides. Some (15.7%) bought ethnic crafts and others (7.3%) purchased ethnic costumes and musical instruments, indicating that many tourists were interested in ethnic products. The rest of the respondents were interested in local specialties, such as Pu'ier Tea, herbal medicine and tropical fruits: 14.8% purchased Pu'ier Tea or herbal medicine and 11.7% bought tropical fruits or local food. All interviewed tourists indicated that they bought souvenirs,

mainly counterfeit jewelry as well as some tea, ethnic clothes or crafts. It is evident that tourists spent substantial amounts of money on souvenirs. However, the purchasing of ethnic crafts was much less common than purchases of jewelry and agricultural products, such as local teas, fruits and herbal medicines. Although tourists expressed an interest in authentic ethnic handicrafts, it is difficult to find high quality and representative ethnic souvenirs in the market. Jade or silver products are widespread, but cultural-related merchandise appears to be scant. The findings suggest that the ethnic souvenir market in Banna is still in its infancy and has much potential to develop. As ethnic souvenirs can play a significant role in cultural preservation, it is essential for Banna to develop high quality souvenirs that faithfully represent local minority cultures.

Preservation of traditional ethnic cultures and customs was suggested by 7% of respondents. They were concerned with the rapid changes to ethnic landscapes and the vanishing of traditional cultures and values. Many indicated that they wanted to see natural sites and the everyday lives of minorities; however, the local development had exploited the natural resources and had not preserved the traditional minority houses. Many tourists were disappointed with the design and construction of Jinghong city. They suggested preserving ethnic architecture, and that future architectural plans should be more tasteful. Some indicated that 'preserving the cultural landscape and natural environment. Banna is a pride of China. It belongs to China and to the world'. A few suggested 'helping the local people preserve their culture through means other than tourism, and helping them sell their own local authentic products themselves'.

All western tourists surveyed were very concerned with the preservation of minority cultures. They suggested to 'not import western or global attractions like Disneyworld or McDonalds' and 'try not to overdo or exaggerate things and let the people just be themselves'. One person stated:

I think it is good to educate visitors about minority cultures in the effort of preserving them for the future and nurturing respect. However, I think there should be delicate and unique business relationships between the villages and the 'cultural display' developers (Surveys with tourists, 2006).

The findings suggest that the impact of tourism on the local economy is significant, and that cultural preservation is essential for long-term successful ethnic tourism development. A delicate balance between economic development and cultural preservation needs to be achieved in future development. Otherwise, modernization of minority people and the consequent vanishing of exotic

ethnic cultures would result in less interest from tourists, and eventually a decline of the entire ethnic tourism market.

### **6.6 Environmental and planning issues**

Environmental and planning issues were also raised by some tourists. Four percent of the respondents indicated it is important to protect the local natural environment and preserve forests. They suggested a reasonable usage of natural resources and development of tourism under the premise of a fully protected environment. A few stated that one of the most unforgettable things during the trip was deforestation and water pollution. They suggested that development should be based on protection of environment, with no more deforestation. Several pointed out that cultural tourism should be practiced in harmony with the natural environment.

Some of the respondents suggested enhancing local tourism planning. They indicated that ethnic tourism development should be guided by better plans. A few pointed out that Banna has much development potential, and local tourism needs more development, but not only focusing on short-term economic profits. A comprehensive tourism plan is an urgent need for long-term tourism development.

Other suggestions: develop good brand names of tourist products representing Banna, learn from the successful experiences of other tourist destinations as well as the lessons learned from previous failures, enhance cooperation or communication with the travel agencies from the outside region and improve security facilities and the training of security guards.

### **6.7 Summary**

This chapter provided an analysis of tourist surveys in Banna. The profiles of tourists and their perceptions of ethnic product features, assessments of ethnic attractions and the levels of satisfaction with their experiences have been presented. Tourists provided substantial feedback and insightful suggestions for future tourism development, which can be used to identify issues in ethnic tourism and to provide solutions and planning directions for future development. The research findings are summarized by the following points:

1. Tourists mainly came from the north, east and northeast of China. Most of them were highly educated people between 20 and 40 years old with relatively high incomes. The newly rising affluent urbanites have become the driving force of the tourism market. Visitors were a mixture

of cultural and nature-based tourists, and regarded Banna as a mysterious subtropical region with exotic ethnic cultures. The majority of tourists was on package tours and visited folk villages as a part of tour programs arranged by travel agencies. They usually lacked the time and depth of experience to appreciate the intricate aspects of ethnic culture. The tourist consumption ñ where to go, what to see, what to buy and when to leave - is determined by tour guides.

2. With the increased disposable income and improved transportation, an increasing number of independent tourists drive to Banna to see exotic otherness and seek relaxation or pleasurable experiences. Minority villages have become a simple and carefree ñparadiseê for these modern souls to rest in. Although independent tourists had more opportunities to interact with minorities, few of them could obtain ñauthenticê experiences of traditional minority life as minority people used their language to protect their identity and keep tourists away from the ñback stageê of their life.
3. The encounters between tourists and hosts tend to very brief and simple and, hence, tourists only had superficial experiences of ethnic customs, and exerted little impact on ethnic communities. Most tourists had little knowledge of ethnic culture and they judged authenticity depending on stereotyped images. The spectacular images of performance and traditional architecture portrayed in mass media, tourism advertising and literature were mainly used to evaluate authenticity. Their perceptions of authenticity were blurred and fluid. The tourism middlemen (e.g. tour guides, park operators) did not play a sufficient role in interpreting ethnic culture during the tours.
4. Authenticity of performances and folk villages was not a big concern for the majority of Chinese tourists, as they were aware of the staged settings and were mainly in search of enjoyment or relaxation on their visits. Western tourists were more concerned with authenticity. They thought folk villages were tourist-centric and artificial, and they preferred to see the local culture in its natural setting. Authenticity of ethnic souvenirs is a concern of many Chinese and western tourists alike due to the prevalence of counterfeit products.
5. Cultural commodification is, to some extent, acceptable for tourists, but over-commercialized cultural performances or activities cause discontent among tourists and can devalue local traditions. In particular, deceptive cultural performances, such as wedding shows, not only result

in traditional culture losing its value, but also damage the tourist experience and hurt the image of minorities.

6. Tourists make a significant contribution to local economies through purchasing souvenirs and participating in tourist activities. However, they are not directly involved in the process of cultural preservation. Commercialization is highly visible in Banna and ethnic culture is put on show for sale. In fact, mass tourists consume local cultural resources, and only a few of them consider cultural preservation.
7. Most Chinese tourists are not aware of ethnic autonomy and believe that the prosperity of ethnic tourism requires government support. Western tourists want less involvement of the government and enhancement of ethnic autonomy. Chinese tourists want the government to regulate the tourism market and promote ethnic tourism development; while western tourists suggest that the government should leave minority people and places alone.
8. Environmental and planning issues were also raised in the surveys. Tourists suggest a reasonable usage of natural resources and development of tourism under the premise of a fully protected environment. They also suggested enhancing local tourism planning for the beneficial development of ethnic tourism.

## Chapter Seven Tourism Entrepreneurs

This chapter examines the roles of tourism entrepreneurs and their perceptions of ethnic tourism development. Tourism entrepreneurs are one of the key stakeholders in ethnic tourism, and their perspectives are crucial to understanding the issues related to ethnic tourism. Tourism entrepreneurs play a powerful role in developing ethnic tourism in China, and they are crucial to the commodification and marketing of ethnic culture.

The perspectives of tourism entrepreneurs were derived primarily from interviews with 13 entrepreneurs, including senior managers of the main tourist attractions in Banna, other influential local tourism developers, and managers of large travel agencies and hotels. These entrepreneurs are not ethnic members. This chapter first introduces tourism business in Banna, and then examines tourism entrepreneurs' perceptions in the context of four contradictions of ethnic tourism. In addition, a supplemental section addresses planning issues. Finally, a summary of the chapter is presented.

### **7.1 Tourism Business in Banna**

Since the 1980s, the local government has actively sought international and domestic capital to invest in tourism projects in Banna. This has been coupled with a series of preferential policies for investors. For example, tax exemptions of three to eight years have been offered for those investing in tourism businesses and development of tourism facilities, along with low land-use fees and possible extensions of tax exemption for projects undertaken in underdeveloped minority areas (Ge, 1995). These incentive policies have attracted many Han entrepreneurs from outside of the region to invest in tourism and have led to the establishment of many travel agencies, tour companies, hotels, scenic areas and folk villages. By 1995, 177 domestic and international investment projects had been approved or undertaken in Banna, involving 1.1 billion RMB (CAD\$0.17 billion), and most of them were tourism-related (Ouyang and Che, 1996). In the latest Master Tourism Development Plan (2006-2010), 29 tourism projects have been approved, with a 424,017 RMB (CAD\$63,741) investment (TBBP, 2006).

Tourism businesses generally consist of three types of ownership: state-owned, joint-venture and private businesses. These all tend to be dominated by Han managers. State-owned businesses used to comprise the majority of the tourism sector, including tourist sites, hotels and guest houses run by

governmental agencies, mainly for official conferences or receptions. Following the trend of reforms for state-owned enterprises, over the past decade the local governments sold many tourism enterprises that had financial difficulties and operational problems to private investors. One example is the Wild Elephants Valley, located in Mengyang sub-reserve of Xishuangbanna Biosphere Reserve (XBR) (60 km from Jinghong city), which is a large area of virgin rainforest where elephants live. In 1994, a state-owned park was established in the Valley and started developing tourism. Although the park had inherent advantages for developing tourism, it was heavily in debt due to inefficient operation and insufficient state financial support. In an attempt to get rid of this financial burden, the local governments sold the park to a private company -- the Golden Peacock Tour Company (GPTC) in 2003. GPTC renovated the tourist facilities and added more tourist activities in the park and turned the park into a popular tourist site. Small inns built in trees enable adventure tourists to observe the activities of elephants closely at dawn or dusk. An impressive butterfly and bird enclosure that was built in the rainforest is also intriguing to tourists. It has attracted a growing number of tourists to view wild elephants and enjoy the local nature. In addition to nature tours, the park also provides Jino minority dance performances. In 2005, the park received 419,030 tourists and earned 1.4 million RMB (CAD\$ 0.2 million) revenue (from interview with the park manager).

Today, there are only a few small sites sponsored by the local government, such as the Garden of Tropical Flowers, Manting Park and Mengli Cultural Park., which receive relatively few visitors. Among the popular tourist sites in Banna, Menglun Tropical Botanical Garden is one state-owned early developed scenic spot, in which there are 7,000 species of tropical plants. The garden, located in Menglun Town of Mengla County and 75 km from Jinghong city, was established in 1959 for botanical studies by the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Since the 1980s, it has been developed as a destination for tropical plant viewing, relaxation and holidays, and is ranked as a 4A site. A small cultural museum has also been established in the park. As unique and diverse minority culture is the major tourist draw in Banna, cultural displays or performances are visible in nearly all tourist sites.

Encouraged by the preferential government policies, an inflow of external investment has enhanced the variety of tourism businesses since the 1990s. The number of travel agencies increased from 1 in 1986 to 13 in 2006, and hotels increased in number to 32 in 2006. Joint venture businesses emerged in accommodations, touring and several tourist sites. Several hotels and companies are joint ventures

between the government and external sources of investment. The largest folk village ñ Dai Yuan ñ is operated by a joint-venture enterprise that is controlled by a state farm and a private investor.

Private businesses owned by non-local investors also surged in Banna's hotel industry, attractions and tour companies in the late 1990s. Outside Han investors have become significant players in the local tourism market. As noted in chapter three, GPTC is the largest private tour company in Banna. The owner of the company is an enterprise controlled by Han interests from Zhejiang Province on the eastern coast of China. GPTC first invested in the Banna Primeval Forest Park in 1995, and then purchased the Wild Elephant Valley as well as Jino Cultural Park and Nanno Mountain Scenic Spot.

In 2003, GPTC was formally established. It also became the major shareholder of the Banna International Travel Agency as well as the owner of cruise operators and a number of hotels in 2004. It has expanded dramatically in the past ten years and has become the largest tour company in Banna. Aimed at serving the provincial tourism market of Yunnan, the company has established a wild animal park, a marketing centre, an airplane ticketing company and several travel agencies in Kunming. The name of the company has been changed from the Golden Peacock Tour Company of Banna to the Golden Peacock Tour Company of Yunnan.

This company enjoys a number of privileges provided by the local government such as tax exemptions and reductions, and cheap land-use fees. The company has packaged natural and cultural resources, and provided diverse tourist products including scenic spots, cultural parks and cross-border tours. It has also invested in several television shows, which present local minority customs, in order to enhance its brand name. The guiding principle of its development plan is ñ to convert the resource advantage of Banna into a product advantage, and then transform the product advantage into a good brand name (from interview of a vice-manager of the GPTC). The company has created many job opportunities for local communities and significantly contributed to local tourism development as well as the improvement of local tourism facilities and infrastructure. The two attractions, including the Primeval Forest Park and Wild Elephants Valley Park, owned by the company are ranked as 4A sites by the CNTA, and received the highest and the third highest number of visitors, respectively, among the local tourist sites in 2005. However, its profit-driven operation also leads to many difficult issues, such as local resource exploitation, environmental degradation, cultural misrepresentation, and conflicts between ethnic communities and the company.



## 7.2 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy

State regulation of the tourism sector is relatively tight in Banna due to a host of issues in the tourism market. Tourism enterprises with different ownership all tend to cooperate with the local government to gain political and/or economic capital. Many enterprises are well aware of the benefits of advocating the official discourses in organizing cultural events or developing tourism products. Many tourist sites were established under the support of the local government. The development of Dai Yuan provides a good example of official support. Dai Yuan struggled to maintain its operation in its initial stage of development because there were many cultural sites that offered similar tourist activities and cultural events, such as water-splashing events, which is a re-enactment of the Dai's water-splashing festival.

In the 1990s, almost every tourist site used this well-known festival to satisfy tourists' quest for 'real ethnic flavour'. After the local government realized the problems caused by having a lack of quality and variety in mass cultural events and tourist attractions, they strengthened official control of the tourism sector and promoted high quality tourist sites and activities, while closing some small folk villages. Dai Yuan was chosen as a focus of promotion by the local government due to its well-preserved stilt houses, traditional lifestyles of the Dai residents and beautiful subtropical scenery. The government has strongly supported and promoted the park via its designation as a 'must-see' site as well as providing funding to pave roads and build more tourist facilities in the park. They have also given the privilege to the park as the only site that can host water-splashing events.

As a result of these preferential policies, the park has developed rapidly and is the most successful folk village in Banna and a well-known ethnic destination in China. The intervention of the government has turned the park into a highly profitable site. According to the officials in TBBP, the park never could have achieved such successful development without government support (Interviews with tourism officials, 2006).

In recent years, the Banna government has advocated the combined development of the cultural and tourism industries in order to improve the cultural quality of tourist products. This stimulated the emergence of mass cultural shows and dance performances manufactured by tourism enterprises. For example, the 'Mengbala-naxi' (paradise on earth) dance show produced by a private company from Kunming 'Jixin Yuan' is supported by the local government. The show was initiated in 2004 by the former party leader of the Banna government with an aim of creating a good brand name for

ethnic cultural products (Interviews with local officials, 2006). The show was designed to display well-preserved minority cultures and folk dances in Banna. However, the company has not only modified folk ethnic dances to suit tourists' tastes, but also added popular Han and western music as well as magnificent lights and fine costumes to appeal mass tourists. The performers are all professional Han dancers rather than minority people. The show has become a splendid modern dance performance, although its title was chosen to convey an ethnic flavour. Tourists hold mixed views about the show. Some stated that the performances were excellent with a variety of spectacular programs, while others thought that the performances were superficial shows with incoherent programs, no particular cultural focus, and little representation of the local ethnic culture (Interviews with tourists, 2006).

Hosting an audience of over 500 each night in the Cultural Complex of Jinghong city, the show has been highly promoted as a local cultural icon by the government. The company has contracted with the local government for a ten-year lease to the Complex at a low price. According to interviews, many local officials are not positive about the show because it neither represents authentic minority cultures of Banna nor contributes to the local revenue; instead, the company has taken advantage of local resources and made large profits without regard for public benefits. The Complex belongs to the Cultural Bureau of Jinghong and was formerly used as a public place for cultural events and activities. According to officials, the property value of the Complex is over 6 million RMB (CAD\$0.9 million) and the Cultural Bureau spent over 900,000 RMB (CAD\$134,685) renovating the place several years ago, but it is now rented to the company at a price of 240,000 RMB (CAD\$35,912) per year. It is surprising that the rent is much lower than the market price, given that the show is a cultural commodity that is supposed to be subject to market laws. The success of the show mainly depends on the preferential policies offered by the prefecture government.

Another tourist cultural event – the grand camp fire party organized by Manting Park – also shows the impact of government intervention on cultural events. Manting Park located in Jinghong city is a state-owned park. It was a royal Dai garden and developed into a scenic spot in the 1980s; however, it then only received a limited number of tourists. In attempt to attract more tourists, the manager of the park, who is a Han from Hunan Province, initiated the camp fire party in 2002, which is also called the 'Lancang – Meikong Night'. Being aware of the importance of governmental support, the manager asked TBBP to help promote the party and provide financial aid. Because the theme of the party fit well into the current cultural tourism policy, the park received funding from TBBP to build

a small performance centre and renovate park facilities. The party aims to display 'authentic' minority culture and folk dances as well as to involve tourists in folk dancing. It offers a range of activities, including Dai food tasting, dance performances and participatory programs in which tourists can dance with minority women. Fifty minority people have been hired from the nearby villages as dancers, Dai food cooks and tea cultural performers.

Folk dances are simplified and shortened to suit the party, but the party is less commercialized than the 'Mengbala-naxi' show, and thus, more 'authentic' (Interview with the park manager, 2006). The tourist survey shows that many tourists enjoyed the camp-fire party and dancing with minority people was the highlight of their tour. The party proved to be successful before the 'Mengbala-naxi' show came out. It received an average of 500 visitors daily and over 2000 people per day during the long holidays. However, the show has become major competition rival to the party as most tourists only choose one evening cultural event. The number of visitors to the party has dropped substantially since the show started. The manager complained that he was against production of the show in the same area because it led to intense competition between the two enterprises. He thought it was not fair for the park because the government gave more support to the show in terms of promotion and building-use fees. He also pointed out that some dances from the show were shoddy imitations of the party programs. Whenever the park presented new dances, the show copied them immediately. The competition between these two enterprises has become more intense with the reduction of the number of visitors to Banna. According to tour guides, the show receives more tourists than the party because Jixin Yuan (the owner of the show) pays higher commission to tour guides. Although the party is more 'authentic' than the show in terms of cultural representation and tourist experiences, the government involvement in this case has led to a decrease in overall authenticity of the tourist cultural experience.

The entrepreneurs interviewed were all concerned with state regulation, but few of them were concerned with ethnic autonomy. Managers of tourism enterprises are always Han people. Minority people are typically employed in low-paying jobs as dancers, tour guides, cleaners or security guards, for example. Few can be found at the management level. However, Dai Yuan has hired several older Dai villagers and Menjinglai has hired an educated Dai person as management staff to alleviate the conflicts between the parks and villagers. Yet, these staff persons do not have any power to influence the representation of their culture and park development. The design and representation of folk dances and minority customs are fully controlled by Han managers, although the performances

may involve minority dancers to maintain authentic ethnic flavour. Ethnic cultures are regarded as 'exploitable' resources to make profits for these entrepreneurs, and few of them are willing to hand over economic power to minority people or involve minority workers in park management and planning. When the researcher asked the manager of a folk village why minority workers were not involved in the park management, he responded that minority people generally lacked a 'commodity consciousness' and that their way of thinking was simple and backward. Their traditional value systems were not suited to the needs and requirements of a commodity economy. His comments reflect a general view among Han people towards minorities: that minority people are not sophisticated enough to cope with a market economy and that their traditional values hinder them from pursuing high rates of commodification, leading to lower economic returns. In fact, minority people are gradually developing 'commodity consciousness' through selling their culture, but they are at a disadvantage because the average education of minorities is still far below that of the Han and they generally have limited financial resources. They also have less business experience than Han people. According to minority people, 'they are not as greedy as Han business people' (Interviews with minorities, 2006).

In summary, the production of cultural events and tourist products is manipulated to fit the interests of capital and political mandates in contemporary Banna. These cultural events demonstrate the powerful role of government involvement in developing cultural events or activities. All interviewed entrepreneurs indicated that the support of and protection from the government was an essential condition for a successful tourism business. Without strong local support, it was unlikely the business would survive in the fierce competition of the tourism market. The cooperation between the government and the enterprise shapes the production of cultural tourism products and the representation of minority cultures.

### **7.3 Cultural exoticism versus modernity**

Ethnic minorities are encouraged to revive their culture and to maintain ethnic characteristics as members of a multi-national country (Li, 2004). However, not all aspects of ethnic culture are accepted and supported in the process of cultural revival and ethnic tourism development. What have been promoted are cultural differences from the Han (which provides a standard for comparison), exotic cultural images and the charming customs of ethnic minorities. Tourism businesses explicitly package, market and promote elements of ethnic culture deemed 'primitive', 'pre-modern', exotic and joyful. For instance, traditional bright minority clothing is a positive

expression of ethnic identity, to be celebrated and promoted. Minority religious rituals, however, are considered joyless and economically wasteful and, as such, have been discouraged (Davis, 2006). Dancing minority women in colourful and tight ethnic sarongs can be found in cultural events, ethnic restaurants, folk villages, and the mass media, whereas it is not common to see solemn religious rituals. Tourism entrepreneurs are the key actors in selecting and sifting aspects of ethnic culture to produce 'authentic' cultural images, traditions and lifestyles that meet commercial needs. Meeting tourists' expectations is of highest concern to entrepreneurs.

The contradiction between the tourists' quest for exotic culture and the minorities' desire for a modern life is evident in Banna. While ethnic tourism effectively promotes economic development and pursuit of modernity among minority people, it also produces a dilemma for its own development. Tourists want to see traditional versions of minority culture, and to experience unadulterated everyday village life, but with dramatic changes to the architecture and lifestyles of minority people, folk villages are losing their sense of exoticism for Han visitors. Modern houses have continuously emerged in every tourist village, which has caused tension between the entrepreneurs and villagers. The managers of ethnic villages are all very concerned about the diminishing of traditional ethnic architecture. For instance, many 'alien' houses (Han-style brick houses) emerged in Dai Yuan after the first modern house with three storeys, a domed roof and brightly coloured walls was built in Manting village in 2002. These houses are symbols of wealth and modernity, and form a sharp contrast with the surrounding stilt bamboo/wooden houses. The company tried to eliminate these 'alien' houses through negotiation with their owners as well as by appealing to the Construction Bureau. However, the villagers insisted on their right to build the houses on their land. Though the company failed to remove these houses, they have tightened the control of Dai houses in the park and formulated a park regulation in 2004 that requires the villagers to maintain stilt wooden architecture when renovating or building new houses. The company has also promised to give compensation to homeowners who build traditional Dai houses. However, the compensation is very little compared to the price of timber, and some owners have yet to receive their compensation since their houses were built.

The villagers are not allowed to build 'alien' houses on their land, while the company itself builds 'alien' buildings as souvenir shops on the land rented from the villages at a low price and rented out to Han businesses at a high price. When a villager built a store on her land near the tourist route, it was found to be against the park regulation and was torn down by the company without any

compensation. The contradictory behaviour of the company towards itself versus toward the villagers results in more tension between the two sides. The villagers questioned why the company can build 'alien' houses and rent them out, but why our villagers can not do that? Do they have right to tear down our houses? (Interviews with Dai villagers, 2006) When the researcher spoke with the manager about these issues, he responded:

Shops only can be built at the same area in the park, and 'alien' houses affected the layout of the village. It is very difficult for our park to stop villagers building modern houses. They [villagers] do not listen to us. The government should formulate regulations and legislation to conserve traditional architecture and prevent construction of 'alien' houses in ethnic villages. (Interview with a park manager, 2006)

Mengjinglai Park faces a similar dilemma to Dai Yuan. The vice-manager of GPTC expressed a similar concern about the reduction of traditional ethnic architecture in Mengjinglai. As this village is far from Jinghong city and isolated, the village houses tend to be smaller and more 'primitive' than those of Dai Yuan. Stilt bamboo/wooden houses are well preserved in this village. With the increase of disposable income from tourism and rubber trees, the villagers have started to build new houses and use modern furniture and devices such as TVs, motorcycles and solar-heated washrooms. Several new houses can be found with more windows, colourful roofs and modern facilities; they are much bigger, brighter and more comfortable than the surrounding older bamboo houses. These new houses are built on stilts with wood, and Han-style brick houses can not be found in the village. According to the villagers, the company removed all brick buildings and walls surrounding each house's yard, and paid very little compensation (Interviews with Dai villagers, 2006). The company has also asked villagers to remove solar-heating systems, as the metal plate stands on the roof and affects the view of the village. Even the livestock is not allowed to be kept in the houses along the tourist route.

As the company's control over the village is strict, the tension between the company and the villagers is more intense in this park. Many villagers are against the company's domination of their resources, and complained that the company only wanted to make profits using village resources and cheap labour, but did not pave all village roads as they promised. When the researcher spoke with the vice-manager of GPTC, she was confident that the company's efforts successfully prevented construction of modern brick houses by 'convincing' villagers not to do so. Meanwhile, the park manager appointed by GPTC was very concerned about the tension between the two sides. He stated:

Villagers do not cooperate with the company. They built new houses without our approval, and they destroyed the flowers the company planted on the tourist routes. We sent the villagers to other folk villages to learn how to serve tourists, but they only learned to build new houses and demanded more share of the profits. The park does not make profits now because there are fewer tourists, but we have to maintain the park facilities and pay salaries to our employees. I am afraid that the park can not sustain itself for a long time if the border remains closed. (Interview with a park manager, 2006)

Although these two parks achieved different results in their attempts to stop the emergence of modern architecture, they both show the dominant role of the entrepreneurs in defining what the essential aspects of authentic minority culture are, and determining what should be revived, developed and preserved in the tourist villages. The management of tourist villages manipulates cultural production, representation and even preservation, and further shapes tourist experiences and minority practices. However, as modernisation is becoming an unstoppable trend throughout China, minority people are moving quietly between tradition and modernity.

#### **7.4 Economic development versus cultural preservation**

Due to the scarcity of local capital and the absence of strong and experienced tourism entrepreneurs in ethnic communities, a joint-business model 'enterprise plus village households' has been strongly advocated by the local government and widely applied in tourist villages in Banna such as Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai in order to inject external capital into local tourism. This model, aimed at pursuing 'mutual' economic development and 'reciprocity', promotes cooperation between enterprises and villages. The enterprise invests in tourist facilities, village roads and other infrastructure construction, while the village provides its resources including stilt houses, natural landscape, Buddhist temples and traditional lifestyles for tourist consumption, and also rents its land to the enterprise. The enterprise is responsible for the park design and operation, gardening, and sanitary and environmental improvement. The village is assumed to benefit from employment by the park or engagement in tourism business. Dai Yuan has been broadly circulated in the mass media as a 'successful' example of this business model. Although the model emphasizes 'mutual development' and 'reciprocity', in reality, there is an unbalanced relationship between enterprises and villages. The enterprises, as stockholders and managers, always take control of park operation, site development and the allocation of benefits. Villagers, as resource providers, have little control over their resources in terms of cultural display, representation and even preservation. External

investors often dominate the tourism business and take away the majority of economic benefits. Local villagers are generally excluded from management and decision-making processes. The investors often promise many things when assuming control over the village's businesses, yet little is actually ever given to the local villagers.

The desire for a better life, nonetheless, pushes more villagers to embrace this unbalanced cooperation in order to gain economic benefits (Li, 2004). Although many villagers have regretted leasing their lands and handing over their start-up tourism business to external investors, they are stuck in the long-term land-lease contracts (usually 50 years) with the enterprises. Nevertheless, some ethnic communities have started to develop awareness of the importance of local control in community tourism development. For instance, Jino Cultural Park owned by GPTC has tried to invest in several Jino communities and incorporate local villages into the park. However, the communities refused to lease their lands to the park or sell their houses no matter how much money the park offered. The park is a purposely-built theme park, showcasing Jino culture. It was owned by several enterprises and closed due to lack of visitors. GPTC purchased it and reopened it in May, 2006. The park manager wants to expand the park and add 'authentic' ethnic flavour by involving local communities.

Having failed to involve villages, the park has hired a Jino elder as a cultural consultant to help them design cultural activities. However, according to this elder, the park is not interested in the activities he designed, such as traditional religious rituals, folktales/folklore telling and folklife displays. Instead, the park only wants to make immediate profits using staged Jino dances, modified Jino costumes, and young and attractive women in order to receive their investment soon. He also pointed out that the costumes worn by dancers and tour guides are not real Jino clothing, and a considerable number of dancers and guides in the park are Han people rather than the Jino (Interview with a Jino elder, 2006). In spite of being a Jino culture-themed park, the company also presents 'barbarian' shows in which performers pretend to be barbarians and play with fire and perform acrobatics in order to enhance the exotic flavour. However, the show can mislead tourists into perceiving a barbarian lifestyle as reflective of Jino culture. This misrepresentation strengthens the tension between the park and Jino communities. The park manager told the researcher that 'the objective of the park is to display, advocate and preserve Jino culture while promoting local economic development but, as we are in business, we have to make profits first'. In fact, economic



benefits are the driving force for entrepreneurs to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourist consumption. Few entrepreneurs are willing to listen to minority people's voices and actual needs.

