Authenticating Cultural Tourism: Folk Villages in Hainan, China

by

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Abstract

Cultural tourism provides opportunities for ethnic minorities to showcase their cultures, customs and heritage. At the same time, it causes a series of tensions and issues of authenticity and commodification have been the subjects of lively debate among tourism researchers. However, little research has been done to date concerning the roles of stakeholders who authenticate cultural resources.

This thesis develops a conceptual framework that is employed to enhance understanding of the authenticity of cultural tourism when ethnic Li communities in Hainan Island, China, experience tourism development. Folk villages are used as a significant point of access for investigating the tensions which emerge in authenticating cultural resources. Four key stakeholders are identified: (1) governments; (2) tourism businesses; (3) visitors; and, (4) ethnic communities. Five pairs of yardsticks were developed based upon Swain's (1989) work to examine the issue of authentification. These constructs are: non-commercialization versus commodification, cultural evolution versus museumification, economic development versus cultural preservation, ethnic autonomy versus state regulation, and mass tourism development versus sustainable cultural tourism.

The findings suggest that authenticity is relative rather than absolute and, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Therefore, it is necessary to shift from a previous focus on the nature and identification of authenticity to the more tractable question of authentification. The various stakeholders exhibit different positions with respect to the various paradoxes and the tensions that exist between their poles. For example, governments pay more attention on the control of ethnic autonomy whilst tourism businesses prioritize the economic development. Tourists exhibit blurred perceptions of authenticity whilst ethnic minority supports the maintenance of their of culture but gives priority to jobs and remuneration. This thesis demonstrates that it is more useful to evaluate who authenticates and the interests that such claims serve, rather than to adhere to some absolute standard of "authentic" ethnicity. It makes recommendations for tourism planners, such as ethnic participation in the decision-making process, the development of strategic alliance among tourism stakeholders, and the taking of steps to promote the maintenance of Li culture. It also suggests opportunities for applying this conceptual framework of cultural tourism to other different situations, both within Hainan and elsewhere.

Keywords: Authentification, Authenticity, Cultural Tourism, Li minority, Hainan

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List of Tables

List of Figures

CONTENTS

CHAPTER FOUR - RESEARCH METHODS

CHAPTER FIVE - GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER SIX – TOURISM BUSINESSES

CHAPTER SEVEN – VISITORS

CHAPTER EIGHT – ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

CHAPTER NINE – COMPARISONS

CHAPTER TEN – CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is one of the most important industries in the world as far as emp loyment and expenditure are concerned. It is a highly geographical phenomenon which involves the movement of people from place to place and which results in impacts on the human and natural environments. Tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commerc ial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs (MacCannell, 1992). There is a substantial and growing literature on tourism and, in particula r, on cultural and ethnic tourism (MacCannell, 1973, 1984; Cohen, 1988; Smith, 1989; Wood, 1993; Harkin, 1995; Picard, 1996; Wall, 1996; Walle, 1996; Jamison, 1999). Cultural tourism has gained popularity and it brings into contact people who are not only strangers to one another, but who are also members of different ethnic groups. From a tourism industry perspective, cultural tourism is now considered as a distinct market segment (Stebbins, 1996), which Keller (1996) estimated to be as much as 50% of the tourism market. However, the development of cultural tourism has brought to prominence a number of questions: Can an indigenous culture survive the impacts of tourism? Will ethnic culture be polluted and ultimately destroyed, or is it possible for tour ism to promote authentic facets of ethnic cultures? How can indigenous groups benefit from cultural tourism at acceptable costs?

An understanding of these research questions can be advanced by empirically investigating specific tourism settings. The prev ious cultural tourism research on Inuit, the San Blas Indians of Panama and the Balinese in Indonesia (Smith, 1989; Picard, 1996) has achieved worldwide recognition. The majority of these works focus on the normative issue of whether tourism was

beneficial or detrimental for its hosts (Wood, 1998). Cultural tourism generally presents economic and socio-cultural challenges to indigenous communities (Crystal, 1988; Greenwood, 1989; Jolly, 1982). It makes "spectacles" of the "exotic" people and their cultur e, and assaults traditional life ways (van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984). Culture, or "tradition", is transformed into a set of things which are at once symbolic of the Western pursuit of the exotic "Other", and the commodities of modernization (Jolly, 1982). The impact of tourism on indigenous cultures often produces a social situation in which local people alter their lives to suit the demands of tourists. However, such a traditional "impact" paradigm inherently encompasses personal value -laden judgements that may ignore an understanding from other points of views. Further, each unique indigenous culture is constantly evolving in the face of change within the environment in which it exists. Questions of authenticity and commodification therefore become m uch more difficult to address. The purpose of this thesis is not to argue *for* or *against* cultural tourism, but rather to develop a strong conceptual framework to analyse and evaluate the authentification by different stakeholders of cultural tourism in a specific setting. In other words, the objective is to examine who authenticates cultural tourism rather than to assess adherence to some absolute but arbitrary standard of authenticity of tourism products and experiences.

Much of the scholarly work on to urism has been written in the context of mass tourism. The more focused study of cultural tourism and ethnic tourism, in various forms, has been characterized by four general phases: (1) legitimization as a scholarly study; (2) critical advocacy for indigenous people; (3) analysis from a policy and economic development strategy perspective; and (4) pragmatic cross-cultural education (Hinch and Butler, 1996, p. 6). Smith (1996) proposed that, in general, cultural tourism involves four interrelated elements : the geographic setting (habitat), the ethnographic traditions (heritage), the effects of acculturation (history), and the marketable handicrafts. As the four S acronym (sun, sea, sand and sex) encapsulates beach resort tourism, the

four Hs - habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts - similarly describe the cultural tourism phenomenon.

This chapter presents the research goal and objectives. It also identifies and evaluates a number of critical definitions of tourism research in order to understand the relationships between tourism and culture. Terms associated with literature on indigenous peoples in developing countries, such as tourism, culture, cultural change, ethnicity, and tourism development, are defined. Finally, the significance of the research is established, based upon needs identified in the literature.

1.1 Research Goal

The goal of this research is to produce a strong conceptual framework focused upon authentification of cultural tourism in Hainan Island, China. Four key groups of stake holders have been identified in the context of cultural tourism: (1) governments; (2) tourism businesses; (3) visitors; and (4) ethnic communities. The research compares and evaluates their perspectives on authenticating the cultural tourism phenomena of Hainan, such as folk villages, cultural resources, ethnic identity, ethnic employment, and tourists' perceptions of authenticity. Five pairs of yardsticks guide the comparison and are modified from five pairs of paradoxes developed from Swain (1989).

The research addresses the Li ethnic minority, the only and earliest aboriginal people on Hainan Island, China, and, in doing so, investigates a people and location yet to receive much academic attention. As a point of entry to the broad topic of the consequences of expanding tourism for the Li people, attention is devoted to the development of purpose-built, tourism-oriented folk villages. These folk villages not only open a window of opportunities for the ethnic minorities to interact with the outsiders, but also contribute to a series of paradoxes and changes that can be used to test the veracity of a proposed conceptual framework. Therefore, the research

implications serve to promote an understanding and enhancement of cultural tourism in China, as well as contribute to the literature on tourism and planning in developing areas.

1.2 Research Objectives

In order to understand the dynamics of cultural tourism in a developing area destination, five specific objectives were formulated as follows:

1. To construct a conceptual framework focused on the issue of authentification by identifying four key stakeholders involved in cultural tourism and to describe these stakeholders based upon the existing literature, particularly in the Chinese context.
2. To trace tourism development in Hainan Island, China and to examine the involvement of Hainan ethnic minorities in the tourism industry. Tourist-oriented folk villages have been identified as a significant convenient point of access for investigating the tensions in authenticating cultural resources.
3. To apply a variety of relevant and related research methods, including key-informant interviews, visitor surveys, personal observations, and content analysis of government documents and statistics.
4. To undertake empirical research through collection of primary data from the four identified groups of stakeholders.
5. To analyse the findings by arraying stakeholders on five pairs of paradoxes modified from Swain (1989) which constitute a conceptual framework for the examination of authentification and to test the utility of this framework.

1.3 The Definitions of Tourism and Culture

Tourism is derived from the Greek *torus*, a tool (like the common drafting compass) used to inscribe a circle. The essential notion here is that of the circle - of leaving and then returning (Oxford English Dictionary 2nd ed., 1989). Like the movement of a circle, there is an endless debate on how to precisely define the tourism phenomenon. Virtually all the definitions of tourism can be grouped into three categories: demand-based, supply-based, and integrated (Smith, 1990). Demand-based definitions emphasise tourism as a human activity while ignoring industry-related aspects of tourism. Supply-based definitions focus on the provision of services to tourists. From this perspective, tourism is defined as "the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment" (Smith, 1988, p.183). The third category, an integrated definition, combines both supply and demand sides of tourism and therefore exhibits greater variation in its content (Leiper, 1979). Gunn, in his well-known book "Tourism Planning" (1994), recommends a simple definition that dramatizes the complexity of the task of defining tourism. The definition from Mathieson and Wall (1982, p. 1) is chosen by Gunn as the best working definition of tourism:

> Tourism is the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and facilities created to cater to their needs.

Mathieson and Wall (1982, p. 1) also asserted that the study of tourism is the study of people away from their usual habitat, of the establishments which respond to the requirements of travellers, and of the impacts that they have on the economic, physical and social well-being of their hosts. Therefore, tourism can be viewed as a space-time convergence between hosts and guests. The emergence of cultural and ethnic tourism amplifies the interaction between hosts and guests and therefore provides both opportunities and challenges for indigenous people as tourism impinges upon their communities.

Culture can be defined as "the social heritage of a people, including their material artefacts, belief systems, religions, forms of government, customs, language, recreation, housing, commercial activity, forms and places of work, education, and science and technology" (Smith, 1990, p. 87). Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour (Singer, 1968). Cultural change can be seen as "any shared, relatively enduring transformation of culturally patterned belief or behaviour" (Winthrop, 1991, p. 63). An extreme form of cultural change is acculturation which is defined as "cultural change under conditions of direct contact between the members of two societies" (Winthrop, 1991, p. 3). Petit-Skinner (1977), from an anthropological perspective, suggests that cultural changes will occur in two underlying ways: (1) primarily in the indigenous society's traditions, customs and values rather than in the visiting group; and (2) a gradual homogenization of cultures in which the local identity is assimilated into the stronger visiting culture. These assumptions reflect a fragile relationship between hosts and guests. Since many tourism destinations are in less-developed countries, host societies may be more likely to borrow from visitors who are from the wealthy West. Therefore, tourism represents one means by which cultural changes can be studied. For example, cultural and ethnic tourism often involve first-hand experience with the practice of another culture to provide tourists with more "intimate" and "authentic" experience (Greenwood, 1982). This kind of interaction can induce cultural changes in the host society. On the other hand, tourism is not the major element of cultural change in most societies (Smith, 1989, p. x). Cultures change in the absence of tourism but ethnic minority cultures tend to be more vulnerable to being assimilated by a dominant culture. There is a large proportion of acculturation studies that address changes in North American Indian cultures in the absence of tourism (Linton, 1940). In some cases, tourism can indirectly strengthen ethnic identity through the promotion of ethnic arts and performances that are seen as dying or passé.

1.4 The Concepts of Cultural Tourism and Ethnic Tourism

In 1985, the World Tourism Organisation defined c ultural tourism as follows (Prohaska, 1995, p. 35):

> Cultural tourism may be defined in broad and narrow terms. In a narrow sense it includes movements of persons for essentially cultural motivations such as study tours, performing arts, travel to festiva ls, visits to sites and monuments, folklore, pilgrimages - in the broader sense, all movements of persons might be included in the definition because they satisfy the human need for diversity, tending to raise the cultural level of the individual and givin g rise to new knowledge, experience and encounters.

From an ethnographic perspective, cultural tourism can be defined as "a genre of special interest tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological" (Reisinger, 1994, p. 24). From an anthropological perspective, culture is much more than the rituals, ceremonies and dances which residents might perform for tourists at culture centres. The richer meaning o f culture refers to those activities associated with many private and unknown traditions that are part of the local person's daily life (Fridgen, 1996, p. 77). Mathieson and Wall (1982) suggest that culture is the conditioning elements of behaviour as wel1 as the products of that behaviour. Therefore, cultural tourism is defined as the absorption by tourists of features resembling the lifestyles of societies observed through such phenomena as house styles, crafts, farming equipment and dress (Smith, 1989) . The underlying motivation for cultural tourism emphasises understanding contrasting ways of life and the interchange of knowledge and ideas (Pigram, 1993). Cultural elements such as handicrafts, gastronomy, traditions, history, and architecture are amo ng the major attractions for tourists.

Cultural tourism has long been regarded as a mild oxymoron by some researchers. Stebbins (1996, p. 948) describes cultural tourism as "a field without a theoretical home". According to anthropologists, tourists ar e ill-prepared to visit other cultures. Tourists lack information about

ethnic culture and are usually naïve about what to expect and how to behave (Fridgen, 1996). The prevailing assumption is that any attempt to use cultural elements to accommodate tou rists would cheapen or trivialise the presentation and interpretation of ethnic arts and heritage (Kelly, 1994). Tourism has long been presumed to be something that exists independently of culture and that affects it from outside. Culture appears to come into collision with tourism and cultural tourism practice may actually destroy the hosts' culture (Turner and Ash, 1975). Wood (1980, p. 565) has characterized the relationship between culture and tourism, as conceptualized in much tourism research, through the "billiard ball model", in which a static sphere (culture) is hit by a mobile one (tourism). However, this perspective is increasingly being regarded as simplistic. The term "touristic culture" is proposed by Picard (1990, p. 74) in reference to c ases where tourism has become an integral part of culture and where the interaction with tourists is a central component in the definition of ethnic identity and authenticity. The convergence of tourism and culture in the late 20th century is presented by Richards (1996, p. 12) as a kind of pragmatic *fait accompli*: "in spite of reservations about the potential negative impacts of tourism on culture, it seems that tourism and culture are inseparable". It was not until McKean's doctoral dissertation (1973) on cultural tourism in Bali, Indonesia, that common perceptions were reshaped. McKean concluded from his fieldwork in 1970-71 that tourism was strengthening the arts in Bali and that the Balinese were being quite successful in maintaining the boundary bet ween what belonged to culture and what could be presented to tourists. A term "cultural involution" was proposed - that culture seems mutable and tourism infuses new meanings for local cultures. The tourismification of culture has been reassessed by tourism researchers since then.

For example, Greenwood (1977) used the example of the Alarde in Spain to explain the impact of tourism on culture. Greenwood observed that a traditional festival representing local identity and community solidarity was severe ly compromised when the local municipal authorities

attempted to make the celebration more accessible to tourists by holding two performances on the same day. This most widely cited example illustrated the adverse impacts of tourism on the ethnic culture in that "a vital and exciting ritual became an obligation to be avoided" (Greenwood, 1977, p. 135). Greenwood argued that tourism turns culture into a commodity. However, the follow-up research indicated that tourism *per se* had little do with the apparent decline of the Alarde. The problem was that the Spaniards who controlled the municipality had little interest in Basque culture. Once the officials had been shuffled, the locals were willing to perform twice a day. The traditional festival, far from being an obligation to be avoided, remained a vibrant and exciting ritual. Consequently, cultural tourism stimulated ethnic culture.

The Barong performance in Indonesia provides similar positive outcomes for cultural tourism (Sanger, 1988). Sanger's research showed that the villagers had modified ritual performance to allow tourists sufficient time to take in a performance and buy some souvenirs. Tourism appeared to impinge upon the traditional culture and cause commoditization. However, Sanger argued that the villagers did not view the changes as cultural denigration and justified their actions since: (1) the Barong (a lion-like figure) continues to be respected in spite of commoditization; (2) the oldest and most sacred Barong is not used commercially and many sacred alternatives remain untouched; (3) a significant proportion of the money earned from tourism has been ploughed back into cultural groups and thus nobody is guilty of greed, and (4) the performances reinforce community solidarity and tourist performance provides opportunities to practice traditional rituals.

Another revealing example is the *pendet*, a welcoming dance for the gods in Bali, Indonesia, which began to be performed to welcome tourists. Disturbed by the change in the purpose of this dance, Balinese religious authorities objected and a secular version of the *pendet* was commissioned from a well-known choreographer. Ironically, this "secular" version of the dance proved so popular that it soon migrated back to the temples: "in a curious reversal that the religious authorities did not

anticipate, the tourist 'welcome dance' became a sacred dance for welcoming the gods" (Picard, 1996, p. 151). Such "cultural invention" (Hanson, 1989) can also be found in the case of Maori in New Zealand who incorporated the historical inaccuracies of early anthropologists into the contemporary understanding of their own culture.

Ethnic tourism is defined as the component of cultural tourism which is "a form of recreation combining cultural and natural resources that is marketed to the public in terms of 'quaint' customs of indigenous and often exotic peoples" (Smith, 1989, p. 2). Wood (1984) suggested that the distinction between cultural and ethnic tourism can be seen from tourist behaviours: cultural tourism usually involves exposure to a culture in an indirect way, while ethnic tourism involves first-hand experience with the practice of another culture. The prime attraction for ethnic tourism is the cultural exoticism of the local population and their artefacts, and it constitutes an interesting special case of ethnic relations (Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984). Harron and Weiler (1991) emphasised that ethnic tourism constitutes a direct way for tourists to interact with people from indigenous cultures. In summary, ethnic tourism can be viewed as a specific form of cultural tourism.

Tourism researchers have given much attention to describing and understanding the impacts of ethnic tourism on the host society (Moscardo and Pearce, 1999). A number of studies have concluded that ethnic tourism is in danger of consuming the resource on which it is based (*e.g.,* Altman, 1989; Turner & Ash, 1975; Van den Berghe, 1994). Ethnic tourism practice may destroy the hosts' culture or may calcify a culture into a "frozen" picture of the past. A culture is named and stereotyped. The visitor seeks to see characteristics of the image of the culture and the host society provides the expected "treat". For example, Picard (1995) showed that Balinese have come to objectify their culture in terms of the arts and to evaluate tourism impact in terms of whether or not the arts are flourishing. On the other hand, research on ethnic tourism unveils the positive aspects

of impacts; it can restore arts, revitalise skills, foster creativity and provide a platform for communities to present themselves positively (Cohen, 1988; Graburn, 1984; Pitchford, 1995). A classic example is Esman's (1984) case study of Louisiana that suggested tourism has led to the re-creation of Cajun identity and helped to perpetuate an ethnic boundary that might otherwise have disappeared due to acculturation.

1.5 Ethnicity and Cultural Tourism

Ethnicity is arguably the most fundamental basis of perceived distinction between human groups (Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). 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 common language, religion, or economic specialization" (Winthrop, 1991, p. 94). Although usage of the term is elastic and often vague, an ethnic group can be defined as a socially distinct community of people who share a common history and culture and often language and religion as well (Sillitoe and White, 1992). In the field of anthropology, ethnicity does not constitute a new domain of research but a challenge to the adequacy of conventional cultural theory (Cohen, 1978). There are two basic perspectives regarding the relationship between ethnicity and culture: primordial and instrumental. The former views cultures as static and tribal, and leads to the assumption that any change imposed by contact with a politically dominant state must result in irreversible acculturation. Research from a primordial perspective usually concentrates on describing, classifying and changing ethnic formations. Geertz (1973, p. 259) positions the primordial perspective as "the congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves".

The instrumental perspective involves understanding the processes by which ethnic identities and boundaries are created, modified and maintained (Barth, 1969). It stresses the endurance of

ethnic identities and distinctive traditions as cultural enclaves within larger, multicultural states (Castile and Kushner, 1981). The salient feature of the instrumental perspective is that ethnic identity is assumed to be commonly ambiguous, subjective, and situational (Cohen, 1978). Wood (1980) indicated that culture has not been conceived as a concrete entity acted upon by forces from outside, but rather as sets of symbols, or as webs of significance and meaning. It is variable , relative, contingent, ever changing. Culture is not a thing, but a process. Ethnic identity is a feeling "subject to ebb and flow" (Poole, 1997, p. 133). For example, Wallace (1956), based upon relatively homogenous native societies, proposed that ind igenous cultures are subject to a revitalisation process which consists of five stages: (1) the steady state, when cultural forces exist in a dynamic equilibrium; (2) the period of increased individual stress, when the society has been pushed out of equilibrium due to some external event, such as the development of tourism; (3) the period of cultural distortion, when native cultures have been portrayed mal -adaptively; (4) the period of revitalisation, when a "blueprint" rises to cope with distorted culture and a new culture is established with its own methods for handling change; and (5) the new steady state where new codes are enforced and a new equilibrium evolves. Wallace's cycle clearly reflects the instrumental approach suggesting that culture moves t owards an equilibrium in the host societies. To some extent, the equilibrium can be understood as a way of "boundary maintenance" (Barth, 1969) whereby exogenous factors, such as tourism development, may affect the boundary between what people do for visitors and what they do for themselves.

Based upon the above viewpoints, two perspectives related to the impacts of tourism on ethnicity are proposed by Hitchcock (1999): the primordial and the situational. The primordial perspective sees ethnicity as depen dent upon a series of "givens" that suggest culture is immutable and static. The primordial approach suggests tourism only permits selective exposure to other cultures. Frequently, an area's culture is displayed through stage presentations - often for a fee.