As ethnic tourism creates opportunities for minority people to improve their livelihoods and promote their identity, it also promotes cultural evolution and changes in traditional life. Tourism entrepreneurs generally are well aware of the power of economic development and cultural evolution, particularly, that acculturation has challenged the exotic ways of minority life. During the interviews, many entrepreneurs indicated that cultural traditions were vanishing and thus were in need of preservation and reinvention for public display. Preservation of minority culture has been emphasized in the rhetoric concerning the management of cultural attractions and folk villages.

The slogan "Protection is development" is defined as Dai Yuan's guiding principle in its ten year development plan (2004-2014):

To maintain the rich folk customs of the Dai; to preserve traditional stilt bamboo/wooden houses; to retain the traditional lifestyle of the Dai and their warm guest-receiving etiquette; to preserve historical relics and religious culture. (Dai Yuan Strategic Development Plan, 2004)

The manager explained to the researcher that protection of ethnic resources is the foundation of park development, and preservation of ethnic culture is the highest priority of the park. Protection is required for development and development will, in turn, facilitate protection. Cultural preservation has been carried out in two forms. On one hand, the park has organized many cultural events and activities for the villagers in order to promote the revival of Dai culture; on the other hand, the park has formulated many regulations to safeguard the uniqueness and "purity" of Dai culture, such as the conservation of traditional Dai architecture. The park manager's intentions towards cultural conservation sound good, but in reality, only the manager can decide what should be protected and preserved, and how to preserve ethnic resources. Although Dai Yuan advocates the "mutual engagement and development" between the park and the villages, the manager is more concerned about maximization of the economic benefits and expansion of the business than the village's development. Similar to Dai Yuan, other tourism enterprises tend to exploit local resources and maximize their economic benefits. They advocate cultural preservation mainly for the sake of safeguarding commercial profits.

### **7.5 Authenticity versus cultural commodification**

As Banna's cultural heritage and biodiversity have been widely recognized, the commercial value of the exotic 'otherness' of minority people has been increasingly utilized and exploited by profit-driven tourism enterprises. Entrepreneurs generally believe that the most marketable forms of cultural exoticism are usually the more spectacular aspects of cultural performances and traditional lifestyles of ethnic groups (Interviews with tourism entrepreneurs, 2006). It is mainly entrepreneurs who are in control of the staging and representation of ethnic culture in tourist sites. Cultural representation is so selective and ideological in Banna that minority cultures have been constructed and represented as exotic, mysterious, and entertaining in staged performances. Folk songs, dances and minority costumes are all modified and staged to suit commercial needs. For instance, clothes of Dai women have been altered to suit tourists' tastes, highlighted in cultural events, and mass-produced in the tourism market. The tops of modified costumes are brighter, tighter and lower-cut, revealing more of the shoulder, and they are adorned with heavy flowery lace; the lower hem of the sarong is broader, making it easier to swing in the air (Li, 2004).

In fact, much of the culture now performed for tourists as ethnic culture has been created during the process of tourism development. Dance shows have been set to new Chinese pop tunes in ethnic restaurants; ethnic villages have been turned into round-the-clock showcases; minority people have been turned into objects of visual pleasure in theme parks (Davis, 2006). Many of the songs sung for tourists as part of ethnic shows in tourist villages and dining halls are sung in Chinese by Han singers and are quite different from the folk songs of the minorities. Traditional Dai folk songs are performed by highly trained professional Zhangha (oral poets) in the form of duets between men and women singers in the Dai language. Many tourists favour songs such as 'Moonlight under the Bamboo' and 'Xishuangbanna, My Native Land' that were composed and written in the 1980s by Han Chinese songwriters. The well-known Dai 'Peacock Dance' is traditionally performed by older Dai men wearing a bird mask, wings and a long peacock's tail at festivals (Interviews with Dai villagers, 2006). Today, it is performed by young and attractive women, and popularized in folk villages and dinner halls.

Commodification of minority culture is often dominated by tourism entrepreneurs. One controversial tourist activity – the wedding show – is a typical example of cultural commodification. The show displays minority wedding customs and involves male tourists in 'wedding ceremonies' with minority women. For instance, the wedding show offered by Dai Yuan includes a range of

activities showcasing Dai weddings. First, men are 'chosen' by attractive Dai girls during the tour and invited to a big 'wedding' room in a stilt wooden house. A hostess congratulates the men being chosen, and then an old Dai man gives the blessing to the 'couples' in Dai language. After the 'thread-tying' ceremony in which 'brides' tie some white cotton thread on their 'grooms' wrists, and then 'grooms' do the same thing to their 'brides' (this is the part of traditional Dai wedding, which means tying two persons' souls together), men are 'married' to Dai women. The 'brides' then start to present Dai rice wine to the men, place candy into men's mouths, and give special gifts to men by pressing a little red dot on the men's cheeks. Finally, the hostess asks each man to give his 'bride' some dowry. Immediately, a man (or sometimes two men) gives 100 RMB (CAD\$15) to his partner. The other men, whether willing or not, are then obliged to pay the same amount to their 'brides'. In fact, the 'tourists' who give the money first are members of the show (a fact that is not known by the tourists). Many tourists complained that the show charged too much and they were not told the fee in advance, although some indicated it was worthwhile paying 100 RMB to get married a second time (Interviews with tourists, 2006). Many villagers complained that the show was not of 'authentic' Dai weddings and that it ruined the reputation of the Dai. A village head stated:

We do not like the show. It adds many fake things, which are not our Dai customs. Women in our village are not in the show. The company hires girls from the outside [of the village]. The company only wants to make money and disrespects our culture. The show will ruin our reputation (Interview with a Dai villager, 2006).

When the researcher asked the manager about the wedding show, surprisingly, he responded that the company did not run the show, but that it was contracted with another Han businessman, and he knew nothing about it. However, according to the show operators, they share the profits with the company. In addition to Dai Yuan, many tourist sites offer wedding shows to tourists, but the shows are all highly commodified to suit tourists' tastes regardless of minority people's voices. In order to meet tourists' expectations, tourism businesses generally position selected aspects of minority culture in an entertaining way (Xie, 2001).

Similar to the wedding show, another tourist activity – the beauty pageant – is a highly-profitable program offered by Dai Yuan. In the activity, tourists choose their favourite ethnic dancers from dancing shows, and then buy handmade scent bags for them. The person who buys the most bags for his/her favourite dancer becomes a winner, and can take a picture with the girl. There are two kinds of scent bags. The smaller bag costs 10 RMB (CAD\$1.5), and the larger one costs 100 RMB

(CAD\$15). Similar to the wedding show, the 'tourists' who initiate buying the larger bags are (secretly) activity operators. Currently, this activity is very 'successful' in terms of making profits without causing too many tourist complaints. However, not many of the dancers like this program because it is extra work and they do not share in the profits. Girls cannot even keep the bags that tourists bought for them because the bags will be used again. This kind of tourist activity is very common in Banna. Commercial profits have driven tourism enterprises to commercialize minority culture and invent tourist activities.

Authenticity appears to be an ambiguous and flexible concept for entrepreneurs. The park managers interviewed commonly indicate that they present 'authentic' cultural shows, but that modification was also necessary in tourist shows. A park manager stated:

Our park is authentic. It is based on real Dai villages and tourists can have authentic experiences in our park. Of course, we have to modify some aspects of Dai culture in the shows to meet tourist demands. Nowadays, tourists are so picky that they want lower prices and better products. If we present original Dai dances and songs, tourists would get bored because they do not understand the Dai language. We have to show Dai culture in a simple, easily understood and entertaining way, so tourists can enjoy their experiences (Interviews with a park manager, 2006).

Other park managers held similar views. On the one hand, they stated that the objectives of the parks were to authentically portray minority culture, exotic customs and traditional ways of life. On the other hand, they indicated that they had to modify minority culture to create spectacular and joyful cultural shows. Not all aspects of minority culture are valued by these entrepreneurs. In some instances, minority culture has been commodified to the point where socio-cultural authenticity is lost, such as in the wedding shows.

## **7.6 Planning issues**

Tourism planning is a major concern of tourism entrepreneurs. Close to eighty percent (10 out of 13) of interviewed entrepreneurs indicated that they knew tourism development plans for the prefecture, but only five of them were involved in the tourism planning process through providing their comments on plans. Tourism entrepreneurs do not play a significant role in regional tourism planning. Although a few of them have been involved in the planning process and have opportunities to voice their concerns, often their comments and suggestions are not valued by

officials. As stated by a tourism entrepreneur,

I have been asked by the Banna Tourism Bureau to comment on tourism plans several times. I gave my suggestions and hoped to improve the plans and resolve some issues, but nothing happened. You see how they [Tourism Bureau] have planned tourism in Banna. The tourism market is a mess. There are already too many hotels in Banna, but they still plan to build more hotels every year. It is like tourist sites. They keep developing more and more tourist sites, but how many sites can tourists visit in two or three days? The bureaucrats do not care about what we think, and they are more interested in getting promotion. They know the problems in the Banna tourism market very well, but nobody wants to take risks to resolve these issues (Interview with a tourism entrepreneur, 2006).

His comments represent a common view among entrepreneurs, expressing disappointment at the poorly planned tourism market in Banna, such as identical mass attractions, tourist activities and cultural events. Inadequate government planning is considered as the main cause of fierce competition and the chaotic market by entrepreneurs. A park manager complained that the bureaucrats formulated tourism plans and designed the future of Bannan tourism while sitting in their offices; the plans were only for showing off their 'ambitious' goals, and probably, good for the decoration of bookshelves, but useless in practice. A manager of a travel agency said:

It is not useful to comment on governmental tourism plans. Who cares about our views? It is our travel agencies that bring tourists to Banna, but they [TBBP] do not appreciate it. Instead, they are always hard on us [travel agencies]. They closed down and combined many agencies several years ago, but today they let many small agencies open again. What is the difference? These officials only want to share in profits from our business, and they make a fortune from tour guide training and certification exams. We want a better tourism plan, which has our voice (Interview with a tourism entrepreneur, 2006).

The involvement of entrepreneurs in the planning process seems to be a token inclusion, and does not affect the plan documents or decision making about future development. The local government has planned and approved many similar and redundant tourism projects that result in intense competition among tourism enterprises. In fact, many issues in ethnic tourism result from poorly planned development. Banna needs more careful planning to resolve these issues. The capacity of the local tourism market should be considered in future planning. The incorporation of the comments and concerns of entrepreneurs and the public in tourism planning could result in a better

product, more satisfaction of locals in the system and harmonious growth.

### **7.7 Summary**

Tourism entrepreneurs who cooperate with the government take control of the use of ethnic resources, commodification of ethnic cultures and determine the forms of cultural expression in the tourist zones. Thus, authenticity of ethnic culture is not determined by resource providers ñ ethnic communities ñ but by entrepreneurs and the government. The operation of ethnic tourism is dominated by Han investors, rather than the minorities themselves. Cultural commodification is manipulated in the interests of capital and political needs. Therefore, representation of the ìauthenticî culture of minorities cannot be divorced from political and socio-cultural systems nor from the market economy. Authenticity is shaped by entrepreneurial interests, bureaucratic mandates and minority economic necessities, in accordance with Fawcett and Cormackís (2001) observation. The profit-oriented business operations have caused many negative impacts on Banna and placed severe pressures on local people and ethnic resources. Recently, as minority people are growing more aware of their marginalized position and demanding that more benefits be shared, the tension between minority people and Han entrepreneurs has intensified, and conflicts continue to occur in many ethnic villages.

## Chapter Eight Ethnic Minorities

In this chapter, results of analyses of quantitative data gathered from questionnaire surveys and qualitative data collected from interviews are presented to examine ethnic minorities' perspectives on ethnic tourism. Ethnic minorities are an important stakeholder group in ethnic tourism, but they are usually marginalized or disadvantaged economically and politically and they have a low level of control over their resources and tourism activities. The minorities' perspective not only reflects minority people's perceptions of tourism impacts, but also sheds light on problems and prospects of ethnic tourism development. This chapter first introduces the profile of ethnic minorities in Banna, and then examines minority people's perceptions in the context of four dilemmas of ethnic tourism. It also addresses planning and environmental issues. Finally, a chapter summary is provided.

### 8.1 Profile of ethnic minorities

As introduced in chapter three, two ethnic attractions, Dai Yuan and Mengjinglai, were selected to obtain minorities' perspectives on ethnic tourism. Dai Yuan consists of five natural Dai villages that have 326 households and 1,536 people in total, while Mengjinglai consists of only one Dai village that has 99 households and 460 people. These villages are well-preserved living examples of Dai villages that are highly involved in tourism. According to survey results, minority people living in these villages not only share the same culture and customs, but also have similar attitudes towards folk villages and ethnic tourism development. Therefore, respondents from these villages were combined as a homogenous sample in data analysis, but the sample was divided into two sub-groups, park employees and ethnic residents, in order to explore whether minority people directly engaged in tourism differ in their perceptions of tourism from those less or not involved in tourism. As noted in Chapter four, the door to door household surveys of ethnic residents gathered 134 valid questionnaires in Dai Yuan and 63 in Mengjinglai, and thus there were 197 resident respondents in total. The surveys of park employees collected 94 valid questionnaires in Dai Yuan and 32 in Mengjinglai, and thus there were 126 employee respondents in total. Resident respondents were all Dai members living in the surveyed communities. Most park employees were young Dai people from the surveyed communities and only a few respondents were from other ethnic villages.

The demographic information of the employee respondents is presented in Table 8.1. Among park employees, the proportion of females (69%) is much higher than males (31%), indicating that more women are engaged in tourism. The majority of employees' ages (58.7%) ranged from 20 to 30,

followed by the age of under 20 (23%). This is in accordance with the research findings discussed earlier that the parks tend to hire young minority women to present a feminized ethnic image. The respondents reported a low education level, as the majority (61.9%) had received middle school education, 14.3% had high school diplomas, and only 9.5% had post-secondary education. The findings corroborate the official documents suggesting that Dai people tend to have low levels of educational attainment. With respect to occupation, tour guides and cultural performers occupied the largest proportion of the sample (65.8%), followed by crafts-makers or other service providers (19.8%), park staff (5.6%), security guards/cleaners/gardeners (5.6%), and homestay operators (3.2%). Tour guides generally had received a relatively higher education than other employees as most of them had received high school or post-secondary education. The respondents reported a low income level, with 22.2% indicating a monthly income between 500-1000 RMB (CAD\$75-\$150), 11.1% below 500 RMB (CAD\$75), and only 1.6% between 1000-1500 RMB (CAD\$150-\$225). Although the majority of employees (65.1%) did not report their income, the survey findings match interview results closely in that park employees generally receive a low wage.

Table 8.1 Demographic characteristics of park employees

Categories		Frequency N	Percent (%)
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Dai	126	100.0
<b>Gender</b>	male	39	31.0
	female	87	69.0
<b>Age</b>	under 20	29	23.0
	20--30	74	58.7
	31--40	11	8.7
	41--50	12	9.5
<b>Education</b>	primary school	9	7.1
	middle school	78	61.9
	high school	18	14.3
	secondary school	9	7.1
	college/university	12	9.5
<b>Occupation</b>	tour guide	40	31.7
	cultural performer	43	34.1
	crafts-maker/ park service	25	19.8
	homestay operator	4	3.2
	park staff	7	5.6
	security guard/ cleaner/gardener	7	5.6
<b>Monthly Income (RMB)</b>	Below 500	14	11.1
	500-1000	28	22.2
	1000-1500	2	1.6
	Not stated	82	65.1



The demographic information of the resident respondents is presented in Table 8.2. Compared to park employees, ethnic residents have different gender and age structures, but similar education levels. No large gender imbalance is found among residents, although the proportion of males (51.3%) is slightly but not significantly higher than females (48.7%). The age of residents follows a normal distribution. The majority of respondents' ages range between 20 and 50 and only small proportions are under 20 (5.1%) and above 50 (4.1%). Few old people participated in the surveys because most of them cannot speak or read Mandarin. The majority of the respondents (69.5%) are farmers, while a smaller number (22.8%) reported that they engaged in tourism work indirectly. The findings reflect that farming is the main livelihood of residents in ethnic villages, whereas a growing number of minority people are participating in the tourism sector. Few residents indicated their income in the surveys, but interview results indicate that residents' incomes varied greatly, depending upon their level of engagement in rubber tree plantations and tourism businesses. Generally, the more rubber trees the households have, the more affluent they are. Similarly, more tourism involvement means more cash income. However, only a small proportion of households benefit significantly from tourism businesses and the majority of residents still rely mainly on farming and are strongly tied to the land.

The residents reported a very low education level, as the majority (52.3%) had received only a middle school education, 21.8% primary school, 10.2% high school, and 6.6% had post-secondary education. Young people generally received middle school education as a result of implementation of the nine-year compulsory education policy. However, two things should be noted here. First, many survey respondents did not actually complete the level of schooling that they indicated in the questionnaires. According to interviewees, many of them went to the middle school or primary school, but dropped out before they finished studies due to financial difficulties or lack of interest. In fact, compulsory education has not been fully fulfilled in ethnic areas and the prevalence of illiteracy or semi-literacy is still high among minority people. Second, the education here refers only to standard Mandarin education in Han schools and it does not include minority education in their own languages. For instance, Dai people have their own education system, which is closely tied to their religion. As Dai people believe in Theravada Buddhism, traditionally, they send their young boys to the temple to live as monks for a period of time. Most monks learn to read and write Dai scripts and return to the secular world after several years, while some become priests and stay in the temple for a lifetime. Therefore, the temple is not only a venue for religious events but also is a school that educates Dai men to be respected members of their societies. This custom is still practiced among

some Dai villagers today. The villagers send their young boys to the temple to become monks, but the boys also attend Han school during school hours and return to the temple after class. Therefore, these boys can read and write both Dai and Mandarin. However, the number of boys attending temple schools has been decreasing in recent years, and Dai people living in the cities or larger towns have no access to temple schools. Thus, the number of people proficient in Dai script is shrinking substantially, although a growing number of Dai people are educated in Mandarin.

Table 8.2 Demographic characteristics of ethnic residents

Categories		Frequency N	Percent (%)
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Dai	197	100.0
<b>Gender</b>	male	101	51.3
	female	96	48.7
<b>Age</b>	under 20	10	5.1
	20--30	69	35.0
	31--40	54	27.4
	41--50	56	28.4
	Above 50	8	4.1
<b>Education</b>	illiterate	3	1.5
	primary school	43	21.8
	middle school	103	52.3
	high school	20	10.2
	secondary school	15	7.6
	college/university	13	6.6
<b>Occupation</b>	tourism worker	45	22.8
	government official/employee	2	1.0
	professional	4	2.0
	farmer	137	69.5
	business people/self-employed	5	2.5
	military or police	1	0.5
	student	3	1.5

Although employees and residents are all Dai people and many of them are from the same community, demographic differences exist between the two groups. Chi-square tests indicate that significant differences can be found between demographic characteristics of employees and residents in terms of gender, age and educational level (Table 8.3). A large gender imbalance exists among employees and the number of females is twice over those of males, whereas residents have almost an equal gender division. Employees tend to be young people under 30, while residents' ages are more divided. Residents tend to have more limited formal education than employees as more

residents received only primary school education or no education at all. Employees are all directly involved in tourism work, while residents report a low level of participation in tourism and a lower degree of involvement in the market economy. The demographic differences between the two groups may affect their overall perceptions of ethnic tourism. Thus, differences that are found in subsequent analyses of the two groups' perceptions and attitudes reflect not simply the employment difference, but also other related factors such as age, education and degree of involvement in the market economy.

Table 8.3 Comparisons of demographic characteristics between employees and residents

Gender of respondents	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Male	31.0	51.3
Female	69.0	48.7
$\chi^2=12.9, df = 1, p=0.000$		
Age of respondents	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Under 20	23.0	5.1
20--30	58.7	35.0
31--40	8.7	27.4
41--50	9.5	28.4
51--60	0	4.1
$\chi^2=61.7, df = 4, p=0.000$		
Educational level of respondents	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Illiteracy	0	1.5
Primary school	7.1	21.8
Middle school	61.9	52.3
High school	14.3	10.2
Secondary school	7.1	7.6
College/university	9.5	6.6
$\chi^2=15.5, df = 5, p=0.009$		

The following sections examine the perceptions of park employees and ethnic residents in the context of four dilemmas of ethnic tourism. In addition, a supplemental section addresses planning and environmental issues. Respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions of the impacts of tourism, including socio-cultural, economic and environmental dimensions, and to assess ethnic products. Overall perceptions of tourism impacts and attitudes towards tourism planning and future ethnic tourism development were also examined.

## 8.2 Cultural exoticism versus modernity

This section examines socio-cultural impacts of tourism on ethnic minorities. Table 8.4 reports the

park employees' perceptions of tourism impacts from a socio-cultural perspective. Most employee respondents (75.4%) agreed that tourism increases awareness of local culture and not a single respondent strongly disagreed with this statement. Similarly, most respondents (72.2%) believed that tourism contributes to the preservation of local culture and only 7.9% disagreed with this. The majority of respondents (64.3%) believed that tourism enhances cultural pride and the identity of minority people, and 67.5% indicated that tourism promotes ethnic cultural development. Close to half of respondents (48.4%) agreed that tourism enhances harmony among ethnic groups, and 40.5% agreed that tourism improves the social status of minority women. However, one-third (32.6%) of respondents perceived that tourism increased cultural assimilation, whereas 24.6% disagreed and 42.9% were unsure. Although 46% of respondents disagreed, 24.6% of respondents indicated that tourism negatively impacts simple and friendly folk customs. The majority of respondents (61.1%) disagreed that tourism negatively impacted local festivals or cultural events, while 26.2% agreed. Similarly, although 69.1% disagreed, a small proportion (8.7%) believed that tourism increases stealing. About two-thirds of respondents (61.9%) disagreed that tourism increased competitions and/or conflicts within an ethnic group and/or among ethnic groups, but 14.3% agreed with this. Based on the above results, it can be concluded that the employees' overall perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism were optimistic, although a minority of respondents recognized some negative aspects.

Ethnic residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism are presented in Table 8.5. The majority of resident respondents (74.1%) agreed that tourism increased awareness of local culture and only 8.7% disagreed with the statement. Most residents (67%) believed that tourism contributed to preservation of local culture, while 14.3% disagreed with it and 18.8% were unsure. The survey shows a higher proportion of residents (74.6%) than employees believed that tourism enhanced cultural pride and identity of minority people. Similarly, 74.6% of residents indicated that tourism promoted ethnic cultural development. Over half of respondents (58.3%) agreed that tourism enhanced harmony of ethnic groups, and 48.2% supported that tourism improved the social status of minority women. However, over one quarter (38.6%) of respondents perceived that tourism increased cultural assimilation, although 36.1% disagreed and 25.4% unsure. About half of respondents (50.8%) disagreed that tourism interfered with residents' enjoyment of the community, whereas 28.9% agreed with the statement. Although 39.1% of respondents disagreed, 37.6% of respondents indicated that tourism negatively impacted simple and friendly folk customs. The majority of respondents (54.9%) disagreed that tourism negatively impacted local festivals or

cultural events, while 29.9% believed so. Similarly, although 58.9% disagreed, a considerable proportion (23.9%) believed that tourism increased stealing. Though slightly over half of respondents (52.8%) disagreed, 31.5% agreed that tourism increased competitions and/or conflicts within an ethnic group and/or among ethnic groups. It can be seen from the above results, the residents' overall perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism were positive, but a considerable number of residents recognized negative aspects.

Table 8.4 Park employees' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism (N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Increases awareness of local culture	0	9.5	15.1	53.2	22.2
Contributes to cultural preservation	0.8	7.1	19.8	49.2	23.0
Enhances cultural pride and identity	1.6	9.5	24.6	42.9	21.4
Promotes ethnic cultural development	0	8.7	23.8	50.0	17.5
Enhances harmony of ethnic groups	1.6	18.3	31.7	39.7	8.7
Improves the social status of minority women	2.4	21.4	35.7	30.2	10.3
Negatively impacts simple and friendly folk customs	7.1	38.9	29.4	21.4	3.2
Increases cultural assimilation	6.3	18.3	42.9	31.0	1.6
Negatively impacts local festivals or cultural events	10.3	50.8	12.7	21.4	4.8
Increases stealing	15.9	53.2	22.2	7.1	1.6
Increases competitions/ conflicts within an ethnic group and/or among ethnic groups	8.7	53.2	23.8	13.5	0.8

Table 8.5 Ethnic residents' perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Increases awareness of local culture	4.1	4.6	17.3	39.6	34.5
Contributes to cultural preservation	4.1	10.2	18.8	29.4	37.6

Enhances cultural pride and identity	3.6	6.6	15.2	35.5	39.1
Promotes ethnic cultural development	4.6	5.1	15.7	38.1	36.5
Enhances harmony of ethnic groups	3.0	13.2	25.4	29.4	28.9
Improves the social status of minority women	5.1	15.2	31.5	21.3	26.9
Negatively impacts simple and friendly folk custom	5.1	34.0	23.4	19.3	18.3
Increases cultural assimilation	4.6	31.5	25.4	21.8	16.8
Interfere with residents' enjoyment of the community	10.2	40.6	20.3	16.2	12.7
Negatively impacts local festivals or cultural events	11.2	43.7	15.2	15.2	14.7
Increases stealing	13.7	45.2	17.3	11.7	12.2
Increases competitions/ conflicts within an ethnic group and/or among ethnic groups	13.2	39.6	15.7	18.3	13.2

Table 8.6 Perceptions of cultural assimilation

Tourism has increased cultural assimilation	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	24.6	36.0
Neutral/Don't know	42.9	25.4
Strongly Agree/ Agree	32.5	38.6
$\chi^2=11.2, df = 2, p=0.004$		

The survey results reveal that the majority of both park employees and ethnic residents were positive about the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, while a smaller (but substantial) number perceived negative aspects. Residents tend to be more concerned about negative impacts than employees, which can be explained by the fact that most park employees are young adults who may be less aware of the impacts of tourism on their communities than the older residents. Chi-square tests indicate that perceptions of employees and residents differed significant only regarding cultural assimilation (Table 8.6). A large proportion of employees (42.9%) did not know whether tourism increased cultural assimilation, while opinions among residents were more divided. This finding is understandable because young minority people may not be aware of cultural assimilation, because older residents may have a longer temporal perspective and may be more concerned about cultural

changes in their communities.

Since the Dai villages were turned into ethnic parks for tourism purposes, ethnic minorities have been facing the challenges of coping with a market economy and modernization. Community culture is changing due to economic development and the entry of outside commercial influences. Many villagers indicated that their tourism businesses experienced peak and shoulder seasons, and that their houses could not adequately accommodate mass tourists during long holidays. However, in the rest of the year, they received visitors only occasionally and who travelled on their own. They wished more tourists would stay at their home for a fee. The villagers who are not involved in tourism also expressed a desire to participate in tourism if given the opportunity. The park operators give the employment priority to households whose land has been occupied by the park roads or other facilities. Therefore, some households have more than one person involved in tourism work, while others do not have any member employed by the park. Some villagers complained that it was not fair that they did not have opportunities to participate in tourism work and to share in the economic benefits although they are part of the park's landscape. A number of villagers indicated that the park operators only favored a few households as several years ago they helped these households install a solar-heating system and to expand their yards. Today, these households have better tourism businesses than other families. According to interviews and onsite observation, less than 10% of households in the villages benefit significantly from tourism businesses.

Most Dai people have lived in the villages for several generations. Since the villages were turned into tourist attractions in the late 1990s, the income of many households engaged in tourism businesses has increased substantially. Exposed to ideas of what 'wealth' and 'modernity' are, including the acquisition of information from tourists and television, Dai people have put high priority on making money and pursuing modernity. According to the interviewees, minority people here are just like those in the outside world. They work very hard and plan to build new houses and even buy cars. The villagers find it easier to make money now, but their expenses have increased too. Many families have purchased modern furniture, TV sets and motorcycles. This has happened just in the last five or six years. The economic competition has affected the lives of ethnic minorities. It is common to see several motorcycles in one household in Dai Yuan. Likewise, constructing a Dai house in newer styles is very popular. As these villages are moving towards modernity, they are losing their reputation of exoticism to visitors. However, most minority people have not realized this side effect of their tourism attractiveness.

### 8.3 Economic development versus cultural preservation

Economic development through tourism is often seen as an effective way to improve local livelihoods and to foster the economic independence of ethnic minorities. The survey findings show that ethnic minorities generally welcome economic development brought by tourism, although older people are concerned about cultural changes and advocate preservation of traditional culture. Both park employees and ethnic residents are positive about economic impacts of tourism. As can be seen from Table 8.7, most of park employees (84.1%) believed that tourism promotes local economic development, and 62.7% indicated that the tourism industry plays a major economic role locally. The majority of employees believed that tourism improves employment (61.9%), living standards (61.1%), road infrastructure (77%), quality of public services (61.1%) and community recreation (46.8%). However, prices of local goods were also perceived to increase as a result of tourism development, with 56.4% of employees confirming this and 34.9% being unsure.

Table 8.7 Park employees' perceptions of economic impacts of tourism (N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Promotes local economic development	0	4.8	11.1	57.1	27.0
Plays a major economic role locally	1.6	9.5	26.2	50.8	11.9
Provides more job opportunities	0.8	10.3	27.0	46.0	15.9
Improves living standard	2.4	9.5	27.0	45.2	15.9
Improves roads infrastructure	2.4	1.6	19.0	60.3	16.7
Improves the quality of public services	0	7.9	35.7	45.2	11.1
Improves community recreation	1.6	12.7	38.9	34.9	11.9
Increases prices of local goods	2.4	6.3	34.9	42.9	13.5

Ethnic residents also generally have favourable evaluations of the economic impacts of tourism. As indicated in Table 8.8, the majority of resident respondents (76.1%) agreed that tourism promotes local economic development, and 63.9% indicated that the tourism industry plays a major economic role locally. Similarly, most residents believed that tourism improves employment (72.1%), living



standards (71%), road infrastructure (75.1%), quality of public services (62.4%) and community recreation (63.9%). However, close to half of residents (46.2%) thought that tourism development increases the prices of local goods, although 27.4% disagreed and 26.4% were unsure. This is in accordance with official statistics: the prices of local goods, particularly in Jinghong city and tourist attractions, have increased as a result of mass tourism development (Interviews with local officials, 2006). Some residents did not notice the increase of local goods' prices, probably because they are self-sufficient farmers and lack market information.