What the tourist actually sees is just a faint reflection of the true culture. Cultural identity is regarded as "rooted in a primordial sense of shared descent" and as being "formulated with reference to concrete cultural markers" (Van de Berghe and Keyes, 1984, p. 348). Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984) indicated that, from a primordial perspective, cultural tourism plays a critical role to divide a market into two separate segments: a tourist and a touree. The presence of tourists affects the ethnic communities in two ways: (1) it makes ethnic minorities less exotic and traditional; and (2) it transforms an ethnic person into a "touree", a performer who modifies his behaviour for gain according to his perception of what is attractive to the tourists . Therefore, the tourist is described as a spectator and the touree as a performer. Tourism turns culture into a commodity and ethnic communities are forced to modify traditional cultures to accommodate the needs of both tourists and the local people. Ethnic identity maintenance is central to ethnic tourism and the very existence of the ethnic boundary creates the tourist attraction (Van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984).

In contrast, situational perspectives regard indigenous cultures as a set of processes and social relations, which may be invoked according to circumstances. A situational approach provides more dynamic views of identity and presents local residents as being far from passive victims of the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990). The approach rejects simplistic conceptions of culture as bounded entities and emphasises ethnicity as a set of social relationships and cultural differences which are communicated (Hitchcock, 1999). Clifford (1988, p. 9-10) therefore describes cultural identity as "an ongoing process, politically contested and historically unfinished", and as "always mixed, relational and inventive". The existence of an ethnic boundary does not necessarily create the tourist attraction. The concept of pluralism is of importance. The meaning of ethnicity should be recognised as being shaped by contemporary global processes, rather than by residue from parochial pasts (Wood, 1997). Table 1 summarizes a comparison between the primordial and the situational based on the literature.

Table 1.1: A Comparison of the Primordial and the Situational

Criterion	The Primordial Approach	The Situational Approach
Ethnic Culture	Rooted in a primordial sense of shared descent and as being formulated with reference to concrete cultural markers	A social process in which cultural differences are communicated. Facilitates comparison and enables one to account for ethnic phenomena without recourse to simplistic definitions of cultural groups
Culture	Static, tribal	Fluid, constructed, always changing, always contested
Cultural marker	Ethnic boundary	Pluralism
Cultural Tourism	Boundary maintenance: a tourist and a touree	Cultural involution
Tourism impacts	Tourism turns culture into a commodity	Tourism may revive the existing culture

Perhaps one can adopt a compromise position embracing aspects of both primodial and situational perspectives. Thus, for example, there are elements of Li culture in Hainan that are widely recognized both by insiders and outsiders as being fundamental attributes of Li culture, such as woven skirts and the bamboo-beating dance. At the same time, some changes are desired, such as greater economic opportunity, and even certain attributes of the bamboo-beating dance itself (see page 158 – 161) may be modified without undermining its role as a part of Li culture and identity.

1.6 Significance of the Research

The thesis marks a shift from a previous focus on the nature and identification of authenticity to a focus on the more tractable question of authentification. Over the past two decades, the issue of authenticity, having been identified as a central orienting principle in tourism studies, has set the agenda for lively and diverse debate and analyses (Taylor, 2001). However, little attention has been given to understanding the process of authentification. It is argued that authenticity is a relative rather than an absolute term and, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. The emergence of

distinctions between the authentic and inauthentic, in fact, provides a means to authent icate ethnic culture and its location. Therefore, although the issue of authenticity has been furiously debated, it appears to be more useful to evaluate who authenticates rather than to adhere to some absolute standard of "authentic" ethnicity. In other words, it will be more constructive to identify those who make claims for authenticity and the interests that such claims serve.

The present research will provide a strong conceptual framework on the issue of authentification in the context of cultural to urism. The thesis contributes to the literature by comparing the perspectives of four key stakeholders in Hainan Island, China. Cultural tourism, when put into practice, can cause a series of paradoxes between conservation of tradition and change in the process of development. These paradoxes also can serve as yardsticks to evaluate tourism-culture relationships in a Chinese context. The research will uncover some interesting dynamics that will significantly contribute to the literature on cultural tour ism in developing areas and, at the same time, test the utility of the conceptual framework for authentification.

1.7 Summary

This chapter has briefly outlined the significance of cultural tourism. The broad goal of this research was summarized, together with the specific objectives through which that goal will be achieved. It has also reviewed the definitions of tourism and culture, the concepts of cultural tourism and ethnic tourism, and ethnicity and cultural tourism. And, finally, the significance o f this research was introduced.

The next chapter provides a theoretical background to the concept of authenticity and commodification. Four groups of stakeholders are identified in the Hainan context and the issue of authentification is raised. Further, five pairs of paradoxes adapted from Swain (1989) are detailed in order to understand the inherent tensions between conservation of tradition and change in the

process of cultural tourism development. A conceptual framework is proposed and will be tested empirically in the context of Hainan, China.

Chapter Three justifies the choice of Hainan as the research setting and sets the geographic context by describing the site and situation of Hainan Island, including environment, economy, society, and culture. The same chapter also discusses Hainan's unique geographic characteristics, the growth of tourism and its ethnic cultural resources. The chapter introduces the tourist folk villages as significant convenient access points for investigating the tensions du ring the development of cultural tourism.

Chapter Four explains the wide variety of research methods employed in the field study. It details these methods and applications. Chapter Five describes the governmental perspective on authenticity at three dif ferent levels; Chapter Six analyses the perspectives from tourism businesses on authenticity of folk villages; Chapter Seven analyses the tourists' perspectives on authenticity of folk villages; and Chapter Eight details the perspectives of the Li dance pe rformers as part of the ethnic minority on the authentification of their culture, heritage and identity. These perspectives are evaluated based upon five pairs of paradoxes developed from Swain (1989). The findings are based upon an in-depth analysis fro m the four identified groups of stakeholders.

Chapter Nine compares the research findings from the four stakeholders. The final chapter summarizes conclusions as they relate to the original goals and objectives. This chapter also makes recommendations fo r future tourism development in Hainan, outlines the broader theoretical implications of the research, and suggests additional avenues which can be taken for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL TOURISM

This chapter reviews two of the most prevalent issues in cultural tourism - authenticity and commodification. The previous literature and research directions are detailed to explore aspects of the authenticity of cultural tourism in a Chinese context. Through a comprehensive review of the literature, a conceptual framework is formulated in order to facilitate a better understanding of aspects of authenticity in cultural tourism. This framework is presented and explained in detail in this chapter.

2.1 The Concepts of Authenticity and Commodification

Authenticity can be defined from a recreation and leisure studies perspective as "a desired experience or benefit associated with visits to certain types of tourism destinations. It is presumed to be the result of an encounter with true, uncommercialized, everyday life in a culture different than that of the visitor" (Smith, 1990, p. 31). Sapir (1924, p.108) took an ethnographic perspective and defined authenticity as "persons, intimate clusters of persons, communities, or societies, whose lived experience is harmonious with, or true to, their inherent or intrinsic cultural structure or historically emergent form". Authenticity can be achieved by (1) willing and doing the genuine good (Kierkegaard, 1938, p. 202); (2) creating or choosing value (Sartre, 1956, p. 615); and (3) cultivating the connection between fidelity to the past, forthright recognition of the tangible world of the present, and a commitment to enhancing the coherence between the two (Simmel, 1968).

In tourism, authenticity poses as objectivism which holds the special powers both of distance and of "truth" (Taylor, 2001). Fundamental to the authenticity concept is a dialectic between object and subject, there and here, then and now. Tourism projects which invoke the

culturally "authentic" seek to "realise" value and uniqueness in their products through the application of a distance between subject and object that is both spatially and temporally defined. Authenticity is valuable only where there is perceived inaut henticity. Such is the "plastic" world of the consumer (Taylor, 2001).

Goffman (1959) first divided authenticity of experience by front and back regions: the front region represents and presents inauthentic, contrived experience while the back region re presents and presents authentic, intimate experience. MacCannell (1973), based on Goffman's analysis, developed an argument that the search for authenticity is a major driving force behind modern tourist behaviour. Tourists actually seek authenticity but are frequently frustrated in their search. Further, tourists' quest for authenticity is always doomed to failure. MacCannell saw no salvation in tourism. At best there is the creation of a "false touristic consciousness". This is the product of a commodity-driven industry that would trick tourists into accepting that contrived attractions are, in fact, "authentic" (Cohen, 1988, p. 373). Boorstin (1961) once claimed that modern tourists pursue "pseudo-events" because they seek superficial, contrived ex periences.

Adopted from Goffman's notion of front and back region settings, MacCannell developed a framework by adding four more stages. These intermediate stages are sometimes grouped together and characterized as "staged authenticity" (See Table 2.1). In the modernist critical tradition, culture "on stage" is viewed as culture out of context. "The moment that culture is defined as an object of tourism, or segmented and detached from its indigenous sphere, its aura of authenticity is reduced" (Taylor, 2001, p. 15). Further, the tourism industry seeks to create ever deeper forms of "staged authenticity" by drawing tourists into more deviously contrived "back stages". These "back stages", as MacCannell called them, are more "insidious and dangerous than a false front" (1976, p.102-103). In 1992, MacCannell in his highly ironic chapter, titled " *Cannibalism Today*", proposed the terms "ex-primitive" and "performative primitive" to designate what he calls "a special ethnological class or

category". MacCannell describes these "ex-primitives" as a "simple hybrid form", being "formerly primitive people whose special adaptation to the contingencies of modern existence is to act-primitive-for-others" through staging their particular cultures in institutionalized settings. For MacCannell, such cannibalism is a feature of capitalism, a Western ideology which has abandoned its authenticity in the quest of progress and technology.

Table 2.1: MacCannell's Six-Stage Authenticity

Stage I	Goffman's front region
Stage II	A front region but cosmetically decorated with reminders of back region activities.
Stage III	A front region that is totally organised to look like a back region.
Stage IV	A highly modified back stage that is open to visitors
Stage V	A back stage that has been cleaned up or altered to accommodate occasional visitors
Stage VI	Goffman's back region

(Source: MacCannell, 1973)

Staged authenticity also presents the split between subject and role, or the real and the represented, that accompanies performances of culture and often carries with it the implications of a lapse in time. Tourism situates people within zones of contact while denying the "reality" of this contact (Taylor, 2001). Tourist attractions, such as theme parks and folk villages, market authenticity but in fact thwart the tourists' assumed desire for genuine experiences. For example, ethnic dance performances take place in a given tourism encounter and generally allow for little personal contact between guests and ethnic hosts. Cultural performance tends to rely on caricature and stereotype. Often, the more structured the event and the shorter the visit, the less opportunity tourists have to make "sincere" contact with local communities. Because tourists are denied contact with the performers who, for the most part, remain on stage, such performances transmit the over-signification of an identity of difference (Taylor, 2001). Palmer (1994) suggested that cultural tourism should be viewed as "enclave tourism" in which cross-cultural understanding is discouraged

in favour of voyeurism through a clear demarcation between the tourists and locals, the front stage and back stage. Thus, authenticity should be contrasted with the experience associated with visits to commercial attractions, reconstructed sites and other artificial or contrived manifestations of culture. The search for the authentic cultural experience has been described as the search for "the unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched and traditional" (Handler, 1986, p. 2).

Authenticity is an eminently modern value whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence (Cohen, 1988). Modernity can be understood as (1) the overall process of social change that accompanies economic development, and (2) Westernization (Larkin and Peters, 1983, p. 163). Berman (1970, p. 4) argued that modernity enabled one to imagine the possibility of an authentic life while, paradoxically, it set in motion forces that render such authenticity increasingly difficult to achieve. Tourism thus becomes the contemporary embodiment of the exiled modernist's search for authenticity (MacCannell, 1989). Tourism is seen as a perpetual quest for the authentic where "the distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic, the natural and the touristy, is a powerful semiotic operator within tourism" (Culler, 1981, p. 131). Oakes (1998) further argued that cultural tourism is the "misplaced search for authenticity," and that it represents a "false" conception of modernity. MacCannell (1989, p. 3) summarises the relationship between tourism, modernity, and authenticity in the following passage:

> For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles. In other words, the concerns of moderns for "naturalness," their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent, though harmless attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity - the grounds of its unifying consciousness.

The term "commodification" was coined to reflect a pattern of commercialized tourism by-products (*e.g.,* airport art, fake ethnic souvenirs). Commodification is the process by which objects and activities come to be evaluated *primarily* in terms of their *exchange value* in the context of trade

(Best, 1989; Cohen, 1988; Dupre, 1983), in addition to any *use value* that such commodities might have. Baudrillard (1981) introduced one other value embedded in modern commodities: *sign-value*, which is a manufactured signifier. Tourism, as commodity, is best grasped as an expression of the "semiotics of capitalist production" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 19-23). Touristic consumption is "sign-driven" and media-driven, subject to the dictates of commodity exchange and consumption patterns (Watson and Kopachevsky, 1994). Thus, the commodification of tourism has been criticized as the "bastardization" and "pollution" of previously authentic ethnic cultures for the purpose of touristic display (Wood, 1997). The commodification and modernization place tradition and authenticity in jeopardy. More specifically, tourism's tendency to "reproduce" culture in staged settings - to produce "ex-primitives"- is identified as a major contributor to this danger (Taylor, 2001). Touristic ethnicity, in other words, is phoney ethnicity. Often, cultural and ethnic tourism are seen as "development which has the power to dilute unique and authentic traditions with standardised stereotypes tailored to the exotic yearnings of the Western traveller" (Oakes, 1992, p. 3).

2.2 Re-examination of the Concepts of Authenticity and Commodification

Not all tourism is cultural or ethnic tourism and for other types of tourism and associated market segments, authenticity of experience may not be a major concern. Thus, it is an over-generalization and, hence, wrong to claim that all tourists are searching for authenticity. Further, with the concept of authenticity being widely used, its ambiguity and limitations have been increasingly exposed. Wang (1999) indicated that many tourist motivations or experiences cannot be explained in terms of the conventional concept of authenticity because it is relevant only to a narrow range of tourism, such as ethnic, heritage or cultural tourism, which involve the representation of the other or of the past. Handler and Linnekin (1991) proposed that the concept of authenticity is "a red herring" of spurious essentialism, because all culture is mere social construction, constantly re-invented to serve

present purposes, in our radically poly-vocal milieu. Preston (1999) argued that authenticity is not equal to historical accuracy and tradition is not equal to truth. Instead, authentic traditions express the integrity of their cultural form and structure. The argument challenges the conventional dichotomy that traditional authenticity is conceived either as something objective, passively inherited, embodied and transmitted or as the purely contemporary product of human self-consciousness.

Thus, the concepts of authenticity and commodification have recently been re-examined (Cohen, 1988; Hughes, 1995; Pearce and Moscardo, 1986; Vallee, 1987). For example, Vallee (1987), through a series of case studies, concluded that cynical tourism commentators, represented by Boorstin and MacCannell, have probably overstated the importance of authenticity. Vallee argued that authenticity as a factor in tourism motivations may be composed of two elements: behavioural and situational. Authenticity implies a combination of both an appropriate setting, representing a back stage social environment, and a set of appropriate actions by the visitor, such as eating local cuisine and meeting local residents. At the same time, inauthenticity is not inherent in the touristic experience but rather is a variable that depends upon the expectations and goals of the tourist (Redfoot, 1984).

Cohen (1988) argued that "authenticity" is a socially constructed concept and its social connotation is not given but is "negotiable". Authenticity and falseness are not a dichotomous pair of concepts. The quest for authenticity should be judged against varying types of visitor profiles (*c.f.,* experimental visitors, experiential visitors, recreational visitors, and diversionary visitors). Herbert (1995) concluded from case studies in Europe that tourists usually desire to experience their own concepts of history, such as heritage and indigenous arts, not necessarily what is factual. Herbert further suggested that "if the experience is authentic to the visitor, that is sufficient" (p.45) and "if visitors gain a meaningful experience, that is authenticity whatever its grounding in reality" (p.46).

However, it is important for interpretation to be as historically accurate as possible to help eliminate visitors' misconceptions, pre-judgements, and biases. Therefore, some indigenous societies may seek to use tourism as a means of reinforcing their uniqueness to both themselves and to the tourists (Ryan, 1991). An example of this can be found in St. Jacobs, Ontario, where the Mennonite community has established a small interpretative centre which portrays the history of the Mennonite movement from its European origins. The centre serves to interpret the community's culture for the tourist in a manner that the Mennonites wish to portray. It seeks to establish an empathy on the part of the tourist for the community and to generate the understanding of different practices, thereby, enhancing authenticity.

Wang (1999) categorised three types of authenticity in terms of tourist experiences: (1) "objective authenticity" refers to the authenticity of original and authentic experiences in tourism equated to an epistemological experience (*i.e.,* cognition) of the authenticity of originals; (2) "constructive authenticity" refers to the authenticity projected onto toured objects by tourism producers in terms of their imagery, expectations, preferences, beliefs, powers, etc. The authenticity of toured objects is in fact symbolic authenticity; and (3) "existential authenticity" refers to a potential existential state of being that is to be activated by tourist activities. Existential authenticity can have nothing to do with the authenticity of toured objects. Thus, tourist quests for authenticity vary from one person to another. Other case studies also suggest that the concept of front and back regions is not as distinctive and important as originally anticipated (Stanton, 1977; Wall and Oswald, 1990). Authenticity can be experienced when tourists meet "authentic" people in certain contexts that are not necessarily related to a front region or a back region setting.

Commodification does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, either for the locals or for the tourists (Cohen, 1988, p. 383). McIntosh and Prentice (1999) claimed that commodification should be judged at two different levels. At a superficial level, commodification of

"pastness" has been described as "retrochic" (Samuel, 1994): an emphasis on style, rather than substance, and playing with the idea of period, mixing pastness and presentness. At a deeper level, commodification of pastness can be interpreted as marking needs for iden tity, and the finding of the true self through the appropriation of pastness. Cultural authenticity can be affirmed by individual visitors through the encoding of an experience with their own personal meanings. For example, staged Maori ritual and tradit ions for tourists reflect characteristics of New Zealand's early anthropology such that "if [ritual and traditions] weren't for tourism, half of Maori culture would be gone" (Shannon, 1995, p. 25). In fact, the commodification of touristic productions app ears as a kind of "salvage" ethnography (Taylor, 2001).

The concept of authenticity is a relative rather than absolute. Vibrant cultures are unlikely to be static but may evolve in response to both internal and external stimuli. Since tourists are unlik ely to have been a part of traditional societies, their mere presence is a catalyst for change. The most notable deficiency in the literature is a lack of attention to the concept of authentification. In other words, there is a dearth of research to under stand who authenticates cultural tourism and tourism resources: the indigenous people, the governments at various levels, tourism business, or tourists? The emergence of distinctions between the authentic and inauthentic provides a means to authenticate sites. The concept of authentification is a good way of avoiding personal value -laden judgements of authenticity and provides a supply -side viewpoint to understand the concept of authenticity. It also provides a demand -side perspective if the views of tou rists are incorporated. Therefore, the issues of authentification will be a major focus in this thesis.

2.3 Stakeholders

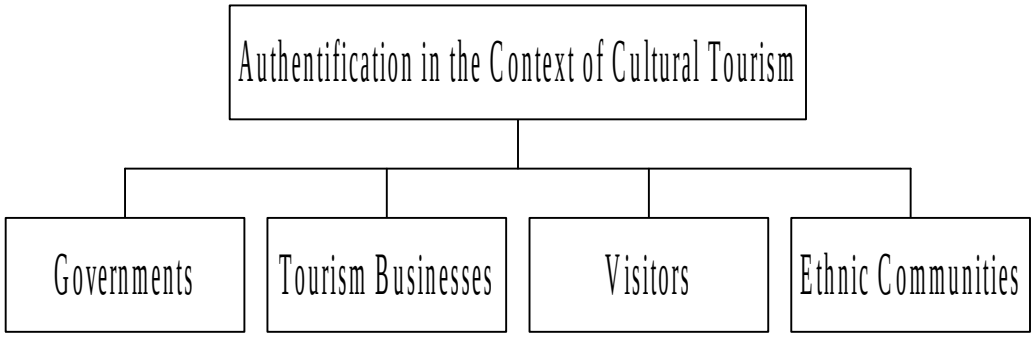
Cultural tourism often refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control of the tourism offerings and/or by having their culture serve as the essence

of the attraction (Hinch and Butler, 1996). Therefore, it encompasses a variety of dimensions including the social, economic, and political, as well as attributes of the physical enviro nment. A conceptual framework is employed to enhance understanding of the authenticity of cultural tourism when indigenous communities experience tourism development. Through identifying key stakeholders, this framework facilitates exploration of their p erspectives on the development of cultural tourism and, more importantly, measures their positions on the tensions existing when these stakeholders authenticate the cultural tourism product. Although the proposed framework was developed from research cond ucted in the context of China by Oakes (1992, 1997, 1998) and Swain (1989, 1993), it is believed that this framework is widely applicable to other situations (*e.g.,* multicultural Canada, native people, Mennonites).

Swain (1989) proposed a conceptual model of ethnic tourism, which includes: (1) interrelationships of the primary groups in tourism development; (2) characteristics of the process; (3) paradoxes encountered; and (4) proposed economic resolutions. Oakes (1992) suggested that in the Chinese case, cultural tourism interacts within three different dimensions: structures of state power, ethnic identity, and commercial development. Hitchcock *et al* (1993) proposed that the notion of cultural tourism is, at root, the question of who should be the main beneficiaries from tourism development and who should determine its pattern and pace? For example, tourism has functioned primarily for the benefit of *the tourist*, and its form and dynamics have principally been driven by *the industry* itself. *National governments* have taken it upon themselves to act on behalf of the people by facilitating or moderating the development of tourism within their respective territories. In the main, facilitation rather than moderation has ruled the day. Meanwhile, *local communities* may have found themselves largely excluded from the decision -making process. Based upon the above arguments, it is proposed that the subjects of analysis for the issue of authentification should include at least four key stakeholders (although oth er stakeholders could be included): (1) governments; (2)

tourism businesses; (3) visitors; and (4) ethnic communities (Figure 2.1). The following paragraphs detail these research units. The context of Chinese ethnic tourism research is closely linked to these four dimensions.