Table 8.8 Ethnic residents' perceptions of economic impacts of tourism (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Promotes local economic development	4.1	5.6	14.2	28.9	47.2
Plays a major economic role locally	5.1	11.2	19.8	28.4	35.5
Provides more job opportunities	5.6	4.1	18.3	30.5	41.6
Improves living standard	6.6	5.1	17.3	35.0	36.0
Improves roads infrastructure	3.6	7.6	13.7	28.9	46.2
Improves the quality of public services	5.1	11.7	20.8	27.9	34.5
Improves community recreation	7.1	9.1	19.8	29.9	34.0
Increases prices of local goods	2.5	24.9	26.4	24.9	21.3

Table 8.9 The perceptions of community recreation and public services

Statement	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Tourism improves community recreation		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	14.3	16.2
Neutral/Don't know	38.9	19.8
Strongly Agree/ Agree	46.8	64.0
$\chi^2=14.4$ , df = 2, p=0.001		
Tourism improves quality of public services		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	7.9	16.8
Neutral/Don't know	35.7	20.8
Strongly Agree/ Agree	56.3	62.4
$\chi^2=11.4$ , df = 2, p=0.003		

Most park employees and residents held positive attitudes towards the economic impacts of tourism, while a substantial number of respondents also recognized negative aspects, e.g. the increase in prices of local goods. Employees tended to be more aware of inflation than other residents. Chi-square tests indicate that significant differences between the perceptions of employees and residents were few and only found regarding community recreation and quality of public services (Table 8.9). Residents were more likely to agree that tourism improved community recreation and quality of public services than employees. Slightly over a quarter of employees did not know whether tourism improved community recreation and quality of public services. This is probably because young employees may be less aware of community changes than older residents. According to interviewees, many young employees indicated that the communities lack a variety of recreation opportunities and they want to have more recreation facilities and better public services. A number of employees stated that 'It is boring to live here because we have nothing to do after work. We usually play cards to gain some money or drive a motorcycle to a town nearby to have fun.' It is not unusual for young minority people to hang out at bars and K-TV (karaoke) houses, while older villagers usually stay at home and watch TV.

Cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue for young minority people. However, gambling, speeding motorcycles and drinking have become serious problems in the younger generation of the minority people. These problems are of high concern not only by older minority people but also to the local government. Many young men who do not have a driver's license often ride motorcycles faster than the limit and even drive after drinking, which results in many accidents. Gambling and drinking have frequently caused fights among minority people. Most community elders are concerned about the decline in culture and the 'lost' younger generation. According to Yan Nuo, one of the most educated Dai people in Dai Yuan, the market economy has the largest impact on traditional Dai culture. Yan Nuo is a former editor of 'Banna Daily' of Jinghong, and he is now retired and lives in the Dai Yuan. He indicated that nowadays most Dai people who are younger than 50 years old are not able to read old Dai scripts, and 'the losing of Dai scripts means the death of traditional culture'. There are two versions of the Dai script due to the government's efforts of cultural 'improvement'. In the 1950s, the government announced that the old script was unwieldy and replaced it with new, 'simplified' Dai scripts to facilitate literacy. However, it resulted in a decrease in literacy in the minority script (Davis, 2006). Many educated Dai people indicated that they could not read the new script because they had never been properly taught and few things have been published in the new script. Those literate in the new script usually can not

read the old script, resulting in a younger generation cut off from their written traditions (Davis, 2006). Most residents of larger towns and cities speak Mandarin and Yunnan dialect only. Dai villagers are more likely to speak Dai, but many young village children can speak but not read Dai.

According to Yan Nuo, another serious problem facing Dai people is the decline in religious beliefs. He stated sadly, 'Theravada Buddhism has been the core of the Dai culture, but now many young people are losing sincere religious beliefs, and religious culture here looks more like a decoration for show to tourists. The government should take some actions to preserve minority cultural heritages and religious culture rather than just talking; otherwise, traditional culture will be lost in the future'. Since the temples have been opened to tourists, many monks have also participated in tourism businesses, and begun hankering for fame and fortune. The number of young people in the Dai communities who become monks has also declined rapidly because parents prefer to send their children to the Han school in order to prepare them to find lucrative jobs rather than cultivating land. Several interviewees indicated that they hope their children can go to university or college and then get jobs in the public sector or become teachers. If their children are not successful in school, they can return home and do farm work.

Many community elders are concerned about the impact of money-oriented city life on young people. Nowadays, a growing number of young minority people leave the community and move to cities to seek better job opportunities. For young people, working in cities ranks high on their wish list. Most of them choose to go to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, to work. They expect to make a good living in cities, but most people return to the community after one or two years' adventure (Interviews with minority villagers, 2006). Several park employees had experiences working in cities. When asked the reason for returning home, most people responded that the city life is not as good as they thought and that they could find only low-paying work in cultural parks or restaurants. The workload was very heavy and they had no freedom. Although they are still poorly-paid labours in the park, the work is easy and they are close to home and can hang out with their friends. In fact, they make more money by working for the park than cultivating land, although their income is still low compared to the average income in cities.

Park employees' satisfaction with their jobs was also examined in the surveys. As indicated in Table 8.10, working hours received the highest satisfaction, with 56.4% of respondents confirming it. Almost a third (30.2%) was satisfied with their social status but only 11.1% were satisfied with their

income. A substantial proportion of respondents (36.5%) were dissatisfied with their income and 19.0% were dissatisfied with their social status. In terms of overall evaluation, 42.9% of respondents indicated satisfaction and only 15% were dissatisfied. About half of the respondents did not give clear comments on income, social status and overall evaluation. This is probably because some questionnaires were administered by research assistants who were park management staff. Some employees may not have given honest answers because they did not want to show their real thoughts to the park managers. However, the researcher still found complaints about income among many employees in the interviews that were conducted. Most employees indicated that their income was low and that they should get higher pay. As noted earlier, the average monthly income of the employees is between 500-1000 RMB (CAD\$75-\$150) and only a few of the park staff have an income above 1000 RMB (CAD\$150). The dancers account for one-third of the employees and they earn 400-600 RMB (CAD\$60-\$90) per month. Tour guides can earn more because they have commissions, but guides do not receive tourists everyday because the supply of guides exceeds the demand. Most minority employees contract with the park only temporarily without any medical and employment insurance. Thus, the employees generally lack job security and legal protection and the park operators can let them go at any time. Several dancers stated that their income had decreased because they did not listen to the managers who asked them to accompany park guests to drink. Moreover, the employees are deprived of public holidays and weekend breaks, and most of them only can take four days off per month.

Table 8.10 Park employees' satisfaction of job (N=126)

Statement	Very dissatisfied %	Dissatisfied %	Neutral %	Satisfied %	Very satisfied %
Level of satisfaction on income	15.9	20.6	52.4	10.3	0.8
Level of satisfaction on work hours	2.4	9.5	31.7	52.4	4.0
Level of satisfaction on social status	7.1	11.9	50.8	24.6	5.6
Overall evaluation	7.9	7.1	42.1	38.9	4.0

Most young male employees complained that their income was not enough to cover their daily expenses, such as for buying cigarettes and liquor, and thus they had to ask for money from their parents. This is confirmed by many middle-aged villagers who blamed the younger generation for becoming hedonists, suggesting that they had forgotten their cultural traditions and had become materialistic. As regards their future plans, the majority indicated that they were not sure. Most

employees knew that working in the park was not a long-term career, but the job market did not appear to offer many alternatives because of their low education. The skills that most minority people have are singing and dancing. It is a common saying that minority people can sing once they are able to speak, and they can dance once they are able to walk (Interviews with minority employees, 2006). Minority people generally are gifted with singing and dancing skills due to their cultural traditions. According to dancers, they learned ethnic dancing in childhood by watching dances at local cultural events and few of them received formal dance training at school, but they adapted to performance work quickly. However, many minority people lack other skills to suit professional jobs. Besides farming, the most common occupation for them is to work in the hospitality or tourism sector as labourers. Few of them can become managers. The future of these young minority people seems to be dim. A few dancers indicated that they might go to the cities to try their luck, whereas many people preferred to stay in the current job until they are replaced by younger people. Economic development not only has brought opportunities for minority people but also challenged the younger generation as they are eager to escape the traditional lifestyle, but it is hard for them to adapt to modern city life.

With regard to the influence of tourists, both employees and residents indicated that they gained more information about the outside world from tourists. However, the majority of respondents stated that they had little chance to interact with tourists as most visitors came in groups and were always rush to leave. A number of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with poor visitor behaviors. Some visitors did not respect minority culture and customs. For instance, some tourists touched sacred things in Dai houses without asking permission, which offended residents. Some talked loudly in the temple and some even did not take off their shoes when entering the temple. Speaking quietly and removing shoes are strict requirements in Theravada Buddhist temples. Several tour guides said that they felt offended by some tourists' rude questions and careless behaviors (which were due to misunderstanding or lack of communication in some cases). Dance performers also felt that they got little respect from tourists. Some tourists stand in front of the stage to take photographs and a few even jump on the stage to acquire good pictures during the show. Their comments are in line with the researcher's observation that many visitors have little knowledge to be able to appreciate the show fully and many of them seem to be merely interested in taking photographs.

#### 8.4 Authenticity versus cultural commodification

Table 8.11 Park employees' perceptions of authenticity and cultural commodification ( N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Ethnic folk villages are authentic	0.8	12.7	23.8	47.6	15.1
Ethnic cultural performances are authentic	0.8	11.9	11.9	58.7	16.7
Tourism increases cultural commodification	3.2	11.1	34.1	41.3	10.3
Staged cultural performance makes ethnic culture less valuable	3.2	37.3	29.4	26.2	4.0
Ethnic souvenir is authentic	5.6	19.0	34.9	34.1	6.3
Price of ethnic souvenir is reasonable	5.6	24.6	43.7	22.2	4.0
Ethnic souvenir is high quality	5.6	26.2	48.4	14.3	5.6

Table 8.11 reports the park employees' perceptions of authenticity in terms of folk villages, cultural performances and ethnic souvenirs. Nearly two-thirds of respondents (62.7%) perceived ethnic folk villages as authentic, 13.5% did not think so, and 23.8% was not sure. This result can be explained by the fact that most park employees are from the tourist villages and they believe their villages are authentic. However, the employees from other communities may not perceive folk villages this way because they are more aware of the difference between tourist villages and traditional villages. The majority of respondents (75.4%) viewed performances as being authentic, 15.5% did not perceive performances as authentic, and 11.9 % did not comment on it. Such a high perception of authentic performance is not surprising given the fact that many respondents are cultural performers who value their work.

The detailed interviews with 20 selected park employees, however, revealed that cultural performances were not perceived as being authentic by many respondents. The majority of respondents (80%) stated that the shows did not faithfully represent Dai culture, and ethnic dances and songs had been modified by the park operators to entertain tourists. Some dances had been modified dramatically to the point that performances became merely fashion shows of colourful

ethnic costumes. Ethnic costumes also do not authentically represent Dai clothing as they have been altered to create an impressive visual effect. Girls generally complained that they did not like their dance costume as it was too tight and short, whereas male dancers said that they wore only Han clothes rather than Dai costumes in their daily lives. A number of dancers complained that they were tired of repeating the same dances day after day and they wanted to have new programs. A young dancer said that he helped the dance supervisor to design and create new dance programs by combining modern Han dances with traditional Dai dances. He thought that tourists prefer professional modern dances to simple and 'unpolished' traditional Dai dances. He also mentioned that the park manager asked him to create entertaining and spectacular programs to attract more tourists. Perhaps it is surprising that the interviews generated different results from the survey. This is probably because respondents were more cautious about answering surveys than speaking with interviewers. As indicated by an interviewee, 'talking is casual and nobody really cares what you say, but writing can leave evidence and, thus, people tend to be careful'.

Table 8.12 Ethnic residents' perceptions of authenticity and cultural commodification (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Ethnic folk villages are authentic	4.6	15.7	19.8	26.9	33.0
Ethnic cultural performances are authentic	4.6	8.6	19.8	32.5	34.5
Tourism increases cultural commodification	5.1	23.4	20.8	28.9	21.8
Staged cultural performance makes ethnic culture less valuable	5.1	20.3	23.4	31.5	19.8
Ethnic souvenir is authentic	6.1	17.8	22.8	40.1	13.2
Price of ethnic souvenir is reasonable	8.6	20.8	24.4	32.0	14.2
Ethnic souvenir is high quality	9.1	22.8	25.4	28.9	13.7

With regard to cultural commodification, the majority of surveyed employees (51.6%) perceived that tourism increased commodification of local culture, 14.3% did not think so and 34.1% were not sure. Close to one-third of employee respondents (30.2%) believed that staged performances made

ethnic culture less valuable, although 40.5% disagreed with the statement and 29.4% were unsure. The interviews with employees revealed that they were more concerned about employment or salary issues than commodification. Many of them were not aware of the impact of cultural commodification. Almost half of respondents stated that they had not thought about it or did not know. A few respondents who had a very low education level did not understand the word 'commodification'. When asked about their feelings about commodification of minority culture, several tour guides responded that commodification could affect some aspects of minority culture, but regarded this as trivial as minority people still practice their religion and maintain their culture and traditions. A number of young dancers answered that 'The show is made only for tourists, which does not affect our culture, and we do our own things'. However, several older employees expressed a strong concern about cultural commodification. They indicated that commercialized shows could result in the loss of authenticity and cultural values and, furthermore, it could jeopardize ethnic images.

The employees reported mixed views towards authenticity, quality and price of ethnic souvenirs. A large proportion of employees (40.4%) perceived souvenirs as being authentic, 24.6% did not view souvenirs as authentic, and 34.9% were not sure. Regarding the quality of ethnic souvenirs, only 19.9% of the respondents perceived souvenirs as being of high quality, but 31.8% disagreed with the statement, and almost half of the respondents (48.4%) were unsure. With respect to the price of ethnic souvenirs, 26.2% of the respondents thought the price was reasonable, 30.2% did not think so, and 43.7% were not sure. A large proportion of employees did not comment on souvenirs probably because many respondents were aware of the issue of fake or low quality souvenirs, and some of them might be involved in selling fake souvenirs. According to interviewees, they were concerned about cheap machine-made souvenirs as few tourists like to buy relatively expensive handmade ethnic souvenirs.

Residents' perceptions of authenticity and cultural commodification are presented in Table 8.12. The majority of resident respondents (59.9%) perceived folk villages as being authentic, 20.3% disagreed with the statement, and 19.8% were not sure. It is perhaps a little surprising that a considerable number of residents did not view folk villages as being authentic, although they lived in the villages. This is probably because the park mainly highlights cultural shows and water-splashing activities rather than Dai house tours, but residents may think Dai houses are more authentic than purpose-built tourist facilities. Cultural performances were perceived as being



authentic by 67% of residents, while a small portion (13.2%) disagreed and 19.8% were unsure. Overall, residents held positive views about authenticity of folk villages and cultural performances, but residents had less supportive attitudes than park employees.

The majority (50.7%) of residents indicated that ethnic tourism increased cultural commodification, while 28.5% disagreed with the statement and 20.8% were unsure. Staged performances were perceived to make ethnic culture less valuable, with 51.3% confirming it, 25.4% being disagreeing and 23.4% being unsure. Chi-square tests reveal that significant differences were found between the perceptions of employees and residents regarding cultural commodification and staged cultural performances (Table 8.12). Although almost the same number of employees and residents agreed that tourism increased cultural commodification, more residents disagreed with the statement than employees, and a large proportion of employees (34.1%) were not sure about commodification. A large number of residents and employees held opposite views towards staged cultural shows, and residents were more inclined to believe that staged shows made ethnic culture less valuable than park employees. The findings can be explained by the fact that residents who are not involved in cultural shows are more likely to give objective views, and young employees may not be less aware of the cultural impacts of tourism.

According to interviews with 20 residents, cultural commodification is a major concern among ethnic elders. The majority of these informants thought that the park provided inappropriate and inaccurate representations of Dai culture, such as the wedding show. Several people condemned tourism as ruining Dai traditions and devaluing their culture. Economic competition undermined interpersonal relationships and increased conflicts among community members.

A village head indicated:

Our tradition is being lost. Dai people had a good reputation for being gentle and kind, and respecting the elders. Nowadays, young people are learning from tourists and only focusing on the material life. They talk loudly and do not respect the elderly. Even very young kids know how to take photos with tourists and ask for money. Our friendly neighbourhood relationships are also being destroyed by tourism business. Most families in the villages are relatives and they used to help each other generously, but now each family is in a hurry to make money with little care about others. Close relatives and good neighbours have become strangers due to the competition to have more tourists. Two villages had big fights for

tourism business last year and villagers blocked the park entrance. I feel so bad because the villages had very good relationships before. I wish our community could turn back to the old times. The life was peaceful and people were simple and kind and easily satisfied. (Interview with a village head, 2006).

Table 8.13 Perceptions of cultural commodification and ethnic souvenirs

Statement	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Tourism increased cultural commodification		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	14.3	28.4
Neutral/Don't know	34.1	20.8
Strongly Agree/ Agree	51.6	50.8
$\chi^2=12.0$ , df = 2, p=0.003		
Staged cultural performance makes ethnic culture less valuable		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	40.5	25.4
Neutral/Don't know	29.4	23.4
Strongly Agree/ Agree	30.2	51.3
$\chi^2=14.6$ , df = 2, p=0.001		
Ethnic souvenir is high quality		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	31.7	32.0
Neutral/Don't know	48.4	25.4
Strongly Agree/ Agree	19.8	42.6
$\chi^2=23.7$ , df = 2, p<0.000		
The price of ethnic souvenir is reasonable		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	30.2	29.4
Neutral/Don't know	43.7	24.4
Strongly Agree/ Agree	26.2	46.2
$\chi^2=17.0$ , df = 2, p<0.000		

Residents tend to have more favourable opinions about ethnic souvenirs than employees. The majority of respondents (53.3%) perceived souvenirs as being authentic, 46.2% indicated that price of ethnic souvenirs was reasonable, and 42.6% agreed that souvenirs were of high quality. Chi-square tests reveal that significant differences were found between the perceptions of employees and residents with regard to quality and price of souvenirs (Table 8.13). About half of residents believed that ethnic souvenirs were of high quality and their price was reasonable, whereas only about 20% of employees supported the statement and the majority of employees did not comment on souvenirs. The results can be understood by the fact that some residents are involved in producing or selling hand-made textiles or crafts, and they believe that their products are authentic and high-quality with a reasonable price.

### 8.5 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy

Park employees' overall perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism development and state regulation are indicated in Table 8.14. The majority of employee respondents (63.5%) believed that benefits of tourism outweighed its negative consequences and they supported further development of tourism. Most employees (75.4%) liked to interact with tourists and no respondent strongly disagreed with this statement. Community tourism development was supported by most employees (85.7%) and only 3.2% disagreed with it. The majority of employees believed that the government should regulate tourism development by increasing the investment in tourism (83.5%), decreasing local tax levies for tourism development (52.4%), and listening to local residents about their concerns with tourism (69.1%). However, only 23% of respondents agreed with limiting visitor numbers during long holidays and 39.6% agreed with limiting the amount of souvenir shops. The results are understandable because employees want to have more tourists to secure their employment, and the decrease of visitor numbers could result in lower pay or even lost jobs. The majority of employees (43.6%) were against limiting the number of souvenir shops because the shops provide employment opportunities for them.

Table 8.14 Park employees' overall perceptions and attitudes (N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Benefits of tourism outweigh the negative consequences	1.6	6.3	28.6	46.8	16.7
Like to interact with tourists	0	7.9	16.7	50.8	24.6
Local communities should encourage more ethnic tourism development	1.6	1.6	11.1	58.7	27.0
The government should increase the investment for tourism	0	2.4	15.1	58.7	23.8
The government should decrease local tax levies for tourism development	2.4	7.9	37.3	35.7	16.7
The government should listen to local residents about their concerns with tourism	0.8	6.3	23.8	54.8	14.3
Limit visitor numbers during long holidays	10.3	33.3	33.3	19.0	4.0
Limit the amount of souvenir shops	4.0	17.5	38.9	32.5	7.1

Table 8.15 shows ethnic residents' overall perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development and state regulation. Similar to the views of employees, the majority of residents (73.4%) believed that benefits of tourism outweighed its negative consequences and they supported further development of tourism. Most residents (74.1%) liked to interact with tourists and only 9.2% of the respondents did not like this. Community tourism development was supported by most residents (81.8%) and only 5% disagreed with it. The majority of residents believed that the government should regulate tourism development in terms of increasing the investment for tourism (73.1%), decreasing local tax levies for tourism development (60.0%), listening to local residents about their concerns with tourism (88.9%), limiting the amount of souvenir shops (58.9%), and limiting visitor numbers during long holidays (40.6%).

Table 8.15 Ethnic residents' overall perceptions and attitudes (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Benefits of tourism outweigh the negative consequences	4.6	2.0	19.8	44.2	29.4
Like to interact with tourists	4.1	5.1	16.8	42.1	32.0
Local communities should encourage more ethnic tourism development	2.5	2.5	13.2	50.8	31.0
The government should increase the investment for tourism	3.6	3.6	19.8	44.7	28.4
The government should decrease local tax levies for tourism development	4.6	10.7	23.9	37.1	23.9
The government should listen to local residents about their concerns with tourism	2.5	3.6	5.1	50.8	38.1
Limit visitor numbers during long holidays	10.2	33.5	15.7	26.4	14.2
Limit the amount of souvenir shops	4.1	19.3	17.8	39.1	19.8

Chi-square tests reveal significant differences between the perceptions of employees and residents regarding limiting visitor numbers and the amount of souvenir shops, and listening to local residents (Table 8.16). The findings reveal an interesting situation: residents tend to have more supportive attitudes towards limiting visitor numbers and the amount of souvenir shops than employees, although almost the same number of employees and residents disagreed with the statements. Residents who are less engaged in tourism are more likely to support limiting visitor numbers and

souvenir shops. In fact, some residents complained that noisy mass tourists during the long holidays interfered with quiet village lives and, particularly, the loud voices of tour guides using microphones bothered villagers. The souvenir shops run by Han people in the park have also affected villagers' businesses. Although some tourists buy handicrafts made by villagers, many tourists choose machine-made crafts from other areas of China or Thailand as they look 'better' and are cheaper. Residents were more likely than employees to agree that the government should listen to local residents about their concerns with tourism, although most residents and employees support the statement. A substantial number of employees (23.8%) were not sure about this.

Table 8.16 The perceptions of limiting visitor numbers and souvenir shops

Statement	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Limiting visitor numbers during long holidays		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	43.7	43.7
Neutral/Don't know	33.3	15.7
Strongly Agree/ Agree	23.0	40.6
$\chi^2=17.6, df = 2, p<0.000$		
Limiting the amount of souvenir shops		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	21.4	23.4
Neutral/Don't know	38.9	17.8
Strongly Agree/ Agree	39.7	58.9
$\chi^2=18.8, df = 2, p<0.000$		
Listening to local residents about their concerns with tourism		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	7.1	6.1
Neutral/Don't know	23.8	5.1
Strongly Agree/ Agree	69.0	88.8
$\chi^2=25.6, df = 2, p<0.000$		

As noted in chapter three, state regulation of tourist villages is tight. In fact, the establishment of Dai Yuan was due to the local government's efforts to expand local tourism using outside investment. The villagers in Dai Yuan had their own tourism business before the park was established. When the private company initiated the packaging of the five villages and creation of the park, most villagers refused to lease their land to the enterprise and wanted to keep their small businesses. However, under pressure from the local government, the villages' heads finally had to sign a 50-year land-lease contract and let the company take control of their resources, although the majority of villagers were against the domination of tourism businesses by the external company. Today, although villagers realize that they are in a disadvantaged situation as the enterprise takes most profits and villagers get only a little rent that is much lower than fair market value, they are stuck with the

contract. The villagers in Mengjinglai are also facing a similar situation: the enterprise controls village resources and tourism development.

It is a common issue in China that external capital often dominates local tourism businesses when rural villages contract with outside investors. The villagers are usually marginalized or disadvantaged economically due to their low level of education and more limited business experience. The survey reflects that minority people generally support the notion of tourism development, but are against the domination of Han enterprises. With increased exposure to the outside world via television, radio and education, more minority people are eager to take control of their resources and participate in tourism management and benefit-sharing. A growing desire for ethnic autonomy has increased tensions between villagers and park operators.

Table 8.17 Suggestions for park development  
(% of all respondents, N=323)

Suggestions	Percent (%)
The park managers should give more subsidies to the villages and hire more villagers	15
Improve village roads and add lighting to the roads	14
Promote Dai house tours	12
Villagers should become shareholders of the park	9
Build more facilities such as tea houses, recreation centers and clinics in the parks	9
Expand investment and development of the park and enhance the marketing	6
Improve park management and cultural performances	5
Reduce litter and improve sanitation in the park	3
Needs collective efforts from all involved to improve the park	2

Minorities' suggestions for park development are documented in Table 8.17. This table presents responses to open-ended questions that have been grouped according to key themes. The suggestions of employees and residents are combined, as only a small number of respondents answered the open-ended questions. Many respondents (15%) indicated that the park operators should give more subsidies to the villages and hire more villagers. A number of interviewees complained that it is not fair that the park operators take most profits away, and villagers should have rights to share the entrance fee with the operators because they are the main resource providers. Some villagers (9%) want to become shareholders of the parks using village lands. The findings indicate a growing desire for autonomy among minority people.

About 14% of respondents wanted village roads to be improved by adding lighting and 9%

suggested building more facilities such as tea houses, recreation centres and clinics in the parks. Village roads are a major concern among villagers, particularly in Mengjinglai. According to interviewees, the park manager promised to pave and improve all village roads when the contract was signed with the villages but, until recently, only one road had been paved, and it is one used primarily by tourists. The village head asked the manager to pave other bumpy and rugged roads several times, but nothing has been achieved. Although the roads in Dai Yuan are better than those of Mengjinglai, the village roads lack lights. A number of interviewees indicated that the enterprise should add lights to the roads in order to provide convenience for tourists and villagers. In fact, the villages had road lights several years ago, but some villagers destroyed the lights as revenge against the enterprise. Although the villagers recognize the need for road lights now, the enterprise does not want to invest in them as the park focuses on daytime visitors.

Many respondents (12%) also wanted the park operators to promote Dai house tours. The villagers indicated that they wanted to have more tourists visit their homes in order to gain more cash. Villagers in Mengjinglai complained that the park prohibited them from providing meals and accommodation for tourists and, thus, they can earn a little income only by selling fruits or working for the park. A small proportion (6%) of respondents suggested expanding investment and development of the park and enhancing the marketing. Similarly, 5% of the respondents suggested improving park management and cultural performances. A number of people (3%) indicated a need to reduce litter and improve sanitation in the park. A few (2%) commented that park development needs collective efforts from all involved.

Table 8.18 Suggestions for ethnic tourism development  
(% of all respondents, N=323)

Suggestions	Percent (%)
Suit local needs and improve living standards of local people	12
Authentically represent culture, history and the life of minority people, not fake culture	9
Preserve minority cultural heritage, traditional ethnic architecture, local culture and folk customs	6
Reduce commercialization of ethnic culture	5
Prohibit any tourist activities/behaviors that smear the minority image	4
Enhance the marketing and promotion of ethnic products	3
Develop tourism in a planned and holistic manner	1
Educate tourists about ethnic culture and customs	1

General suggestions for ethnic tourism development were also raised by minority people. The suggestions of employees and residents are combined in Table 8.18. About 12% of the respondents

declared that tourism development should suit local needs and improve living standards of local people. Nine percent of the respondents required that tourism developers should represent culture, history and the life of minority people authentically, and not fake culture. Preserving minority cultural heritage, traditional ethnic architecture, local culture and folk customs was emphasized by 6% of the respondents. Reducing commercialization of ethnic culture was raised by 5% of the respondents. A number of people (3%) suggested enhancing the marketing and promotion of ethnic products. A very few (1%) suggested that the government should develop tourism in a planned and holistic manner, and educate tourists about ethnic culture and customs.

### 8.6 Planning and environmental issues

Planning and environmental issues were also raised by ethnic community members. As can be seen in Tables 8.19 and 8.20, most employees (85.7%) and residents (89.8%) were not aware of local tourism plans, and only 2.4% of employees and 7.1% of residents knew about tourism plans. According to interviewees, nobody they knew was involved in local tourism planning nor had access to tourism plans. The fact that a few people were aware of local tourism plans means only that they had heard about the plans, but they did not know the contents of the plans. Close to half of employee respondents (48.4%) believed that careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism, and 50% of employees wanted to access the planning and decision-making process to influence future tourism development. Most resident respondents (71.1%) agreed that careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism, and 78.2% of residents wanted to access the planning and decision-making process.

Table 8.19 Park employees' attitudes towards tourism planning (N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Aware of local tourism plans	5.6	80.2	11.9	1.6	0.8
Careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism	4.0	11.9	35.7	42.9	5.6
Want to access the planning and decision-making process	3.2	20.6	26.2	39.7	10.3



Table 8.20 Ethnic residents' attitudes towards tourism planning (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Aware of local tourism plans	11.2	78.7	3.0	3.6	3.6
Careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism	3.0	7.6	18.3	45.7	25.4
Want to access the planning and decision-making process	3.0	6.6	12.2	55.8	22.3

Table 8.21 Perceptions of tourism planning

Statement	Park employees %	Ethnic residents %
Careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	15.9	10.7
Neutral/Don't know	35.7	18.3
Strongly Agree/ Agree	48.4	71.1
$\chi^2=17.3, df = 2, p<0.000$		
Want to access the planning and decision-making process		
Strongly Disagree/ Disagree	23.8	9.6
Neutral/Don't know	26.2	12.2
Strongly Agree/ Agree	50.0	78.2
$\chi^2=27.8, df = 2, p<0.000$		

Chi-square tests indicate that there are significant differences between the perceptions of employees and residents with regard to tourism planning (Table 8.21). Residents tend to have more supportive attitudes towards tourism planning and they are more interested in accessing planning and decision-making process than employees. Given the fact that many officials stated that minority people lack the awareness and ability to participate in planning, it is a corrective to learn that such a large number of ethnic residents express a willingness to take part in tourism planning and want the government officials and planners to listen to their concerns. Many survey respondents indicated that they would like to participate in planning if given the opportunity. A number of people indicated that local residents had no power and opportunities to participate in planning. A small proportion of respondents said that it did not matter whether or not they were involved in planning. Overall, minority people felt the need to be more involved in tourism planning and development.

Table 8.22 Minorities' suggestions for future tourism planning  
(% of all respondents, N=323)

Suggestions	Percent (%)
Get all minorities involved in planning through public consultation meeting, the Internet or questionnaire survey, and adopt their views and suggestions	11
Better communication between the government and local people/communities	9
Provide training and education opportunities for local people to learn tourism laws and regulations and tourism related knowledge	6
Publicize tourism plans and increase the transparency of the planning process	6
Propose alternative tourism plans and let the public vote on plans	4
Improve planning for tourist sites	2
Enhance coordination of different government sectors to allow combined planning	1

Suggestions for future tourism planning are presented in Table 8.22. The suggestions of employees and residents are combined, as there were only a small number of respondents answered the open-ended questions. A considerable number of minority people (11%) suggested getting all minorities involved in planning through public consultation meetings, Internet or questionnaire surveys, and adopting minority people's views and suggestions. About 9% of respondents required better communication between the government and local people/communities. A smaller proportion (6%) of respondents called for publicizing tourism plans and increasing the transparency of the planning process. Similarly, 6% wanted the government to provide training and education opportunities for local people to learn tourism laws and regulations and tourism-related knowledge in order to provide input and communicate back and forth with the tourism industry. About 4% of respondents suggested proposing alternative tourism plans and letting the public vote on plans. Several people (2%) indicated the need to improve planning for tourist sites and a few (1%) suggested enhancing coordination of different government sectors to encourage more integrated planning.

The environmental impacts of tourism were also recognized by some respondents. As indicated in Tables 8.23 and 8.24, although the majority of the respondents (employees, 46.0%; residents, 46.7%) disagreed, a large portion of the respondents (employees, 32.5%; residents, 34.0%) indicated that there was more litter in the community due to tourism. A substantial minority of respondents (employees, 27.8%; residents, 36.5%) perceived that tourism increases noise, although the more (employees, 50.0%; residents, 44.7%) disagreed with the statement. Similarly, a substantial number of respondents (employees, 22.2%; residents, 32.5%) also perceived that parking became difficult because of tourism, although more respondents (employees, 55.5%; residents, 42.7%) disagreed.

Park employees and residents have similar perceptions of environmental impacts and no significant differences were found between them.

Table 8.23 Park employees' perceptions of environmental impacts of tourism (N=126)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
More litter due to tourism	12.7	33.3	21.4	26.2	6.3
Increase noise level	8.7	41.3	22.2	23.0	4.8
Parking is difficult because of tourism	7.1	48.4	22.2	20.6	1.6

Table 8.24 Ethnic residents' perceptions of environmental impacts of tourism (N=197)

Statement	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neutral/ Don't know %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
More litter due to tourism	12.2	34.5	19.3	21.3	12.7
Increase noise level	7.1	37.6	18.8	20.3	16.2
Parking is difficult because of tourism	5.6	37.1	24.9	19.8	12.7

## 8.7 Summary

This chapter provided an analysis of surveys of ethnic minorities in Banna. The socio-demographic information on ethnic minorities and their perceptions of tourism impact and their attitudes towards tourism planning and development have been presented. Minority people tend to have low level of educations in Mandarin. More young women are engaged in tourism than men. The findings indicate that only a few households benefit significantly from tourism business and the majority of ethnic residents still highly rely on farming. In spite of the fact that there is wide ethnic involvement in tourism, many minority people are just lowly paid labourers in the tourist villages.

Ethnic respondents were divided into two sub-groups for data analyses: park employees and ethnic residents. A series of chi-square tests were conducted to examine whether these two sub-groups differed significantly in their perceptions of tourism impacts. The employees and residents generally had similar favourable perceptions of tourism impacts in socio-cultural, economic and environmental aspects, although chi-square tests show that significant differences were found between the perceptions of employees and residents regarding a limited number of statements. These

differences were probably related to age and job differences.

Most employees and residents perceived that tourism increases awareness of local culture, contributes to the preservation of local culture, enhances the cultural pride and identity of minority people, promotes ethnic cultural development, enhances harmony among ethnic groups, improves the social status of minority women, promotes local economic development, improves employment, living standards, roads, quality of public services, and community recreation. Overall, both employees and residents believed that the benefits of tourism outweigh its negative consequences and they supported further development of ethnic tourism. However, in spite of this overall favorable attitude, some negative aspects of tourism impacts were also perceived by a substantial minority of respondents, such as increased cultural commodification, assimilation, more stealing, competition and conflicts within and between ethnic groups, disrupted local festivals, cultural events, and simple and friendly folk customs, increased prices of local goods, and more litter and noise.

The majority of employees and residents perceived folk villages, cultural performances and ethnic souvenirs to be authentic, although a small proportion of respondents indicated that staged shows made ethnic culture less valuable. Older residents tend to be more concerned about increased cultural commodification than young employees. Many ethnic elders advocate preservation of traditional ethnic culture and reduction of cultural commodification. Some suggested that tourism impacts on resources, environment and local life should be reduced as much as possible in tourism development.

Importantly, most employees and residents were not aware of local tourism plans and not involved in the tourism planning process. Although the government officials generally assumed that minority people lack the awareness and ability to participate in planning, the survey results show that many ethnic community members have valuable insights about tourism planning and they are capable of participation in planning. In fact, the majority of respondents expressed strong interests in accessing the planning and decision-making process.

## Chapter Nine Comparisons of Different Stakeholders

The previous chapters demonstrate that various stakeholders play different roles in ethnic tourism development and hold different positions with respect to the four dilemmas of ethnic tourism. Tensions and conflicts exist among stakeholders. These differences merit comparison in order to understand fully the socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism. This chapter summarizes and compares the positions of diverse stakeholders on each of the four contradictions.

### **9.1 State regulation versus ethnic autonomy**

The government puts a high priority on regulating tourism development, and plays a critical role in promoting ethnic tourism and formulating development strategies. Different levels of the government are the key players in directing ethnic tourism development through policies and regulation of tourism investment, production and consumption. They function as planners for tourism development, regulators in the tourism market, coordinators between competing interests, and arbiters of relations among producers, marketers and consumers.

However, there is a policy contradiction in terms of government regulation and ethnic rights. On the one hand, government policies and rhetoric support cultural diversification for tourism development and encourage wide involvement of minority people in tourism; on the other hand, governmental macro-control of the tourism market is stressed and this significantly limits ethnic autonomy. State regulation of the tourism sector is relatively tight in Banna. Although there are, increasingly, debates about whether or not the government should interfere with the tourism market and to what extent they should be involved in it, it is commonly believed that tourism development would lack direction, coordination and cohesion without governmental involvement and, without governmental guidance, short-term initiatives of the private sector might jeopardize long-term potentials.

State regulation is of particular concern to tourism entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs generally believe that the support of and protection from the government are an essential condition for a successful tourism business. Without strong official support, it is unlikely the business would survive intense market competition. Tourism enterprises with different ownership all tend to cooperate with the government to gain political and/or economic capital. The enterprises are well aware of the benefits of advocating the official position or policy in organizing cultural events or developing tourism products. However, some entrepreneurs are dissatisfied with about tight state regulation and unequal

treatment of enterprises in terms of preferential policies and investment. Ethnic autonomy is not supported by entrepreneurs. Given the fact that managers of tourism enterprises are always Han people and minority people are typically lowly-paid labourers, true ethnic autonomy does not exist in the Han-dominated tourism industry. Ethnic cultures are regarded as 'exploitable' resources that are used to make profits for these entrepreneurs, and few of them are willing to hand over economic power to minority people.

Tourists hold mixed views towards state regulation and ethnic autonomy. On the one hand, some tourists want to see authentic expression of ethnic cultures without government involvement; on the other hand, many want the authorities to regulate ethnic tourism in the interest of quality assurance. Most Chinese tourists are not aware of issues of ethnic autonomy and believe that the future of tourism depends on government policies and that ethnic tourism requires government support to be prosperous. Ethnic autonomy is a major concern among western tourists, and they want less involvement of the government and more ethnic autonomy. Chinese tourists expect the government to regulate the tourism market and promote ethnic tourism development; while western tourists suggest that the government should leave minority people and places alone, and that ethnic folk villages should be run by ethnic people instead of Han managers. Some believe that less involvement from the government will result in truer authentic ethnic expression.

Minority people generally support the notion of tourism development led by the government, but are against the domination of Han developers in tourism business. Minority people are not well positioned to take advantage of the opportunity presented by ethnic tourism due to their low education, limited business experience and lack of capital. The control of tourism resources and development by minority people is weak, but there is a growing awareness of and desire for ethnic autonomy. With increased exposure to the outside world via tourists, television and education, more minority people are eager to take control of their resources and participate in benefit-sharing and decision-making. Minority people generally feel the need to be more involved in tourism planning and management, and want the government to help to expand village tourism businesses and increase the investment for tourism. They require better communication between the government and local people/communities, and want the government to listen to their concerns about tourism and provide training and education for local people to learn tourism policies, regulations and other related knowledge in order to be better positioned to take advantage of tourism.

## 9.2 Cultural exoticism versus modernity

Both modernization and preservation of cultural distinctiveness are supported by state policy. Although cultural exoticism is encouraged by the government to facilitate tourism development, cultural development has been a focus of the ethnic cultural policy. Achieving modernization through economic and tourism development is an important strategy for economic reforms in China. Encouraged by the state policy, foreign and domestic capital has been vigorously sought by the local government for investment in development projects. The investment not only has contributed to the development of local infrastructure but also has expanded educational access for minorities, though minority literacy rates and levels of educational attainment remain below those of the Han. The local government has been actively involved in developing ethnic tourism and marketing minority cultures and customs. They have designated a series of minority villages as tourist spots in order to meet the demand for mass tourism. These villages cater to domestic tourists, who are mainly Han Chinese from the interior and coastal areas of China, and they provide fragmented showcases of minority cultures through staged performances and entertainment programs.

The potential decline in cultural exoticism is a major concern among tourism entrepreneurs. With the increase of modern architecture in the tourist villages, entrepreneurs are very concerned about the disappearance of traditional ethnic architecture. In an attempt to maintain the exotic feeling of ethnic villages, park managers have formulated many regulations to safeguard the uniqueness and 'purity' of minority culture, such as the conservation of traditional Dai architecture. Entrepreneurs play a dominant role in defining what the essential aspects of authentic minority cultures are, and determining what should be revived, developed and preserved in ethnic villages. Although they prohibit villagers from building in modern architectural styles, the company itself builds modern buildings as souvenir shops in the park. The contradictory behaviour of the company towards itself versus toward the villagers results in more tension between the two sides. In spite of the fact that entrepreneurs strive to minimize the modernization trend in the villages, minority people are moving rapidly towards modernity as modernization is becoming an unstoppable trend throughout China.

Cultural exoticism of ethnic groups is the primary attraction for tourists in ethnic tourism. Modern tourists are attracted to exotic otherness in remote ethnic villages, 'primitive' customs and examples of 'uncorrupted' or 'pre-modern' culture. However, the majority of tourists are on package tours and they usually lack the time, knowledge and depth of experience to appreciate the intricate aspects of ethnic culture. They have little chance to interact with minority people and see only staged

cultural shows from the designed tourist routes and activities offered by the folk villages. Although independent tourists have more opportunities to interact with minorities, few of them can obtain 'authentic' experiences of the traditional lifestyle of minority people, even from the homestay experiences provided by minorities themselves as minority people use their language to protect their identity and keep tourists away from the 'back stage' of their life. Tourists search for the real, authentic or back stage experiences, but they often become victims of staged authenticity and can only see show pieces at the front stage.

Modernity is of high interest to minority people. The modern lifestyle has entered minority people's lives through economic reforms, education, the mass media and health care. The arrival of tourism accelerates the process of encountering modernization for minorities. Since minority villages were converted to tourist attractions, ethnic communities have been facing the challenges of coping with a market economy and modernization. Community culture is changing due to economic development and the entry of outside commercial influences. Exposed to the opportunities offered by wealth and modernity, particularly through interactions with tourists and the arrival of television, minority people have put high priority on making money and pursuing modern lifestyles. Many people wish more tourists would stay at their home for a fee. The economic competition among villagers has affected the lives of ethnic communities. In an attempt to achieve affluence, many minority people have abandoned traditional farming and participate in tourism businesses. With the increase of disposable income, many families have built modern houses and purchased modern furniture, TV sets and motorcycles. Pursuing modern life has become a widespread trend among minorities. Many tourists are disappointed with the modern settings inside minority houses. However, most minority people have not realized this side effect of their tourism attractiveness.

### **9.3 Economic development versus cultural preservation**

Economic development through tourism is strongly supported by the government as an effective way to improve local livelihoods and to foster economic independence of ethnic minorities. Tourism is envisioned as one of the main vehicles of economic and cultural development. The economic benefits of tourism are the most significant driving force for tourism development. Along with economic development, the government has also promoted preservation of cultural diversity and encouraged using ethnic culture as enticements for potential investments and further tourism development. Cultural exoticism and local distinctiveness have been legitimated and advocated in



the state policy. Many government-initiated tourism projects highlight ethnic culture to attract tourists.

Economic motives often outweigh other goals in tourism business. Economic interests are prioritized by tourism entrepreneurs and economic benefits are the driving force for them to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourist consumption. Entrepreneurs generally are well aware of the power of economic development and cultural evolution, particularly, that acculturation has challenged the exotic ways of minority life. As entrepreneurs are concerned about the diminishing of traditional ethnic architecture in tourist villages, preservation of minority culture has been emphasized in the rhetoric concerning the management of cultural attractions and folk villages. Although some entrepreneurs advocate 'mutual engagement and development' between the park and the villages, they are more concerned about maximization of the economic benefits and expansion of the business than the villages' development. They advocate cultural preservation mainly for the sake of safeguarding commercial profits, and many of them view cultural preservation as a responsibility of the government.

Tourists make a significant contribution to local economies through purchasing souvenirs and participating in tourist activities. However, they are not directly involved in the process of cultural preservation. Local tourism income mainly hinges upon the number of tourists. Mass tourists consume local cultural resources, and only a few of them are concerned with the rapid changes to ethnic landscapes and the vanishing of traditional cultures and values. Some tourists express the desire to see natural sites and the everyday lives of minorities, and want the local government to preserve ethnic architecture, the cultural landscape and the natural environment.

Ethnic communities generally embrace economic development presented by tourism, although older minority people tend to be concerned about cultural changes and advocate preservation of traditional culture. Most minority people have favourable evaluations of the economic impacts of tourism, while a smaller number of people also recognize some negative aspects. The need for making a livelihood for themselves and their families is a major concern for young minority people engaged in tourism, and cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue for them. Many community elders perceive the impact of the market economy on traditional minority culture and the decline in religious beliefs and minority languages. They are concerned to maintain and protect their

culture while presenting it to tourists. They want the government to take actions to preserve minority cultural heritages and traditional culture.

#### **9.4 Authenticity versus cultural commodification**

The government has actively promoted ethnic tourism and encouraged commodification of ethnic culture. The state policy has provided authoritative rhetoric for cultural commodification, and assumed that the commodification of elements of minority culture will benefit minority people, at least economically. In the process of commercializing, representing and marketing minority cultures, the government acts as an arbitrator of relations among entrepreneurs, minority people and tourists. It is the government that defines appropriate cultural expressions and representations in ethnic tourism. However, the local government is facing a dilemma between providing authentic tourism experiences and commodification of ethnic culture. On the one hand, the government has encouraged packaging and selling cultural commodities aimed at economic benefits and improvement of local livelihoods. On the other hand, being aware of negative impacts, they have restricted inappropriate commodification behaviours and damaging tourism activities in order to maintain the authenticity and quality of tourism products.

Tourism entrepreneurs who cooperate with the government often take control of the utilization of ethnic resources, commodify ethnic cultures and determine cultural expression in the tourist zones. They are the key actors in selecting and sifting aspects of ethnic culture to produce 'authentic' cultural images, traditions and lifestyles that meet commercial needs. Meeting tourists' expectations is of highest concern to entrepreneurs. Catering to tourists' desires for cultural exoticism, tourism businesses explicitly package, market and promote elements of ethnic culture deemed 'primitive', 'pre-modern', exotic and joyful. The folk villages typically provide versions of the most tangible and spectacular aspects of ethnic culture for the entertainment of tourists. Minority cultures have been constructed and represented as feminized, exotic and entertaining in staged shows. Folk songs, dances and minority costumes are all modified and staged to suit commercial needs. Authenticity appears to be an ambiguous and flexible concept for entrepreneurs. On the one hand, they state that the objectives of the folk villages are to portray minority culture authentically. On the other hand, they indicate that modification is necessary in tourist shows. Not all aspects of minority culture are valued by entrepreneurs or, more to the point, by visitors. In some instances, minority culture has been commodified to the point where socio-cultural authenticity is lost.

Most tourists are satisfied with staged authenticity, while a smaller (but considerable) number prefer a more 'authentic' experience in a natural setting. The perceptions of authenticity of performances and folk villages are strong among the majority of Chinese tourists. They are aware that the settings are staged and are mainly in search of enjoyment or relaxation on their visits. Western tourists are more concerned with authenticity. They think folk villages are tourist-centric and artificial, and they prefer to see the local culture in its natural setting. Authenticity of ethnic souvenirs is a concern of many Chinese and western tourists alike due to the prevalence of counterfeit products. The encounters between tourists and hosts tend to be very brief and simple and, hence, tourists only have superficial experiences of ethnic customs. Most tourists have little knowledge of ethnic culture and they judge authenticity depending on stereotyped images. The spectacular images of shows and traditional architecture portrayed in mass media, tourism advertising and literature are mainly used to evaluate authenticity. Thus, tourists' perceptions of authenticity are blurred and fluid. Cultural commodification is, to some extent, acceptable for tourists, but over-commercialized cultural performances or activities cause discontent among tourists, particularly western tourists, and can devalue local traditions.

The perception of authenticity is strong in ethnic communities. Although most minority people perceive that ethnic tourism increases cultural commodification, only a small number of people are concerned that staged shows make ethnic culture less valuable. Young minority people are more concerned about employment and income than cultural issues. Many of them are not aware of the impact of cultural commodification. However, cultural commodification is a major concern among ethnic elders. They think that commercialized shows can result in the loss of authenticity and cultural values and, furthermore, can jeopardize ethnic images. Some assert that the park provides inappropriate and inaccurate representations of minority culture, such as the wedding show, while others condemn that tourism ruins minority traditions and devalues their culture. Economic competition is perceived as making interpersonal relationships materialistic and increasing conflicts among community members.

## **9.5 Summary**

Different stakeholders have different positions on ethnic tourism as shown in Table 9.1. Major discrepancies in stakeholders' views are associated with diverse emphases and orientations. The government at different levels supports ethnic tourism development for the purpose of economic improvement and poverty reduction. However, state regulation of ethnic tourism is tight and

governmental control is a controversial issue. Tourism business, in contrast, is profit-oriented. Economic benefits are the driving force for tourism enterprises to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourist consumption. Meeting tourists' demands is of the highest concern to entrepreneurs. The primary focus of minority people is to gain more cash income through tourism in order to improve their well-being and to achieve a modern lifestyle. Cultural exoticism of ethnic groups is the primary attraction for tourists. However, tourists generally have little chance to interact with minority people, and few of them succeed in obtaining 'authentic' experiences of the traditional lifestyle and customs of minority people.

Table 9. 1 Comparisons of stakeholder groups' attitudes toward four contradictions in ethnic tourism

	<b>State regulation versus ethnic autonomy</b>	<b>Cultural exoticism versus modernity</b>	<b>Economic development versus cultural preservation</b>	<b>Authenticity versus cultural commodification</b>
<b>Government</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The government at different levels functions as planners, regulators, coordinators, arbiters and investors in the process of tourism development.</li> <li>They encourage involvement of minority people in tourism, but also stress governmental macro-control of the tourism market and limit ethnic autonomy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The government encourages both modernization and the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness.</li> <li>They have designated a series of minority villages as tourist spots to meet the demand for mass tourism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic development through tourism is highly supported by the government as an effective way to improve local livelihoods and to foster economic independence of ethnic minorities.</li> <li>The preservation of cultural diversity is also encouraged.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The state policy provides authoritative rhetoric for cultural commodification.</li> <li>The local government is facing a dilemma between providing authentic tourism resources and commodification of ethnic culture.</li> </ul>
<b>Tourism entrepreneurs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enterprises tend to cooperate with the government to gain political and/or economic capital.</li> <li>They do not encourage ethnic autonomy, and few of them are willing to hand over economic power to minority people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Entrepreneurs are very concerned about the disappearance of traditional ethnic architecture.</li> <li>They play a dominant role in defining what the essential aspects of authentic minority culture are, and determining what should be revived, developed and preserved in ethnic villages.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Economic benefits are the driving force for tourism enterprises to preserve and construct ethnic images for tourist consumption.</li> <li>Preservation of minority culture has been emphasized in the rhetoric concerning the management of cultural attractions and folk villages.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Entrepreneurs are the key actors in sifting and selecting aspects of ethnic culture to produce 'authentic' cultural images that meet commercial needs and tourists' interests.</li> <li>Tourism businesses position selected aspects of minority culture in an entertaining and joyful way to appeal tourists.</li> </ul>
<b>Tourists</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tourists want the government to regulate the tourism market and promote ethnic tourism development.</li> <li>Most tourists are not aware of ethnic autonomy and only a small number consider ethnic autonomy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cultural exoticism of ethnic groups is the primary attraction for tourists.</li> <li>Tourists have little chance to interact with minority people and only see staged cultural shows, and few of them can obtain 'authentic' experiences of the traditional lifestyle of minority people.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tourists make a significant contribution to local economies through purchasing souvenirs and participating in tourist activities.</li> <li>Mass tourists consume local cultural resources, and only a few are concerned with cultural preservation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Most tourists have little knowledge of ethnic cultures and they judge authenticity depending on stereotyped images.</li> <li>Tourists' perceptions of authenticity are blurred and fluid.</li> </ul>
<b>Ethnic minorities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The control of tourism resources and development by ethnic people is weak.</li> <li>There is a growing awareness of and desire for autonomy among ethnic communities and they require better communication between the government and local people/communities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ethnic communities have been facing the challenges of coping with a market economy and modernization.</li> <li>Minority people have put high priority on making money and pursuing a modern lifestyle.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Older minority people tend to be concerned about cultural changes and advocate preservation of traditional culture.</li> <li>The need for making a livelihood is a major concern for young minority people, but cultural preservation is not an important issue for them.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The perception of authenticity is strong in ethnic communities.</li> <li>Although most minority people perceive that ethnic tourism increases cultural commodification, only a small number of people (mainly elders) are concerned that staged shows make ethnic culture less valuable.</li> </ul>

## Chapter Ten Tourism Planning

This chapter examines tourism planning practices in China, particularly in Banna. The chapter consists of two sections. The first section provides a general overview of tourism planning in China. It traces the development of tourism planning in China, and examines the evolution and current status of tourism planning. Associated planning issues and constraints are also addressed. The second section examines tourism planning in Banna with an emphasis on ethnic tourism. The development of tourism planning in Banna is introduced and available tourism plans are evaluated. Planning goals, objectives, policies and processes as well as the approaches to and implementation of plans are examined. The planning issues and challenges are addressed and a variety of perspectives derived from the review of tourism plans and interviews with tourism planning officials, academic planners and private planning consultants is presented.

### 10.1 Tourism planning practice in China

Tourism in China emerged with minimal planning. It began at the turn of the 1980s with the growth of tourism encouraged by government policies to generate foreign exchange (Wu, 2000; Xu, 2003; Fan and Hu, 2003). It was developed without theoretical guidelines or unified principles (Bao, 2002). As defined in the *Tourism Development Planning Regulation* (China National Tourism Administration, 2000), tourism development planning in China refers to 'a process of establishing development goals according to the history and present situation of the tourism industry and the requirement of the market; and coordinating and managing the main factors of the tourism sector in order to achieve the goals'. This official definition emphasizes the importance of the market in tourism planning and implies that a market-driven approach is legitimate in the Chinese context.

#### 10.1.1 The evolution and characteristics of tourism planning in China

The evolution of tourism planning was slow to emerge in China than in the west due to historical and political reasons. Tourism was treated as a political activity and restrained before 1978. Its development was eventually advocated under China's open door policies and economic reforms after 1978 (Sofield and Li, 1998; Zhang, Chong and Ap, 1999). During the early stages of tourism development (between 1978 and 1985), tourism was considered to be a means of earning foreign exchange for China's modernization (Zhang, 2003a). The first national tourism master plan – *Tourism Development Plan (1980 – 1985, the Draft)* formulated in 1979 focused on international tourism and ignored domestic tourism (Fan and Hu, 2003; Xu, 2003).

China lacked tourism infrastructure and facilities under the centralized planned economy in the early 1980s. In response to a shortage of tourism supply, tourism planning emphasized resource analysis (identification of potential tourism resources) and development of tourism zones (Xu, 2003). Experts on urban planning emphasized construction of infrastructure and they were actively involved in tourism planning and in designing tourist vacation zones (Bao, 2002). During this phase, most tourism plans were supply-oriented and focused on investment incentives and construction of physical amenities such as tourist facilities, hotels, restaurants and other infrastructure (Wu, 2000; Bao, 2002; Fan and Hu, 2003). This is still the case in some less developed areas in China, which are just starting tourism initiatives and where the need for infrastructure and tourist facilities is still apparent.

With further economic reform and domestic tourism booming from the late 1980s through the 1990s, tourism planning has gradually shifted from resource evaluation to include market analysis and forecasting, building upon and extending the earlier supply-oriented stage (Wu, 2000; Bao, 2002; Xu, 2003; Fan and Hu, 2003). Market analysis aims at exploring the current and potential market demand for destinations. The Beijing Tourism Development Master plan in 1985 illustrates this significant shift (Xu, 2003; Fan and Hu, 2003). The plan, consisting of tourism market analysis and forecasts, a market development strategy, and tourist behavior analysis, strongly influenced subsequent approaches to tourism planning. Since then, market analysis and forecasting have become important components in Chinese tourism planning.

At the end of 1985, the central government declared tourism to be an industry that should be expanded in the national economic interest and incorporated tourism into the national socio-economic development master plan (Fan and Hu, 2003). Since then, tourism planning has been part of the national socio-economic master planning process (Zhang, 2003a). The 7th Five-Year National Tourism Development Master Plan, the 8th Five-Year Plan and the 9th Five-Year Plan were formulated by the China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) in 1986, 1991 and 1996 respectively with an emphasis on the analysis and forecasting of domestic and overseas tourism markets, and diversifying tourist products (Fan and Hu, 2003).

Following the central government's plans, many local governments turned to tourism to stimulate their local economies and they included tourism planning in their socio-economic master planning. Therefore, there was an urgent need for tourism planners. However, there was a shortage of trained

tourism planners and few with recognized expertise and, as a result, a diversity of individuals and organizations were impressed into service. Particularly, well-educated, university-affiliated researchers, sometimes with only rudimentary tourism experience, have been employed by many local governments as suitable planners to prepare tourism plans. Many scholars with different backgrounds have participated in tourism planning practice. Geographers and urban planners took the lead and, later, anthropologists, economists and other experts joined the planning teams. Various institutions, from professional research institutes of natural and social sciences to different levels of government agencies and public organizations, to private developers and international organizations have been involved in tourism planning (Zhang, 2003b). Following the leadership of central government and with the contribution of various planners and organizations, a variety of regional and local tourism master plans and detailed site plans have been formulated in many parts of China.

During the 1980s and 1990s and up until the present, tourism planning has focused on economic priorities and is driven by the market with little concern for environmental and socio-cultural impacts (Peng, 2000; Li, 2002; Lin, 2003). Tourism is still often regarded as being a 'smoke-less' industry in China and negative impacts are often overlooked (Zhang, 2003a). Many local tourism plans are mainly concerned with obtaining direct and immediate socio-economic benefits from tourism (Liu, 2003b). Particularly, when many places rush to take advantage of rapidly expanding tourism demand, many tourism projects are undertaken without a thorough analysis of tourism markets or of the full costs and benefits of tourism activities, and without the detailed and sound planning necessary to manage the risks and impacts of tourism. Numerous tourist accommodations, recreational facilities and human-made tourist attractions (*e.g.*, theme parks and tourist villages) have been built regardless of market demand (Oakes, 1998; Ap, 2003; Zhang, 2003b). This inadequate or 'myopic' planning has contributed to the failure of many such attractions and accommodations (Ap, 2003). The uncontrolled expansion of mass tourism has threatened vulnerable resources and the quality of experiences that can be obtained at many destinations. An anti-tourism sentiment is now even evident in some local communities. Academic critiques of defects in tourism planning, such as the absence of proper legislation and regulation, resource over-consumption and weak implementation, have become one of the main subjects addressed in Chinese academic tourism literature (Peng, 2000; Zhai, 2001; Li, 2002; Lin, 2003; Liu, 2003b, Yang, 2003;). There is an urgent need for effective tourism planning and the empirical research that should underpin this activity.