Figure 2.1: Stakeholders of Analysis



2.3.1 Governments

Most nations turn to tourism as a means of economic development and a few leaders see it as a personal political tool (Richter, 1980) or as a means of enco uraging political integration or social change (Richter, 1984). Whatever the impetus, many of the same key policy decisions need to be determined. The structure of state power can be divided into three main levels: (1) national; (2) provincial; and (3) local. Jenkins and Henry (1982) proposed two types of distinctions for governmental involvement in the tourism sector in developing countries: active and passive. The former is seen as a deliberate action by government, introduced usually to favour the to urism sector. Conversely, passive involvement occurs when government undertakes action that may have implications for tourism, but is not specifically intended to favour or influence tourism. Richter (1993), from a national perspective, presented four co ntinua to provide a skeletal examination of how policy makers approach tourism politics:

(1) Public-private ownership issues, *i.e.,* to what extent is tourism policy a government-directed and government-owned sector and to what extent is the ownership of tourism in the private sector;

(2) Centralization-decentralization continuum. For example, in most developing nations, tourism policy will generally be centralized;

(3) Domestic or international tourism. In most developing nations, tourism policy is clearly designed to attract international tourists, because the countries are so poor that a significant domestic tourism base does not exist; and

(4) Integrated versus enclave tourism. This is to signify the degree of integration of tourists and tourism facilities into the overall society. Some cultures lend themselves to this more easily than others. For example, the development of "sacrificial resorts" - like Pattaya on Thailand's east coast, or Kuta in Bali - into which tourists who do not seek an experience of "deep quality" are poured - help to protect other areas (Hitchcock, King and Parnwell, 1993).

In most cases, ethnic cultural changes are justified by the social systems of host countries. Virtually all countries in the Asia-Pacific region have made "culture" the focus of a government ministry. Ethnic labels, ethnic cultural display and tourist access are all tightly regulated by the state (Wood, 1997). Ethnic identification in China was based on the ideas of Joseph Stalin and was seen as being based in a group of four common characteristics: a common language, a common territory, a common economy and a common psychological nature manifested in a common culture (Harrell, 1995). Further, Chinese government ethnic policy draws on both indigenous and imported notions of ethnicity (*e.g.,* the evolutionary ideas of American anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan) (Wood, 1997). Based on the above selection criteria, the Chinese government officially recognises 55 ethnic minority "nationalities," mostly residing in officially designated autonomous regions in the periphery of the country, which range in geographical scope from a village to a province.

In China, ethnic minorities are also peripheral to the national class system. Minorities are often perceived as being lower than the lowest ranking, with individuals assigned to the bottom rung of the hierarchy in a stratified society (Swain, 1993). Harrell (1995) labelled these ethnic minorities as "peripheral people" since the Chinese government has for a long time developed a "stigmatized identity" (Eidheim, 1969) to create a sense of ethnic minorities as being backward, uncivilized, dirty, stupid, and so forth. Ethnic minorities are generally depicted as women (*i.e.,* erotic, promiscuous having not yet learned the proper civilised morals of sexual repression); as children (*i.e.,* childlike and desperately needing civilising education); and as ancient (*i.e.,* primitive, unchanged or living fossils) (Harrell, 1995). The term "ethnicity" also is defined based on cultural distance from the Han Chinese (Oakes, 1997). Ethnic identification and regional autonomy were not about self-determination but about defining regions and their inhabitants according to their backwardness and the need for economic, cultural and social development (Solinger, 1977). Ethnic minorities in China "are expected to ultimately evolve into assimilated members of the majority patriarchal socialist society" (Swain, 1993, p. 37). Therefore, authentic tradition is interpreted as "a dominant culture's expectations of a subordinate group's traditions" (Oakes, 1992, p. 12), and the Chinese state continues to play a fundamental role in deciding ethnic identity.

The state in China serves as a promoter, regulator and purveyor of cultural forms, while also validating ethnic group awareness and legal rights (Swain, 1989). State policies on the ethnic minorities can positively or negatively influence tourism development. Richter (1989, p. 2) asserts that "tourism is a highly political phenomenon, the implications of which have been only rarely perceived and almost nowhere fully understood".

State policies have evolved recently. For example, cultural tourism in China has evolved from "a servant of socialist ideology" (Sofield and Li 1998, p. 372) to "a parade to portray the fruitfulness of ethnic culture" (Li, 1990, p. 109-110). Swain (1993) documented the great changes in

the role of the Sani minority, residents of the Lunan Yi Autonomous County, in tourism from 1949 to the present time. The county was once placed under heavy-handed state control until recently when the government "encouraged private Sani enterprise… and promoted Sani ethnic tourism by using exotic images of Sani women in native dress for diverse product advertisements and by marketing Sani handicrafts in state stores throughout China" (Swain, 1993, p. 39). Oakes (1992) found that the Chinese government wants ethnic culture to be integrated into the state's political and economic framework and, in the meantime, to fill a symbolic and commercial niche in the nostalgic expectations of the modern world.

2.3.2 Tourism Businesses

Tourism has great potential to generate many employment opportunities within both the formal and informal sectors (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Employment in tourism has increased rapidly in many developing countries. For example, early tourism studies in the Caribbean indicated that, per dollar of investment, tourism created more jobs than manufacturing, primarily through higher multiplier effects (Bryden, 1973). Further, Bromley and Gerry (1979) have estimated that as much as 50 percent of developing countries' labour forces may be participating in informal sector activities. Almost all employment opportunities associated with tourism in developing countries may be accorded a high status by the local population (Cukier, 1996). Previous research in Bali, Indonesia, suggested that tourism jobs are highly regarded and provide above-average incomes (Cukier, 1996). Research in Bali also indicated that tourism jobs have attracted village residents to migrate to the main resort areas. Tourism jobs not only pay higher wages than traditional types of employment, but also have relative physical ease compared to traditional agricultural labour.

Mathieson and Wall (1982) concluded that the economic benefits of tourism can be found in: (1) the contribution of tourism to foreign exchange earnings and the balance of payments; (2) the

generation of income; (3) job creation; (4) the improvement of economic structures; and (5) the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity. Cultural tourism opportunities, identified as a major engine to improve living standards, have been crucial in bringing minority communities into mainstream tourism development (Sofield and Li, 1998). Financially, China's government could not find enough resources to preserve and promote ethnic culture. The government declared that cultural policies must fit with economic policies. Ethnic autonomous regions need to "find ways to make money from their heritage" (Li, 1990). Therefore, cultural tourism in China is closely associated with political policy and is being utilized by the state for modernization. Oakes (1997), through research in Guizhou, China, concluded that in most cases tourism business brings a substantial change to an ethnic village's economic situation. Three major factors contribute to this economic change: (1) foreign tourist demand for ethnic cultures; (2) the availability of tourist resources and returns on investments (as a rule of thumb, developing an ethnic tourist village requires less money than developing scenic sites); and (3) cultural tourism offers locals direct benefits that scenic tourism does not.

Swain (1993) suggested that cultural elements should be considered in a broad context in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the internal (family and community) and external (market and state) factors which shape the impact of economic development. For example, through the sale of ethnic souvenirs, ethnic women can often earn more money than (male) heads of the household, thus, the family structure is changed. Consequently, ethnic women are not as involved in agriculture as they once were. They control their own earnings and this has brought about "gender empowerment". Sani men are also employed in tourism service and entertainment jobs, however, their roles in supporting women's production of tourism goods in their households have become more important. Further, the prospering business of selling ethnic souvenirs has motivated many ethnic people to move into urban centres. A pattern that has surfaced is "circular

migration". This occurs when ethnic minorities move to urban centres with their goods but need to return to rural areas to replenish supplies.

Economic development is a critical aspect in understanding the impact of cultural tourism. Previous research in developing countries suggests that commercialization through tourism has reshaped the social fabric of many ethnic minorities. Since the early 1980s, hundreds of "folk culture festivals" organized by local governments have been established in China. However, the original intentions were to attract capital (Zhu, 1999). Oakes (1998, p. 10) once cynically described the role of ethnic tourism in China as an "enticeme nt" for external investment in local economic development.

The establishment of ethnic tourist attractions such as tourist villages is promoted for economic purposes and to improve the economic well -being of the ethnic community. However, the degree to which ethnic people benefit from tourism development remains unknown. Li and Hinch (1998) found a folk cultural village in Yunnan province, China, to be dominated by central government control as manifest through the Han ethnic majority in their roles as pl anners and decision makers, while ethnic minorities worked mainly in operational positions.

The tourism industry often causes another acute problem for ethnic minority groups: the distribution of economic benefits. For example, Jamison (1999) undertook an empirical study in Kenyan ethnic communities and found that the distribution of tourism income affected inter -ethnic relations and increased conflicts within multi -ethnic groups. Toops (1992) analysed the relationship between Han (the dominant ethnic g roup in China) guides and minority peoples in Xinjiang, China. The results indicated that direct economic benefits of ethnic tourism accrued disproportionately to the dominant ethnic group functioning as middlemen.

2.3.3 Visitors

Walle (1996) observed that since developing countries and rural regions of the industrialized world often benefit by showcasing indigenous societies, it is important to understand how tourists think about such ethnic experiences. Stebbins (1996) claimed, without any empirical data, that there are general (cultural dabbler) and specialized cultural tourists. The former make a hobby of visiting a range of cultural (including ethnic) tourism products such as dance performances, festivals and attractions across different geographical settings, while the suggested specialist cultural tourist focuses on a small number of attractions or ethnic products and visits them repeatedly. Stebbins (1996, p. 950) further argued that both types of cultural tourists are inclined to "eschew the commercial husk surrounding their subjects of study". Such an argument does not seem to be supported by empirical investigations since tourist motivations are so broad that a clear-cut distinction between two groups is unlikely.

Kaplan (1996) argued that cultural tourists seek the exotic and authentic in an effort to displace the instrumental rationalism that has come to dominate their life. She described this type of tourist as possessing "a specifically Euro-American cultural myopia who marks shifting peripheralities through travel in a world of structured economic asymmetries" (p. 63). Weiler and Hall (1992, p. 84) stated that cultural tourists exhibit "a common desire for authenticity, immersion in the cultural and/or physical environment, pursuing environmental and experiential quality". Hughes (1995) proposed, from a broader perspective, that there are two possible market segments for ethnic tourism. First, members of the *post-industrial* segment are likely to be sensitive to impacts on the host population and are concerned with behaving responsibly in ethnic contact situations. Second, members of the *post-modern* segment enjoy contrived spectacles while remaining aware of their inauthenticity. The post-modern segment seems to care less for the origins of an attraction as long as the visit is an enjoyable one (Dann, 1996). Moscardo and Pearce (1999), in an empirical

study at an aboriginal cultural park in Australia, identified four portfolios of ethnic tourists: the ethnic tourism connection group, the passive cultural learning group, the ethnic products and activities group, and the low ethnic tourism group. The study points out that it is necessary for ethnic groups who seek to use tourism to their advantage to find out how potential markets are likely to respond to products that they develop.

Cultural tourists may pursue the authenticity of the host societies as a prime motivation, however, there may also be other motivations influencing these tourists. In most countries, mass tourism is a dominant market. "Typical" visitors generally participate in package tours which include a series of recreational activities such as sightseeing, shopping and watching cultural performances. They usually lack the time and the depth of experience to understand the more complex and intricate aspects of indigenous culture. Therefore, it may be wrong to assume that any tourist visiting cultural tourist attractions, such as an ethnic folk village, should be called a "cultural tourist". The definition of "cultural tourists" merits greater attention in the thesis.

2.3.2 Ethnic Communities

Tourism can conceivably influence cultural changes and ethnic identity in different ways. Local identity is always conditioned by a dynamic tension between exogenous forces and local traditions. Tourism may be one of the most intense manifestations of a relationship between external forces and local cultural identity bringing about changes to both the host country and ethnic communities. For example, Long and Wall (1995), based on empirical research in Bali, documented that a traditional ceremony by Balinese communities seemed to be affected by the tourism industry. In addition, they found that those who work in the tourism industry often do not have enough time to participate in ceremonies. Cultural tourism is seen to be more intrusive because it requires direct interaction with the Balinese family. Further, the traditional family structure is affected by tourism

development. Increased competition for tourism business inev itably causes conflicts within and between local communities.

Swain (1989) observed that tourism exerts a great influence on ethnic communities in a Chinese context. By studying the Sani ethnic group in China, Swain discovered that at least three types of cultural changes occurred: (1) multilingual learning; (2) the institutionalization of dancing and singing as performances; and (3) clothing and souvenir changes. First, tourism development motivated many ethnic people to learn English, Japanese, French and German. The stimulation of tourism may be a further incentive for language education in local schools. Second, Swain found that the ethnic performers learned traditional dance at a government -run arts school. Consequently, the traditional dance perf ormances have become "manufactured" routines. Third, ethnic clothing became a business uniform: "Sani women may wear ethnic dress over modern clothes when selling tourist goods. If they are identifiable as Sani, it is easier to sell" (Swain, 1989, p. 38) . Meanwhile, traditional ethnic souvenirs became a blend of indigenous and Han elements. It is evident from this example that a gradual weakening of true traditional culture is likely to occur with growing tourism within ethnic minority lifestyles.

Does cultural tourism change ethnic "authentic" culture in China? In what ways and to what degree? The literature on Chinese ethnic minorities polarises the impacts of tourism on cultural changes (Eberhard, 1982; Theroux, 1988; Oakes, 1992; Swain, 1993). For example, Eberhard (1982) claimed that, with tourism development, China's minorities would either be assimilated or become a living museum. Theroux (1988, p. 251) pessimistically suggested that tourism would eventually turn the Chinese minorities into "so mewhere between hillbillies and zoo animals". On the other hand, many researchers have observed that cultural tourism in China plays a crucial role in preserving ethnic identity and promoting a balanced relationship between central dominant culture and et hnic cultures. Cultural tourism mobilizes ethnic communities and promotes the significance of ethnic

cultures. The touristic interest shown in ethnic minorities awakens latent ideas of identity, persuading the ethnic majority that ethnic cultures are wor thwhile, even admirable (Graburn, 1997). For example, Swain conducted research on Chinese Sani ethnic tourism and observed that cultural tourism can be understood as "one aspect of an ongoing cultural revival… including language programs, lineage, and com munity-based ritual intensification, ethnic arts production, national research, and local culture office" (1993, p. 45).

Oakes (1997) observed that, in China, cultural tourism combines two very different processes to influence ethnic identity significantly : one is the process of commercial, economic and social integration inherent in tourism development; the other involves state policies regarding ethnic minority culture and its preservation. State cultural preservation tends to fossilize certain aspects o f cultural tradition, draws distinct boundaries around local customs and fixes these boundaries in time and space. Such a "primordial" approach inherently conflicts with economic and cultural changes. The question becomes one about degrees of change: how do ethnic communities view their cultural changes with tourism development?

Research on ethnic communities in this thesis focuses upon a specific group, ethnic dance performers in folk villages. These performers are not only familiar with ethnic culture s, but also have a good opportunity to interact with tourists. Their opinions and attitudes toward the authenticity of ethnic culture merit greater attention in this thesis.

2.4 Cultural Tourism Paradoxes

Both Oakes (1992, 1997, 1998) and Swain (1989, 1 993) have addressed the tension between national and local priorities and minority identity. In particular, Swain has drawn attention to three paradoxes common to situations where ethnic minorities have become tourist attractions. These are: state regula tion and ethnic rights, museumification and cultural evolution, economic

development and cultural preservation. These paradoxes are not distinct but are intertwined in intricate and changing relationships. Based upon Swain's work, five pairs of paradoxes are proposed in this thesis in order to better understand the interrelationships between culture, economics, politics, and authenticity (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Five Pairs of Paradoxes

Non-Commercialization	⟷	**Commoditization**
Economic Development	⟷	**Cultural Preservation**
Cultural Evolution	⟷	**Museumification**
Ethnic Autonomy	⟷	**State Regulation**
Mass Tourism Development	⟷	**Sustainable Cultural Tourism**

(Source: modified from Swain's 1989 work)

Swain suggested that the paradoxes of cultural tourism occur be cause of inherent contradictions between conservation and change in the process of development. The paradoxes are cross-cut by the fact that viable cultures are not static but evolve through time. For example, the concepts of non-commercial and commoditi zation appear to be antithetical. However, it can be countered that commoditization may actually represent a mechanism to protect cultural resources and revitalize indigenous cultures (Li and Hinch, 1998). Furthermore, fees may be charged for some cultural experiences and not for others. Destinations that selectively transform cultural resources into tangible products not only facilitate the exchange of this cultural experience for a financial return, but have the potential to create a situation in which the destinations can promote sustainable development through the careful management of resources (Craik, 1991). Oakes (1997) claimed that although ethnic communities are highly vulnerable to commercial exploitation of culture, it does not

mean that all commercialization is undesirable. In fact, the communities should understand that even amid the risks, they stand to benefit significantly from economic development.

Standardisation of ethnic culture controlled by state regulation can lead to staged authentic events such as folk dance performances and costumed photo sessions. However, a focus on the ethnic minority as a tourism attraction serves as a basis for negotiations between the state and minority communities (Wood, 1984). Cultural tourism provides minority groups with a forum for making claims about themselves and their villages that may turn into a factual ethnic autonomy in the near future (Swain, 1989).

Tourists often expect the ethnic minority to be quaintly traditional or in a state of "museumification." While the local people cannot avoid some social and cultural changes through tourism, economic development may act as a catalyst to affect cultural preservation. On the other hand, tourism attractions, such as folk villages, generate ethnic employment and income, stimulate ethnic-owned businesses and offer potential for further economic development within the ethnic community. Consequently, the ethnic minority groups may build an enhanced sense of value for their cultures. The economic benefits may enhance long-term development as well as the conservation of ethnic cultures.

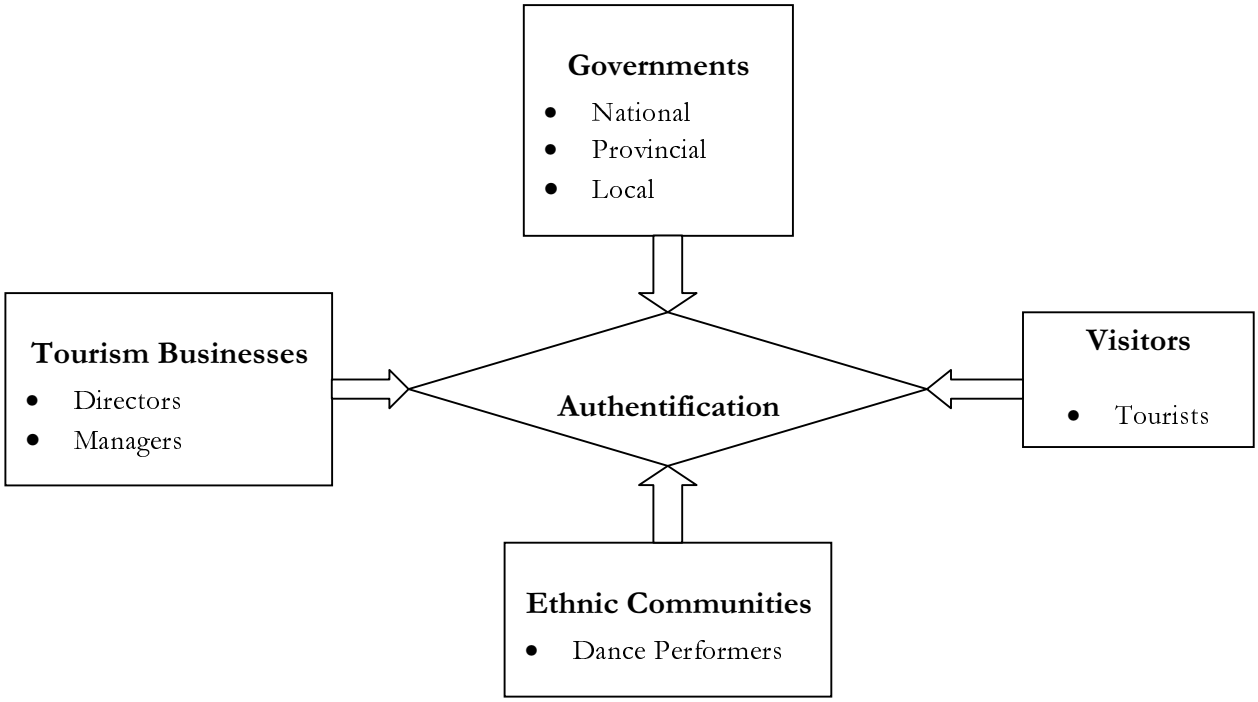
Mass tourism development may cause environmental degradation or a potential clash of cultures. However, it is argued that sometimes positively choosing or excluding expressions of culture for presentation may keep certain sacred or special aspects of an ethnic culture from being denigrated by the intrusion of mass tourists. Further, staged authenticity keeps mass tourism development in these purpose-built tourist villages or other predetermined locations, rather than introducing it to the minority hinterland areas (*i.e.,* back stages), which may relieve the pressures of mass tourism on naturally and culturally sensitive places (Li and Hinch, 1998).