After noting the negative impacts of blind development and 'myopic' tourism planning, tourism



scholars and practitioners have increasingly sought theoretical support and guiding principles for sound tourism planning (Peng, 2000; Wang, 2001; Wu, 2001; Xia and Hu, 2001). The state began to control tourism planning, to manage planning teams, and to formulate regulations. In 1997, CNTA issued two books: *Tourism Planning Practice Guideline* and *Sustainable Tourism Development: the Principles of Regional and Local Tourism Planning*. These books provide useful guidelines and information on best practices in tourism planning in China and around the world. Formal regulations were introduced at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *Tourism Development Planning Regulation* was issued in 2000, *Qualifications of Tourism Planning Institutes* in 2000, and *General Specifications for Tourism Planning* in 2001 by CNTA. They provide general principles and specifications to regulate tourism planning practice. Under these principles, the 10th Five-Year National Tourism Development Master Plan was formulated in 2001 (Fan and Hu, 2003). This is the first comprehensive and systematic plan based on scientific research and it involved many tourism experts with different backgrounds.

In recent years, China has actively sought technical assistance from overseas consultants to prepare tourism master plans or tourism development programs. Foreign consultants have increasingly been involved in tourism planning in China. Western tourism planning theories and approaches have been introduced and have started to influence China's tourism planning research and practice. As a growing number of provinces have promoted tourism as one of their 'pillar' industries, several provinces, including Sichuan, Shandong, Yunnan, Hainan, and Guizhou, have employed consultants from the World Tourism Organization (WTO) in conjunction with Chinese academics to formulate provincial tourism development master plans (Bao, 2002). The common feature of these plans is a combination of western planning ideologies (rationality and sustainability) with Chinese planning traditions (multi-phase plans). A rational comprehensive approach has been adopted in the planning process. All plans comprise a comprehensive and long-term (twenty-year) tourism development master plan with short (five-year) and medium-term action plans. Special emphasis is given to short-term plans that aim at strategies towards developing ecotourism, diversifying cultural attractions, enhancing economic benefits, preventing environmental problems, and lessening negative socio-cultural impacts. These plans provide useful principles and frameworks for sustainable tourism development; however, the planning process has been primarily driven by Western consultants who lack understanding of local value systems. A lack of consultation among local community leaders, experts, and local people during the planning process has been a frequent problem. The absence of consideration of political impediments, local cultural traditions, and social constraints has led to

problems in the implementation of the plans. Furthermore, many of the plans are essentially secret documents and they are not generally available for scrutiny and their contents are not widely publicized. Since 2002, the trend of copying western models has subsided and the Chinese academics have begun to discuss what to borrow from the West (Wei, *et al.* 2001; Luo, 2001).

Recognizing that western planning techniques and approaches are not transferable to China without modification and adaptation, a number of scholars and planners are calling for a new planning theory to support tourism development under a socialist market economy and are actively looking for a suitable socio-cultural approach to planning and developing tourism in an integrated, effective and sustainable manner (Li and Li, 2002; Zhang and Wu, 2002; Zhang *et al.*, 2002; Liu, 2003a; Bao and Sun, 2003; Fan and Hu, 2003). At the beginning of the new century, numerous books and articles have made a significant contribution to advance the research and practice of tourism planning from various perspectives (Wu, 2001; Bao, 2002; Xu, 2003;). There are two books worth noting. One is *Regional Tourism Planning Principles* written by Wu (2001), which is based on the author's considerable experience in academic research and tourism planning practice as well as his critical review of more than 2500 articles and books. The book provides theoretical principles for regional tourism planning in a Chinese context and presents a systematic framework and methods for practical implementation. Another book is *Case Studies of Tourism Planning*, by Bao (2002). This book reviews and analyzes planning techniques and approaches adopted in nine local tourism projects in China between 1993 and 2002.

Tourism in China is planned at several levels: national, regional, and local (provincial, municipal and county) levels (China National Tourism Administration, 2001). There are two types of tourism plan: the tourism development plan and the tourist site plan. The tourism development plan is directed at the state's tourism development policies and is often done at a conceptual or strategic level. It usually comprises short-term (three to five-year), middle-term (five to ten-year) and long-term (ten to twenty-year) plans. A tourist site plan focuses more on land use, facility design and physical development. It is composed of the master plan, detailed controlling plan and detailed construction plan. A detailed controlling plan is similar to zoning in the west but functions as a technical document rather than as a law (Zhang, 2002). A construction plan aims to direct the construction of buildings and facilities. According to the explanatory note of the Act (Ministry of Construction, 1990), detailed construction planning should include the boundaries of each

construction project within the proposed site, control indices such as building density and building height, general layout plan, and utility engineering plan.

A 'top-down', expert-driven rational approach has commonly been used in many tourism development master plans. A development master plan is a comprehensive detailing of guidelines for tourism development. It typically comprises inventory and evaluation of tourism resources, analysis and forecasting of tourist markets, destination positioning and image design, tourist products and routes design, and formulation of development strategies (Wu, 2001). Development master plans are often formulated by the different levels of the government at regular intervals (every five years). The plan is assumed to be out of date and in need of major revision at the end of each five-year cycle and, thus, the planning process starts over again. The planning process usually includes several steps: identifying goals and objectives, conducting a resource analysis and market research, developing strategic alternatives, synthesis and formulation of the plan, and implementation of the plan (Xu, 2003). Market analysis constitutes a vital component of the planning process. It is also an important criterion in the evaluation of a plan. However, monitoring and evaluation are often disregarded in the planning process. The social and cultural implications of tourism have received relatively less attention than economic and environmental concerns in tourism planning. Local people are generally excluded from the decision-making process. The comprehensive approach is often too rigid and inflexible to cope with a rapidly changing environment.

Another common approach adopted in China is strategic planning. Bao's (2002) case studies in Suzhou and Hubei provide good examples of strategic planning. The planning teams focused on the identification and resolution of immediate issues, and the search for strategies for future development. They analyzed the status of local tourism, examined the external and internal environments, explored the market, and, finally, formulated strategies. Market assessment is still an important element of this approach. In some cases, planners combined both comprehensive and strategic approaches in formulating plans, such as the Yunnan Tourism Development Master Plan in 2000. Recently, greater stakeholder involvement has been advocated by some scholars. For instance, stakeholder theory has been applied to the consultation of strategic tourism planning in Leshan, Sichuan Province, China (Zhang and Wu, 2002). The project, in collaboration with the United Nations Center for Human Settlement, has measured stakeholders' (government, local business, residents, *etc.*) tourism awareness and benefits appeals, and identified issues in tourism development

through round-table meetings, focus groups, surveys and household interviews. Strategies have been generated for the protection and preservation of Leshan ñ a World Natural and Cultural Heritage Site. However, it is noteworthy that this approach has been introduced by outsiders and it is not clear if there is local commitment to such processes.

### **10.1.2 Constraints and shortcomings in tourism planning in China**

The constraints and shortcomings of tourism planning approaches are a reflection of the Chinese political and socio-economic system and its highly structured social context. Some of these constraints and shortcomings are discussed below.

#### **1. Highly market-driven**

Because tourism planning has evolved from supply-oriented to market-driven planning, market analysis and forecasting have become an important component of tourism plans (Xu, 2003). While this shift has made planning more responsive to consumer demands, a limitation of this approach is that local tourism plans may fail to give adequate consideration to the protection of natural and heritage resources (Peng, 2000; Zhai, 2001; Li, 2002; Lin, 2003; Liu, 2003b; Yang, 2003). Despite the chances of possible long-term environmental and cultural degradation, tourism is an important means of regional development. Particularly, in poverty-stricken, marginalized ethnic areas, tourism is regarded as an economic strategy for poverty reduction and revenue generation. In response to the pragmatic economic needs of destinations, tourism planning is oriented to obtaining direct and immediate socio-economic benefits from tourism. Market research is the first priority of many planners. Substantial effort has been placed on analysis of the market, examination of the characteristics and trends of international and domestic tourists, formulation of market profiles, and forecasting of market demand during the planning process (Wu, 2001; Bao, 2002, Xu, 2003). The main goal of the market-driven approach is to develop strategies for promoting tourism, to better position the planning areas in a competitive tourism market, and to support local socio-economic enhancements. The main concern is to formulate marketable tourism products. The outcome of this narrow approach is that little emphasis has been placed on long-term environmental and socio-cultural implications of tourism.

Greater attention to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage and environmental fragility has been advocated by scholars and the state's policies (Peng, 2000; CNTA, 2000, 2001; Wei, *et al.* 2001; Zhao and Zhen, 2002). The integration of social and cultural concerns into tourism planning

has been increasingly highlighted in some practices (Bao, 2002; Bao and Sun, 2003; Xu, 2003). The sustainable development and market-oriented approaches are both stipulated as the main planning principles at work in tourism planning regulations, but there is a potential gap between the goals of sustainability and a market-driven emphasis. The sustainable development approach focuses more on protecting resources and local communities, while market-oriented principles stress meeting the needs of tourists. The community's aspirations can be contradictory with tourists' desires and tourism developers' objectives. On the other hand, failure to develop tourism in a way that meets market demands would mean that the tourism enterprises will fail, and that the desired benefits from tourism, such as the generation of income for local people, government revenues, and the creation of jobs will be lost. Currently, the concept of sustainability remains more a theory than a widespread practice. It is difficult for planners to satisfy the needs of all stakeholders. Balancing the economic rationale with preservation of natural and cultural resources is still a big issue in tourism planning in China.

## **2. Lack of community participation**

Such is the emphasis in the west on public participation in planning in the west that it is not an exaggeration to suggest that the latter often implies the former. Although participatory planning has been popularized as a powerful tool for achieving sustainable tourism development in the west, it is still a new concept in China. Often, governments in power are indifferent (even antagonistic) toward public participation (Tosun and Timothy, 2001). It is difficult to implement a participatory planning approach in developing countries because of its implications for the distribution of power and resources (Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Tosun and Timothy, 2001). China is not an exception. Lack of public participation is rooted in the Chinese traditional culture of deference to authority, a legacy of the hierarchical social structure from the feudal age (Zhang, 2002). Cultural traditions still keep people from participating in political decision making. The concentration of power and decision making in only a few people for thousands of years has deprived the public of awareness and experience with democratic participation (Timothy, 1999). Traditional practices that preclude public involvement are hard to change overnight.

Today, under the official ideologies of communism and socialism, unity and collectivism are stressed, and individualism and democracy are discouraged (Liu and Wall, 2005). It is still difficult for common people to approach their superiors and share decision making in a bureaucratic system. Government officials are reluctant to accept participatory planning because their dominant role may

be challenged by community participation. As public involvement requires a significant time and financial commitment, public participation is regarded as unnecessary, troublesome or unrealistic by many bureaucrats. It is widely accepted by the different levels of governments that the participation of well-educated, university-affiliated researchers and certified consultants represents sufficient community involvement in China. However, collaboration between academics, government officials and consultants does not necessarily guarantee beneficial outcomes for the local community. Western scholars argue that plans will only be implemented successfully if governments, the tourism industry and local communities take 'ownership' of their plan (King, McVey and Simmons, 2000).

Despite the fact that community participation is not a common approach in China, a few scholars have started to advocate it and apply it in their planning practice (Wu, 2001; Bao, 2002, Bao and Sun, 2003). For instance, in the Jinan Tourism Development Master Plan in 2001, Wu took into account the impacts of the reconstruction of Hurong Street on the local community and got residents involved in the planning process in order to ensure community benefits (Fan and Hu, 2003). In the Tourism Development Master Plan for Yangshuo Yulong River Tourist Zone in 2002, Bao developed strategies for the local community's participation in planning, such as educating residents and providing opportunities for them to participate in decision making. He argued that local residents are core members for developing tourism and that community participation is essential for sustainable tourism development (Bao and Sun, 2003). Although community planning is emerging, there are still many obstacles that preclude public participation in tourism decision making.

### **3. Shortage of human resources**

Because tourism is a relatively new sector of China's economy, there are not enough professional tourism planners. Lack of specialized tourism planners is one of the major constraints to tourism planning practice in China (Li and Li, 2002; Liu, 2003b). Tourism planning was a government function in a centrally planned economy before the 1980s when tourism in its modern form scarcely existed in China. In response to an urgent need for tourism planning experts in a market-oriented economy, academics have joined planning teams and contributed to the development of many tourism plans. Recently, many private consulting corporations have emerged and are now involved in tourism planning. Today, government officials working in the tourism administrations, scholars from professional research institutes and universities, and private consultants constitute the main components of the tourism planning teams. A tourism administration represents the local authority in promoting the tourism development. They are responsible for preparing five-year tourism

development master plans. In some cases, they involve academics or consultants to formulate the plan. However, not all cities and towns have tourism institutes. Because many small towns do not have a tourism institute, the economic institute of the local government or a higher-level tourism institute is responsible for tourism work in smaller towns. Most tourism planning work done by tourism institutes is by and for the government, not for individual clients. But the local governments have started to accept investors and developers into the planning and development process in recent years. Many tourism officials do not have tourism or planning degrees. Some hold their positions in tourism administrations because of their political loyalty rather than their professional qualifications (Zhang, 2002).

Scholars and 'experts' have different specialties, but many of them lack adequate training in tourism planning. The quality of tourism planning is limited by these experts' disciplinary backgrounds and experiences (Zhang, 2003b). For example, Chinese urban planners have very good architectural design skills, but they lack understanding of the tourism system. Geographers, economists and other tourism experts may not have sufficient knowledge about planning theories and principles. Inevitably, they approach tourism planning only from the perspectives of their backgrounds. As a consequence, tourism plans reflect different disciplinary orientations. The plans formulated by urban planning institutes focus on physical design, while geographic and environmental research institutes concentrate on resource analysis and the assessment of carrying capacity, cultural institutes emphasize the identification and preservation of culture and heritage, and economic institutes stress economic feasibility analysis (Peng, 2000; Xu, 2003). Lack of collaboration among these institutes is a significant issue in the formulation and implementation of tourism plans (This issue will be further addressed later). There is a shortage of experts who are specialized in both tourism and planning. A holistic and integrated approach is often missing in many local tourism plans. Some scholars regard tourism planning as 'paper exercises' undertaken in the office. They have generated mass standardized plans 'efficiently' without detailed investigation of the local social and economic setting, and with little concern for the rapidly changing circumstances in which the plans are conducted (Lin, 2003; Liu, 2003b). It is not surprising that these kinds of plans are unlikely to be fully implemented in practice.

Human resource development in the field of tourism has received increasing attention in research and practice in recent years; however, the provision of education and training has concentrated primarily on the preparation of hospitality and tourism service, supervisory, and management

personnel (Xu, 2003; Liu and Wall, 2005). So far, human resources in tourism planning have received inadequate attention. Although a growing number of educational institutions offer tourism courses and training programs, the significance of tourism planning education has not yet been officially recognized. Tourism planning is often neglected by planning departments. Even tourism management schools do not offer this subject sufficient credit and teach it only to a limited number of students. Inadequate tourism planning courses and programs makes it difficult to receive formal training in tourism planning.

#### **4. Political barriers**

Political barriers are a significant obstacle to tourism planning in China. Tourism planning in China is a complicated political process involving government officials, academics, developers and consultants. The government plays a fundamental role in planning processes given the extensive government involvement in tourism planning and operations. An underlying purpose of generating tourism plans for many local governments is to maximize local economic benefits or to get more financial assistance from higher levels of government (Yang, 2000). Many government officials focus on speeding up economic development and achieving a better performance in order to be promoted to a higher position. In China, most government officials are still appointed rather than elected. Their promotion usually depends on their performance in local economic development. In the rush to demonstrate their achievements within their three to five-year appointed terms, many officials concentrate on short-term economic benefits regardless of the consequent long-term social and environmental costs for the local people (Yang, 2000; Li, 2002).

In tourism development, main decisions are usually made by key officials rather than by people's representatives or professionals (Zhang, 2002). The key officials decide what should be done and planners implement officials' decisions in some cases (Li and Li, 2002). Some planners have to make excessively optimistic forecasts of tourism growth in order to satisfy officials' goals. If it is impossible to achieve their goals, some officials even ask statistical institutions to adjust numbers in order to guarantee their promotions (Yang, 2000). There is a mismatch between planners' concerns and bureaucrats' aspirations. The advice provided by planners can be ignored by the decision makers. Some tourism plans end up sitting on government shelves collecting dust because officials do not support planning efforts. China's social and economic reforms have decentralized the decision power, which not only stimulates local initiatives in economic growth, but also brings power abuse and corruption due to the absence of effective power supervision (Zhang,



2002). The overcoming of political interference in planning and the evaluation of projects is a big challenge in China.

### **5. Lack of collaboration and information-sharing**

Lack of collaboration among different sectors of governments, between planning institutes and tourism sectors, between public and private organizations, and among tourism planners is a common problem in China that not only constrains tourism planning, but also affects overall economic development. A lack of collaboration among public sector organizations is a main problem in the rigid public administration system in China, which leads to the state being less effective in responding to problems in the tourism planning process. As the implementation of tourism plans involves many public sector organizations, it takes a long time for the plans to get approved by different agencies. If one of the agencies does not support the plan, it may not be fully implemented no matter how good it is. The lack of information exchange and cooperation between planning institutes and tourism sectors also strongly impedes the effective formulation and implementation of tourism plans. A main concern in tourism planning is how to overcome administrative boundaries and achieve the coordination of tourism development with other economic activities.

There is essentially no collaboration and information-sharing among tourism planners. Tourism planning requires a multidisciplinary and holistic approach. Some tourism planners have little experience in collaborative planning projects. In addition, a clear-cut division between social and natural sciences makes necessary cooperation in multidisciplinary planning rather difficult (Zhang, 2003b). Tourism planners are hesitant to share their planning experience partly due to the intense competition among planners. Most tourism plans are business secrets and remain confidential. Although there are several books on tourism planning principles and case studies, these books only introduce some general planning principles and methods without releasing detailed planning experiences. The majority of Chinese tourism researchers and planners have limited access to international networks and overseas information, which constrains international collaboration (Zhang, 2003b). Currently, the absence of a comprehensive tourism information data base limits planners' access to tourism data and information. Government and tourism administrations at all levels should make more information and data available to academics, planners and the public in order to enhance information sharing. Sound tourism planning calls for joint inputs from various disciplines. The extensive collaboration among various sectors and among planners is essential to achieve effective planning and successful tourism development in China.

## **6. Lack of adequate legislation and effective regulation**

Currently, there is no formal legislation regarding tourism planning in China. This is probably because tourism is a new economic sector that is comprised of a diversity of activities; the legislation has not followed the pace of tourism growth. However, lack of adequate legislation and effective regulation are significant barriers in tourism planning, which constrain the healthy and sustainable development of tourism in China. Despite the regulations issued by CNTA that provide general principles and guidelines for tourism planning, there are no specific implementation criteria and detailed explanations about principles, methods and procedures. For instance, regulations stress the coordination of tourism planning with land use planning and city master planning, but no specific criteria for coordination are given. The regulations highlight the protection of resources and environments, but social impacts are ignored. It is a common defect of many tourism regulations that they provide only general guidelines without any explanation or implementation criteria. Some regulations contain ambiguous wording; for example, the development of standardized tourism products and the standardization of tourism markets are often stipulated in the regulations, but these objectives are not operationally defined, which leads to ineffective regulation. Sustainable tourism development requires stable and effective planning policies. Enhancement of legislation and regulation of tourism planning is an urgent task in China.

Actually, inadequate legislation is a reflection of rapid social and economic changes in China. As China transformed from a strong, centrally planned economic system to a current market economy, government control has been gradually relaxed (Zhang, 2003a; Liu and Wall, 2005). Economic reforms and decentralization of central power significantly reinforced local decision power and stimulated local economic growth (Zhang, 2002). However, both opportunities and challenges have confronted the legislation and planning. Most Chinese reformers and planners were unprepared for the complicated new issues brought about by reforms. They expected that a market system would be a panacea to solve problems in socio-economic development. Drawing on Hong Kong and Singapore's economic models, a market economic system with 'Chinese characteristics' has been established (Zhang, 2002). However, the state ignored that the Hong Kong-Singapore model functioned in a fully developed capitalist market system, which is very different from an 'immature' market economy under socialism. In China, the co-existence of rigid five-year plans and market economies, principles of socialist planning and a top-down decision-making structure prevent the successful implementation of the Hong Kong-Singapore model as well as western planning models (Zhang, 2002). Many challenges, such as the roles of the market and the state, power and democracy,

and the balance between economic development and resources protection need to be addressed in a transitional China. It will take a long time for China to resolve these issues.

## **7. Lack of effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision**

The absence of effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision is a significant obstacle to tourism planning in China. Rigid planning traditions and lack of continuity in tourism planning often lead to poor quality and weak implementation of the plan. Tourism planning is often seen as a one-time activity rather than a dynamic and continuous process. The focus is on developing a plan rather than on the act of planning. In particular, monitoring and evaluation are often overlooked in the planning process. Once a plan is formulated and accepted by the evaluation committee and the local government, the planning process is over. The evaluation committee evaluates only the planning documents rather than the implementation. Moreover, the qualifications of some evaluation committees have been under heavy criticism because of corruption in the evaluation process (Peng, 2000; Zhai, 2001; Li, 2002; Lin, 2003; Liu, 2003b). Lack of unified criteria for assessment of plans gives committee members excuses to pass some poor quality plans. The quality and implementability of planning often depend on the skills and ethics of planners. No effective planning supervision available. Although the tourism administrations are trying to control the quality of tourism plans through regulations, the supervision remains on paper more than in practice. A process-oriented approach to planning should be encouraged. Monitoring and evaluation are indispensable components of the planning process and should be strengthened. More effective supervision of tourism planning needs to occur.

### **10.1.3 Summary**

Tourism planning in China has evolved from supply-oriented land use planning and infrastructure development to market-driven economic analysis and, more recently, to the incorporation of the awareness of the environmental and socio-cultural implications of tourism development. The shortcomings in tourism planning are an extension of prevailing defects of a hierarchical political structure, rigid public administration systems and an immature market economy. Although western tourism planning approaches have limitations in the Chinese context, they have provided momentum for the advancement of China's tourism planning. They have provided a general vision about the future direction of tourism planning, although it may take many years due to political, socio-cultural and economic constraints for the vision to become a reality in most tourism plans. Following the western planning ideologies, an increasing number of Chinese tourism planners have

begun to consider the environmental and socio-cultural issues in addition to the economic rationale in tourism development. The role of local residents in the planning process is slowly receiving increasing attention. The protection of the environment and the consideration of socio-cultural impacts are highlighted in some but not many tourism plans. Principles such as sustainability, efficiency, effectiveness, balance and responsibility are advocated in tourism planning. The community's voice and stakeholder roles are increasingly being considered in tourism planning research and practice. In the future, a mutually-supporting system comprising government administration and policy, legislation, finance, human resources, stakeholder cooperation and community participation needs to be established.

## **10.2 Evaluating tourism planning in Banna**

### **10.2.1 Development of tourism planning in Banna**

Tourism planning did not exist in Banna until the planning committee of tourist zones was established and formulated the first master plan for tourist zones in 1985. The plan mainly focused on physical/spatial planning for the improvement of tourist attractions and infrastructure. Urban planners who focused on infrastructure construction were actively involved in designing tourist vacation zones. In response to the growing number of tourists, the Tourism Bureau of Banna Prefecture (TBBP) was created in late 1985 to take responsibility for the planning and regulation of tourism development. Since the late 1980s, a common tourism planning practice for TBBP has been the formulation of five-year master plans to guide tourism development generally, and the oversight of site-specific development plans in Banna. In the 1980s and the early 1990s, tourism plans emphasized resource evaluation and the design of tourist zones. Physical development was popular with government planners because it is the fastest way to show development achievements. Other types of plans, such as marketing, human resources development or cultural tourism plans were rarely formulated. It is still the case today. Although the use of ethnic cultures and the development of ethnic products have been emphasized in some tourism plans, ethnic tourism is seen as only one aspect of tourism development and as one type of tourism product. To date, no specific ethnic tourism plans have been made in Banna. Therefore, the research analyzes the overall tourism planning process and approaches, and examines how ethnic tourism has been addressed in the plans. With domestic tourism booming in the 1990s, like the other areas of China, tourism planning in Banna has gradually evolved from an orientation to physical design towards market-oriented development. Market analysis and forecasting have been included in the tourism plans. In 1992, for the first time, the tourism development plan was adopted in the Eighth Five-Year Plan for Social and

Economic Development (1991-1995) by the prefecture government. The plan stressed the promotion of tourism development based on the folk culture and customs of ethnic minorities and the tropical natural resources of Banna. The importance of cooperation with nearby Southeast Asian countries in the development of the tourist sector and border trade was also emphasized in the plan. Since then, tourism planning has been part of the prefecture's socio-economic planning process.

During the 1980s and the 1990s, tourism planning followed an economic rationale and focused on investment incentives and construction of physical amenities without critical analysis of local carrying capacities. According to planners, many local tourism plans were mainly concerned with obtaining direct and immediate economic benefits from tourism. It is still the case in some of the less developed countryside in Banna. During this phase, tourism plans were supply-oriented and meeting the needs of tourist directed tourism planning. Tourism was regarded as being a 'smokeless' industry, and social and environmental impacts were overlooked by planners. Residents' attitudes or citizen participation were ignored in tourism planning and development. Many tourism projects were undertaken without the careful and sound planning necessary to manage the risks and impacts of tourism. Numerous tourist accommodations, restaurants, scenic spots and folk villages were built regardless of market demand. The influx of mass tourists brought economic profits to Banna as well as many social and environmental problems. Profit-oriented business operation threatened local resources and lowered the quality of tourist experiences.

Since 2000, the Banna tourism market has stagnated and visitors have decreased, which causes anxiety among the prefecture government and TBBP. In order to counteract negative impacts, TBBP has adjusted their tourism policies and planning, and tightened regulation of the tourism sector. A series of tourism policies and regulations have been issued in attempts to secure the tourism market. The new policies emphasize the preservation of cultural traditions and customs of minority peoples, and also the conservation of the natural environment and biodiversity. Under these principles, the Tenth Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (2001-2005) was formulated in 2001. Although this plan still focused on tourism products design, it proposed rational utilization of local resources and balancing tourism development and protection of resources. The subsequent Eleventh Five-Year Tourism Development Plan formulated in 2006 focused on strengthening tourism development and building more tourist attractions.

In an attempt to improve local tourism planning, tourism experts and consultants have also been

sought to help prepare tourism development plans since 2000. There is a shortage of professional tourism planners in Banna, and few government planners with recognized planning expertise. Therefore, consultants from Kunming, Shanghai and Guangzhou have increasingly been involved in local tourism planning. These consultants have been mainly well-educated, university-affiliated researchers. To date, two long-term tourism development plans have been formulated by the consultants. The Master Plan for Tourism Development of Banna (2001-2020) was formulated by consultants from Shanghai in 2001. The Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Great Mekong Subregion was formulated by consultants from Zhongshan University in 2003. Although recommendations provided by these two plans have never been implemented, the plans identified some issues in tourism development, and their suggestions are worthy of attention. The Master Plan for Tourism Development of Yunnan Province (2001- 2020) formulated in 2000 by consultants from WTO (World Tourism Organization) also has had some influence on local tourism planning practice. This plan has brought new concepts and western approaches to tourism planning in Yunnan. Although the plan is difficult to implement in the Chinese context because it lacks consideration of political impediments, and socio-cultural and economic constraints, it has influenced provincial and local tourism planning practice to some extent.

### **10.2.2 Tourism planning process and approaches**

Tourism planning in Banna occurs at several administrative levels: regional (prefecture), city, county, and site. This research focuses on tourism development plans at the regional level. Site plans are mainly physical infrastructure design and construction plans. Much of the tourism development that has occurred in Banna has been advocated and planned by the prefecture government and TBBP. As mentioned in the chapter five, TBBP is responsible for regional tourism planning and formulation of tourism development plans. The duty of TBBP is to prepare five-year regional tourism plans, to identify 'tourist zones' where development will be concentrated, and to promote the development of new and expanded attractions, accommodations and facilities. The development plan is usually done by tourism officials at a conceptual or strategic level, and is renewed at the end of every five years.

According to officials, the planning process usually includes several steps: reviewing past achievements and analyzing current conditions, identifying goals and objectives, developing strategies, synthesis and formulation of the plan, and implementation of the plan. After tourism officials develop a new plan, TBBP sends drafts of the plan to the main local tourism developers and

entrepreneurs, including senior managers of large tour companies, travel agencies, tourist sites and hotels, for review and to gather comments. After these entrepreneurs give their comments and suggestions, TBBP revises the plan and submits it to the Development and Reform Bureau (DRB), which will review the plan and then organize an evaluation committee to evaluate the plan. The committee is composed of directors from the main governmental bureaus. If the committee approves the plan, it will be submitted to the prefecture government, and then the government will send the plan to the People's Congress of Banna Prefecture. Finally, the plan becomes a legal document and is ready to be implemented after the People's Congress approves it. In some cases, the plans need to be revised and resubmitted to the evaluation committee, but almost all plans are approved eventually. Tourism officials control the planning process, while local residents and minority people are generally excluded. No public consultation meeting is available and the general public does not have access to plan documents. Local authorities are also responsible for implementing the plans. Monitoring and evaluation are often overlooked in the planning process.