The five pairs of paradoxes provide a broad picture from different perspectives to understand the impacts of cultural tourism and to evaluate the extent to which the experiences provided to tourists are authentic or contrived. However, the five pairs of paradoxes can be also used as a set of yardsticks by which to examine the issue of authentification. The various stakeholders may exhibit different positions with respect to the various paradoxes and the tensions that exist between their poles. For example, what is the position of the differing levels of governments with respect to state regulation and ethnic autonomy? How do the dance performers as part of ethnic communities regard the tension between museumification and cultural evolution? How do the directors of folk villages deal with the tension between mass tourism development and sustainable cultural tourism? And how do visitors view the tension between non-commercialization and commodification? It is believed that these questions can be answered by using a variety of research methods to gauge the levels of tension which exist on issues related to authentification.

2.5 A Conceptual Framework for Authentification in Cultural Tourism

The above review of the stakeholder groups and five paradoxes has provided the basis for the development of a conceptual framework for the examination of authentification in cultural tourism. Figure 2.2 presents a conceptual framework including four stakeholder groups, which, based upon previous literature, should have important perspectives on authenticity.

Figure 2.2 A Conceptual Framework



Yardsticks:

Non-Commercialization	⟷	**Commoditization**
Economic Development	⟷	**Cultural Preservation**
Cultural Evolution	⟷	**Museumification**
Ethnic Autonomy	⟷	**State Regulation**
Mass Tourism Development	⟷	**Sustainable Cultural Tourism**

In terms of the governments, they have been categorised into three levels: (1) national; (2) provincial; and (3) local. It is useful to consider each level for they may hold different positions with respect to the five pairs of tensions. For example, ethnic autonomy is the national government policy in China but it may be difficult to implement at the local level because of possible social, cultural and economic barriers.

Tourism business representatives can be expected to espouse a commercial orientation that, at first sight, may appear to undermine cultural conservation through commodification. Tourism may function as a means of reinforcing the positive aspects of ethnic uniqueness to both hosts and guests. For example, by establishing tourist folk villages, the businesses provide education opportunities for visitors and define key distinctions between the ethnic groups' and the tourists' cultures. In the economic realm, tourism businesses generally generate ethnic employment and income, and they may stimulate the creation of ethnic-owned businesses, offering potential for further economic development within the ethnic community. Whether or not tourism business representatives take authenticity into account when developing tourist attractions is an important research issue. The attitudes toward ethnic cultural development from managerial levels of the villages (*e.g.,* directors, managers) will be the focus in the thesis.

Visitors, from experiencing the tourist attractions, create their own perceptions of authenticity. Ideally, a tourism practice, such as an ethnic tourism site, should provide the tourist with a rich, accurate and entertaining understanding of cultural resources (Gunn, 1994). The tourist facility within or close to the community should evoke a fascinating and memorable tourist experience while preventing degradation of the "real" culture. As noted previously, it is important to understand the perceptions of authenticity from tourists' perspectives. The tourists' attitudes, perceptions, motivations and comments on cultural tourism sites not only provide feedback for future improvement, but may also reflect the degree of commodification of culture.

In terms of the ethnic communities, both ethnic identity and employment of ethnic people are likely to be important aspects of the ethnic views on authenticity. Cultural attractions, such as tourist folk villages, open the window to cultural exchange for the Chinese ethnic minorities who have been relatively isolated from other cultures for generations, thereby promoting national and international understanding between hosts and guests. In particular, employees, such as dance

performers, play an active role in presenting ethnic cultures as well as communicating with tourists. Such cultural exchange opportunities may not only provide visitors with a chance of appreciating ethnic cultures, but also may help the ethnic minority groups to build a sense of pride in their own cultures. An important aspect of authenticity, in fact, is an ethnic minority's perception of its own culture. The tensions between cultural evolution and museumification provide one yardstick to measure the current status of tourism development. The opinions from ethnic dance performers concerning the authenticity of their cultural expressions will provide an insightful perspective on cultural tourism development.

The above identified stakeholders can be positioned with respect to the five paradoxes, thereby providing a detailed picture of cultural tourism development in a study area, including a comparison of the perspectives of various stakeholders with respect to authenticity.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed two of the most prevalent issues in cultural tourism - authenticity and commodification. It is proposed to shift the research direction from the issue of authenticity to the issue of authentification. In other words, it is suggested that it is more useful to identify the positions of the stakeholders who authenticate cultural tourism and tourism resources. Four key stakeholders have been identified: (1) governments; (2) tourism businesses; (3) visitors; and (4) ethnic communities. Further, five paradoxes, modified from Swain's work (1989), can serve as yardsticks to measure the perspectives of stakeholder regarding authentification. A conceptual framework was developed to present the perspectives on authenticity pertaining to four identified stakeholder groups. The next chapter describes the research setting and the background of ethnic villages in Hainan.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY AREA

The conceptual framework presented in Chapter Two is the basis for evaluating stakeholder positions regarding tensions in authentification in cultural tourism. The framework was fo rmulated after an in-depth literature review on the issues of authenticity and commodification. It identifies four stakeholder groups who play key roles in authenticating the cultural resources for tourism. The tensions for each stakeholder for the authe ntification can be assessed by employing five yardsticks modified from Swain (1989). The whole conceptual framework is tested in the context of Hainan Island, China.

It is important to understand the research setting in the country and region under investigation. This chapter accomplishes this by providing a background of the geography and a brief history of tourism development in China and Hainan. It also traces the history of tourist folk villages, and the current state of tourism on both the national and the local level.

3.1 China

3.1.1 Site and Situation

China is not just a country - it is a different world. From metropolises to the grasslands of Inner Mongolia - with deserts, sacred peaks, astounding caves, and imperial ruins - it is a land of cultural and geographic schisms (Storey *et. al*, 1997). China is the third-largest country in the world with a total of 9,600,000 sq. km. It is also the world's most populous country with a total of 1.3 billion people. China is bounded to the north by the deserts of Mongolia, to the west by the Tibetan plateau and the Himalaya, and to the east by the East and South China seas. China's 22 provinces and five autonomous regions are governed from Beijing. Hong Kong and Macao have returned to

the fold as Special Administrative Regions (SAR). Disputed territories are dotted near and far around China's south-east coast, such as Taiwan, Spratly Island, the Diaoyutai Islands (known as *Senkaku* to the Japanese), the Paracels (or *Xisha* in Chinese), and the Pescadores (or *Penghu*) (Storey *et al*, 1997)

The topography included in China's vast panorama runs the gamut from towering mountains to featureless plains. The terrain descends across the planet from Tibet's "roof of the world" in the west, down through the Inner Mongolia Plateau and east to the plains of the Yangzi River valley. In the south-west, the Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau has a lacerated terrain with numerous gorge rapids, waterfalls, underground caverns and limestone pinnacles, making it one of the country's most spectacular regions. Inland features include the Taklamakan Desert shifting salt lakes and the Turpan Depression (China's hottest region, and known as the Oasis of Fire). Melting snow from the mountains of western China and the Tibetan Plateau provides the headwaters for many of the country's major trade routes: the Yangzi, Yellow, Mekong and Salween rivers (Storey *et al*, 1997).

Given China's size, it's only to be expected that its plant and animal life is diverse. Unfortunately, much of the country's rich natural heritage is rare, endangered or extinct, largely due to the destruction of habitat caused by agriculture, urbanisation and industrial pollution (Jenkins and Liu, 1997). Magnificent animals endemic to China - but found in increasingly low numbers - include pandas, snow leopards, elephants, argali sheep, wild yaks, reindeer, moose, musk deer, bears, sables and tigers. The last great tracts of forest are in the subarctic north-eastern region near the Russian border, while the tropical south is home to the country's most diverse plant life, including the rain forest. China's many useful plants include bamboo, ginseng, angelica and fritillary.

In terms of climate, it ranges from bitterly cold to unbearably hot. Temperatures in the north can drop to -40°C in winter (December-March) and rise to 38°C in summer (May-August). The central Yangzi River valley area also experiences extreme seasonal temperatures. In the far

south, the hot and humid summer lasts from April to September and, as in north China, coincides with the rainy season. Typhoons can hit the south-east coast between July and September. The north-west experiences dry, hot summers, with China's nominated hottest place - Turpan - receiving maximums of around 47°C. Winters here are as formidably cold as in the rest of northern China (Storey *et al*, 1997).

3.1.2 History

The Chinese claim a history of 5000 years. The first dynasty, the Xia, is yet to be archaeologically verified but is accepted as lasting from 2200 to 1700 BC. The Zhou period (1100-221 BC) saw the emergence of Confucianism. The Chinese were united for the first time during the Qin dynasty (221-207 BC). The dynasty standardised the writing system and completed construction of the Great Wall. The Tang (618-908) is commonly regarded as the most glorious period of Chinese history when Buddhism flourished and split into two distinct schools: the Chan (Zen) and Pure Land (Chinese Buddhist). The Song dynasty (960-1279) was marked by a revival of Confucianism and urban and commercial revolutions - it was during the 13th century that Marco Polo commented on the grand scale of China's prosperous cities. In 1773 the British decided to balance the books by encouraging the sale of opium. By 1840 the Sino-British Opium Wars were on. The resulting treaties signed in British favour led to the cession of Hong Kong and the signing of the humiliating Nanjing Treaty.

The first half of the 20th century was a period of utter chaos. Intellectuals searched for a new philosophy to replace Confucianism, while warlords attempted to grab imperial power. Sun Yatsen's Kuomintang (the KMT, or Nationalist Party) established a base in southern China. Meanwhile, Communist Mao Zedong established his forces in the mountains of Jinggangshan. In 1931 the Japanese took advantage of the chaos to invade China. After WWII, China was in the grip

of civil war between the KMT and Communists. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC), while the KMT fled to T aiwan.

The PRC made a series of blunders economically and politically. The Cultural Revolution (1966-76) attempted to draw attention away from these disasters by increasing Mao's personal presence via his Little Red Book of quotations, the purging of oppo nents and the launching of the Red Guard. Universities were closed, intellectuals were killed, temples were ransacked and reminders of China's capitalist past were destroyed. Not until new leader Deng Xiaoping did China set a course towards economic reco nstruction, although political reform was almost nil. General dissatisfaction with the Party, soaring inflation and increased demands for democracy have led to widespread social unrest - epitomized by the demonstrations of 1989 that resulted in the bloody Tiananmen Square massacre.

3.1.3 Economy

China's post-Mao economic reforms have generated rapid and sustained economic growth, unprecedented rises in real income and living standards, and have transformed what was once one of the world's most insular ec onomies into a major trading nation (Walder, 1995). Since 1978, the Chinese economy has grown at an annual rate of close to 10 per cent. During the last two decades, China has doubled its per capita income every ten years, faster than any other country d uring the last three centuries (Asia Development Bank, 2000). For many, China's transitional economy is an intriguing anomaly: a transition heralded as difficult and painful has sparked an economic boom. A gradual rather than an abrupt transition to a ma rket economy is occurring, with public industry protected rather than subject to privatisation.

China's East Asian location and associated traditions gave a strong basis for economic development. China is ringed by a number of vigorously expanding market economies that can serve as important markets and sources of investment. But, more importantly, Hong Kong, Taiwan,

Singapore and the Chinese diaspora in Southeast Asia and North America are filled with ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs who have proved to be valuable sources of knowledge and investment and who have served as important bridges to the world economy.

The present economic reform focuses on the process of opening the economy, improving efficiency in the state sector, addressing unemployment issues, and developing a legal and regulatory framework essential for efficient functioning of a market economy (Asia Development Bank, 2000).

3.2 Tourism in China

A unifying theme throughout China's long history of tourism is the place of culture and the traditions of heritage tourism and pilgrimage (Sofield and Li, 1998). However, tourism development has gone through a winding road in modern China. When the Communist Party took power in 1949, both traditional culture and freedom to travel were suppressed, often ruthlessly, as Mao Zedong pursued his vision of "totalistic iconoclasm" (Lin, 1979, p. 1). Only with the advent of Deng Xiaoping's "open door" policies of 1978 were these trends reversed. Since then, tourism in China has enjoyed a rapid expansion as tourist arrivals from abroad increased from 1.8 million in 1978 to 41.5 million in 1993, while tourism receipts increased from 263 million to 4,683 million US dollars over the same period (Wen and Tisdell, 2001). China looks upon tourism as an effective means of regional development, particularly for the economy of backward and remote regions with substantial tourism potential (Zhang, 1989).

There are 55 ethnic minorities in China officially recognised by the Chinese government. They make up 8% of the population, totalling about 96 million people and occupying about 65% of China's total area (Sofield and Li, 1998). While minorities are usually accorded low status in China, tourism has become the most promising industry for Chinese ethnic community development (Swain, 1993). According to the guidelines from the National Tourism Administration in the year

2000, contemporary tourism development and cultural policy in China should focus upon both heritage and the preservation of ethnic minority cultures. Cultural tourism opportunities, identified as a major pathway to improved living standards, have been a key in bringing minority communities into mainstream tourism development.

By 1992, overseas tourists could choose from six different ethnic minority tours promoted by the China National Tourism Administration such as "The Silk Road Tour", "The Sherpa Trail", and "The North-West Minority Cultural Tour" (Wei, 1993). An "Ethnic culture boom" has become a driving force for the economic development of the ethnic minorities' regions. However, the tension between the conflicting objectives of modernisation and the maintenance of traditional culture finds a different expression in the opposition of minorities to central government policies on tourism development (Sofield and Li, 1998). A number of political and ethical issues are at stake, such as political domination, forced assimilation, lack of empowerment, discrimination, exploitation practised by the majority society, economic impoverishment and cultural degradation. Further, local governments may pursue "authentic" tourism products and market the "exotic" image of traditionally-oriented peoples motivated by profit rather than by any genuine concern about presenting indigenous peoples in a sensitive and just manner (de Kadt, 1979; Silver, 1993).

3.3 Hainan Island

3.3.1 Site and Situation

Hainan is a peripheral island with an area of 34,000 sq. km and a coastline of 1,584.8 km. The island is located in the central part of the Pacific Economic Circle and at the same latitude as Hawaii. The west of the island borders the Gulf of Tong Kin, with Vietnam visible in the distance. The east of the island is near to Hong Kong, Taiwan is to the north, and the Philippines is in the southeast. From the perspective of location, Hainan is in a key location in the South China Sea (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 The Location of Hainan Island

(Source: http://gochina.about.com/travel/gochina/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http://members.nbci.com/crystaltour/position.htm)

Hainan Island was described by Chinese ancestors as " *Tianya Haijiao*" (the end of Heaven and sea) because it is far from the heart of China. It has a monsoon tropical climate with annual average temperatures of 22 °C to 26 °C and annual rainfall ranges from 1,500 to 2,000 mm. The population is around 7.3 million of which 1.2 million comprise the ethnic Li minority (Chen, 1998). There are also Miao and Hui minority populations. The island was administered by the government of Guangdong Province until 1988 when it became Hainan Province. It is noted that the physical size of Hainan Province covers not only Hainan Island but also the Xisha islands, the Nansha islands, the Zhongsha islands and more than 2 million sq. km of sea space. These specks of islands, many of

which are reefs and shoals, are also called the Spratly Islands and they have been controversially claimed by different Southeast Asian countries.

3.3.2 History

Historically, Hainan was always a backwater of the Chinese Empire, a miserable place of exile and poverty. Li Deyu, a prime minister of the Tang Dynasty, exiled to Hainan, dubbed it "the gate of hell". According to historical records, only 18 tourists came to Hainan of their own volition during the entire Song, Yuan and Ming dynasties (about 1,000 years), which is about the rate per second during winter nowadays (Storey *et al*, 1999).

After the Communist Party took power in 1949, Hainan Island was used as a navy base to contain Southeast Asia and surrounding contentious territories. Hainan's development remains substantially behind other areas of southern coastal China. Some argue that this resulted from the "colonial policy" of the mainland toward the island in the pre-reform period: as an outpost of national defense and a source of domestic rubber production developed after the US-led embargoes of the early 1950s (Cadario *et al*, 1992). Further, Hainan did not attract significant investment in nonagricultural activities. Even after China's reforms began in 1978, the central government's limited support for infrastructure development in the province made Hainan's lag in industry and infrastructure difficult to overcome.

The entire island of Hainan was designated a Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in 1988. The SEZ allowed Hainan to offer foreign investors an attractive package of tax exemptions, duty free status for production inputs, etc. In addition, Beijing declared its intention to make Hainan a special area that would go beyond the other SEZs in system reform. It was to have a "small government and large society," implying minimal detailed government intervention in the economy and few state-operated enterprises (Cadario *et al*, 1992). More specifically, the island was to be permitted to

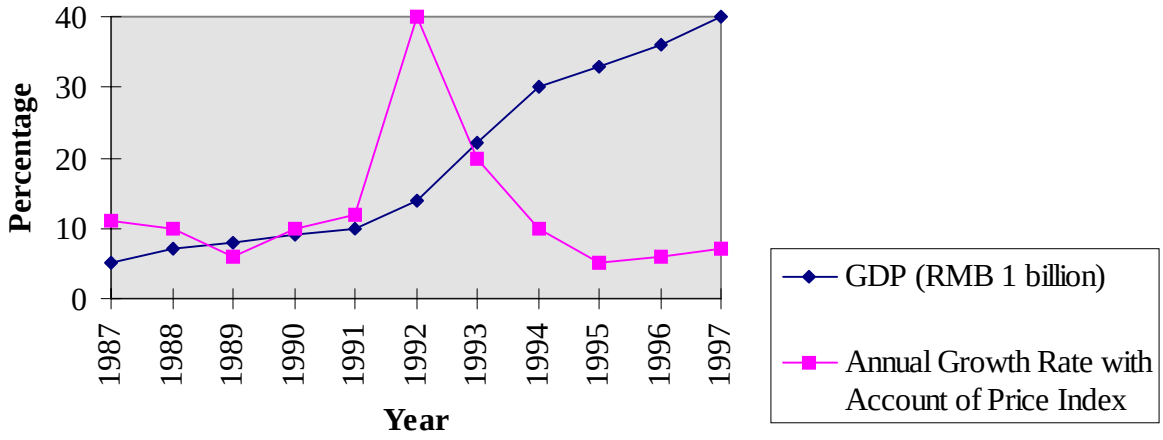
offer investors land-use rights on a leasehold basis for up to 70 years, to operate a free market in foreign exchange and, in general, to function primarily by market principles, with no discrimination among enterprises on the basis of their ownership status (Cadario *et al*, 1992). In terms of taxation, the income tax of an enterprise would be collected at 15% rather than the 33% as at the national level. Hainan also differs in its ability to offer slightly relaxed restrictions on business scope and foreign currency remittances. Investors abroad are encouraged to set up enterprises with preferences in such areas as loans, site selection and land transfer. In addition, visa authorisation procedures for foreigners are somewhat easier than those in other SEZs. Hainan is the only province in China that implements "visa issued on spot" for temporary visitors (Cadario *et al*, 1992). This regulation significantly increases accessibility to the island and is potentially advantageous to the development of international tourism.

3.3.3 Economy

Due to the advantageous preferential policies, much attention has been drawn to Hainan from both home and abroad, creating great changes and remarkable economic achievements. As can been seen from Figure 3.2, at the end of 1997, the GDP was RMB 40.99 billion (C$8.19 billion), an increase of 615% compared to RMB 5.73 billion (C$1.14 billion) in 1987 (Source: Statistics Bureau of Hainan, 1998). However, Hainan's economy was developed as an enclave of free-market bedlam operating on the periphery of the law. Instead of establishing a solid economic foundation, it turned into a place for auto smuggling, real estate speculation and corruption. One of the most famous fiascos occurred when the provincial government imported 90,000 duty-free Japanese cars in 1993 and resold them on the mainland at a 150% profit (Storey *et. al*, 1999). The army and navy were enlisted to transport the vehicles, which traced the chain of command to the Governor of Hainan. Land

prices tripled in value between January and June 1992 and the island opened a stock market without authorisation in the same year and was forced to close it two years later.

Figure 3.2. GDP Growth in Hainan, 1987-1997



Therefore, after experiencing the most prosperous growth in the period of 1991 -1992, the bubble burst and a fragile economy has since seen a much reduced annual growth rate. The legacy of real estate speculation left numerous shells of unfinished construction. The effects of the bubble economy have lingered, leaving an economic growth rate that was ranked the second lowest nationwide in 1998 (Hainan Daily, 1999).

Regarding economic structure, primary industry benefits a lot from the tropical climate. Agriculture is still the mainstay of Hainan's economy and accounts for 62% of Hainan's GDP (Cadario *et al*, 1992). While the main crops are plantation rubber, smallholder rice paddies and vegetable plots, growth in the last decade has been concentrated in commercial crops - coffee and tea, bananas, pepper, sugar cane, and tropical medical herbals. For example, approximately 60 -70% of a farmer's average income is generated by the export of vegetables and fruits to mainland China during the winter season (Li, 1998).

Economic development also causes serious regional and subregional disparities in Hainan which hamper further economic development. However, improvements in infrastructure have laid a solid foundation for economic development. In particular, the construction of the eastern freeway between the cities of Haikou and Sanya has spurred economic development in cities and townships along the freeway. On the other hand, in the western part of Hainan, where infrastructure construction has not received much attention from the provincial government, economic development has lagged behind. For example, in 1997, the annual income per person in Haikou was 8,470 RMB (Can$1,694), compared to 5,755 RMB (Can$1,151) in Dongfang, the largest city in the western part of Hainan (Statistics Bureau of Hainan, 1998). The degree of discrepancy can also be seen in the extent of construction of roads, highways, power plants and telecommunication facilities. Increases in accessibility provide convenience and incentives for visiting, either for the purpose of sightseeing or investment, and help promote the development of tourism.