A 'top-down' rational planning approach is commonly adopted in local tourism development. This planning approach considers primarily economic and, to a lesser extent, social and/or environmental factors, and examines major aspects of the tourism sector with emphasis on economic development and infrastructure construction. In recent years, under the influence of western planning approaches, strategic planning has been gradually incorporated into local tourism planning. For instance, a SWOT analysis has been used in the Eleventh Five-Year Tourism Development Plan, which identified current issues and opportunities in tourism development as well as strengths and weaknesses of the tourism sector, and also formulated strategies for future development. Strategic planning has also been adopted in the consultant-made plan 'Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Great Mekong Subregion.

The tourism plan is sectoral in nature and directed at the government socioeconomic and tourism development policies. Indeed, the plan is a comprehensive detailing of guidelines for tourism development. The government plan typically comprises review of the past achievements and problems, analysis of current development conditions, and formulation of development goals, objectives and strategies. A series of development objectives and programs constitutes a vital component of the plan. A government-controlled growth development strategy is often emphasized as the best way to achieve the development objectives in the plan. Forecasting the numbers of visitors and tourism revenue is a common planning practice.

The approach adopted by tourism experts and consultants is a little different from that of the government. In addition to other steps mentioned in the government approach, a resource analysis and market research are often included in the planning process. The consultant-made plan tends to be more comprehensive than the government plan. It usually comprises inventory and evaluation of tourism resources, analysis and forecasting of tourist markets, destination positioning and image design, design of tourism products and programs, and formulation of development strategies. Market analysis and forecasting are an essential component of the plan. After consultants have developed the plan, it is submitted to the plan evaluation committee and it goes through a process similar to the one identified earlier.

### **10.2.3 Evaluating government tourism plans and their implementation**

This section evaluates the two latest government tourism plans: the Tenth Plan and the Eleventh Five-Year Plan. The plans made in the 1980s and 1990s could not be located because the planners have changed frequently. According to officials, during the 1980s and 1990s, the tourism plans were centrally-controlled work plans, which arranged tourism works for the next year and the following five years. TBBP did not have much freedom to set up its own goals and objectives, and the plans were used to meet the requirements of the prefecture government as well as central and provincial tourism bureaus. During this phase, tourism planning was not regarded as an important factor in tourism development. The plans could be adjusted at any time. Since 2000, the importance of tourism planning has been gradually recognized throughout China. Following state policies, TBBP has started to put more effort into tourism planning and has changed the name of the plan from 'work plan' to 'development plan'. Also, with the decentralization of planning and administrative power, TBBP has had relatively more power to plan local tourism development.

The Tenth Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (2001-2005) was formulated by government planners in 2001. A 'top-down' official-driven comprehensive planning approach was used in the planning process. The needs to regulate tourism markets and to combat negative impacts of tourism were major concerns during that period. The main parts of the document included present conditions, problems, goals and objectives, future programs, and projects. Tourism potential was indicated to be strong, and tourism achievements and problems encountered during the preceding five years were identified. Problems included lack of infrastructure, poor/inadequate accommodation and tourist facilities, low quality of tourism management, and lack of capital and human resources. Goals of the



plan included the following: 1) strengthening the tourism industry as the pillar industry in the prefecture; 2) balancing tourism development and protection of resources; 3) upgrading the scale and quality of tourism facilities; 4) improving human resource development and interpretation as well as increasing the cultural content of tourism products; and 5) enforcing laws and regulations in order to create an attractive environment for tourism development.

The numbers of visitors and tourism revenue that was to be achieved at the end of 2005 was forecasted. Steps towards achieving these goals included: 1) improving tourism planning, and strengthening rational utilization and protection of resources; 2) increasing tourist sites' infrastructure construction and implementing high-quality tourism projects; 3) diversifying tourism products; 4) enhancing coordination among the different government sectors; 5) upgrading management systems and increasing outside awareness; and 6) establishing a public participation mechanism in tourism, assisting poverty reduction and improvement of local livelihoods, and facilitating protection of resources and ethnic culture through local residents' participation in use and management of tourism resources. Several priority development projects were also planned. The major projects involved upgrading the main tourist attractions, and developing more tourism products and programs. Strengthening the governmental macro-control and policy guidance was viewed as the best way to achieve the objectives. The marketing strategy was a 'united promotion' under the leadership of the government.

The plan suggested the development of Banna in line with the overall layout of 'one tourism centre, three major tourist areas, five selected tourist routes, and eight tourism products'. 'One centre', Jinghong city as the capital of Banna and the arrival point for tourists, was planned to be further developed as a gateway to Southeast Asian countries and as one of China's best tourism cities. Three major tourist areas, Jinghong, Menghai and Mengla, were planned to be further developed and promoted. The Jinghong area was suggested as a showcase of ethnic culture and religious activities as well as a centre for sightseeing, holidays and relaxation. China-Burma cross-border tours and Pu'er tea tours were recommended for the Menghai area. Tropical rainforest tours, adventure tours and ethnic village tours were recommended in the Mengla area. Five tourist routes, including three conventional routes within Banna and two cross-border routes, were identified and were in the process of development and promotion. Eight tourist products were to be developed, including sightseeing tours, ethnic culture tours, honeymoon tours, eco-tours, scientific study tours, border tours, rainforest adventure tours, conference tours. The analyses of the tourism supply side were

strong in the plan; however, the demand side was weak. The plan included social and cultural considerations, but the statements about facilitating local residents' participation in managing tourism resources, and protection of resources and ethnic culture were merely nice words in the document, and no specific actions were recommended to accomplish these objectives. Suggested projects focused on making more tourism products and physical amenities.

The underlying goal of the plan was to increase visitor numbers and tourism revenue. Continuous development was the focus of the plan. The need to balance tourism development and protection of resources was recognized in the plan, but was not addressed in practice. Other items, such as public participation in planning, input from various stakeholders, monitoring and evaluation were not addressed in the plan. Many recommendations in the plan have not been fulfilled in practice, such as rational utilization and protection of resources, establishing a public participation mechanism in tourism, and cross-sectoral collaboration and coordination. According to officials, the achievements in the period of the Tenth plan were improved infrastructure, increased tourism products, accommodation and attractions, and improved tourism marketing through government regulation. Implementation of the plan is not a concern as long as the number of visitors and revenue keep growing. In fact, the decrease of visitor numbers and tourism revenue in 2005 caused anxiety among prefecture governors. As a result, TBBP's work was questioned and they had to adjust the tourism plan to facilitate development. Thus, development became the first priority of the new plan—the Eleventh Plan.

The Prefecture had just completed its Eleventh Five-Year Tourism Development Plan (2006-2010) when the field research was conducted in 2006. Similar to the Tenth Plan, the main parts of this plan included present conditions, problems, goals and objectives, future products and programs, and priority projects. The plan reviewed tourism development during the preceding five years and summarized the achievements and problems encountered. However, it did not address whether the goals of the previous plan had been met. A SWOT analysis of present strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats was undertaken. However, opportunities and threats were not well defined and explained. Economic globalization, construction of a well-off society, the national western development project, regional economic cooperation, and rapid economic development were listed as both opportunities and threats. Strengths consisted of rich tourism resources, good accessibility—such as Jinghong International Airport and border ports with Laos—and good government support

and improved infrastructure. Weaknesses included a weak economic base, lack of capital, fierce competition from nearby destinations, and the long distances from tourist-generating areas.

Promoting tourism development and increasing visitor numbers were the primary goals of the plan. The protection of environment and resources was not the major concern of the plan. Objectives of the plan included improving the quality of tourism products; increasing economic and social gains; promoting sustainable, balanced and healthy development; and establishing tourism as the main industry in the tertiary sector. Five development strategies - making high-quality products and building good brand names, enhancing and diversifying the tourist-generating markets, adding more development projects, regional cooperation, and sustainable development - were recommended. In order to facilitate tourism development, a number of tactics were suggested, such as improving tourism supply by building more tourist attractions and facilities, increasing marketing and promotion, improving human resource development, increasing infrastructure construction, and improving safety and security. Diversification of tourist attractions and amenities, and developing more projects were seen as essential for achieving the goals. In total, 31 priority projects were planned and will be implemented during the 2007 ñ 2010 period. The implementation of the plan cannot yet be determined as it has only just been prepared.

The Eleventh Plan is similar to the Tenth Plan in terms of identified problems and suggested development strategies. However, the Tenth Plan recognized the importance of protection of resources and stressed balancing tourism development and resource protection, while the Eleventh Plan focused on development priorities with little concern for environmental and socio-cultural impacts. Although promoting sustainable, balanced and healthy tourism development was identified as one of objectives of the plan, no specific actions were suggested to achieve the objective. With the implementation of the Eleventh Plan, problems such as resource exploitation and fierce competition among tourism enterprises will likely intensify in the near future. In both plans, ethnic culture was regarded as an important tourism resource to utilize, and ethnic cultural tours were recommended as a type of tourist product, but no specific plans were recommended for ethnic tourism. Developing ethnic souvenirs and village tours were suggested in the priority projects in the Eleventh Plan. However, no plans addressed the role of ethnic communities in tourism development and no suggestions were made about community participation in planning.

#### **10.2.4 Other tourism plans**

This section examines two consultant-made plans. The Master Plan for Tourism Development of Banna (2001-2020) was the first plan formulated by outside tourism experts. An expert-driven comprehensive approach was adopted in the planning process. The plan comprised inventory and evaluation of tourism resources, analysis and forecasting of tourist markets, destination positioning and overall layout design, design of tourism products, and development strategies. A tourism infrastructure construction plan was included as well. Market analysis was a vital component of the document. Goals of the plan included: 1) promoting tourism as the main industry; 2) building a series of high-quality tourist attractions; 3) developing Banna into a world-renowned tourist destination and developing Jinghong into an international tourist city; 4) establishing Banna as a key cross-border tourism destination between China and nearby Southeast Asian countries. The numbers of visitors and tourism revenue to be achieved at the end of 2005, 2010 and 2020 were forecasted. Several suggestions were made to improve supply including: 1) improving the service quality and management of travel agencies, and increased combination of agencies; 2) improving the facilities and service quality of hotels, and prohibiting the building of modern high-rise hotels in tourist attractions; and 3) strengthening the regulation of the souvenir market.

Similar to government plans, the plan suggested the overall layout as one tourism center, three major tourist areas, five selected tourist routes, and eight tourism products. Development of ethnic culture tours was suggested as a type of tourist product, but no specific plans were recommended for ethnic tourism. Preservation and utilization of ethnic culture, customs, traditional architecture, and heritage were brought out in the Plan as important considerations in tourism development. The conservation of the natural environment and biodiversity were also mentioned in the plan. However, although the plan considered social and environmental factors, it did not address how to protect resources and no specific action programs were suggested to realize its goals. It also did not identify major issues in the tourism market. Its goals and suggestions seemed to be ambiguous and fluid. The development strategies were weak because of a lack of specific suggestions. The plan mainly depended on secondary data and lacked sufficient field research and first-hand data. The plan had nice statements about preservation of cultural and natural resources, but no detailed tactics or practical strategies. The plan was derived mainly from the outside experts' perspective with little input of local stakeholders. Community consultation in the planning process was lacking. In fact, the plan had to be revised several times before being accepted by the evaluation committee, and it was

not finalized until 2002. According to officials, the plan has never been implemented due to its poor quality and lack of practical suggestions.

Another consultant-made plan – the Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Great Mekong Subregion (SPBTGMS) mainly focused on developing strategies in tourism cooperation between Banna and the Mekong Region. The document consisted of a strategic plan for tourism cooperation, four small conceptual plans for specific tourism programs, and four research reports covering the tourism development environment, marketing, tourism images and products analysis. A SWOT-PEST analysis was adopted in the strategic plan. A PEST investigation of the political, economic, sociological and technological changes was incorporated into the SWOT analysis. The identified opportunities and threats, and strengths and weaknesses were similar to those of the government plans. The goal of the plan was to facilitate tourism development and cooperation between Banna and other countries in the Mekong Region, to further develop Jinghong as a tourist destination and as a centre of commerce and trade, and to enhance Banna's ability to compete in tourism in the Southeast Asian area as well as within Yunnan Province. In order to achieve the goals, short-term (2004-2005), middle-term (2006-2010) and long-term (2011-2020) action plans were suggested. Establishing cross-border tourist areas and international parks, rebuilding Banna images, developing diverse tourism products, enhancing marketing, improving service quality, and sustainable development were the main development strategies proposed. Developing cultural products was recommended as an important project. Ethnic festivals, minority villages, religious activities and tea culture were outlined as appealing tourist attractions to be further developed.

One small conceptual plan in the SPBTGMS focused on ethnic village tours. The main parts of the plan included the purpose of developing village tours, present conditions and characteristics of ethnic tourist villages, and explanation of issues and dilemmas in village tours. Problems such as low-level/lack of community participation, low economic benefits for the most villages, over-commodification and loss of authenticity in some villages, inadequate operation and management, conflicts among stakeholders, and lack of systemic and scientific planning were identified. The plan also evaluated village resources, and formulated some guiding principles and development strategies. Community participation in tourism was suggested as a strategy. Steps towards achieving community participation included: guiding villagers to become involved in tourism, providing opportunities for villagers to participate in planning, providing education and training opportunities for villagers, establishing eco-museums, training tour guides and so forth. However, no specific

actions were suggested to accomplish these. For example, who should guide villagers and how to involve villagers in tourism were not addressed in the plan. The plan recognized that the community should participate in planning, but no specific recommendations were given concerning what forms this should take.

The village tour plan mainly focused on theoretical and situational analyses, with little consideration of action programs, probably because it is a conceptual plan. Market analysis constitutes a large component of the plan. Although it identified some problems in village tours, it did not address what caused the problems and how to resolve them. It suggested some development principles and strategies, but some conflicts were apparent in the suggested solutions. For instance, the involvement of more minority villagers in tourism is recommended, but it is also suggested that some villagers should be encouraged not to participate in tourism and stay in farming. There is dilemma here regarding who should be involved in tourism and who should stay in farming. It also suggested that more tourist villages should be built, but this contradicts the later recommendation suggesting that most ethnic villages in Banna should not be developed as tourist attractions.

Overall, all plans in the SPBTGMS focused on resources and market analysis with few detailed action programs. The recommendations were mainly derived from an academic perspective with little input of local residents. Nevertheless, the plan provided useful principles and strategies for local tourism development; however, the planning process was driven by the interests of outside consultants who lacked a deep understanding of local conditions. The absence of sufficient field research, lack of consultation among local communities, lack of considerations of practice, and lack of detailed action programs led to failure to implement the plan. According to local officials, the plan is impractical and difficult to implement, but the plan cost local government/taxpayers over 100 million RMB (CAD\$15 million). It is a painful lesson that such a costly plan cannot be implemented or even cannot contribute much to planning practice.

### **10.2.5 Tourism planning issues**

#### **1) Lack of planning expertise**

A lack of specialized tourism planners is one of the major constraints to tourism planning practice in Banna. The relative newness of the tourism sector has led to a shortage of properly trained tourism planning officials and certified consultants. There are few trained planners working in Banna. There is an urgent need for tourism planners. TBBP represents the local authority in planning and

promoting tourism development. However, few officials in TBBP have either tourism or planning degrees. Interviews with government planners revealed that many planners did not understand planning concepts, theories or principles. Few planners could identify any recognized planning approaches or methods. For instance, an official who was the main planner in formulation of the Eleventh Five-year Tourism Plan could not identify any planning approaches or methods he adopted. Instead, he stated:

It does not matter what methods are used as long as the plan reflects our director's vision. The Eleventh Plan is a 'collective' work. I drafted the plan according to the director's intentions, and then revised the plan several times according to comments from my colleagues, associated government sectors and some tourism developers. I just joined TBBP half a year ago, and I do not have much experience in tourism or planning. Frankly, I do not know anything about planning theories or approaches. I do not need to be creative in terms of planning methods. I have a lot of other work to do besides making the plan. I do not know about implementation and monitoring, which are not my responsibility' (Interview with the government planner).

Interviews with other government planners led to similar comments. They commonly stated that they had many job responsibilities besides planning work, and they were not familiar with planning theories or models. When asked about how plans were formulated, a common response was that that plan-making was guided by government policies and considerations of the planners' leaders. A government planner explained:

We are not trained in planning, so we do not know the theories. In our planning practice, we are just technicians to carry out what has been decided by leaders. The planning process can be long (over a year) or short (several months), which depends on what the government wants. Planning is only a small part of our work and we cannot afford to spend much time on it. Once the plan is formulated, planning work is done and nobody really cares about implementation' (Interview with the government planner).

His comments reveal that planning is a pragmatic task in Banna and political loyalty is valued more than professional qualifications in the government system. Neither the quality of the plan nor its implementation appears to be a concern for planners. In the words of one interviewee, 'once the plan is implemented, it is implemented' and the development and its outcomes are left to be borne by the local people and nature. Government planners are not concerned with the consequences of

tourism development. Many planners are also not motivated to improve their planning skills as the quality of the plan is not an important factor in how they evaluate their work. When asked about training opportunities, self-education was a common answer.

Lack of planning expertise was emphasized by the director of TBBP. He indicated that no officials in TBBP are specialized in tourism planning, and few certified planning consultants are available locally. Therefore, they have to seek assistance from outside of the region. However, it is expensive to hire outside consultants to formulate plans, and the fact that consultant-made plans have not contributed much to local practice also has discouraged officials from hiring more consultants. Human resources are a dilemma for the local government. On the one hand, they recognize that government plans need to be improved, but the lack of qualified government planners constrains the quality of plans. On the other hand, the involvement of consultants or tourism experts in local planning does not guarantee the production of workable plans either. Outside consultants tend to stay in Banna for a short time and largely depend on secondary data. Insufficient field research often leads to a superficial understanding of local conditions and underlying issues.

Moreover, consultants' backgrounds and experiences also limit the quality of plans. Many consultants who are tourism scholars from professional research institutes and universities may not have adequate training in tourism planning. Interviews with academic planners and private consultants suggested that many planners do not have sufficient knowledge about planning theories and principles, and they approach tourism planning only from the perspectives of their particular backgrounds. Few academic planners and consultants could identify specific planning theories and approaches, but the marketing approach, economic analysis, and product design, were frequently mentioned by planners. Four tourism experts indicated that they learned tourism planning mainly through participation in practice, and they might have used a planning theory, but they could not name it. Two private consultants stated that they used a marketing approach in the planning process. Four urban planners who were involved in site planning for tourism emphasized that architecture and landscape design were essential in the planning process. In fact, these urban planners have strong backgrounds in architectural design and their plans mainly focus on physical design and infrastructure construction. In recent years, influenced by western architects, some urban planners have started to incorporate environmental consideration into planning, and advocate a harmonious relationship between humanity and nature, and between development and preservation/conservation. However, their disciplinary background limits their visions and approaches. A holistic and



integrated approach is needed in future tourism planning. The collaboration among different types of planners would help to improve tourism planning. The shortage of tourism planning expertise needs to be addressed in tourism education.

## **2) Lack of collaboration**

A lack of collaboration among government agencies, between government and the private sector, between various levels of administration, between planning institutes and the tourism sector, and among tourism planners is a significant obstacle to tourism planning. The lack of collaboration and coordination in the public sector is a major problem in the rigid and sophisticated public administration system in China. The problem is caused by the sectoral planning tradition, which allows many government agencies to plan and implement development projects on their own. This creates a great deal of overlap between projects, and parallel research and redundant projects often take place. For instance, TBBP is responsible for regional tourism planning, while the Construction Bureau of Banna Prefecture (CBBP) also has the responsibility for planning tourist zones, but there is little cooperation between these two bureaus. They formulate tourism plans separately regardless of the overlap between plans for tourist zones and tourism development plans. This not only leads to redundant research and projects, but also creates confusion among tourist sites because site plans have to be approved by both bureaus and each bureau has different requirements. In fact, planning for tourist zones could be incorporated in overall tourism planning. However, CBBP does not want to give up its administrative power over tourist sites. It is a long-standing issue between TBBP and CBBP regarding who should plan and supervise the sites.

Traditionally, CBBP has been a powerful bureau in China and takes charges of urban planning and construction projects. With the further economic reforms and emergence of more government agencies, its planning power has been reduced gradually. Particularly, since DRB has taken charge of socio-economic planning, all master plans for important state-sponsored projects such as land-use plans, transportation plans and infrastructure plans, which used to be controlled by CBBP, need to be approved by DRB. However, CBBP is not willing to hand over its power to DRB, which leads to tensions between the two bureaus and difficulties for project implementation. Many site managers complained that the government sector worked very rigidly and inefficiently, and it was very time-consuming to get a project implemented because they had to wait for a long time to get plans approved by many government agencies. If one of the agencies does not support the plan, it may not be fully implemented. Some non-local investors give up their projects due to disappointment with

the inefficient operation of local government agencies. The rigid public administration system results in a sluggish and ineffective planning process.

Even within the tourism sector, fragmented planning and development commonly occur. For instance, management of 5, 4 and 3 star hotels, travel agencies, 4A and 3A rated attractions, large souvenir shops and tour guides is controlled by TBBP, while 2 and 1 star hotels, 2A and 1A rated attractions, and small souvenir shops are regulated by city and county tourism bureaus. Moreover, non-star hotels, guest houses, recreation facilities and restaurants are under the jurisdiction of the local government. Furthermore, restaurants and souvenir shops are also licensed and regulated by the Industry and Commerce Bureau (ICB). However, there is relatively little cooperation between these agencies, which creates many administrative problems. For example, the unsolved issue of fake souvenirs is in part a result of weak cooperative efforts. Souvenir shops are under the jurisdiction of several agencies including the local government, TBBP and ICB, but no agency wants to take responsibility to solve the issue. Under public pressure, cooperative actions have been taken several times to eliminate fake souvenirs, but lack of long-term collaboration among these agencies leads to reemergence of fake souvenirs.

Planning for ethnic tourism presents more difficulties as it involves many agencies. According to legislation, the Tourism Bureau is responsible for tourism development, while the Cultural Bureau is responsible for cultural development and preservation, the Ethnic Minority and Religious Bureau (EMRB) takes charge of ethnic culture and religious activities, and the Cultural Relics Bureau (CRB) regulates artifacts and cultural heritage. Ideally, planning would be much more efficient and less costly if cooperative planning occurred between the agencies. Although the local government has advocated a combined development between the tourism and cultural industries, there is little cooperation among these agencies. Conflicts among agencies often occur in terms of prioritizing resources, allocating funds and demanding more power. The fragmented responsibilities of these agencies are a significant obstacle to ethnic tourism planning. Collaboration among these agencies is an essential condition for successful ethnic tourism planning.

Coordination among the different government sectors was explicitly stated as a requirement both in the *Tourism Development Planning Regulation* issued by CNTA and in the prefecture's Tenth Five-year Tourism Plan, but recommendations were not given as to how this could be done. Officials in different agencies commonly acknowledged that cooperation between tourism and other economic

sectors needed to be improved for successful tourism development (Interviews with local officials, 2006). However, it is difficult to achieve cooperative planning because no agency is willing to initiate the collaboration. The lack of communication and cooperation among government agencies, between government and the private sector, between various levels of administration, between planning institutes and the tourism sector, and among tourism planners strongly hinders the effective formulation and implementation of tourism plans. Effective collaboration would result in more efficient planning and harmonious development between tourism and other economic activities.

### **3) Lack of community participation and little input from various stakeholders**

Community participation in planning is still a new concept in China despite the fact that participatory planning has started to emerge in a few planning practices conducted by academic planners. Community involvement in planning in a consultative manner is still lacking in Banna. Interviews with government and private planners revealed that there was a general lack of understanding about the nature of public participation in tourism planning. Many local planning authorities considered the participation of major local tourism developers, influential tourism entrepreneurs or well-educated, university-affiliated researchers as sufficient community involvement.

A number of planners pointed out that public participation is not suitable locally due to reasons such as the inability of local people to participate in planning, lack of financial support and technical guidance. As an official commented,

Public participation is a good concept, but it is not practical in the Chinese context. There are so many local residents, it is problematic, if not impossible, to involve the general public. Selecting the public representatives is easier said than done. How to select, who should be selected, and would the local person be interested in planning? Many local people are merely concerned with their personal present interests and they do not think in the long term. Moreover, we do not have funds for public participation (Interviews with officials, 2006).

When asked about whether or not ethnic community members were involved in planning, a planner responded that minority people generally lack education and knowledge about tourism planning, and they cannot provide valuable insights into planning; thus it is not necessary to involve them. It is a common perception among planners that local residents, particularly minority people, lack education and, hence, lack the ability to participate in the planning process. Several planners pointed

out that many locals are concerned only about the here and now, and they do not have the interest or abilities for long-term planning. This may be true for some people not involved in the tourism sector, but the surveys results discussed earlier demonstrate that a considerable number of locals are interested in participating and they also can provide insightful views. Local communities are not viewed as being important stakeholders in tourism development by many officials and planners. Minority people are regarded by many planners as ignorant about tourism planning, while minority culture and heritage are viewed as important tourism resources that should be utilized in tourism development. Many planners realize the need to utilize local minority labour in order to facilitate tourism development. Officials are comfortable with the opportunities given to minority people to benefit from tourism development. However, the unbalanced relationship between non-local investors and minority people are ignored in tourism planning, and the problem how to involve local communities in planning and benefit-sharing are not a concerned of the planners. Locals neither have opportunities to present their problems and concerns to the government and planners, nor access to the planning documents.

One official agreed that local people should be involved more in planning, but he admitted that this is rarely done because it requires significant amounts of time and funds. Despite recent scholarly recognition of the need to integrate grassroots input into tourism planning, few local tourism plans mentioned the need or intention to include locals in planning and decision making. The role of local residents in tourism development is rarely addressed in the plans, although a number of planners mentioned in the interviews that the role of local residents was to create a pleasant atmosphere for tourists. The Tenth Five-year Tourism Plan included the concept of public participation, but it only referred to participation in use and management of tourism resources. No mention was made of involving locals in planning. Establishing public participation mechanisms in tourism is merely cosmetic on the part of the government. Although community participation in village tours was suggested in the Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Great Mekong Subregion, no specific actions were recommended to accomplish this goal.

The local government appears to be concerned with what the private sector and tourism entrepreneurs perceive as problems and issues that need to be addressed in tourism development. However, according to entrepreneurs, the involvement of selected entrepreneurs in the planning process is merely a token inclusion. It is entirely up to the government's discretion, whether or not concerns of entrepreneurs will be addressed. A manager of a travel agency indicated that, although

government representatives met with the managers of local tourism enterprises to resolve some issues, nothing ever resulted from the meetings. Several entrepreneurs stated that government consultation with them is just talking; they do not take any actions.

Tourists are also not viewed as important stakeholders in tourism planning. Surveying tourists' opinions is generally lacking in the planning process. A small tourist survey has been found only in the Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Greater Mekong Subregion. However, the survey only lasted 6 days and achieved 264 respondents, which did not fully reveal tourists' expectations and concerns. The input of tourists is not a major concern for many local planners, although a few planners realized that tourists could provide insight to help improve tourism planning. Meeting tourists' demands and increasing visitor numbers are of concern to tourism officials, but little effort has been made to gather tourists' comments and concerns. Tourists are not consulted for planning. Although a number of planners acknowledged that little was known about tourists' perspectives and expressed an interest in knowing more about market characteristics, they also indicated that a limited budget would hinder the tourist survey.

Many local planners still lack of awareness of the capacity of various stakeholders to make important contributions to planning and development, regardless of their social status and level of education. The input from diverse stakeholders is valuable in tourism planning. As demonstrated in the results of the surveys discussed earlier, local communities, tourists, tourism entrepreneurs and employees, and local organizations all can offer a great deal of insights into what issues should be addressed in tourism planning and what improvements need to be made in future development.

#### **4) Constraints of cultural traditions and political barriers**

The traditional Chinese cultural attributes of deference to authority and the hierarchical social structure have a significant impact on local planning practice. Traditionally, public involvement in the planning and decision making process was rare in China. Common people were discouraged from pronouncing their opinions on governmental projects. It is still the case in many areas of China today. A top-down decision-making process still dominates the government's administration system. The general public have been kept away from participating in political decision-making. Despite the rapid socio-economic changes brought by political and economic reforms, a traditional perspective on power remains strong in Banna. Often, bureaucrats make decisions and the people are informed as to what to do and what will occur. Democracy is not encouraged. Tourism planning is still mainly

a government function in Banna. The local government plays a fundamental role in planning processes, and public voices are rarely taken into consideration. In interviews, most officials showed indifference to public participation. The surveys revealed that many local people still lack awareness of participation in planning and decision making. Many planners believed that the decisions should be made by the government on behalf of local people for the common good of society. Several local tourism scholars suggested that it is the government's responsibility to decide and plan for tourism development and involving locals might not be necessary.

A considerable number of government officials in Banna are Han people from other areas of Yunnan. These officials occupy the most important government positions and plan the future development of Banna. They commonly prefer the expeditious, outward manifestations of physical development in order to demonstrate their achievements, and thus to soon get promoted to higher positions. As mentioned earlier, most government officials are still appointed rather than elected in China. Local economic performance and political loyalty are most important criteria in the evaluation of officials (Zhang, 2002). Therefore, economic development becomes a high priority for bureaucrats. Under the guidance of these officials, many local plans concentrate on short-term economic profits regardless of the consequent long-term environmental, social and cultural costs for the local people and nature (interviews with planners, 2006). Moreover, a number of officials pointed out that many redundant and 'useless' projects have been initiated and implemented due to different preferences of governors. These projects have consumed a large amount of local natural and human resources without contributing to the local economy. The 'Mengbala-naxi' show discussed in chapter seven is one of these projects. The show has helped non-local investors make large profits at the expense of local society. It is a substantial problem in Banna that when a new governor or party leader takes power, plans are often redone and new projects are initiated without carefully taking into account local conditions. This has led to a significant waste of local revenue and resources, and has also created more problems for vulnerable local economies.

In tourism development, building more attractions and physical infrastructure are always the focus of tourism planning. The need to increase the total number of visitors, their daily expenditures and length of stay are primary concerns of tourism officials. According to planners, major decisions are usually made by the directors rather than professionals. Planners are just technicians who carry out decisions made by power holders rather than participants in decision making. In interviews, the directors complained that they only have limited power and the governors are the main decision

makers. Tourism development seems to be controlled by a few top local officials. The major role of planners appears to be to implement what has been decided by top officials rather than suggesting and planning what should be done. As visitor numbers and tourism revenues are important indicators of tourism development, planners often have to make excessively optimistic forecasts of tourism growth.

According to a planner, the tourism growth rate is usually determined by the key officials and they do not need to use any scientific methods (e.g., statistical modeling and forecasting) to forecast growth. In fact, using statistical forecasting would produce a lower growth rate and less visitor numbers (but would be more accurate), and hence it is not encouraged. The actual growth rate rarely can be found to match the forecasted numbers, but it seems that nobody cares about this issue because after three or five years, old officials move to other positions and new officials will initiate new plans and start new projects. Many new officials do not have planning experience, but they control planning work and often ignore planners' advice. In the words of planners, "Ignorance directs professionals". This is a serious problem in Banna as well as in other areas of China. Many main decision-makers who lack professional expertise initiate many redundant development projects based on their short-term goals or personal interests without regard for actual local needs, which wastes a large amount of capital and resources. According to an official, the purpose of circulation of officials in different government agencies is to reduce corruption. However, it also creates difficulties for professional work as many decision makers are not willing to listen to subordinates.

Cases of the interference of political power in planning can be easily found in Banna. A sad example is that an illegal plan was approved and implemented under the pressure of political power. A plan was proposed to build a luxury guesthouse in a park for the reception of central officials in 2005. Banna Ethnic Garden was chosen as the best place for the guesthouse because of its good location (in downtown Jinghong city), beautiful scenery and tranquil environment. As mentioned in chapter three, the garden is a cultural park, which was prosperous in the 1990s but it has been almost dead since 2000. The park was built on a natural reserve, which has many fruit trees and well-preserved endangered trees. According to the plan, close to one-third of the land of the park was used to build the hotel, which led to severe deforestation – hundreds of trees including endangered species were cut down. All local planners were against the plan and refused to sign the document in the plan evaluation meeting. However, the plan was still implemented. At the time this research was conducted, the hotel was completed and this only left anger and disappointment among planners. A

planner questioned sadly, 'Where can we find such a large amount of trees in the downtown of a city? What can be left to our descendants in the hands of these ignorant officials? What can we [planners] do?' It is sad that invaluable endangered trees were destroyed only to please central authorities. The environmental impact and planners' concerns were not taken into account in the decision-making process.

Private planners from national or provincial levels have relatively more freedom in planning than government planners. However, they face the same challenge of political interference, and often they have to make compromises between planning principles and bureaucrats' demands because the plans are made by and for the government. Planners are contracted with the government only temporally and it is easy to lose the contract if the plans do not meet the government's requirements. For academic planners, participation in planning practice is just a way to make extra money to supplement their incomes. Many planners indicated that planning is merely a result of balancing different interests and tradeoffs among powerful stakeholders. Planning ethics are often challenged by political power and social rules. Many planners struggle with solutions. A planner commented,

'Plans we make usually go through revision and evaluation several times, and thus the documents seem to be scientific and professional. However, all planners know that the plans are just tradeoffs among powers. Each planner wants to have achievements in the planning domain, but when we strive to establish our careers, I am wondering what our responsibility is as planners? Are we artisans or social workers, or just pens manipulated in the hands of officials? We take taxpayers' money, but whom should we serve - the general public or a few powerful groups? Somebody said that 'planning requires truth from those in authority', which needs much courage and wisdom. We [planners] should take this phrase as our motto or work principle, and we should become idealists rather than realists. Howard was an idealist and hence he produced the 'Garden City'. When can China have its own influential planners? During over twenty years of planning practice in China, we [planners] designed innumerable cities, communities, business centers and tourist zones, but do we have any new planning theories? No. Most plans, including master plans and detailed construction plans, are merely simple duplications of one another. Although the planning languages and terms have changed frequently, the contents are always the same. Why is this? I think this is because planners and designers have already lost their idealist vision, and only concentrate on reality and practical matters. Too many plans were produced only by a few people's



‘brain storms’. How can local people be satisfied by this kind of planning? I feel bad about the truth in planning practice, but if we do not follow the social rules, we can be kicked out easily. There are so many challenges in planning practice and it is hard to overcome them’ (Interview with a planner, 2006).

His comments reflect common challenges in Chinese planning practice and dilemmas encountered by Chinese planners. As most planners are government employees, they are tied to or rely on the authority in many ways, such as for income, health care and housing. Threatened by unemployment, planners may have to take orders from their directors (Zhang, 2002). Although the relevance of planning ethics has been realized by a few planners, political loyalty still significantly influences planning practice. Ideally, planning work serves the general public and the common good of society, but, in reality, it serves only a few interest groups or powerful stakeholders. Common people are generally excluded from the planning and decision-making process. The public’s perspective is not encouraged by the authorities. The overcoming of political interference in planning and bureaucrats’ domination of decision making is a big challenge.

##### **5) Lack of effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision**

The absence of effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision is one of the major problems facing tourism planning practice. The ‘top-down’ rigid planning framework, lack of sufficient scientific research, and ignoring local conditions and communities’ needs have led to poor quality and weak implementation of the plans. Planning is seen as a ‘one-time’ activity rather than a dynamic and continuous process by many planners. According to planners, the focus is on developing the planning documents in order to get more financial assistance from higher levels of the government, rather than on acting on the plan. Once a plan is formulated, approved by the evaluation committee and accepted by the government, the planning process is almost over. In fact, sending the document to the People’s Congress for review is merely a ritual. Once the evaluation committee approves the plan, it will be accepted by the government and the People’s Congress sooner or later.

Monitoring and evaluation are often missing in the planning process. Ideally, the delegates of the People’s Congress have the legal ‘right’ to monitor and evaluate the projects, but monitoring and evaluation rarely occur in practice as the ‘right’ is merely tokenism. The evaluation committee evaluates only the planning documents rather than the implementation. The quality and implementability of planning mainly depend on the skills and ethics of planners as well as the

support of key officials. If officials do not support planning efforts, the plans never can be fully implemented. Lack of effective planning supervision has led to many problems such as power abuse and corruption. Some private planners indicated that they did not want to work in Banna because there is not much to plan, not only because of a weak economic base but also because of strong intervention by local officials. In many small towns of Banna, mayors or party leaders are the only authorities, and planning principles and regulations are often ignored. As a result, planning becomes merely a political tool to satisfy power holders at the expense of society.

Although the delegates of the People's Congress are supposed to supervise the planning, their supervision remains on paper more than in practice because the delegates have much less power than the administrative officials. Ideally, the Development and Reform Bureau (DRB) also should supervise planning, but their supervision is weak due to the fragmented responsibilities among government agencies. According to officials in the DRB, they are trying to control the quality of important socio-economic and tourism plans, but it is difficult to ask other agencies to improve the plans as these agencies have the same level of administrative power. An official did find some low quality plans and asked the agencies to revise the plans, but the plans were sent back with little revision and directors of the DRB approved the plans. This official was concerned about the outcomes of implementing the low quality plans, but she also indicated that she could not do anything to stop it. The top-down decision making process and power abuse have led to weak supervision. Although some officials admitted that planning supervision should be strengthened in order to avoid redundant projects and protect local resources, it is hard to change the current planning system overnight. Political reforms may be needed to change rigid and hierarchical bureaucratic systems, which probably will require several generations' efforts to effect, as commented by an entrepreneur.

## **6) Other issues**

Other issues such as lack of funds and planning budgets are also identified by officials and planners. Financial limitations have led to insufficient research, limited consultation and public participation, which result in a lower quality of planning. In interviews, an official stated, 'the local government is so poor that we do not have the budget for the public consultation meeting'. The director of TBBP also indicated that the bureau was short of funds to make good plans, and it was very costly to hire outside consultants to formulate plans. Poor economic conditions and limited budget have been pointed out as major obstacles to local planning and development. Several private planners thought

small budgets provided by the local government restricted their length of stay in the area, and hence limited the field research and quality of planning. Restricted planning funds are the cause of short-term projects, which means the focus of planners is on making the best use of limited financial resources and pursuing immediate profits; but another effect of short-term planning is that plans are little concerned with the long-term impact of projects on the environment and local people. Limited funds also restrict the plan implementation as most money is allocated for plan and policy formulation, and there is little capital left to implement the recommendations. Lack of monitoring and evaluation is also attributed to poor economic conditions because there is usually no budget for monitoring and evaluating the project.

Another obstacle to planning is lack of understanding of the importance of tourism planning. The local government still does not fully recognize the important role of planning in directing tourism development, and tourism planning is not regarded as important work in TBBP. This can be seen because neither a specific Planning Department nor specialized government planners exist in TBBP. Only a small department in TBBP is responsible for tourism marketing and planning, but its main responsibility is to develop marketing strategies and promote tourism images of Banna. Tourism planning is only a trivial component of the department work. The department has five people, but only one official is responsible for preparing tourism plans. The Eleventh Five-Year Tourism Plan was formulated by an official who is not specialized in planning or tourism development; this reveals the government's attitude of indifference towards planning. Interviews also reveal that there is general misunderstanding of the nature of tourism planning. For many officials, planning is about formulation of ambitious goals, objectives and projects, and fulfilment of goals and objectives are often overlooked. As the director of TBBP commented, 'I like to talk about planning. It is good to describe the bright future of tourism rather than discussing tourism issues, and we do not need to worry about actualizing our statements'. Owing to this misunderstanding, it is not surprising that the failure of plan implementation does not draw much attention.

Plan analyses and interviews reveal that, to date, no specific ethnic tourism planning has occurred. Although utilizing ethnic resources including ethnic culture, heritages and handicrafts, and developing cultural products such as ethnic souvenirs and village tours have been advocated by planners, ethnic tourism is only regarded as one aspect of tourism development or a type of tourist product. In the Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Tourism Plans, ethnic tourism was suggested as worthy of promotion as a cultural product among eight types of tourist products, but there was no

specific practical plan for how to do it. There is only a conceptual plan about ethnic village tours in the Strategic Plan for Banna Tourism in the Greater Mekong Subregion. However, the plan mainly focuses on a theoretical analysis of resources and the market with few recommendations on action programs, and thus it is too vague to be implemented.

Interviews also suggest that there is lack of awareness of the possibilities of ethnic tourism planning. Several officials stated that 'it is not necessary to formulate ethnic tourism plans as ethnic cultural tours are already included in tourism development plans'. However, current tourism planning generally does not address tensions and issues in ethnic tourism such as exploitation of ethnic resources, marginalization of minority people and unequal benefit-sharing, nor are there any strategies to resolve these issues and promote healthy and harmonious development. Although the preservation of ethnic culture and conservation of ethnic heritage are mentioned in some plans, these statements only remain on paper and have not been put into practice since no specific actions are recommended to accomplish these statements. As ethnic resources have been, and continue to be exploited by profit-driven non-local investors, ethnic tourism planning is in an urgent need to balance ethnic tourism development and protection and preservation of ethnic resources. Specific ethnic tourism plans need to be developed in order to preserve ethnic culture and heritage, improve the marginalized position of minority people, and mitigate challenging issues in ethnic tourism.

#### **10.2.6 Summary**

Tourism planning in Banna has focused on economic priorities and investment incentives with little concern about local carrying capacities and negative impacts. Meeting the needs of tourists and increasing economic benefits directs tourism planning and development. Many tourism projects have been undertaken without the careful planning, which has led to severe environmental and socio-cultural costs for the local people. Tourism planning is currently driven by bureaucratic aspirations and the interests of capital rather than communities' needs and professional knowledge. Both the communities' voices and planners' concerns are essentially ignored in the decision-making process. In many cases, planning is merely a political tool to satisfy power holders at the expense of public benefits. Although the preservation of ethnic culture and the conservation of the natural environment and biodiversity are addressed in some tourism plans, these statements remain as merely nice words in planning documents and no specific actions are recommended to accomplish these goals. There are large gaps between government policy and planning practice, and between the

goals of the plans and the actualization of these goals. More efficient and effective planning should be developed in the future.

## Chapter Eleven Discussions and Conclusions

In this chapter, major research findings and recommendations relevant to the research objectives and questions are reiterated and implications for tourism planning are identified. Also, recommendations for future planning practice are provided. Contributions and limitations of the research are discussed as well. Finally, directions for future research are suggested.

### **11.1 Primary research questions, findings, and recommendations**

The goal of this research is to identify the main socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism that need to be addressed through more effective tourism planning. The following objectives were formulated and employed to guide the research in addressing the research goal.

1. To examine the perceptions and objectives of the main stakeholders (governments, tourism entrepreneurs, ethnic people and tourists) towards ethnic tourism in Xishuangbanna (hereafter, *Banna*);
2. To examine ethnic tourism plans and the planning process in Banna;
3. To identify key socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism in Banna that need to be addressed through planning;
4. To explore implications of the case study findings for the planning of future ethnic tourism developments elsewhere in China.

This section provides a brief summary of major research findings and recommendations relevant to the research objectives and questions.

*Question 1. Who/what organizations are responsible for the planning and development of ethnic tourism at the study site? What are their specific roles and responsibilities? How are they involved in ethnic tourism planning and development?*

The government is the key player in directing ethnic tourism development through policies and regulation of tourism investment, production and consumption. They function as planners for tourism development, regulators in the tourism market, coordinators between competing interests, and arbiters of relationships among producers, marketers and consumers. The Tourism Bureau of Banna Prefecture (TBBP) is the main governmental bureau that is in charge of the tourism sector in the Banna region and responsible for the planning and development of ethnic tourism. The main

responsibilities of TBBP include: planning for regional tourism development, the formulation of tourism development policies and master plans, overseeing tourism sites, accommodation and travel agencies, monitoring and regulation of the tourism market and tourist service quality. The government of Banna Prefecture and TBBP are involved in ethnic tourism planning and development through formulating tourism policies, regulations and development plans, designating scenic spots and ethnic villages, and investing in road infrastructure and tourism facilities.

Tourism entrepreneurs also play a significant role in developing ethnic tourism with the assistance of preferential governmental policies. They tend to cooperate with the government to gain political and/or economic capital. Many entrepreneurs are Han people from outside of the Banna region and they are involved in ethnic tourism through investment and establishment of tour companies, hotels and folk villages. These entrepreneurs, as stockholders and managers, tend to dominate tourism businesses, the park operation, site development and the allocation of benefits. They take control of the use and commodification of ethnic resources and cultures, and determine the forms of cultural expression in the tourist zones. Although a small number of tourism developers have been involved in local tourism planning, they do not play a significant role in the planning process as their suggestions and concerns have limited impact on governmental planning and decision making.

*Question 2. What planning theories (if any) and approaches have been used by the authorities when developing ethnic tourism in Banna? What is the scope and content of relevant ethnic tourism plans?*

An examination of tourism planning in Banna indicates that few planners could identify any recognized planning theories, approaches or methods. Government planners are generally technicians who carry out what has been decided by top officials, whereas academic planners and consultants approach tourism planning mainly from the perspectives of their particular backgrounds. Neither the quality of the plan nor its implementation appears to be a concern for planners. A top-down rational approach is commonly adopted in tourism development. This planning approach considers primarily economic and, to a lesser extent, social and/or environmental factors, and examines major aspects of the tourism sector with an emphasis on economic development and infrastructure construction. Strategic planning also has been gradually incorporated into local planning practice, under the influence of western planning approaches. The planning process usually includes several steps: reviewing past achievements and analyzing current conditions, identifying

goals and objectives, developing strategies, synthesis and formulation of the plan, and implementation of the plan. Tourism officials or private planners typically dominate the planning process, while local residents and minority people are generally excluded. No public consultation meetings are available and the general public does not have access to plan documents. Local authorities are responsible for implementing the plans. Monitoring and evaluation are often overlooked in the planning process.

To date, no specific ethnic tourism planning has occurred beyond site-specific plans for particular developments. Although the utilization of ethnic resources and the development of ethnic cultural products have been advocated in tourism plans, ethnic tourism is regarded only as one aspect of tourism development or a type of tourist product. Current tourism planning generally does not address tensions and issues in ethnic tourism such as exploitation of ethnic resources, marginalization of minority people and unequal benefit-sharing, nor are there any strategies to resolve these issues and to promote healthy and harmonious development. As ethnic resources have been and continue to be exploited by profit-driven outside investors, ethnic tourism planning is urgently needed to balance the inputs into tourism development and to protect of ethnic resources.

*Question 3. What are the expectations and perceptions of tourists towards ethnic tourism at the study site? What are the primary motivations of tourists for visiting in Banna? How do they feel about ethnic products, services, and their experiences in Banna?*

Cultural exoticism of ethnic groups and the subtropical landscape are the primary motivations of tourists for visiting Banna. Tourists are attracted to exotic otherness in ethnic villages, 'primitive' customs and examples of 'pre-modern' culture. However, the majority of tourists are on package tours and they usually lack the time, knowledge and depth of experience to appreciate the intricate aspects of ethnic culture. The encounters between tourists and hosts tend to be very brief and simple and, hence, tourists only have superficial experiences of ethnic culture and customs. Tourists generally have little knowledge of ethnic culture and they judge authenticity depending on stereotyped images portrayed in the mass media. Thus, tourists' perceptions of authenticity are blurred and fluid. Most tourists are satisfied with the ethnic products, staged authenticity, and their experiences in Banna, while a small number prefer a more 'authentic' experience in a natural setting. Cultural commodification is, to some extent, acceptable for tourists, but over-commercialized



cultural performances or activities result in discontent among tourists, particularly western tourists, and can devalue local traditions. The service quality of tour guides, counterfeit souvenirs, tourism facilities and road infrastructure also negatively affect tourists' satisfaction with their experiences and impede local tourism development.

*Question 4. What are the attitudes and perceptions of Banna ethnic minorities towards ethnic tourism development in their region? How do they perceive the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic tourism on their community? What involvement do ethnic communities have in the planning and development process in Banna?*

Ethnic minorities generally support ethnic tourism development in their region and, particularly, they embrace economic development through ethnic tourism. Most minority people are positive about the socio-cultural impacts of ethnic tourism on their community, while a small number perceive some negative aspects, such as increased cultural assimilation and negatively impacted folk customs and local festivals/cultural events. Young minority people are more concerned about employment and income than cultural issues, while older minority people tend to be concerned about cultural change and the decline in religious beliefs and minority languages. Ethnic communities are excluded from the tourism planning process and have little voice in tourism plans. In spite of the fact that there is wide ethnic involvement in tourism development, most minority people employed in tourism hold only low-paying jobs. Ideally they should have more power in the presentation of their own cultures and the management of ethnic tourism.

*Question 5. Based on the answers to above questions, what socio-cultural issues of ethnic tourism need to be addressed by planning? What planning strategies need to be developed to deal with these issues? What recommendations can be developed to facilitate the development of ethnic tourism?*

The development and promotion of ethnic tourism involves a number of socio-cultural issues or contradictions, including preservation of the culture of ethnic minorities, the use of tourism as a form of economic development, and the need to provide a tourism experience that meets visitor expectations and that also provides adequate economic returns from products that are deemed appropriate by the host community. These socio-cultural issues should be addressed by the planning process. Particularly, the balance between the use of tourism as a form of economic development and preservation of ethnic culture needs to be addressed directly in tourism planning. In ethnic

tourism, exotic ethnic culture is identified as the main attraction and the most vulnerable resource, which requires a specific cultural consideration in the planning process. However, tourism planning in Banna traditionally follows an economic rationale and focuses on investment incentives regardless of environmental and socio-cultural implications. Although environmental impacts are increasingly being integrated into the planning considerations, socio-cultural issues are still often overlooked in the planning process. Therefore, planners should conduct tourism impact assessment research regularly to identify and alleviate issues caused by ethnic tourism development, particularly in terms of the socio-cultural impacts on ethnic minorities. Tourism sites need careful planning to present high quality experiences to visitors without causing severe negative impacts. The impacts can be significantly reduced with adoption of appropriate conservation plans for guiding development work with monitoring to track socio-cultural changes in ethnic communities. Monitoring the impacts of development, its successes or failures, should be done periodically in order to determine if countermeasures are needed to rectify the situation and mitigate negative impacts. More detailed recommendations for facilitating the development of ethnic tourism are provided in section 4.

## **11.2 Discussions**

The conceptual framework proposed in chapter two is a useful tool to guide research on ethnic tourism, addressing socio-cultural issues and development strategies. The framework consists of three parts: (1) key stakeholders of ethnic tourism; (2) socio-cultural issues; and (3) potential resolutions. Four key groups of stakeholders have been identified as units of analysis: the government (at various levels), tourism entrepreneurs, ethnic minorities and tourists. The research compared and evaluated their perspectives on ethnic tourism and their assessment of ethnic cultural commodification, representation and authenticity. Each of the four stakeholder groups has different motives, goals and objectives for ethnic tourism as well as different status and power in influencing outcomes.

Banna, Yunnan, China was selected as the study site because it is a spectacular area with great ethnic diversity. It is home to 13 officially recognized ethnic groups and it is one of the earliest developed and most well-known ethnic tourist destinations in China. It provides a rich site to study the dynamic relationships among ethnic tourism, modernization and cultural commodification, and associated socio-cultural issues. Ethnic tourism started in the early 1980s after Banna was designated as one of forty-four national-level scenic sites by the state in 1982. Numerous scenic

spots and folk villages were established as the local government appropriated the lands and designated villages for the creation of tourist zones. The tourism sector achieved significant progress during the 1990s and tourism has become one of the region's leading industries. However, the tourism sector has stagnated since 2000 due to many underlying issues in local tourism planning and management.

This research analyzed how ethnic tourism had been planned and developed in Banna, examined the associated socio-cultural and planning issues in ethnic tourism, and explored the tourism impacts in Banna through on-site observation, interviews with government officials, planners and tourism entrepreneurs, surveys of tourists and ethnic minority people, and evaluation of government policies, plans and statistics. The perceptions and objectives of four key stakeholder groups involved in ethnic tourism were examined and discussed. The findings suggest that stakeholders hold different positions with respect to ethnic tourism, and they put different emphases in tourism planning and development. For example, the government focuses on state regulation of tourism development, whereas tourism businesses prioritize profit-generation. Tourists are attracted to the exotic cultures of ethnic minorities, while minority people prioritize economic improvement and improvements in their lifestyle.

The contradiction between the tourists' quest for exotic culture and the minorities' desire for a modern life is evident in tourist villages. While ethnic tourism promotes economic development and the pursuit of modernity among minority people, it also produces a dilemma for its own development. Tourists want to see traditional versions of minority culture, and to experience unadulterated everyday village life, but with dramatic changes to the architecture and lifestyles of minority people, folk villages are losing attractiveness to visitors.

The research reveals that development of ethnic tourism, as part of the government's modernization agenda, is a strategy for assisting minorities to participate in China's market economy. Thus, economic advantages have been a driving force in promoting ethnicity for commodification. Traditional ethnic culture is being utilized by the tourism industry as a resource for attracting tourists and investments, and for promoting cultural development and ethnic unity. However, although minorities are encouraged to preserve their culture and to maintain ethnic characteristics, not all aspects of ethnic culture are accepted and supported in the process of cultural revival and ethnic tourism development. Cultural differences from the Han (which provides a standard for

comparison), exotic cultural images and the charming customs of ethnic minorities are the main features that have been promoted.

The state, the commercial tourism industry and minorities all engage in selecting and sifting aspects of ethnic culture to produce 'authentic' cultural images acceptable to the needs of tourism development. However, the findings indicate that unequal power relationships exist among government, tourism entrepreneurs and ethnic groups. The government and tourism entrepreneurs are the main powers in developing ethnic tourism, but most of them are not ethnic members. Their administrative and commercial involvement in tourism strongly shape the ways of staging, packaging and representing ethnic culture in tourist sites, and further influences tourism practices of minorities. Authenticity of ethnic culture is not determined by resource providers, the ethnic minorities, but by the government and entrepreneurs. The commodification of ethnic culture and the production of cultural events and tourist products are manipulated to fit the interests of business and political mandates. Minority people are usually marginalized or disadvantaged economically and politically because they have limited control over tourism resources and activities.

The findings also reflect that the production and commodification of ethnic culture are often accompanied by contradictions between economic, political and cultural goals. The government encourages both market-oriented tourism development and the preservation of cultural diversity and ethnic distinctiveness. However, business interests often conflict with the goal of preserving and developing culture. Economic motives often outweigh other goals in tourism development. The contradictions between commodification and the preservation of ethnic cultural authenticity, and between conservation and change in the process of development are evident in ethnic tourism. Thus, a delicate balance between development and preservation, and between authenticity and commodification still needs to be achieved.

### **11.3 Implications for tourism planning**

A review of tourism planning in Banna identified a number of planning issues and challenges: 1) lack of planning expertise, 2) lack of collaboration among government agencies and between government and the private sector, 3) lack of community participation and little input from various stakeholders, 4) constraints of cultural traditions and political barriers, 5) lack of effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision, and 6) other issues. A lack of specialized tourism planners is one of the major constraints to tourism planning practice. The relative newness of the tourism

sector has led to a shortage of properly trained tourism planning officials and certified or experienced consultants. A lack of collaboration among government agencies, between government and the private sector, between various levels of administration, between planning institutes and the tourism sector, and among planners is a significant obstacle to tourism planning. The lack of collaboration and coordination in the public sector creates a great deal of parallel research and redundant projects, resulting in the waste of local resources.

The traditional Chinese cultural attributes of deference to authority and the hierarchical social structure have hindered public participation in planning. A top-down decision-making process still dominates the public administration system. The general public have been kept away from participating in political decision-making. Tourism planning is mainly a government function, and other public voices are rarely taken into consideration. Public participation in planning is not perceived as suitable locally, and many officials and planners still lack awareness of the capacity of various stakeholders to make important contributions to planning and development. Effective monitoring, evaluation and supervision are often missing in the planning process. The delegates of the People's Congress have the legal right to monitor and evaluate the projects and supervise the planning, but monitoring, evaluation and supervision rarely occur in practice as the 'right' is merely tokenism and the delegates have little power to exercise their rights.

Other issues such as lack of funds and planning budgets, lack of understanding of the importance of tourism planning, and lack of awareness of the possibilities of ethnic tourism planning also constrain tourism planning and development. Financial limitations have led to insufficient research, and limited consultation and public participation, which result in a lower quality of planning. The local government still does not fully recognize the important role of planning in tourism development, and tourism planning is not regarded as important work locally.

Overall, the findings reveal that local tourism planning has focused on economic priorities and investment incentives with little concern about local carrying capacities and negative impacts. Meeting the needs of tourists and increasing economic benefits directs tourism planning and development. Meeting the needs of local residents is at best a secondary priority if it is a concern at all. Many tourism projects have been undertaken without careful and sound planning, resulting in serious environmental and socio-cultural costs for the local people. Tourism planning is currently driven by bureaucratic aspirations and the interests of capital rather than communities' needs and

professional knowledge. Both the communities' voices and planners' concerns essentially are ignored in the decision-making process. In many cases, planning is merely a political tool to satisfy power holders at the expense of public benefits. Although the preservation of ethnic cultures and the conservation of natural resources are mentioned in some plans, these statements are merely nice words in planning documents for no specific actions are recommended to accomplish these goals. The gaps between government policy and planning practice, and between the goals of the plans and the actualization of these goals need to be overcome.

#### **11.4 Recommendations**

As indicated earlier, the development of ethnic tourism involves a number of socio-cultural issues, including preservation of the culture of ethnic minorities, the use of tourism as a form of economic development, and the need to provide a tourism experience that meets visitor expectations and that also provides adequate economic returns from products that are deemed appropriate by the host community. These socio-cultural issues should be addressed by the planning process. Particularly, the balances between tourism development and cultural preservation, and between authenticity and commodification need to be addressed directly in tourism planning. In addition, the issues and challenges in tourism planning practice also need to be overcome. The following recommendations are provided to help mitigate the planning and socio-cultural issues identified in the research.

1. *Tourism planning needs to be enhanced and specific ethnic tourism plans need to be developed.*

More efficient and effective planning should be undertaken to mitigate negative impacts and promote balanced tourism development. The perspectives of multiple stakeholders should be taken into account so as to achieve balance among the competing interests of stakeholders and among economic growth, environmental preservation, and social justice. The government should undertake timely investigations and consultations to understand minorities', business operators' and tourists' perceptions of and attitudes towards ethnic tourism development. The government, the tourism industry and ethnic communities all should have a voice in tourism planning in order to ensure understanding and to solicit broad support for the implementation of the plans. Careful monitoring and facilitation will be needed with special emphasis on stakeholder consultation and capacity building programs for local people.

2. *Planning authorities should provide sufficient opportunities for various stakeholders to get involved in planning, regardless of their social status and level of education.*

Programs such as consultation meetings, focus group discussions, and questionnaire or Internet surveys should be established to involve local residents, minority people and private-sector representatives in the planning and decision-making process. Forums need to be created for the exchange of information, communication and negotiation among stakeholders. The planning documents should be publicized and receive scrutiny by professionals and the general public. Ethnic tourism plans should be based on the local culture and tailored to the local needs, with optimal participation of ethnic community residents in the development process and with tourism benefits accruing, to the greatest extent possible, to the local communities. Government officials and planners should acknowledge the desire and ability of locals for participation in planning, given that many local people are interested in taking part in planning and are willing to offer personal insights. The involvement of minority people should be done in a manner that respects ethnic traditions and customs in order to avoid conflicts that may result from cultural insensitivity. Planners should be sensitive to the cultural values of the ethnic heritage assets.