3.4. Ethnic Minorities in Hainan

There is a paucity of literature about ethnic minorities in Hainan. Hainan is home to the Li ethnic group with a population of about 1.11 million (Wang *et al*, 1992). Hainan is also home to other ethnic groups including Miao and Hui, each with a population of approximately 60,000 and 10,000, respectively (Hainan Tour Atlas, 1997). Minority populations are concentrated in the south-central part of the island, in the Li and Miao Autonomous Prefecture. The Prefecture covers an area of 1,169 square kilometres and has a population of 100,000, 59% of whom are Li (Hainan Tour Atlas, 1997). In addition, there are locations in Hainan with Hui (Moslem or "Utsat") and Indonesian Chinese minorities (Pang, 1996). The Li minority had no written script. Its spoken language belongs to the Chinese-Tibetan language family (Wu, 1991). A new romanised script was created for

the Li ethnic group in 1957 with the government's help; however, many of them now speak the Chinese language, *i.e.*, Mandarin

3.4.1 History

According to historical records, the term "Li" first appeared in the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The Li are believed to be descendants of the ancient Yue ethnic group, with especially close relations to the Luoyues - a branch of the Yues - who migrated from Guangdong and Guangxi on the mainland to Hainan Island long before the Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.) (Su *et al*, 1994). Archaeological finds on the island show that Li ancestors settled there some 3,000 years ago during the late Shang Dynasty or early Zhou Dynasty when they led a primitive, matriarchal, communal life. Ethnically, the Lis ar e closely related to the Zhuang, Bouyei, Shui, Dong and Dai ethnic groups, and their languages bear resemblance in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary (Su *et al*, 1994). The Han ethnic majority group began to settle on the island also before the Qin Dyna sty as farmers, fishers and merchants. In the 6th century, Madame Xian, a political leader of the Yues in southwest Guangdong, Hainan and the Leizhou Peninsula, pledged allegiance to the Sui Dynasty. Her effort in promoting national unity and unification of the country not only enhanced the relationship between Hainan Island and the central part of China but also helped the development of the primitive Li society by introducing feudal elements into it (Wang *et al*, 1992).

The Tang Dynasty (618-907) further strengthened central control over the Li areas by setting up five prefectures which consisted of 22 counties. In the Song Dynasty (960 -1279), rice cultivation was introduced and irrigation developed, and local farmers were able to grow four crops of rami e annually. Brocade woven by Li women became popular in central China. In the early Yuan Dynasty, Huang Daopo, the legendary weaver in Chinese history, achieved her excellence by learning weaving techniques from the Li. Running away as a child bride fro m her home in Shanghai,

she came to Hainan and lived with the Li. After returning to Shanghai, she passed on the Li techniques to others and invented a cotton fluffer, a pedal spinning wheel and looms, which were the most advanced in the world at the time (Wang *et al*, 1992).

The feudal mode of production became dominant in Hainan during the Ming and Qing dynasties, as elsewhere in China. Most of the land was in the hands of a small number of landlords, and peasants were exploited by usury and land rent. Large tracts of land were seized by the government for official use. Consequently, there has been a long history of rebellion by the Li against the Han majority (Su *et al*, 1994). For example, in the Song and Yuan dynasties, the Li in Hainan staged 18 large-scale uprisings; during the Ming and Qing dynasties 14 major rebellions took place (Wu, 1991).

The Japanese invaded Hainan Island in 1939. The Li minority aided the Communist guerrillas on the island and formed an anti -Japanese guerrilla force. Perhaps partially for this reason the island's centre was made an autonomous region after the Communists came to power.

3.4.2 Customs

Traditionally, Li women wear buttonless blouses and tight -fitting skirts. Women in some places wear pullovers (Figure 3.3). They wear their hair in a coil at the back and pin it with bone hairpins and wear embroidered kerchiefs. They like silver jewellery and some still tattoo their faces. Men wear collarless jackets, and those in Dongfang County wear much the same kind of jac kets as women (Wu, 1991).

Figure 3.3 Traditional Li Women in Dongfang County, Hainan

In terms of food, the Li people like roast meat and pickled sour meat mixed with rice meal and wild herbs. Arica is a favourite with women, who chew it with shell a shes wrapped in green leaves; the juice dyes their lips red. The Li are also heavy smokers and drinkers.

Several families related by blood live together, pooling their labour and sharing the harvest. They dwell in boat-shaped thatched bamboo houses with w oven bamboo or rattan floors half a meter above the ground. These houses have mud plastered walls (Wang *et al*, 1992).

The Li people are monogamous and close relatives are not allowed to marry each other. Before 1949, marriages were arranged by parents whe n their children were still young and bride prices were as high as several hundred silver dollars or several head of cattle. Those who could not afford the bride price were indentured to the bride's family for several years. Shortly after the wedding, the bride went back to live with her own parents until she knew she had become pregnant.

Death was announced by the firing of guns, and the body was put into a coffin hewed out of a single log and was buried in the village cemetery. Before 1949, animism a nd ancestor worship

were common among the Li who also believed in witchcraft. These old customs have gradually gone out of practice since the Communist Party took power (Wang *et al*, 1992).

The Li are known for their skill in weaving kapok. They are also famed for their knowledge of herbal medicine. Their remedies for snakebites and rabies have proven to be very effective (Wang *et al*, 1992). They keep a primitive calendar and calculate according to a 12-day cycle, with each day named after an animal, similar to the 12 earthly branches used by the Han people.

3.4.3 Socio-Economic Conditions

The Li economy was relatively backward. In general, the level of development in agriculture and handicrafts was lower than that of the Han areas, so were commerce and animal husbandry. In the heart of the Wuzhi Mountains, around 13,000 Li still live a primitive communal life of collective farming (Wang *et al*, 1992). A communal farm consisted of several families related by blood. They worked collectively and shared the harvests. This area was regarded by governments as being the most economically backward region in the island.

The communal farms - the *Hemus* - fell into two major categories: smaller farms based on maternal or paternal blood relations and larger farms which admitted "outsiders" who had no blood ties with the original member families (Wang *et al*, 1992). Each commune had a headman who was in charge of production and distribution and officiated at religious ceremonies with his wife's assistance. The headman was also a social leader who mediated disputes and was empowered to admit "outsiders" as communal members. While farm cattle remained public property, farm tools, hunting and fishing gear and work tools were privately owned by families.

A social unit called "*kom*" existed for a long time in the Li areas. *Kom*s were different in size and had strict territorial boundaries. A big *kom* consisted of several small ones which in turn were usually formed by two villages. Most disputes between the *kom*s arose over infringement of each

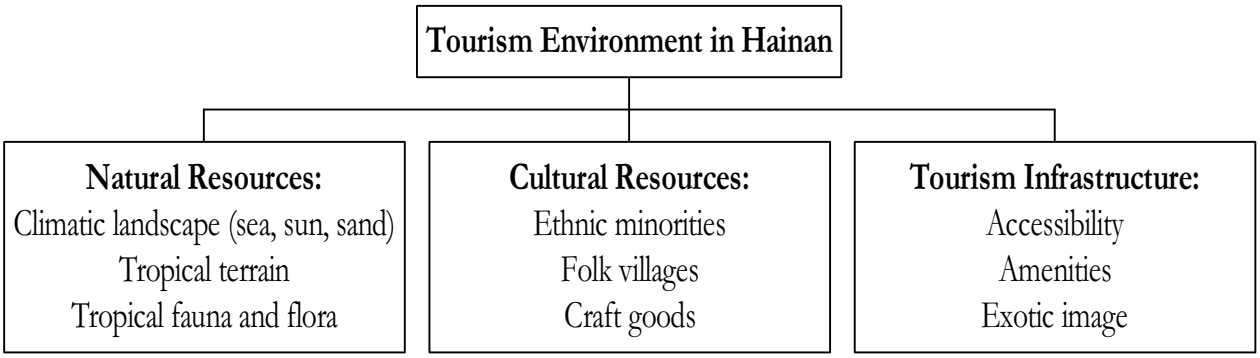
other's territory for hunting, fishing or wood -cutting purposes. Like many of the communal farms, the *kom*s were based on blood relations, and each had one or several headmen chosen for their administrative ability or seniority. Headmen chaired meetings, settled disputes and formulated regulations.

The Hainan Li-Miao Autonomous Prefecture was founded in July 1952 and the government provided the local people with seeds, farm tools, cattle and grain to help them develop production . Land reform brought tremendous changes to the Li areas. New irrigation projects and improved farming methods have contributed tremendously to the growth of the rural economy over the years. Furthermore, hospitals, epidemic prevention stations and clini cs have been set up in the prefecture and all the counties. Smallpox and cholera, once rampant in ethnic communities, have been brought under control while the incidence of malaria, once widespread, has been reduced drastically.

3.5 Tourism in Hainan

Tourism has received extensive attention since Hainan was designated an open area in 1983. The provincial government has provided a series of preferential policies for tourism development. For example, the government issued "the Regulations of Tourist Manag ement of Hainan Province" and "Rule of Tourist Management of Hainan Province" for protecting the rights of tourists and tourism developers. Prosser (1982) suggested that three types of resources have strong tourism potential: (1) natural environment; (2) traditional environment; and (3) amenities. Given that suggestion, it is proposed that tourism attributes in Hainan can be viewed from three similar perspectives: (1) natural resources; (2) cultural resources; and (3) tourism infrastructure (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Tourism Resources in Hainan



Hainan Island lies between the tropics and subtropics and has rich natural resources. Its tropical climate, splendid beaches, spas, attractive landscapes and cuisine constitute a solid base on which tourism can be built. The main attractions, centred on Sanya in the south, are nature sites and beaches. The beach at Yalong Bay to the east of Sanya features a 7 km strip of sand which is much longer than the longest beach in Hawaii. It has therefore been dubbed "the Chinese Hawaii". Further, Hainan has unique tropical forests in the western part of the island with great potential as an excellent ecotourism destination.

As noted previously, Hainan has a wealth of ethnic cultures, in p articular, the Li and Miao ethnic minorities. Although the minority populations are not heavily involved in tourism, their existence is widely publicized in the tourism brochures. Ethnic minorities generally participate in the informal tourism sector by selling craft souvenirs and local fruit. However, a small proportion of the population works in the hotels and tourist folk villages. The most visible manifestation for ethnic employment is in the folk villages where Li work as dance performers and staff . A number of folk villages have been established in Hainan where song and dance shows, the enactment of ceremonies and the availability of ethnic foods and souvenirs provide opportunities for visitors to become acquainted with ethnic cultures.

The tourism infrastructure has improved dramatically in recent years. Hainan now has two international airports, with which Hainan has been able to connect with most of the major cities in China and some elsewhere in Southeast Asia. The number of hotels increased from 31 in 1987 to 251 in 1997, that is 7 times more than in 1987 (Statistics Bureau of Hainan, 1998). Also, 9.5% of these hotels meet upscale market demands, including two 5-star hotels, five 4-star hotels and seventeen 3-star hotels (Hainan Tourism Bureau, 1999). Tourists to Hainan increased rapidly from 1987 to 1997, with the fastest growth occurring in domestic tourism - domestic tourists grew by more than 9 times between 1987 and 1997 (Statistic Bureau of Hainan, 1998). The number of international visitors also grew but more slowly - the proportion of foreign visitors in 1997 has almost doubled since 1987. Of the international arrivals, the majority are overseas Chinese.

Nonetheless, the Hainan tourism industry faces many challenges. Most visitors come from Mainland China and the number of international visitors continues to be small. While the number of domestic visitors has increased, occupancy rates in hotels have declined and many, if not most hotels, operate at a loss. There is difficulty in finding skilled labour in Hainan and migrants from the mainland take many tourism positions. Members of ethnic minorities, who could make important and distinctive contributions to tourism, are minimally employed in tourism except for some involvement in the informal sector. Thus, while Hainan has great tourism potential, this potential has yet to be realized

3.6 Tourist Folk Villages

In recent years, several travel market segments have increasingly sought destinations with abundant cultural resources. Gunn (1994), in his book *Tourism Planning*, suggested the development of an ethnic interpretative centre as a major cultural tourist attraction in ethnic communities. The purpose of the centre would be to give visitors descriptive information and interpretation by means of ethnic

performance, guidance, exhibits and demonstrations. Visitors may gain rich experiences without destroying the setting. More specifically, ethnic folk villages are purpose-built tourist attractions that provide visitors with access to expressions of folk culture for a fee. They are essentially small theme parks in which the theme is ethnicity. These villages not only serve as a model culture that selectively attempts to portray the best of those tangible, believable aspects of indigenous culture with which the tourist can identify (Stanton, 1977), but also provide an opportunity for the ethnic minorities to interact with the outsiders.

The forerunner of the folk village made its appearance at the turn of the last century, though there is some dispute regarding its origins. Skansen near Stockholm is widely regarded as the first of its kind. Arthur Hazelius, the founder of Skansen, travelled in Sweden's rural hinterland in the 1850s and 1860s, and noticed that the traditional forms of village life were disappearing as a result of the growth of industries and modern communications. Hazelius started acquiring objects in the 1870s and eventually mounted a small exhibition in Stockholm. Later, he arranged for the purchase of the site known as Skansen in 1891 which displays traditional artefacts of Sweden, such as houses, farms, workshops and mills. He was convinced that if future generations were to be able to understand what Sweden had been like, then collections had to be formed before the material disappeared. The museum-like village was to be a link between the ancient and the modern (Hitchcock, 1998). Hazelius' concept spread rapidly and the early twentieth century saw the introduction of Skansen-type museums across the length and breadth of Europe. For example, open air museum-like villages opened in the Netherlands (Arnhem) in 1911; Wales (St. Fagans) in 1949, and in Ulster (Cultra) in 1958 (Hudson, 1987). Folk villages, therefore, are basically an attempt to construct or reconstruct aspects of lifestyles that are vanishing or have disappeared in the wake of the vast flood of technological progress (Hitchcock, 1998).

The focus of the folk villages is on selected aspects of traditional and contemporary minority cultures, such as architecture, performances, festivals and music. Because it is difficult to give a detailed presentation of all aspects of the various ethnic cultures, the basic emphasis is usually placed upon the material culture (*e.g.,* houses, artefacts) and the performing arts (*e.g.,* singing and dancing). In particular, the ethnic dance performance constitutes one of the most visible events in many folk villages. Paid performers, usually recruited from regions with a substantial minority population, provide ethnic dance and enactment of ceremonies (*e.g.,* wedding ceremony) for tourists. For example, the Polynesian Cultural Centre in Hawaii provides to the tourist an opportunity to see "real natives at work in their own grass huts" (Stanton, 1977, p. 194). The visitors are, through the model culture experience, able to gain a brief and superficial insight into a selective array of Polynesian cultures without the necessity of travelling throughout the Polynesian communities. The centre keeps alive (even revives) traditional art forms and practices, giving the tourist a chance to view some limited historical aspects of a lifestyle as it once was (Stanton, 1977). Another example is Taman Mini in Indonesia that gained nation-wide popularity as evidence of a vital national cultural inheritance (Pemberton, 1994). Taman Mini follows a folk village format and comprises a collection of traditional buildings, which often serve as venues for music and dance performances. It was intended to make Indonesia known to tourists and to raise national consciousness and identity (Hitchcock, 1998).

In visiting folk villages, "tourists look at symbolic attractions in distinctive styles, communicate and consume particular narrative interpretations and move through tourism spaces in specifiable ways" (Edensor, 2000, p. 325). While it is the more colourful attributes of culture which are often portrayed as cultural spectacles, the performances inside the villages are seen as "disciplined rituals" which are repetitive, specifiable in movement and highly constrained by time (Edensor, 2000). The presentations at folk villages both "create and control a cultural as well as a

physical environment" (Freitag, 1994, p.541). These "themed milieus" provide a pleasurable environment for tourists' gazing and usually present a repertoire of ethnic symbols which provide a taste of exotica and a few key images (Edensor, 2000).

Folk villages are one of the most common staged sites of interaction between members of ethnic minorities and tourists. The operation of these villages can cause and reflect a series of paradoxes and changes that can be used to test the veracity and utility of the conceptual framework described earlier. As such, they provide significant and convenient points of access for the investigation of relationships between tourism and ethnic cultures.

3.6.1 The Development of Folk Villages in China

Since the initiation of economic reforms and the open-door policy, China has experienced an unprecedented degree of exposure to the West, which has been accompanied by an intense collective inquiry into Chinese national culture and identity (Schein, 1993). Much of the discourse of nationalism in China seeks to articulate a contradiction between an avowed desire for modernity and a desire to maintain continuity with a traditional past. The best example can be found in the popularity of Shenzhen's Splendid China, a theme park showcasing Chinese cultures.

Splendid China comprises over thirty hectares of miniaturised national landmarks. Especially intriguing, as Anagnost (1993) noted, is the juxtaposition of this miniaturised landscape of ancient Chinese cultural traditions set within that most modern of all Chinese cities -Shenzhen. The construction of Splendid China in 1989 signifies a general trend in China in which tourism and intensified market commercialism and commodification have combined to invent a landscape of nostalgia on which to build a sense of national identity (Oakes, 1997). Due to the huge commercial success of Splendid China, China experienced a veritable "theme park fever" in the 1990s (Bao, 1995). Within three years following the opening of Splendid China, at least sixteen large theme

parks were developed throughout China, as well as hundreds of small -scale parks (Bao, 1995). The majority of these were based on themes of Chinese history and ethnic minority cultures. For example, by 1993 there were at least 40 parks based on Chinese folk legends, 23 of which were devoted to the classical tale *Journey to the West*, 34 parks based on ethnic folk culture, and 8 based on historical re-creations (Bao, 1995).

Perhaps the most profound aspect of this experience has been a popular fascination with ethnic minority culture as an exotic and primitive source of vitality for modern China as it faces global capitalism and massive changes. Tourism has been crucial in directing China's gaze toward minority culture and in standardising that culture into a set of "authentic" markers easily recognisable for public consumption. The bigge st tourist folk village in China so far is the China Folk Culture Villages which opened on October 1, 1991. The physical size of the villages is 180,000 square meters and it is situated next to Splendid China. Featuring "authentic replicas" of "typical" dwellings for 21 of China's 56 officially recognised ethnic groups, the park seeks, in true oxymoronic tourist fashion, to "authentically represent" Chinese ethnic minorities. China Folk Culture Villages traffics in the selective cultural essence of each particular ethnic group, "weeding out" those qualities that might detract from a vision of multinational unity (Oakes, 1997). In visiting the Villages, tourists are supposed to collect carefully crafted images and experiences that together convey a sense of the wholeness that pervades and surrounds the park: modern China. The touristic vision of the Chinese nation, in turn, is of a poetic and colourful mosaic, a distinctive tapestry woven by the happy and servile minorities (Oakes, 1997). In fact, the fo lk village theme park showcases the integration of the minorities into the one happy Chinese cultural family and the unity of the Chinese peoples. It promotes, and in doing so preserves to a certain extent, the arts of the ethnic minorities as dynamic elements of their different cultural heritages. It draws extensively upon the work of cultural anthropology. It serves the dual purpose of being both educational and entertaining.

Theme park landscapes necessarily falsify place and time (Shaw and Williams, 1994). They generally erase the chaos of everyday life and replace it with essential categories, markers of the kind of tradition the state and entrepreneurs will most benefit from. On the other hand, theme park landscapes provide an easy accessibility for mass tourists to get to know a culture and tradition in a short period of time. As such, tourist folk villages in China strive to achieve a theme park style experience comparable to that provided by China Folk Culture Villages. Shenzhen has established the model that the industry seeks to emulate throughout the country (Bao, 1995).

3.6.2 Folk Villages in Hainan

The folk villages in Hainan are relatively small-scale theme parks, in which the theme is ethnicity. As an island, most tourists fly to Hainan, but coach is the most common mode of transportation for travel within Hainan. There is only one railway, built in World War II, which is no longer in use. Three routes traverse Hainan from north to south: an eastern highway, a slow central route and a complicated western route that links the towns. All routes run from Haikou, the main city in the north, to Sanya, a major tourist area in the south. The eastern route is by far the fastest and consists of a modern highway. The central route traverses the Autonomous Prefecture and the main concentration of the Li minority settlement, such as the cities of Tongzha and Qiongzhong that have the largest Li ethnic communities with 59% and 44%, respectively, of population of Li ethnicity (Hainan Tour Atlas, 1997). Road conditions are rough on the central route due to the jagged mountainous topography. In 2000, this route was severely damaged as a result of extensive landslides associated with typhoon activity. The western route crosses the least developed part of Hainan where tourism development is still in its infancy due to the lack of basic infrastructure.

The first folk village opened in 1992 near the city of Tongzha in response to increased demand on the part of tourists to experience ethnic cultures when driving down the central route.

The first folk village called "*Fan Mao*" was an actual Li minority residential community. Tourists spent an hour or so touring the village and experiencing the "back -stage" life of the Li minority people. A primitive thatched hut was built for ethnic dance performances. It is worth noting that the original idea for the folk village was not commercially oriented. Rather, it was designed to showcase the ethnic culture and life to satisfy tourists' curiosity.

The large volume of tourist flows stimulated the development of other folk villages along the highways. In 1997, the number of active folk villages rose to a peak with a total of 9. Afterwards, the number of villages declined as some closed down. In 2000, there was a total of 7 villages scattered along both the eastern highway and the central highway.

3.7 Summary

Owing to its vast size, diverse population and endowment of natural and cultural resources, China has become a popular destination for millions of inte rnational travellers every year. Within the context of China, although little research has been done on the area, Hainan is growing in importance as a major destination for both domestic and foreign tourists. Although Hainan is well endowed with natural resources for tourism (*e.g.*, sun, sand, sea), the province has huge potential for culture-based tourism as well.

This chapter has described the locational attributes of China and Hainan, as well as the characteristics of cultural tourism at each level. I t also introduced the history and customs of the ethnic Li minority in Hainan. Although Hainan is a part of China, its geographic, cultural, and social structures are distinctive from those in mainland China. The next chapter presents the research methods employed in the project.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

This chapter outlines the approaches used to conduct field work for this project, as well as details about the field research undertaken. It discusses the methods of research employed to acquire th e information needed to answer the questions raised and summarises the methods used to interpret the data.

4.1 Field Research

One of the key strengths of field research is the comprehensive perspective it can give researchers. By going directly to the so cial phenomenon under study and observing it as completely as possible, researchers can develop a deeper and fuller understanding of it. Field research can recognise nuances of attitude and behaviour that might escape researchers using other methods (Babb ie, 2001). According to Babbie (1989, p. 288), "Field research is a social research method that involves the direct observation of social phenomena in their natural settings". Many of the techniques associated with field research have been designed and h ave developed largely through the work of anthropologists (Halfpenny, 1979; Silverman, 1985). A field researcher uses various methods to obtain information. As Schatzman and Strauss (1973, p. 14) wrote, "Field method is more like an umbrella of activity beneath which any technique may be used for gaining the desired knowledge, and for processes of thinking about this information".

Field research for this study was undertaken from May to August 1999 in Hainan Island, China. The research was funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) as a part of a higher education programme in China. The researcher can speak both English and Mandarin, therefore, language training was not required. However, given the nature of research on

an ethnic minority, a translator was necessary when travelling in the ethnic communities. An undergraduate student from the University of Hainan was hired to be an assistant. The student is of Li origin and can speak different Li languages. A wide variety of research methods was employed during the field work. The following details these methods.

4.2 Research Methods

4.2.1 Government Documents and Statistics

Various information on ethnic tourism generally and specifically with respect to China was collected. Newspaper articles and the literature on ethnic tourism have been carefully reviewed. Tourism-related articles from the local newspaper such as *Hainan Daily*, *Hainan Nongkeng,* and *Hainan Tourism,* were clipped and bound by the Hainan Tourism Administration. These articles ranged from 1995 to 1998 and were offered to the researcher for evaluation. Articles in 1999 were not yet organised. However, the researcher collected these newspapers during the three-month stay in Hainan and was able to obtain these newspapers in the newspaper stand every morning. Other published resources, such as the *Hainan Tour Atlas*, provided important information on travel routes.

Published government statistics were used to understand the magnitude and development of cultural tourism in Hainan. The main resource was the *Statistical Yearbook of Hainan* for the period 1988 - 1999, the period of most notable growth. Statistical data were used in order to decipher economic growth and employment patterns, and to assess economic opportunities associated with tourism growth.

There are several problems with the data used in the research, which may lessen the significance of the study. The main issue concerning secondary data is that tourism-related statistics in Hainan have not been collected using widely recognised tourism terminology. This makes it quite difficult to make comparisons with international counterparts. For example, instead of recording

the actual number of arrivals to the island, most of the tourist population reported in official statistical yearbooks reflects registration in hotels. Consequently, the official statistical number of visitors appears to be, roughly estimated, three times the actual one (Ouyang, 1999). In addition, very few cities in Hainan are able to provide even direct employment figures for the tourism sector, while data on the generation of indirect employment are usually absent (Ouyang, 1999). In particular, the data on ethnic employment are scant, and thus provide little help in understanding the tourism impacts on ethnic minorities.

In addition, a large volume of tourism material was collected from both provincial and local tourism administrations. The materials included governmental documents, tourism brochures, tourism magazines, video CDs, slide films, and flyers. Further, the brochures in each folk village were obtained and any tourism-related books on Hainan were purchased. The information from this analysis proved very useful in understanding the process of tourism development and it provided additional insight into the problems and prospects of tourism development in Hainan.

4.2.2 Observations

Observation entails the systematic description of events, behaviour, and artefacts in the society chosen for study (Neuman, 1991). Through observation, a researcher can learn about behaviour and events, and the meanings attached to those behaviours (Marshall and Rossman, 1989). According to Jackson (1983), observation should not be viewed as a "technique" which can be employed in isolation from other research procedures. Rather, it ought to be part of a common core of appropriate research methods.

Observations during this field work occurred in a variety of settings. First, all folk villages in Hainan were visited, photographed and inventories of their tourism offerings were made (a total of 12 villages, 3 of which were closed). Second, some of the most informative observations were made

of tourists and employees' behaviours in the folk villages. Observations of how tourism functions in various administrative levels were remarkably telling. Third, participant observation was carried out in this project. Participant observation is the use of observation and experience in the field to clarify and define what is going to be taken as the problem for inquiry (Neuman, 1991). The researcher stayed in the Li folk villages for one week in the county of Baoting and two weeks in the city of Tongzha. Complete participantion let the ethnic minority see me only as a participant, not as a researcher. Participant observation, in fact, helps to prevent people from modifying their behaviour in a variety of ways as a result of knowing that they are being studied (Babbie, 2001). The observation was undertaken successfully in Baoting Areca Manor (a village which showcases Li cultures) and Sanya Li folk village.

4.2.3 Key-informant Interviews

Through in-depth discussion, interviews can provide valuable data in at least two types of field situations. First, the researcher is seeking general information concerning the research area. The interview method is important when the researcher is attempting to acquire a broad perspective of the area to supplement a specific study. Second, interviews were directed towards selected individuals who possess specific information required for the study (Lounsbury and Aldrich, 1986, p. 95).

Key-informant interviews were conducted at two levels: (1) a total of 10 managers of the folk villages were interviewed. The interviews included a consistent set of open-ended questions designed to address the issues of authentification raised in the conceptual framework. Further, the interviews also were used to ascertain information on opening dates, ownership, number of employees and visitors, income, employment qualifications and other related matters; and (2) a total of 102 dance performers in the folk villages were interviewed in 8 folk villages. These dance

performers, recruited by the village from different parts of regions where the ethnic population was in a majority, provided ethnic dance and enactment of ceremonies (*e.g.,* ethnic wedding ceremony) for tourists, which constitute the most visible tourist activities in folk villages. It was thought that these front-line performers in tourism employment would be able to add a great deal of insight into the development of cultural tourism and the issue of authenticity.

4.2.4 Visitor Survey

According to Marshall and Rossman (1989), survey research is an appropriate mode of inquiry for making inferences about sizeable groups of people from data based on a relatively small number of individuals from that group. Survey research is also an excellent vehicle for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population (Babbie, 2001). A total of 586 visitor surveys was administered randomly in 3 selected folk villages over a two-month period (May-June, 1999). The selected villages were chosen owing to their status as key cultural tourism sites, ease of accessibility, and availability of information on their development. The goal was to interview the visitors to folk villages to ascertain their attitudes and orientations toward the development of folk villages as well as their perceptions of authenticity. Other important information, including expenditures and demographic profile, would provide insights for a fuller understanding of the nature of cultural tourism in Hainan.

A preliminary test of the survey was undertaken to test the adequacy of the questions asked and to check whether or not the people surveyed understood the meaning of what was being asked. Eight surveys were initially conducted and a few minor changes were made in the wording for clarification of some questions. The English version of the questionnaire was also faxed to the academic supervisor in the University of Waterloo and feedback was received in order to modify the survey before the project continued. Although the final survey instrument was not reviewed by the

Office of Research, the instrument strictly follows the guidelines of that office regarding the ethics protocols.

The visitor survey took place on weekends and public holidays to ensure the availability of a large number of tourists. Two time frames were chosen in the day to cover both peak and off peak periods (morning and late afternoon). A research assista nt from the University of Hainan and the researcher were stationed at the exit and parking areas of the village and approached tour guides and drivers. Since the majority of visitors were on package tours led by tour guides, it was appropriate to get permission from tour guides prior to undertaking the survey. Visitors were then approached and asked to participate in the survey. Pencils and questionnaires were ready to pass out when they agreed. Questionnaires were collected when they returned the compl eted form. All completed questionnaires were brought to Canada. The data inputting and analysis were conducted at the University of Waterloo from October to December 1999.

4.2.5 Mapping

Mapping has long been an important research method for geographers. It is able to provide a great deal of information on landscape changes, expansion of various phenomena, and intensity of diverse land uses (Lounsbury and Aldrich, 1986). Since it had not been done before by Hainan Tourism Bureau, mapping was carried out regarding the distribution of tourist folk villages along the highways, to provide maps which illustrate the changing distribution of the locations of folk villages in Hainan. This was accomplished by visiting all folk villages (including those that were closed), photographing the locations and making inventories of their tourism offerings. Further, local residents who lived near the folk villages were asked for the reasons for the closure of some folk villages. Several maps were constructed regarding t he distribution of villages.

4.3 Analytical Methods

Analysis of the quantifiable data from the visitor surveys involved the classification (coding) of written-in answers, the transfer of all the information to a computer, and tabulation and cross-tabulation by using statistical software (SPSS). A number of analytical methods were utilised, including the preparation of frequency tables, crosstabulations, and Chi-square analyses. The qualitative data were coded by classifying and categorising individual pieces of data. The aim of the data analysis is the discovery of patterns that point to theoretical understanding of authentification in the context of cultural tourism.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the nature of research undertaken for this study. Aspects of field work for this research were discussed and the specific research methods employed were explained. Methods employed included the collection of government documents and statistics, observations, key-informant interviews, visitor surveys, and mapping. The quantitative data were inputted and analysed by using the statistical software SPSS. The themes and categories of the qualitative data were classified to interpret the data. The overall objective is to acquire the information needed to answer the questions regarding the authentification of ethnic resources by the four identified stakeholder groups and to reveal the tensions occurring during the cultural tourism development in Hainan.

The following four chapters will each discuss the authentification of cultural tourism in Hainan from the perspective of one of the stakeholder groups. In order to provide consistency of presentation and to facilitate later comparison, each chapter will commence with introductory comments and then each of the five tensions identified in Chapter 2 will be discussed, drawing upon the information gained through the research methods which have just been described.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNMENTS

The political and administrative dimensions of tourism occur at diff erent levels: global, international, national, provincial, community and individual. Regardless of the level of analysis, the political process is dominated by the state. The state is a powerful, resilient, pragmatic and reflexive social structure capable of sustained purposeful action across many areas of social activity, of which tourism is only one (Hall, 1996). One of the most significant aspects of the state is its political form, in particular the relative balance of power between the central gover nment and the regions. In China, with a unitary governmental system, tourism planning and promotion are controlled primarily by the central government. Different state levels tend to be given different sets of objectives to achieve via tourism developmen t (Airey, 1983). Further, different regional levels may have different approaches toward the development of ethnic cultural resources. Thus, the study of tourism policy formation in China is made more complex because the aims of the local state may diver ge from those of the central state. This thesis suggested that political systems can be grouped into three levels in the study of tourism in Hainan: national, provincial and local.

The politics of ethnicity are an important issue for China. The Beijing g overnment that has previously considered ethnic minorities as an embarrassment (minorities perceived as primordial "primitives"), as an alien nation (minorities refusing to assimilate into the dominant culture), as an anathema (minorities contesting the st ate over land rights and indigenous entitlements) now finds that these same minorities may contribute to the economy via tourism. In fact, tourism brings to the forefront the complex relations between ethnicity and the state (Wood, 1984, 1994; van den Ber ghe, 1992). The state thus acts as an invisible presence in tourism. By providing infrastructural support for services, a state can determine the direction of growth of a tourism industry, and it can shape the package of images that have a cultural impac t on the experience of travel.

The growth of cultural tourism has substantial implications for the representation and status of ethnic peoples. "In our contemporary, and perhaps postmodern age, there has been a centrifugal pull of interest away from centred cultures towards previously marginal peoples" (Hollinshead, 1992, p. 44). The current tourist interest in ethnic societies perhaps reflects a desire for authenticity and appreciation of the role that heritage plays in establishing identity. The desire for authenticity and the implications that this has for the presentation of certain social realities for the tourist gaze has significant political consequences (Hall, 1996). The allocation of political rights on cultural grounds may lead to the invention of cultural traditions for the purpose of acquiring such rights, although the allocation of a more universal set of rights which cross cultural boundaries may also lead to the dilution of uniqueness. "Tourism necessarily operates within this conflictive arena" (Greenwood, 1989, p. 184).

This chapter presents information on one of four identified stakeholders – government and the role which governments play in authenticating ethnic cultural resources. In order to understand the process and degree of authentification, analyses are undertaken from three perspectives: (1) national; (2) provincial; and (3) regional. National perspectives were derived primarily from published documents. The governmental documents and statistics were collected during the field research in the summer of 1999. A number of officials were interviewed, including the Provincial Tourism Bureau, Municipal and Township officials. The interviews provided an in-depth understanding of ethnic tourism from a governmental perspective.

5.1 Tourism Development in China

With a population of 1.2 billion consisting of 55 nationalities, a recorded history of over 5000 years and a territory of 9.6 million square kilometres, China is well endowed with cultural and natural tourism resources (Jenkins and Liu, 1997). However, tourism in China is still a relatively new

phenomenon as it did not assume any priority in the government's agenda and had not been developed into a mass industry until after the late 1970s. Table 5.1 provides a summary of to urism development in modern China.

Table 5.1 History of Tourism Growth

Phase	Characteristics
1949 - 1978	Both domestic and international tourism were almost non - existent. Tours focused on the material achievements of communism. Heritage and ethnic cult ures were not promoted.
1978 -1989	Tourism activities were recognized as a source of modernization. Heritage and ethnic cultures were accepted as a resource for development. Tourism studies appeared in universities. Tourism development was slow and inefficient.
1989 - 1992	The Tiananmen crackdown halted tourism development. Tourism was seen as "capitalist pollution" and was discouraged by the central government.
1993 – Present	Economic revitalization has promoted tourism development. Ethnic cultures are viewed as an important resource with which to develop the economy. Government policies tend to be flexible and local policies encourage tourism development.

The China International Tourism Service (CITS), established in 1954, was the mai n government body at the national level and it served as both a government tour operator and the national tourism organization before the establishment of the China Bureau of Travel and Tourism (CBTT), the predecessor of the present China National Tourism Administration (CNTA). It mostly organized sightseeing trips for state guests and foreign delegations since China remained largely closed to outsiders.

In 1965, foreign tourist arrivals numbered 12, 877, the highest number received by CITS for ten years. However, the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution began in 1966, and during the following ten years tourism in and to China was virtually suspended. Prior to 1978, tourism in China was not thought of as an industry but considered as "a part of foreign affa irs", as the government's main objectives for international tourism were political rather than commercial (Jenkins and Liu, 1997).

In 1978, Chinese President Deng Xiaoping pointed out the potential contributions of tourism to economic growth. The CBTT was upgraded to ministerial level and renamed the State General Administration for Travel and Tourism (SGATT). Since then, local tourist bureaus have been set up in the various provinces, autonomous areas and municipalities directly under the central government and in many tourist cities and counties. In 1983, the current name, China National Tourism Administration (CNTA) was adopted. The CNTA began to oversee the use of foreign capital for tourist hotel construction and stepped up efforts to attract foreig n visitors. Later in 1983, the government cautiously began to permit Chinese citizens to visit family members in Hong Kong and Macao. In 1986, for the first time ever, tourism as an industry was included in the national plan for social and economic devel opment. The CNTA began to help set annual tourism industry performance targets to be incorporated in the state economic plan. The government prioritized seven key tourist cities and provinces for tourist investment: Beijing, Shanghai, Xi'an, Guilin, Hangzhou, Jiangsu and Guangdong Province (including Hainan Island until 1988 when the latter was upgraded to become a province). The targets set were to enable the country to receive 3 million foreign tourists in 1990 and 7-8 million in the year 2000, making China one of the top tourist destinations of the world (CNTA Report, 1986).

The development of international tourism from 1978 to 1988 was impressive and it recorded a 16.5 times increase in tourist arrivals and 7.5 times increase in tourism receipts, rep resenting an

annual growth rate of 33.15% and 23.93%, respectively (Lavery, 1989). This growth momentum was suddenly broken by the Tiananmen pro-democracy crackdown in 1989. However, China's tourism industry responded to this event exceptionally well as it only experienced a decline of 17% in receipts in 1989 and fully recovered two years later. In 1992, the State Council decided to construct national holiday resorts and gave a series of favourable development policies for resort areas and encouraged foreign investment. New scenic spots were opened up; new visitor sources were tapped; and related laws and regulations were drafted and improved. To enhance the quality of tourism services and handle complaints, the CNTA established the Supervisory Bureau of Tourism Quality in 1994. It also provided a number of flexible policies for regional tourism development.

In 1978 the Madrid-based World Tourism Organization (WTO) ranked China as number 48 in the world in terms of the number of overseas visitors to China and number 41 in terms of foreign exchange earnings from tourism. However, in 1997, China rocketed to number 11 in terms of foreign earnings after launching the ambitious Visit China '97 program. Tourism income was 4.1 percent of China's gross domestic product that year. By 1998, the tourism industry earned US$2.24 billion in foreign exchange, or ten times the figure for 1978.

5.2 Noncommercialization versus Commodification

5.2.1 National Level

Tourism plays a role in transforming collective and individual values into commodified products (Cohen, 1977), which implies that personal 'cultural displays' of living traditions or a 'cultural text' of lived authenticity has become a 'cultural product' that meets the needs of commercial tourism. According to Dawson (1991, p. 42-43), ethnic cultures are to be "sold" using "professional business practices", through the government sponsor and a revival of archaic cultural practices takes place in

order to satisfy the tastes of tourists. In fact, this deliberat e revival renders ethnicity a commodity. Tourism may lead to reduced quality, sameness, and the potential denigration of meaning in ethnic cultures through the commercialization and trivialisation of important events from the past (Hollinshead, 1988). Culture and heritage, as expressed through ethnic presentation, can be either stimulated or degraded by the impact of tourism (Hughes, 1987). With the advent of the tourist gaze and its attendant market impact, the materials, form and content of many ethnic cultures have become adapted to meet external tourist demands.

The value change associated with tourism does not just occur through transformation of social activities into products. In fact, the government may well create processes of acculturation and value change which are peculiar to tourism. For example, the imaging and marketing of destinations in tourism commodify visitors' and community notions of place. Government and private enterprise not only redefine social reality but also recreate it to f it those definitions (Papson, 1981).

Two of the key elements in the commodification of place by tourism identified by Papson (1981) are the creation of community events and the turning of history into a marketable commodity. In the case of the latter, P apson argued that history becomes sensual rather than something which is conceptual and is to be experienced. For the state government, promoting ethnic cultures ensures the formulation of a new national identity. For example, the establishment of the Splendid China Theme Park in Shenzhen was seen as a sign of reinvention of national identity and that all ethnic minorities had been united under the Communist Party (Oakes, 1997). Minority culture is viewed as an exotic and primitive source of vitality for modern China as it faces the onrush of global capitalism and the McWorld (Oakes, 1997). Tourism has been crucial in directing China's gaze toward minority culture and in standardizing that culture into a set of markers easily recognizable for public cons umption. In China, folk villages traffic in the selected cultural essence

of a particular ethnic group, "weeding out" those qualities that might detract from a vision of multinational unity. Thus, the vision and presentation of ethnic cultures in China a re often conducted solely within the dominant mainstream discourse which stereotypes ethnic minorities in a Han-centric gaze.

The state government has been actively involved in tourism planning and policy making. In fact, the government serves as a promot er, regulator and purveyor of cultural forms while also validating ethnic group awareness and legal rights (Swain, 1989). The government wants ethnic culture to be integrated into the state's political and economic framework and, in the meantime, to fill a symbolic and commercial niche in the nostalgic expectations of the modern world (Oakes, 1992). Thus, the state government combines two very different processes to authenticate ethnic cultural resources: one is the process of commercial, economic and soc ial integration inherent in tourism development; the other involves state policies regarding ethnic minority culture and its preservation. Regarding the first process, the state vigorously encourages commercial development in ethnic communities to "get ri ch by culture" (Personal communication, 1999a). The ethnic tourism development is expected to alleviate the financial burden of the state and eventually reduce high unemployment rates in ethnic communities. In the second process, the state policies inter pret authentic ethnic tradition as "a dominant culture's expectations of a subordinate group's traditions" (Oakes, 1992, p. 12). The term "ethnicity" is defined based upon cultural distance from the Han Chinese (Oakes, 1997). Therefore, commodification o bscures the gap between living ethnic traditions and the official versions of those traditions. Ethnic minorities are associated with very specific and delimited cultural markers that are standardized and circulated in China's burgeoning industry of cultu ral commodity production. The production includes ethnic theme parks and tourist folk villages that portray "standardized ethnic markers". Ethnic cultures have been commodified

with the support of state policies. The result is paradoxical: ethnic tourism presents non-commercial aspects of ethnic cultures through the process of commodification.

Tourist folk villages are probably the most visible manifestation of such state cultural policy. They also play a significant role in defining as authentic the more remote villages that display the cultural forms selected by the state as representing particular ethnic groups. The state thus plays an active role in historical preservation in the remote places where local architecture and customs have served as the model for folk villages in China's modern cities. A combination of state agencies, the Nationalities Affairs Commission (*minwei*) and the Cultural Relics Division of the State Cultural Bureau (*wenwuchu*) (Oakes, 1997), determines which ethnic artefacts are authentic and, what is to be preserved. Whereas the *minwei* is concerned with all aspects of nationality affairs and is the major source of funding in the promotion of ethnic tourism, the *wenwuchu* is more specifically responsible for selecting and preserving cultural artefacts. The state's sanctioning and promoting of an ethnic cultural revival has had a significant impact on the identity of ethnic groups. In other words, the state plays the most important role in authenticating ethnic cultures.

5.2.2 Provincial Level

One of the remarkable features of the reform era in China has been the establishment of Hainan Province and its development as a Special Economic Zone (SEZ). The creation of Hainan Province in 1988 was the first new provincial-level unit to be created in China since the Cultural Revolution. Its establishment was also the fulfillment of a long-cherished local desire for greater autonomy which, in turn, aroused great enthusiasm for the development of Hainanese culture and the search for a Hainanese identity (Feng and Goodman, 1997). The current population of Hainan is about 7.4 million (Hainan Yearbook, 1999). According to categorization by the Chinese government, they are all Hainanese, as long as they are registered as permanent residents on the island. However, the

concept of "Hainanese" is vague. Hainan is one of the few areas of China where there have been and remain entrenched social as well as political conflicts between local and national interests (Feng and Goodman, 1997). In part this aspect of Hainan's political culture is a function not only of its quasi-colonial experience but also of the various communities and the differences among them. Feng (1999) identified five politically significant communities in Hainan: (1) *Old Mainlanders* who arrived before 1950; (2) *New Mainlanders* who came during the 1980s and 1990s; (3) *The Hainanese* who were born in Hainan and whose mother tongue is Hainanese; (4) *The ethnic Li minority* who inhabit the mountains in the central and southwest p art of the island around Qiongzhong, Baoting, Baisa, Cangjiang, Dongfang, Ledong and Lingshui counties – about half the area of Hainan; and (5) *Overseas Chinese*. The latter community is about 1 million, living mainly in central and northeastern Hainan. It consists of families that previously lived on the remittances sent them by family members from Hainan working in Southeast Asia, and the families of ethnic Chinese resettled in Hainan during the 1950s and 1960s from Indonesia due to anti -Communist riots at that time.

Ethnic hostility has long existed in Hainan, and there were numerous rebellions from the Li community against dominant Han settlement. Other factors such as land alienation, onerous taxation and administrative abuses have caused serious prob lems in recent decades. Most administrative positions are occupied by Han people sent directly from mainland China. They generally have little knowledge, understanding or appreciation of ethnic cultures and, instead, hold a prejudice against ethnic minor ities. Words such as "backward", "uneducated" and "barbarian" were heard every time I conducted interviews with Hainan officials. The current provincial government is controlled by mainlanders who tend to deny the existence of a Hainanese culture differe nt from that of the mainland, arguing that the Li have been assimilated to Han culture.

Hainan has been identified as one of the seven major national tourism districts and the only nationally designated winter resort in China. Since the mid -1980s, 123 tourist attractions in 5

different categories have been identified and developed on the island, including nationally well - known landscapes of Yalong Bay and Sanya Bay. Moreover, the province has developed several "tourism development zones" and "tourist spot s". In 1997, there are at least 33 major tourist projects under construction, each involving over US$10 million (Feng and Goodman, 1999). The largest of these projects includes the Yalong Bay National Holiday Zone (involving US$1.2 billion), Wuzi Island Tourist Development Zone (US$200 million), Guilinyang Tourist Zone (US$100 million) and Shimei Bay Tourist Development Zone (US$33 million).

Ethnic tourism development is seen as an integral part of tourism development from a provincial perspective. In particular, such tourist attractions are located in remote areas and help to improve local economic conditions. Commodification is strongly encouraged by the provincial government. As the director of Hainan Tourism Bureau pointed out:

> *Tourism may be the only way for the ethnic Li minority to improve its living condition. Even though I don't have exact data on the number of tourist folk villages in Hainan, I believe that local government tends to support such development. They need money to make change and tourism is a welcome strategy for the community.*

However, the authenticity of ethnic cultures was not determined by the ethnic community, but by the provincial government, particularly the Hainan Ethnicity and Religion Bureau (HERB), a regional branch of the Nationalities Affairs Commission (*minwei*). The HERB controls and monitors any event related to ethnicity and religion. If the selected tourist villages are granted "*preserved cultural relics*" status under the HERB, this implies that the villages are "much less spoiled and more traditional" (Personal Communication, 1999a). Travel agencies in Hainan are thus more likely to take tour groups to these sanctioned villages. This function of HERB provides one indicator of authenticity of ethnic cultural resources.

The most important tourism administrative body in Hainan is the Provincial Tourism Bureau which provides strategic guidelines for regional development. It also serves as a coordinator between the central government and the local tourism indu stry. The attitude of the provincial

government to tourism appears to be quite positive. Tourism has come to be seen as a panacea for many economic and social needs in Hainan. The perceived value of tourism development for employment and economic growth has substantial implications for the allocation of provincial resources at the local level. Ethnic displays are seen as a good way to commodify culture into a marketable tourism product. Thus, the provincial government has considerable enthusiasm to promote and authenticate ethnic cultural resources.

5.2.3 Regional Level

The local state is an essential but often neglected contributor to tourism policy (Hall, 1994). Tourism development is a novel activity for regional government in Hainan. Agriculture has long been seen as the leading economic sector in the province and has benefited a number of Hainan communities – the Li, the Miao and even the Old Mainlanders, as well as the Overseas Chinese and the Hainanese (Feng, 1999). The Overseas Chinese who came from Indonesia have long been engaged in tropical crop production, although often without official support (Feng and Goodman, 1999). The regions also provided substantial land, capital and labour for agricultural development in ethnic communities. However, tourism has been introduced an alternative to agriculture. In Hainan, where a large proportion of the ethnic population has only primary education, work in tourism can be both appropriate and appealing, especially to the younger generation, who clearly prefer tourism employment to the rigours of traditional sectors such as agriculture. As but one example, salaries for employees in tourist folk villages were found to be well below the salaries paid by international hotel chains in Hainan, but they were higher than those of local farmers and peasants (Ouyang, 2000).

Tourism development in the ethnic communities is still in its infancy. However, ethnic communities have begun to understand their cultures' economic worth. But they lack strategies to

turn these authentic cultural assets into tangible financial resources. In other words, ethnic communities are eager to commodify their cultures and to reach what they think of as modernity. Oakes (1997, p. 16) called this kind of pursuit a "mispla ced search for modernity". The perception of non-commercialization from the local is very different from that at the provincial level, as commented on by the director of the Tongzha Tourism Bureau:

> *As long as folk villages are located in the Li community, they are authentic. The ways we judge the authenticity of ethnic folk villages are location, location and location. Tongzha has long been viewed as a Li cultural destination. If we can improve the marketing strategies as well as the transportation accessibilities, I believe this is the only place you should visit.*

The difference between non-commercialization and commodification from a local state perspective is location. The local officers firmly believed that " *zhendè*" (authenticity) and "*jiadè*" (inauthenticity) lie in distance from the core of the ethnic community. However, they ignored that delivery of a tourism product includes a set of services and not simply the location. Other factors such as marketing and management exert great influence o n the success of ethnic tourism. If the local state changes the current *laissez faire* policy and plays an active role in authenticating ethnic culture, then tourist folk villages would not become more traditional but, rather, good at playing tradition. I n fact, the local state is trying to find a balance between power, policy and place.

5.3 Cultural Evolution versus Museumification

5.3.1 National Level

Change is an inevitable part of social processes. The political implications of cultural change brought about by tourism are problematic: they involve the values of both the viewer and the viewed. MacCannell (1984, p.368) commented that "touristified ethnic groups are often weakened by a history of exploitation, limited in resources and power". However, "the objectification of local culture via tourism does not always destroy it; on occasion it transforms and even stimulates its

further proliferation" (Greenwood, 1989, p. 183). Cultural diversity can be both a boon and a bane for the state. More often than not, government officials perceive ethnic differentiation as a constant source of problems. Ethnic groups not only compete for scarce resources but also make claims and demands on state actors. Moreover, ethnic loyalties threaten to undermine the nationalist project of cultural unity within a given territory.

The policies for state government toward cultural preservation seek to "fossilize" certain aspects of cultural tradition (Oakes, 1997), drawing distinct boundaries around local customs, fixing them in time and space, and ensuring that they remain encased as exhibits for the modern world to observe and appreciate. Preservation plays a significant role in shaping a local discourse of place identity and ethnic markers. Tourism, at the same time, plays an important social and cultural role that cannot be dismissed as purely negative. In China, where the central state remains overly sensitive to the vestiges of "local nationalism" or to any challenges to cultural evolution in the direction of Han, tourism provides local minority groups with a forum for making claims about themselves and their communities.

The current state policies encourage ethnic communities to become more "developed" and "modernized". Ethnic cultural evolution is seen as a step towards "Hanification". Because the mass acculturation process would diminish the tourists' interest to visit different "cultures", the state policies cautiously use the term "constructive development" (Personal Communication, 1999b). In fact, the state was relatively slow to recognize the potential of ethnic tourism in Hainan. In part, this slow response reflects Chinese assumptions about tourism in general, in which natural and historical landscapes, not exotic customs, have been the most highly valued tourist resources (Yang-Peterson, 1995). According to Oakes (1997), the state regulates that the establishment of folk villages should qualify according to the following criteria: (1) convenient transportation; (2) distinctive architecture, unique customs and picturesque landscape; (3) ability of villagers to accommodate tourists at any

time; (4) recognition as an important site for local festivals; and (5) support of village leadership. Thus, state policies toward cultural evolution and museumification fo cus upon "uniqueness" and "distinctiveness". This, in turn, leads to the creation of folk villages as "open -air museums".

5.3.2 Provincial Level

Provincial policies in Hainan are struggling with the relationships among tourism, development and place identity. Hainan has long been perceived within China as a "barbarian remote island" and a so-called "cultural desert". Tourism brings locals an opportunity to identify their cultural markers. This process is the ongoing redefinition of place in new terms – some cultural elements disappear, while new elements emerge. According to Feng (1999), one major setback for the advocates of the local Hainanese culture is their futile attempt to revive Hainan opera (*Qiongju*), which used to serve as a strong bonding agent for the Hainanese community all over the world. Hainan opera took shape at the turn of the Ming and Qing Dynasties by combining elements of poetic drama from southern Fujian and local folk songs, music and dance. At its peak in the 1950s and e arly 1960s, there were some 20 professional Hainan opera troupes in Hainan led by the Guangdong Hainan Opera Troupe and the Haikou Hainan Opera Troupe, performing 1,000 traditional Hainan operas and 200 modern ones. Many operas were recorded and even turn ed into film and distributed worldwide. However, Hainan opera has experienced a steady decline, albeit for different reasons in different periods. Its current predicament lies in its inability to meet the challenge of modernization, including the invasio n of Han culture and overwhelming commercialization. To add fuel to the flame, most Hainan operas end up with the death of the leading characters. While love and death are the two most important themes of drama everywhere in the world, the theme of death has become an unexpected liability for Hainan opera. Nowadays, performances are largely organized on occasions of celebration, and the death scene is believed to be a symbol of ill luck.

Thus, ethnic cultural markers have become the primary determinants of ethnic status in Hainan. Ethnic categories came to be defined mainly according to cultural criteria (Harrell, 1990) which established a very important aspect of state-sanctioned ethnicity in China. Cultural evolution has weakened the distinctiveness of ethnic Li culture; in particular, many intermarriages have occurred in the last 50 years so that ethnic markers have become less prevalent. The establishment of ethnic folk villages sanctioned by the provincial government, in fact, strengthens the ethnic identification. Many Li youth have become aware of their traditional past through visiting the villages. The intention of folk villages from the provincial perspective may relate primarily to economic development, however, they also help to redefine ethnic culture.

5.3.3 Regional Level

Li scholars and others sympathetic to them have made efforts to reconstruct the "objective" history of the Li (Feng, 1999). In their opinion, the Li are the founders of Hainan civilization, materially and culturally. They had achieved fairly high levels of development in animal husbandry, agriculture and handicraft textile industry before the Han Chinese came to the island; they are the founders of the handicraft textile industry in China and contributed a great deal to Chinese civilization; they are brave fighters against any sort of oppression; and, they have created fascinating legends, folk songs, music and dance.

The dominant Han-centric vision has important implications for the manner in which ethnic peoples are perceived. For example, there is a fear among many senior Li minority people in Hainan that contact with tourists may devalue traditional Li culture and lead to further social breakdown in some communities. Further, some ethnic dance performers expressed concerns about "being a bit like a zoo, feeling on display for tourists to come and see what a Li person looks like in my environment" (Personal Communication, 1999c).

At the level of popular culture, efforts have been made by the mainlanders to invent new traditions on the island. According to Feng (1999), one striking example is the Annual International Coconut Festival started in 1992. The idea of the festival came from three mainlanders who felt homesick and wanted to celebrate the brotherhood of main landers on the island. The first Coconut Festival was organized with corporate sponsorship but it has been taken over by the provincial government since its second year. The coconut is chosen as the symbol simply because it is exotic to mainlanders, but the festival has nothing to do with it, its planting or harvest, although the time is set in early April to coincide with the March 3 rd Festival of the Li (the most important celebration in Li community). Major features of the festival include various pro grams of entertainment for visitors from the mainland and abroad, exhibitions of local products, and bids for investment projects and other commercial activities. The performances include ballet, mainland operas and Li -style dances, but no Hainanese opera.

Thus, cultures in Hainan have evolved from time to time. The disappearance of Hainanese opera reflects the effects of modernization and economic development. On the other hand, the coconut festival was totally invented and has become one of the popul ar events in Hainan. Cultural evolution can also be seen in the modification of the Li dance, such as the bamboo -beating dance, that has been transferred in meaning from funeral to celebration. Ethnic communities in Hainan, in fact, strive to redefine th eir cultural identities through tourism development. The process of commercialization and cultural integration associated with tourism does not necessarily break down a place-based sense of identity nor render it inauthentic. Instead, it becomes an impor tant factor in the ongoing construction of ethnic identity. It is argued that ethnic identity is built according to a broader set of political, economic, and cultural processes rather than in relative isolation from those processes.

5.4 Economic Development versus Cultural Preservation

5.4.1 National Level

National tourism policies are geared to the generation of economic growth (Hall, 1996). The concept of tourism development for governments is therefore almost synonymous with economic development. In particular, China focuses on the potential employment generation and regional development aspects of tourism. Government attitudes towards tourism changed rapidly when tourism became the major foreign currency earner. There was a feeling that tourism cou ld help unemployment and provide jobs for the increased number wanting to join the work force. Given the fact that the unemployment rate in ethnic communities is high, government tourism policy places the biggest weight on job creation.

The potential for tourism to contribute to regional development will depend upon a broad range of economic, social and political factors, including the degree of linkage among the various sectors within the regional economy. The question of "who benefits?" should be fundam ental to the assessment of development policies (Hall, 1994). The research on Chinese minorities (Toops, 1992) suggests that ethnic minorities have not received much direct economic benefit from tourism development. Other research in Yunnan (Li and Hinch , 1998) found that many folk villages were dominated by central government and that ethnic minorities worked mainly in low -level operational positions. Cultural preservation was not seen as critical when the managerial positions were occupied by the Han e thnic majority.

The documents from the central government did not give guidelines regarding a balance between economic development and cultural preservation. Since the early 1980s, hundreds of "folk cultural festivals" organized by governments have been established in China. However, the prime motivations were to attract capital (Zhu, 1999). The role of ethnic tourism in China is described as an "enticement" which is bait for external investment in local economic development (Oakes, 1998).

Cultural preservation has tended to be a dilemma for the central government: tourism utilizes the cultural resource in exchange for financial success, whilst preservation means to be left intact without development. Tourism, by and large, creates a number of opportunities for economic development and, ultimately, changes the ethnic people's standard of living and, hence, their culture.

5.4.2 Provincial Level

The major weakness of the Hainan economy is its continuous dependence on the mainland, especially for capital (Feng, 1999). The establishment of the SEZ was an attempt to change the current status. Although there has been general agreement within the government on the broad fundamentals of the provincial development strategy, such as "small government, big society" (Cadario *et al*, 1992), there has been considerable disagreement within Hainan as to which sector of the economy represents the province's comparative advantage. Since 1988, the province's economic development strategy has changed direction several times. The leading sector has changed from industry, targeted at the establishment of Hainan Province; to agriculture, from late 1989 when the original expectation of industrial and external-oriented development disappeared with Western reactions to the Tiananmen Square incident of that June; to tourism in 1992 during Hainan's first property boom; to industry again, but with different emphases, as announced by the Second Provincial Congress of the China Communist Party in July 1993. However, identification of agriculture, tourism or industry as Hainan's leading sector is neither a mere question of understanding nor a simple economic decision, but is politically charged, not least since the province's communities have their bases in different sectors of the economy.

The advocacy of tourism as a potential lead sector for the economy is easily understood. As in the promotion of the development of agriculture, Hainan's tropical location is a major advantage. It has beautiful scenery, a pleasant climate and privileged geographical position, and an exceptionally

low level of industrial development. Since 1988, it has been a focus of domestic tourism from the mainland. Hainan is seen as an exotic attraction, offering a very different lifestyle from the mainland. The provincial government argued that money brought in by the tourists is the best chance for original accumulation, given that much of Hainan's agriculture and industry are both relatively backward; that the development of tourism will be a strong sti mulus to improve the infrastructure of Hainan, particularly transport, communications and other parts of the service sector; and, that tourism will create a market for local produce and opportunities for employment in those labour-intensive sectors related to tourism.

Those advocating the development of Hainan's potential for tourism point to its current success compared to original expectations. In the Hainan Provincial Government Work Report of 1988, Liang Xiang, the first Governor of the province, set a target of 600,000 to 800,000 tourists for 1992. The actual tourist number totalled about 2.5 million in 1992. Foreign exchange earnings from tourism in 1992 exceeded US$100 million, in addition to the 600 million RMB (approximately US$80 million) earned from domestic tourists (Feng, 1999).

The rapid development of tourism offers the prospect of substantial benefits to residents of tourist spots and those involved in the emerging service industries in Hainan, including tourist agents, traders, hotel and r estaurant enterprises and workers, transport workers of all kinds, and prostitutes. In terms of Hainan's communities, the tourism lobby includes all the non -Han peoples of Hainan and particularly the Li and Miao. In response to increased interest from do mestic tourists, they have rapidly reconstructed their cultures and societies in forms that are readily accessible. Li and Miao folk villages, complete with instant exotica such as stockades, sanitized thatched hut villages, and regular on -the-hour performances of songs and dance performances, as well as shopping opportunities, have been built alongside the main central mountain highway that passes through the areas inhabited by the Li and Miao. Thus, economic development from a

provincial perspective is rooted in stimulating the recognition of ethnic cultures. Economic development in fact revives the ethnic cultures, and ethnic tourism has put ethnic cultural resources "on the map". The prevalent thinking in Hainan is that without tourism, ethnic cultur es would have already disappeared or have been assimilated.

5.4.3 Regional Level

Many of Hainan's tourist attractions are located in the Li and Miao areas such as Sanya and Tongzha, where tens of thousands of tourists have come to visit every year since the 1980s. The local communities have benefited through growing and selling tropical fruits, manufacturing and marketing handicrafts, and providing other services. Their higher level of internationalization is also shown by the fact that they speak not o nly their own languages but also Hainanese, Mandarin and, very occasionally, some English.

Economic impacts of ethnic tourism were evident based upon the visitor surveys in three selected folk villages (see Chapter 7). Tourists were estimated to spend the equivalent of from 2.5 million to 18 million Canadian dollars annually in one village. The expenditure excluded the admission fees. My interview with the director of Tiandu Township (where the Sanya Li folk village is located) indicated that the local g overnment regarded tourism as an investment and the only way to preserve the vanishing ethnic cultures: "Many young Li generation cannot even speak the Li language now, it is time for them to work in the [folk] villages", commented the director. Although the village scale is small and only a relatively small number of ethnic minority people are hired, the ripple effect is marked. Many neighbouring ethnic people have moved around the villages to form a large informal sector selling fruit and ethnic souveni rs. It seems that economic impacts have already gone beyond the villages themselves. The Li began to appreciate and share their cultures by selling souvenirs and other ethnic ornaments. Even though the direct economic impacts (*e.g.,* personal

income) are not very large at present, tourism development is certainly a promising field for the communities.

5.5 Ethnic Autonomy versus State Regulation

5.5.1 National Level

In China, ethnic identification and regional autonomy are not about self -determination but about defining regions and inhabitants according to their backwardness and need for economic, cultural and social development (Solinger, 1977). State ethnic identification was initially carried out under the assumption that socialist modernization would produce an end to national (that is, ethnic) distinctions. Before 1980, this assumption was put forcefully into practice and the whole institution of ethnic markers was demolished as a remnant of "local nationalism". For example, in Hainan, the Li have been the most disadvantaged group on the island since the Han Chinese established their rule there. They have been driven to live in the hostile mountainous areas of central and southwest Hainan. The Li fought fiercely against Han Chinese hegemony through out the history of imperial China and the Republic period (Su, 1986). Their culture and traditions were preserved intact due to inaccessibility and their strong resistance to sinicization until the 1950s, when the assimilationist policies of the communists were firmly carried out in the Li areas. With the reforms initiated in 1978, however, not only did ethnic markers return but there also was a significant cultural revival that increased interest in the distinctive cultural features of minority peoples. The State now supports the idea that cultural distinctiveness, at least on a symbolic level, should be maintained among the different ethnic groups. In promoting a largely symbolic cultural diversity, the state hopes to establish an environment conducive to national economic integration, geopolitical security and patriotism.

Unlike the Soviet prototype, Chinese autonomy policy explicitly declared minority areas to be an inseparable part of the People's Republic (Conner, 1984). Policies concerning minority nationalities were primarily governed by a desire to establish Chinese national unity and the ultimate goal of socialism. Control is an important issue in the presentation of ethnic culture. However, ethnic peoples who seek to assert their rights, particularly over land, are typically stereotyped as "troublemakers". Thus, the state plays a double role in authenticating the ethnic cultural resources. On the one hand, it supports the cultural distinctiveness for economic development, particularly tourism development. On the other hand, it suppresses any "true" autonomous rights. Examples can be seen in the tight control of Tibet and Xingjiang and the round up of dissdents who support independence.

5.5.2 Provincial Level

Hainan is an exception in China: a distant geographical location from Beijing provides relative freedom of political expression. Following the blueprint of the Hainan SEZ, the new province was expected to build a new and distinct political and economic system based upon new principles such as the "socialist market economy" and "small government, large society" (Cadario *et al*, 1992). To that end, Hainan was also given leeway to follow any international regulations and practices useful for economic development. For example, a *Collection of International Regulations and Practices* has been published in Hainan to educate and guide the government and public.

More reforms and higher degrees of freedom are exactly what is expected from the new SEZ. Ethnic minority communities were given more opportunities to develop their economy. A small part of the ethnic communities in western Hainan was even allowed to grow poppy seeds and other drugs. At one time, Hainan was viewed as the most open province in China that could be used to "test the waters" of any business innovation.

Hainan's situation is not just political or paper-based. There have been new ideas implemented first in Hainan and then introduced to other parts of China. The most striking is the establishment of a much reduced provincial government, allowing enterprises and individuals to enjoy greater autonomy (Feng, 1999). Other innovations include long-term leases on large areas of land, equal status for all enterprises regardless of their different ownership, a computerized tax collection system, and entry visas upon demand on arrival (Feng and Goodman, 1997). The provincial officials always used a Chinese saying to describe the situations: The sky is high and the King has become invisible (*Tiangao Huangdi Yuan*) – you can do whatever you want….

5.5.3 Regional Level

The group most obviously qualified to claim ethnic autonomy is the Li indigenous people on the island. The Li can be seen as a homogenous community in the sense that they share some basic religious beliefs and their spoken languages are intelligible to each other (Wu, 1991). The history of the Li is a succession of conflicts and harmonies with Han settlement. There were numerous recorded rebellions against the control of the Han, and the Li also assisted the Communists to fight against Japanese invasion in the 1940s. Thus, the policies toward the Li autonomy have been mixed. For example, the well-known General Feng Baiju, a Li native, worked with the Communists to fight against the Nationalists. After 1949, the foundation of the People's Republic of China, General Feng hoped that a Hainan Province separate from Guangdong would be established, permitting greater autonomy. However, the central government regarded the proposal as an overly radical idea. This, in turn, led to the repression of Feng's so-called "independent kingdom" and the removal from office of most native cadres above the county level (Wu, 1991).

Hainan was under tight control of Guangdong province before 1988 and served primarily as a navy base to contain Southeast Asian countries. Ethnic autonomy was non-existent and

agriculture was essentially the only source of income for Li communities. The situation improved markedly after the establishment of the SEZ. Ethnic minorities had greater autonomy in de aling with their cultural resources and economic development strategies. However, after a half century of poverty-stricken life in Li communities, the bargaining power of the ethnic minority with governments appears to be weak. The Li minority is seen as a marginalized people both economically and politically. In the long run, tourism development in ethnic regions may increase economic advantages when negotiating with government for true autonomous rights.

5.6 Mass Tourism Development versus Sustainable Cultural Tourism

5.6.1 National Level

Little attention has been paid in the tourism literature to the analysis of tourism policy and its subsequent implementation through tourism planning (Wilkinson, 1997). Nevertheless, the issue of sustainability has become an important issue for many governments, especially in developing nations. Planning for tourism occurs in a number of forms (development, infrastructure, promotion and marketing); structures (different government organizations); and scales (in ternational, national, regional, local and sectoral). Tourism planning has tended to mirror broader trends within the urban and regional planning traditions (Murphy, 1985; Getz, 1986, 1987). Moreover, planning for tourism will reflect the economic, envir onmental and social goals of government at whichever level the planning process is being carried out. Therefore, in many ways, planning may be regarded as going hand-in-hand with tourism policy. Tourism planning in China was highly centralized within sta te agencies. According to Hall (1991, p. 50), "The administration of tourism under socialism…has…implicitly acted both to contain and to concentrate tourism – and especially foreign tourism – within very specific spatial parameters". The tourism industry in China has believed that without governmental involvement in tourism planning, development of the industry will lack

cohesion and direction and short-term initiatives might well jeopardise long-term potential. Government tourism planning therefore serves as an arbiter between competing interests.

China started to borrow Western planning principles in recent years: *e.g.,* land-use zoning and development planning can be found at the local government level. Site development, accommodation and building regulations, the density of tourism development, and the presentation of cultural, historical and natural tourist features have all been taken into consideration for regional tourism development. Concerns over the social impacts of tourism have been raised by some Chinese scholars, particularly the negative impacts from mass tourism development. Although central government still exerts a huge influence over the tourism development plans, demands for "smaller government" have been voiced by many officials. This trend has led to government becoming entrepreneurial in its involvement with tourism in order to increase the financial contribution of tourism to government income.

The state government is facing a dilemma in terms of tourism development. In reality, mass tourism development is the main source of revenue generation. One function of government is to monitor very crude tourism indices like arrivals, bed-nights, surveys of tourist expenditures and gross receipts. Rarely do governments attempt to calculate net receipt figures, undertake social impact studies or make systematic independent appraisals of market trends. On the other hand, state government encourages incremental changes under the framework of mass tourism. Thus, the term "sustainability" from a state perspective appears to be very different from what is known in the developed countries, where social-cultural and environmental issues have been given greater priority. In recent years, China has emphasized ecosystem preservation and regulated both family planning and environmental protection as basic state policies. It is working towards sustainable development and is implementing "*A Proposal for the 21st Century of China*" and "*A Basic Proposal for Environmental Protection in China*". However, in terms of tourism development, the policies still lag behind those in

the West. So far, no single state-level tourism policy refers to environmental preservation. "Sustainable tourism", by and large, is a kind of "window-dressing" in the majority of governmental reports.

5.6.2 Provincial Level

The most significant development strategy involving tourism at the provincial level was " *The Proposal for The Creation of An Eco-Province in Hainan*" in 1999. The objectives of the creation of an eco-province are as follows (Xie and Wall, 2000):

> *The purposes of establishing an eco-province are to use ecological theories and systems engineering, to follow the rules of economic development, to preserve natural resources in Hainan, and to work towards sustainable development. The result will be to combine environmental conservation, resource usage and high-efficiency ecological agriculture to reach the goals of healthy economic development, social civilization and rising living standards, leading eventually to harmony between economy, population, society, resources and the ecological environment.*

The proposal is the responsibility of the Department of Land, Environment and Resources of the provincial government. Tourism development is included in this proposal and the development of ecotourism is put forward. The purpose of the development is to "combine tropical island resources with the ecological environment…protect the natural environment and integrate human and natural resources"(Xie and Wall, 2000). Because there is no single agreed-upon definition of ecotourism in the research literature, the proposal for the development of ecotourism is vague. The proposal suggested a number of steps to achieve this goal, but, concrete plans were not presented. For example, the proposal suggested (1) standardizing the regulations for ecotourism development by creating a couple of high-class eco-destinations as models; (2) encouraging private enterprise to invest in ecotourism destinations; (3) planning the natural reserves rationally; and, (4) enforcing the regulations for the ecological environment in tourist destinations. The provincial government believed that ecotourism development would cause positive economic changes in the western part of Hainan which is the least developed region in the province. A number of national parks are

located in the western part of Hainan, such as Jianfengling National Park, where the ecosystem is still intact. Tourism is seen as a good way to improve the local communities from a provi ncial perspective.

To develop Hainan as an eco-province is certainly wishful thinking at present. Hainan has long been viewed as a "sun-sea-sand-sex" destination from mainland China. Although mounting evidence indicates that the ecological environment in Hainan has deteriorated annually (Feng, 1999), mass tourism is still the dominant travel phenomenon in Hainan and hardly can be changed in the short run.

5.6.3 Regional Level

At present, there is little effect of the implementation of the eco-province initiative for the local state. Mass tourism is still the popular mode for local tourism development. Planning was non-existent at the local level and sustainable tourism development is understood as "sustainable tourist arrivals" for ethnic folk village s. As noted previously, the establishment of folk villages was largely spontaneous at the local entrepreneur level. It generally lacks substantial government support financially and politically. It is also likely that business irregularities have been p revalent in some folk villages, such as kickbacks, commissions and bribes. Local government usually turns a blind eye as long as economic development is on the right track.

Ethnic cultural resources have not yet gained serious attention from the provinci al government. Cultural tourism is still an unclear concept for many local officials. However, during the interviews, many local officials became aware of the significance of developing ethnic cultural resources, as commented by the director of Tiandu To wnship, who administers the Yalong Bay resort:

> *We plan to develop a small Li folk village inside Yalong Bay. Many tourists staying in Yalong Bay hotels expressed difficulties to access the ethnic folk village – they generally have to drive an hour or so to reach the*

village. I can assure you that the village we are going to establish is on the original Li residence and will truly reflect the ethnic cultures…

Local governments thus play an active role in authenticating ethnic cultures. The purpose is to cater to the upscale market in the Yalong Bay resort. The number of tourist arrivals has become the major issue for local government, and environmental and cultural preservation is overshadowed by the desire for economic benefits. At times, ethnic tourism has become an important revenue source to push the envelope of economic development.

5.7 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the relationship between the state and tourism, and the different types of government involvement in tourism from three perspectives: national, provincial and regional. Despite the economic and social significance of tourism, tourism policies have only recently become an item on the political agenda in China. The extent of the state's role in tourism varies according to the conditions and circumstances in different regions. Hainan has enjoyed a flexible political environment and tourism has long been viewed as an important developmental strategy. However, the commodification of tourism experiences has caused a series of advantages and disadvantages. The transformation of social and cultural experiences into a product to be bought and sold has tremendous implications for social reality. As seen in Hainan, ethnic tourism development influences ethnic identity and local policy making. The macro and micro political levels hold different views in authenticating ethnic resources. Tensions raised in this chapter including the identification of Hainanese culture and Li culture, and the development strategies for using the ethnic resources. Governments in China act as coordinators, planners, regulators and entrepreneurs and attempt to ease these tensions.

National governments pay more attention to ethnic autonomy. Although the Li minority is given flexible policies to develop the economy, the administrative power is strongly under the control of officials from mainland China. Provincial government holds a positive attitude toward tourism development, in particular, a combination of tourism and environmental protection. The regional level focuses upon utilizing ethnic cultures as a resource in exchange for economic gains. Authenticity is widely seen as "negotiable", not a given. Governments at different levels play a critical role to authenticate ethnic cultures so as to fit the process of tourism development.

Perhaps the most fundamental political question surrounding ethnic tourism is that of control. Ethnic communities in Hainan have little control over tourism development. Many officials were dispatched from the mainland, and they lack sufficient knowledge of ethnic cultures. Ethnic minority participation in decision making is currently non-existent in Hainan. Although governments encourage ethnic minorities to get involved in tourism development, the issues of "who gets what, where, how and why of tourism" are still unsolved in the context of Hainan tourism development.

CHAPTER SIX

TOURISM BUSINESSES

Tourism business is a broad term which encompasses a wide variety of activities and enterprises. This chapter focuses on the tourism businesses in the folk villages, which have been identified as major stakeholders in authenticating the ethnic cultural resources. This chapter introduces selected tourism businesses in Hainan and their social structures. The anal ysis of tourism business is viewed from two perspectives: (1) the changing distribution of folk villages; and (2) five pairs of paradoxes which are used as yardsticks for measuring the authentication of the ethnic cultural resources. Ten directors of folk villages were interviewed. The interviews were designed to address the issues of authentification raised in the conceptual framework (See Chapter 2).

6.1 Tourism Business in Hainan

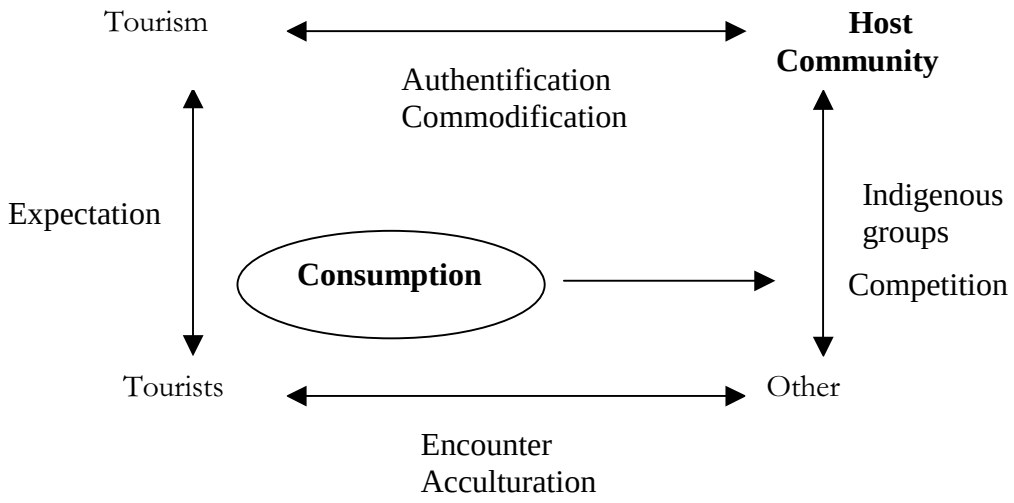
Tourism is a highly structured and organized form of human activit y. It is referred to, and refers to itself, as an industry. In reality, it is a collection of a number of different industries which both formally and informally are brought together to service the "needs" of society to travel. The contribution of touri sm business in Hainan can be viewed from three perspectives:

1. Tourism business is increasingly important to provincial economic growth. In 1998, Hainan received over 8.5 million tourists (based upon registrations at designated hotels, not actual tourist population), and the tax from tourism income contributed 14% of the total annual tax revenue (Hainan Yearbook Editorial Committee, 1998). The tourism industry helps Hainan to diversify its economic base. At the same time, infrastructure, such as transport ation, power and telecommunications, has been greatly improved;

2. The tourism industry incorporates ethnic cultures in a way which brings members of the ethnic minorities into mainstream development. Ethnicity in Hainan has become a popular and marketable resource. There is a growing interest from mainland China to appreciate the aboriginal island cultures. Tourism businesses present aspects of these cultures in a variety of forms: from ethnic folk villages to craft souvenirs. Ethnic tourism has already been incorporated into the travel routes by many travel agencies in Hainan;
3. Tourism business has contributed to Hainan's modernization with the adoption, for the first time, of tourism diploma and degree courses in local universities and colleges. Tourism business has promoted tourism training, education and employment opportunities. Tourism occupations in Hainan are accorded a desirable status by the local population. A number of colleges specialize in hospitality management, preparing and supplying qua lified tourism workers.

With tourism development in Hainan, a series of tensions occur on a regular basis on differing levels and between the different interest groups within tourism. Many problems surface when tourism business is commodifying and authen ticating ethnic cultures. Cultural conflicts may intervene between the toured and touring populations. Figure 6.1 illustrates four broad dimensions between which tensions occur in the process of cultural authentification.

Figure 6.1 Dimensions of Cultural Interactions



Source: adapted from Robinson (1999)

Perhaps the most obvious dimension is that which exists between tourists and hosts, often characterized as a "face-to-face" encounter, and a two-way process of communication (Swinglehurst, 1994). However, in a structuralist vein, the interface between the tourism business and the host community is also a rather obvious source of potential conflict. Tourism businesses in folk villages not only hire a number of local ethnic employees to serve the visitors, but also authenticate the ethnic cultures to suit visitor needs and wants, *i.e.*, they determine what, how and when aspects of ethnic culture are to be portrayed. Conflicts occur when "cultural carrying capacity" has reached the "tipping-point" of the acceptability of tourism in physical, perceptual, economic or social terms (Parris, 1996). Cultural interactions can also occur between the tourism businesses and tourists, and even amongst the tourists themselves (Nash, 1996). In the meantime, indigenous communities may compete with each other for attracting tourist arrivals. The conflicts among indigenous communities can be reflected as price competition and imitation. Tourists interact with indigenous

communities and cause a series of social impacts such as acculturation. Thus, tourism businesses play a critical role in the development of cultural tourism: (1) they serve as intermediaries to help tourists directly interact with local people at ethnic attractions; and/or (2) tourists can only access these ethnic attractions with the assistance of intermediaries. In the case of Hainan, most tourists visit folk villages as part of organized tours (see Chapter 7). Direct contact with the ethnic minority is limited and, as shown in Figure 6.1, tourism businesses almost always play an intermediary role. The goal of this chapter is to evaluate these interactions from a tourism business perspective by using the five yardsticks developed from Swain's work.

6.2 The Structure of Tourism Businesses

Tourism business in Hainan falls into three major categories: (1) state-owned business; (2) joint venture business; and (3) privately-owned business. State-owned business occupies the majority of the tourism industry in Hainan, including the mix of accommodation, transport, attractions, support services, and the organisations behind these: tour operators, travel agents, hotel developers and government agencies as both promoters and regulators. Given the political structure in China, state-owned business generally enjoys a number of privileges. For example, the state travel agents in Hainan have special arrangements with the airline companies that provide below-market airfares for package tours. State-owned business can also monopolize the prices of hotels, transportation and park entrance fees.

Joint venture business in Hainan is mainly seen in the hotel industry. The majority of starred hotels in Hainan are joint ventured between government and external sources of investment. Under the government's support for tourism development at the policy level, the inflow of external investment in the mid-1990s enhanced the variety and quality of the hotel businesses. The number of hotels increased from 31 in 1987 to 251 in 1997, that is 8 times more than in 1987 (Statistics

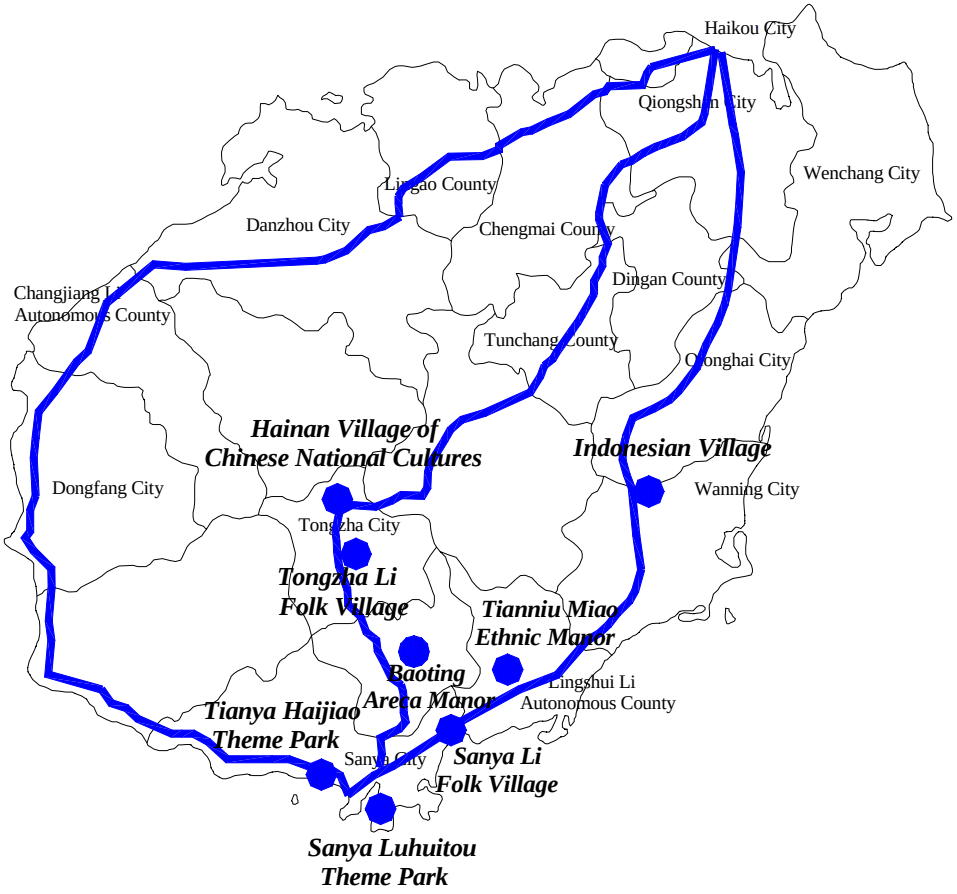
Bureau of Hainan, 1998). The main sources of foreign investment came from neighbouring affluent locations, such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Private-owned business is predominantly in small tourist attractions, such as the tourist folk villages. Table 6.1 presents the names, opening dates, locations, the number of employees and ownership in eight folk villages of Hainan. Although four folk villages claimed that they were a joint venture between the