3. *The proposed tourism development should be undertaken with due regard to the conservation of natural and cultural landscapes.*

A public awareness campaign is required for cultural preservation and environmental conservation to increase awareness of the need for conservation. Conservation of natural and cultural environments will be best achieved through the cooperation of ethnic minorities. It is difficult for the government agencies to preserve and enhance the environment on their own. Government officials charged with tourism planning responsibilities should receive additional training regarding environmental, social and cultural impacts analysis.

4. *The state's long holiday policy needs to be adjusted.*

Although long holidays (such as the three 'Golden Weeks': National Day, Chinese New Year and Labour Day week) designated by the state have stimulated the growth of domestic tourism, they have also resulted in heavy visitation pressure on popular tourist sites and have endangered vulnerable destination resources. Therefore, the government should encourage people to take

their vacations at different times to reduce tourism pressures during peak seasons or to de-market ethnic villages. Also, a detailed assessment of the resilience and pressures on tourist sites should be undertaken. Currently many tourist villages have major management issues and limited capacity for high visitor numbers. The development of improved infrastructure, interpretation and other visitor facilities and services would enhance the capacity of the sites to accommodate more visitors.

5. *Government investment in ethnic education and heritage preservation is vital for long-term balanced tourism development.*

Minorities are not in a good position to compete with experienced developers or operators who are better educated and well funded and have access to planning and business intelligence. The current education that the government or enterprise has provided to locals merely teaches them how to behave appropriately around tourists, but it does not assist them to understand the planning process and the issues associated with tourism development. Thus, the government should provide training and education opportunities for minority people to learn economic and tourism-related knowledge so as to help minorities to cope with the massive changes involved in participation in the market economy, and to ensure the continuity of ethnic traditions. Also, the government should help village tourism businesses to develop alliances and partnerships with other industries to produce diverse and high quality ethnic souvenirs and cultural products. As more minority people benefit from tourism, they will develop the positive self-confidence and commitment required to protect and maintain their traditions, and to safeguard their cultural identity and distinctiveness.

6. *Ethnic village tourism has much potential, but it must be carefully planned, developed and managed, so that traditional cultural patterns are not unduly disrupted and minority people receive their fair share of the benefits of tourism.*

The development of tourist villages should respect local natural and cultural values. The role of the government should shift from the tight control of ethnic 'autonomy' to more flexible policies. For instance, minorities should be allowed to develop their own cultural products, ethnic communities should be helped to develop community-based and villager-controlled businesses, and preferential policies and tax incentives should be provided for village businesses.



Village tourism projects may need initial government financing such as loans to the village. The government ought to support and promote a greater degree of ethnic participation in planning and the management of ethnic attractions and products. For instance, public participation models that have worked elsewhere could be identified and adapted in order to establish a framework for public input and to help to create true reciprocal business relationships between minorities and developers. The use of minority languages should also be encouraged in local schools and in public service.

7. *The government should pay more attention to social distress caused by the unbalanced distribution of economic benefits.*

The main beneficiaries of tourism development appear to be the non-local investors and operators, while minority people who once made an income from small-scale tourism are frequently marginalized as they are not able to compete with experienced Han entrepreneurs. A significant proportion of the ethnic population is still living at or below the official poverty level (Interviews with local officials, 2006). The potential of tourism to enhance rural livelihoods and to reduce poverty needs to be further explored. A more equitable distribution of the benefits from tourism should receive a high priority in the government economic and tourism development plans. The government also should help minorities to diversify their economy in order to prevent them from being over-dependent on tourism.

8. *Communication and cooperation need to be improved among government agencies, between government and the private sector, and between planning institutes and the tourism sector.*

As the implementation of tourism plans involves many agencies, collaboration among agencies is necessary for the successful implementation of the plans. Government agencies should endeavour to integrate policies and programs more in order to reduce redundant research and projects. Avoiding overlapping projects, fragmented planning, redundancy in research and enhancement of project implementation could save a great deal of local resources, reduce costs and improve planning efficiency. Collaboration and information-sharing among planners also need to be enhanced. Sound tourism planning needs the joint inputs from various disciplines. The government and tourism administration at all levels should make more information and data

available to academics, planners and the public in order to enhance information sharing. As planners tend to approach tourism planning from their disciplinary background, collaboration among different types of planners would help to minimize disciplinary limitations and improve planners' visions and, hence, the quality of planning.

9. *Tourism should be planned and developed as an integrated system within itself and also be incorporated into the overall development plan of the destination.*

Tourism planning needs to be set in a much wider context in order to achieve the coordination of tourism development with other economic activities. Strong linkages should be established between tourism and other sectors, leading to a balanced economy to the greatest extent possible. A combination of tourism and city planning approaches is an essential condition for successful development of the tourist city. In other words, tourism and city planners should cooperate in developing tourist cities or attractions in order to improve the overall attractiveness of the destination. It is very important to preserve traditional ethnic architecture and to conserve historic buildings and heritage sites in city planning for tourism.

10. *More education and training programs should be established to provide adequate training for tourism planners.*

Planners should be trained to master planning theories, models and principles in order to cope with diverse planning situations and adjust planning approaches to achieve specific goals. Planners should regard planning as a dynamic and continuous process, following up the plan implementation with monitoring, and adjust the plans when necessary. Planning ethics need to be developed and encouraged in the planning process.

11. *Monitoring, evaluation and supervision need to be strengthened in planning practice.*

The evaluation committee should evaluate not only the planning documents but also the implementation. The supervisory power of delegates of the People's Congress should be strengthened in order to monitor and evaluate the planning projects effectively, while reducing political interference in planning. The general public should also have the right to supervise

planning initiatives and to evaluate projects. The quality and effectiveness of planning should become important criteria in the evaluation of government officials and planners.

12. *The legislation and regulation of tourism planning and operation need to be enhanced.*

Due to lack of adequate legislation and effective regulations, profit-driven business operations and over-commercialized tourism products/activities are prevalent in the local tourism market. Tourism businesses are apt to concentrate on short-term commercial profits with little concern about the consequent long-term social and environmental costs for the local people. Thus, more stable and effective tourism policies and regulations should be established to protect ethnic resources from outside investors' profit-oriented operations. Government officials and planners ought to devote more attention to the consequences of tourism planning and development. Ethnic tourism planning should respond to the needs of minorities as they are the main resource providers and they have to live with the outcomes of development. Planners should foster long-term development strategies and develop high quality tourism products and attractions in order to ensure long-term harmonious development.

13. *Efforts ought to be made to maintain the ethnic integrity of tourism attractions.*

Numerous forces in addition to tourism lead to dramatic cultural changes in tourist villages. As indicated above, the government should develop a forum to bring stakeholders together to exchange information, discuss issues and concerns, and negotiate development strategies. Also, the government should monitor the operation of tourist sites, and require the proper development and management of commercial facilities and services. Each site should create a detailed site plan and a management plan. An administrative guideline for folk village development should be set up to regulate ethnic displays. For instance, the regulations on cultural shows should require that they respect ethnic traditions, represent ethnic culture and provide adequate information and interpretation. Authentic interpretation and representation of ethnic culture should be strengthened in the tourist villages. Commercial interests should not compromise conservation objectives.

14. *Diverse and high quality ethnic products/programs should be developed to suit both domestic and international markets.*

Issues related to tourism shopping and souvenirs should be paid more attention as they are the major concern of tourists. Tourism souvenirs should be further researched, greatly improved and effectively produced and marketed. Local knowledge and expertise should be harnessed to develop ethnic souvenirs. More education and training programs should be provided for tour guides and other tourism workers in order to improve their qualifications, working skills and service quality, and further improve the quality of visitor experiences. The cultural content and attractiveness of tourist sites needs to be enhanced. The provision of English service, such as English-speaking guides and English signs, menus and maps, should be improved in order to attract more international tourists. Roads and other infrastructure need to be further improved to better serve both local and tourism needs.

*15. Tourist guidelines need to be developed in order to reduce visitor impacts and inappropriate or culturally insensitive visitor behaviours, and to prevent irreversible damage.*

Many of the negative impacts caused by tourism can be attributed to lack of information and understanding on the part of tourists. Therefore, the guidelines can be used as a communication tool for the interpretation of ethnic culture and customs, and for guiding tourists on the selection of local products and services as well as interaction with locals.

### **11.5 Contributions and limitations of the research**

This study fills a gap in the literature: while there is a substantial literature on ethnic tourism, particularly related to impacts, little research has been done on ethnic tourism planning. The study contributes to the growing body of tourism and planning literature by developing and successfully applying a theoretical framework related to cultural tourism planning. The utility of this framework has been demonstrated through empirical research undertaken at a well-known ethnic tourism destination in China. This thesis demonstrates how the conceptual framework proposed in the research can be applied to study ethnic tourism at the destination and site-level. The framework could also be applied to examine the situations of aboriginal/native people or minority groups elsewhere, in both developing and developed countries.

The study also has potential practical value in that it would be feasible to use the opportunities, constraints and recommendations identified to develop ethnic tourism plans and specific folk village

plans. The outcomes of the research could be used by tourism sectors, planning agencies, the business community, ethnic minority organizations and research institutions in planning, managing and developing ethnic tourism. The study draws attention to key stakeholders of ethnic tourism, some of whom might otherwise be overlooked or disadvantaged, such as ethnic peoples. Tourism entrepreneurs and ethnic minorities could benefit from the study because the findings could enhance their understanding of the ethnic tourist market and help them to develop more marketable ethnic products. A broad overview of tourism planning in China and a detailed examination of planning practice in Banna have highlighted the inherent strengths, limitations and constraints of tourism planning, and this could contribute to the improvement of overall tourism planning practice in China and elsewhere.

The study has not only produced site-specific recommendations that could help local policy makers and planners to mitigate negative impacts of tourism and contribute to long-term successful development, but has also identified more broadly applicable findings, issues and strategies that may help destinations elsewhere to improve future planning of ethnic tourism development and enhance their capacity to benefit from ethnic tourism.

Due to the time frame and funding constraints, a longitudinal study could not be applied to examine the long-term tourism impacts on ethnic communities and to track socio-cultural changes occurred in communities. The focus of the study was on Dai minorities, but the tourism impacts on other minority groups in Yunnan also need to be researched, although their involvement in tourism is currently much less prominent.

### **11.6 Future research direction**

Little information exists to explain how to plan ethnic tourism; most of the literature only discusses the impacts of ethnic tourism. There are surprisingly few examples of the evaluation of different stakeholders' perspectives on ethnic tourism, or evaluations of tourism plans. It is hoped that this research can contribute to ethnic tourism planning research and practice, and inspire more research on ethnic tourism.

Comparative studies between developing destinations or between developed and developing destinations would be beneficial to practitioners who can use the experiences of other areas to inform their own planning. Comparative studies could also be used to explore whether or not

planning models, approaches and principles developed in a western context can be applied successfully in developing countries, where planning is more strictly controlled by the government.

This research focuses on four key stakeholder groups, and relatively little is known about the roles and perceptions of other stakeholders such as non-government organizations (NGOs), ethnic minority organizations, and international organizations in ethnic tourism. Research along these lines would add valuable knowledge about how to involve NGOs and minority organizations into ethnic tourism planning and the potential for collaboration among diverse stakeholders.

The research focuses upon only one minority group, the Dai in Banna. Future research should be expanded to other minority groups such as Jino, Bulang, and Hani. Comparative studies among tourism impacts on different minority groups would be of interest to researchers. More emphasis on longitudinal research on ethnic communities' and business people's perceptions is also needed. More research on the western tourists' perspectives would also provide useful input. There is also a need to understand other aspects of ethnic tourism such as the environmental and economic impacts.

### **11.7 Concluding remarks**

*There is a mysterious fruit in Banna that can change the sense of taste. The fruit does not have any taste itself, but everything such as acid or bitter food will taste sweet after eating this special fruit. (Interpretations by the tour guides, 2006)*

The impacts of ethnic tourism development in Banna are just like the impacts of this fruit on taste: short-term economic benefits have blinded many participants and observers to associated problems and issues. Although this research focuses on Banna, many of the findings would almost certainly be similar in communities in other developing countries whose cultural traditions and economic situations are being developed for ethnic tourism. It is hoped that recommendations developed from this study can be applied to mitigate the negative impacts and to reinforce the positive aspects of ethnic tourism in China and elsewhere.

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## Appendix A Study Information Letter

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Li Yang. I am a PhD student from the University of Waterloo in Canada. I am conducting research on ethnic tourism in Yunnan. This research is undertaken in collaboration with the University of Waterloo and Yunnan University, and is supported by the Yunnan Tourism Administration and Xishuangbanna Tourism Administration.

The purpose of this research is to identify the main socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism and explore planning strategies for mitigating negative impacts. The study is for academic purpose only. As a member of the research community, your opinions are very valuable to this research. Your cooperation in answering some questions would be most appreciated. The interview should take between 15 and 30 minutes at your office. Your participation is absolutely voluntary, and you are free to not answer any question(s) you are not comfortable with during the interview. You may withdraw from the study at any time. With your permission the interview will be tape recorded.

All information provided will be kept confidential. Your name and job title will not appear in the thesis and any reports and/or publications; however anonymous quotations may be used. It will also be specified that the information presented is based on the researcher's interpretation. Tapes and data will be securely stored for one year and then destroyed.

This research has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If you have any questions about your participation, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, ext. 6005, or by email at [ssykes@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:ssykes@uwaterloo.ca). If you have any questions or concerns regarding the research itself, please contact either Dr. Geoff Wall at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 3609, or by email at [gwall@fes.uwaterloo.ca](mailto:gwall@fes.uwaterloo.ca), or myself, Li Yang at 86- 871-8104380 (in China), or by email at [liyang@fes.uwaterloo.ca](mailto:liyang@fes.uwaterloo.ca).

Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Yours Sincerely,

Li Yang  
PhD Candidate in Planning  
Faculty of Environmental Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario

## Appendix B

### Verbal Script for Recruitment

Hello! My name is Li Yang. I am a PhD student from the University of Waterloo in Canada. I am conducting research on ethnic tourism in Yunnan. This research is undertaken in collaboration with the University of Waterloo and Yunnan University, and is supported by the Yunnan Tourism Administration and Xishuangbanna Tourism Administration.

The purpose of this research is to identify the main socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism and explore planning strategies for mitigating negative impacts. The study is for academic purpose only. As a member of the research community, your opinions are very valuable to this research. Your cooperation in answering some questions would be most appreciated. The interview should take between 15 and 30 minutes at your office. Your participation is absolutely voluntary, and you are free to not answer any question(s) you are not comfortable with during the interview. You may withdraw from the study at any time. With your permission the interview will be tape recorded.

All information provided will be kept confidential. Your name and job title will not appear in the thesis and any reports and/or publications; however anonymous quotations may be used. It will also be specified that the information presented is based on the researcher's interpretation. Tapes and data will be securely stored for one year and then destroyed.

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Please feel free to pick up the information letter. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Yours Sincerely,

Li Yang  
PhD Candidate in Planning  
Faculty of Environmental Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario

## Appendix C Interview Consent Form

I agree to participate in an interview being conducted by Li Yang, a Doctoral student in the School of Planning at the University of Waterloo in Canada. I have read the information presented in the information letter. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions and request any additional details I wanted about this study.

I understand that I may decline to answer any question that I prefer not to answer. I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be tape recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in her thesis and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I might withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. I was informed that if I have any questions about my participation in this study, I may contact the Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, ext. 6005, or by email at [sskyes@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:sskyes@uwaterloo.ca).

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES    NO

I agree to have my interview tape recorded.

YES    NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES    NO

Participant Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (Please print)

Participant Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Witness Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (Please print)

Witness Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D Letter of Appreciation

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to thank you for your participation in my research project. As a reminder, the purpose of this research is to identify the main socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism that need to be addressed through more effective ethnic tourism planning. The data collected during interviews or surveys has contributed to a better understanding of socio-cultural issues in ethnic tourism and the facilitation of more effective ethnic tourism planning and policy-making in a developing country like China.

Please remember that any data pertaining to you as an individual participant will be kept confidential. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, I plan on sharing the information with the research community through seminars, conferences, presentations and journal articles. If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at 1-519-888-4567, ext. 3541, or by email at [liyang@fes.uwaterloo.ca](mailto:liyang@fes.uwaterloo.ca).

As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any questions about your participation in this study, please contact Dr. Susan Sykes in the Office of Research Ethics at 1-519-888-4567, ext. 6005, or by email at [sskyes@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:sskyes@uwaterloo.ca).

With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely,

Li Yang  
PhD Candidate in Planning  
Faculty of Environmental Studies  
University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario

## Appendix E

### Sample interview questions

#### 1. Government officials and planners Interview

City/town: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. First, I would like to ask you about the process of tourism development in Xishuangbanna as well as ethnic tourism?
  - How would you describe the role and status of ethnic tourism in the local tourism industry?
  - What do you see as the main goals/objectives of ethnic tourism development?
  - What are the most important products/services provided by ethnic tourism?
  - Does the government have any policies toward developing ethnic tourism? If so, please describe them.
  
2. What do you think have been the benefits and negative impacts of ethnic tourism?
  - What have been the benefits and negative consequences to the community as a result of ethnic tourism development (infrastructure, employment, income, socio-cultural issues, environment, etc.)?
  - What are major challenges or potential weaknesses/issues in the development and marketing of ethnic tourism
  
3. Could you introduce the process of tourism planning?
  - What are your responsibilities in tourism planning?
  - What planning methods/approaches have been used in ethnic tourism planning?
  - How have ethnic tourism plans been implemented?
  - Are there any organizations responsible for monitoring and evaluation of plans?
  - What is the budget and funding sources for planning?
  - Is there an ethnic tourism plan? If so, what is its scope and content? How often is it updated?
  - Are funds put specifically towards preservation of ethnic culture?
  - What is the biggest constraint for ethnic tourism planning and development?
  - What general strategies or improvements in the planning process should be implemented for future development that helps ensure benefits from ethnic tourism while mitigating negative impacts?

4. Have ethnic minorities been involved in the ethnic tourism planning and development process? If so, to what degree and in what context? If not, do you think if they should be involved in and how to involve them?
5. What are your feelings on the capacity of, and opportunities for, local residents to benefit from ethnic tourism in the future? Do education levels limit local people's opportunities to benefit?

**2. Tourism developers and entrepreneurs interview**

City/Town: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Do you own a business related to tourism? If yes, what type of business do you work in? What products/services do you provide for tourists?
2. How long have you been running this business? How is your business? Why do you choose this business?
3. Are you from the local community? How long have you resided in this area?
4. Could you describe how tourism has impacted your business?
5. Have you been involved in tourism planning in any way? If not, would you like to participate in planning? And in what way?
6. What kind of ethnic attractions or products would you recommend to develop in the future tourism planning?
7. Do you think what the government should do in order to support your business in the future?

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_ Educational level: \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!



## Appendix F

### Tourist survey in Xishuangbanna

1. Which city/town, province and country are you from? \_\_\_\_\_
2. How many times have you visited Xishuangbanna? 1<sup>st</sup> \_\_ 2<sup>nd</sup> \_\_ 3<sup>rd</sup> \_\_ 4<sup>th</sup> or above \_\_
3. The primary purpose of visiting Xishuangbanna (multiple choice):  
 See ethnic culture \_\_ Enjoy nature \_\_ Sports \_\_ Visiting family/friends \_\_  
 Relaxation \_\_ Business trip \_\_ Other \_\_
4. On this visit, how many nights have you spent:  
 In local hotels \_\_\_\_ nights In motels \_\_\_\_ nights  
 In homestays \_\_\_\_ nights Stay with friends/relatives \_\_\_\_ nights
5. What have you done while on this visit to Xishuangbanna?  
 Visit folk village \_\_ Visit ethnic museum \_\_ Visit minority home \_\_  
 Observe/attend dance performance \_\_ Observe/attend wedding show \_\_  
 Observe crafts-making \_\_ Nature walk \_\_ Purchase souvenir \_\_  
 Taste ethnic cuisine \_\_ Learn ethnic culture \_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
6. Please indicate your level of satisfaction during the trip in Xishuangbanna regarding to the following product categories. (1-5 describes the degree of satisfaction, please **check the one box** that best describe your feeling)

	Very dissatisfied		Neutral	Very satisfied	
Ethnic folk village	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic museum	1	2	3	4	5
Entrance fee	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic architecture	1	2	3	4	5
Dance performance	1	2	3	4	5
Wedding show	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic festival	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic costume	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic food	1	2	3	4	5
Homestay	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic souvenir	1	2	3	4	5
Tour guide service quality	1	2	3	4	5
Accommodation	1	2	3	4	5
Tourist facilities	1	2	3	4	5
Transportation	1	2	3	4	5
Educational information	1	2	3	4	5
Natural environment	1	2	3	4	5
Overall price of this trip	1	2	3	4	5
Overall satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5

7. Are you traveling: \_\_\_\_\_ alone \_\_ with your family/friends \_\_  
 as part of a tour group \_\_ as part of a company retreat \_\_

8. What was your level of knowledge of ethnic culture in Xishuangbanna prior to arrival?  
Very familiar\_\_ familiar\_\_ not very familiar\_\_ don't know\_\_
9. If you are familiar, would you please indicate what part of ethnic culture?  
Folklore/folktale\_\_ history\_\_ dance/song\_\_ architecture\_\_ cuisine\_\_ other\_\_
10. Do you think the ethnic folk village authentically represents the life and culture of local ethnic people? Yes\_\_ no\_\_ don't know\_\_ other comments\_\_\_\_\_
11. What do you think of ethnic culture performances in the folk village? Do you think performances authentically represent the local culture?  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. What activities do you find the most interesting? And what experience is the highlight on this visit?  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. How much money have you spent in Xishuangbanna? Overall US \$\_\_ or RMB \$\_\_  
Food \$\_\_\_\_ Accommodation \$\_\_\_\_ Transportation \$\_\_\_\_ Souvenir \$\_\_\_\_  
Tour Guide services \$\_\_\_\_ Recreation/entertainment \$\_\_\_\_  
Other (please specify) \$\_\_\_\_\_
14. What kind of souvenir have you purchased? \_\_\_\_\_
15. Do you think ethnic souvenir authentically represents the local culture?  
Yes\_\_ no\_\_ don't know\_\_ other comments\_\_\_\_\_
16. What souvenirs are your most interested in? What is your suggestion for the souvenir?  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. Would you visit Xishuangbanna again in the future? Yes\_\_ No\_\_
18. What kind of ethnic attractions or products would you recommend to develop in the future?  
\_\_\_\_\_
19. Do you have any other comments/ concerns about ethnic tourism in Xishuangbanna?  
\_\_\_\_\_
20. Sex: Male\_\_ Female\_\_
21. Ethnicity: \_\_\_\_\_
22. Age: under 20\_\_ 20--30\_\_ 31--40\_\_ 41--50\_\_ 51-60\_\_ over 60\_\_
23. Marital Status: single\_\_ married\_\_ divorce/separate\_\_
24. Education: primary school\_\_ junior high school\_\_ senior high school\_\_  
undergraduate/college\_\_ graduate\_\_

25. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ 26. Income per month: US \$\_\_ or RMB \$\_\_

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

## Appendix G Folk Village/Park Employees Survey

Village/town: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What do you do in the Village? How long have you been doing this job?
2. Why do you choose this job? Do you enjoy the job? What was your previous job?
3. Are you from the local community? How long have you resided in this area? What is your ethnicity?
4. How many hours do you work per day? How many days do you work per week?
5. Has the Village provided you with any education/training opportunities? And if so, what?
6. Please circle the number which best describes your perceptions of the impact of tourism on you and your community.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree
Tourism has provided more job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has improved my own standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has promoted local economic development	1	2	3	4	5
We have better roads due to tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The quality of public services has improved due to more tourism	1	2	3	4	5
Tourist facilities have positively contributed to my entertainment	1	2	3	4	5
The tourism industry has played a major economic role in Xishuangbanna	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has contributed to the preservation of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased my awareness of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has enhanced my cultural pride and identity	1	2	3	4	5

Tourism has promoted cultural development of ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has enhanced harmony of ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has improved the social status of minority women	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased prices of local goods	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased commercialization of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has negatively impacted simple and friendly folk custom	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased cultural assimilation	1	2	3	4	5
Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of festivals or cultural events	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased stealing	1	2	3	4	5
There is more litter due to tourism	1	2	3	4	5
Parking is difficult because of tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The noise level from existing entertainment facilities is not appropriate for us	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased competitions/ conflicts within an ethnic group and/or among ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
Most local people don't like tourists	1	2	3	4	5

7. Please circle the number which best describes your assessments of the quality of ethnic tourism products

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree
The ethnic folk village authentically represents the life and culture of ethnic people	1	2	3	4	5
The ethnic folk village has provided good products and services for tourists	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic culture performance is authentic	1	2	3	4	5
Staged culture performance makes ethnic culture less valuable	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic souvenir is high quality	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic souvenir is authentic	1	2	3	4	5
The price of ethnic souvenir is reasonable	1	2	3	4	5

8. Please circle the number which best describes your own attitudes on tourism development.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree

			know		
The benefits of tourism outweigh the negative consequences of tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
I like to interact with tourists	1	2	3	4	5
We should try to not attract more visitors during long holidays	1	2	3	4	5
There needs to be more effort to limit the amount of souvenir shops	1	2	3	4	5
local communities should encourage more ethnic tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
The government should increase the investment for the tourism industry	1	2	3	4	5
The government should decrease local tax levies for tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
The government should encourage more foreign investment for tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The government should listen to people who work in the tourism industry about their concerns with tourism	1	2	3	4	5
I am aware of tourism plans	1	2	3	4	5
Careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism	1	2	3	4	5
I want to access the planning and decision-making process to influence future tourism development	1	2	3	4	5

9. Please indicate the level of satisfaction on your job.

	Very dissatisfied		Neutral		Very satisfied
Income	1	2	3	4	5
Work hour	1	2	3	4	5
Social status	1	2	3	4	5
Overall evaluation	1	2	3	4	5

10. Have you been involved in the Village planning and management in any way? If not, would you like to participate in planning and management? And in what way?

11. What are your feelings about the interaction between you and tourists? Do you feel any conflicts exist between you and other staff or between you and tourists?

12. From your perspective, what future developments should be made to enhance the overall attractiveness of the Village?

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Educational level: \_\_\_\_\_  
Income: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ per month

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!

## Appendix H Local Residents Interview

Village/town: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Where do you live? And how long have you been residing in Xishuangbanna? What is your ethnicity?
  
2. Please circle the number which best describes your perceptions of the impacts of tourism on you and your community.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree
Tourism has provided more job opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has improved my own standard of living	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has promoted local economic development	1	2	3	4	5
My community has better roads due to tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The quality of public services has improved due to more tourism	1	2	3	4	5
Tourist facilities have positively contributed to entertainment of my community	1	2	3	4	5
The tourism industry has played a major economic role in my community	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has contributed to the preservation of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased my awareness of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has enhanced my cultural pride and identity	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has promoted cultural development of ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has enhanced harmony of ethnic groups	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has improved the social status of minority women in my community	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased prices of local goods	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased commercialization of local culture	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has negatively impacted simple	1	2	3	4	5



and friendly folk custom					
Tourism has increased cultural assimilation	1	2	3	4	5
Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of my community	1	2	3	4	5
Tourists interfere with my enjoyment of festivals or cultural events	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased stealing in my community	1	2	3	4	5
There is more litter in my community due to tourism	1	2	3	4	5
Parking is difficult because of tourism	1	2	3	4	5
The noise level from existing entertainment facilities is not appropriate for my community	1	2	3	4	5
Tourism has increased competitions/ conflicts within my community and/or among minorities	1	2	3	4	5
Most local people don't like tourists	1	2	3	4	5

3. Please circle the number which best describes your assessments of the quality of ethnic tourism products

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree
The ethnic folk village authentically represents the life and culture of ethnic people	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic culture performance is authentic	1	2	3	4	5
Staged culture performance makes ethnic culture less valuable	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic souvenir is high quality	1	2	3	4	5
Ethnic souvenir is authentic	1	2	3	4	5
The price of ethnic souvenir is reasonable	1	2	3	4	5

4. Please circle the number which best describes your own attitudes on tourism development.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral/ Don't know	Agree	Strongly Agree
The benefits of tourism to my community outweigh the negative consequences of tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
I like to interact with tourists	1	2	3	4	5
We should try to not attract more visitors during long holidays	1	2	3	4	5
There needs to be more effort to limit the	1	2	3	4	5

amount of souvenir shops					
local communities should encourage more ethnic tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
The government should increase the investment for the tourism industry	1	2	3	4	5
The government should decrease local tax levies for tourism development	1	2	3	4	5
The government should listen to residents about their concerns with tourism	1	2	3	4	5
I am aware of tourism plans	1	2	3	4	5
Careful tourism planning can control the negative impacts of tourism	1	2	3	4	5
I want to access the planning and decision-making process to influence future tourism development	1	2	3	4	5

5. Are you employed/self-employed in a job related to tourism (e.g., tour guide, dancer, selling ethnic souvenirs, providing homestay)? How long? Income per month?
6. Have you been involved in ethnic tourism planning in any way? If not, would you like to participate in planning? And in what way?
7. Do you see any benefits or problems to yourself and to the community if tourism was to increase?
8. What kind of ethnic attractions or products would you recommend to develop in the future ethnic tourism planning?
9. Do you have any other comments/ concerns about ethnic tourism in your community?

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Educational level: \_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME!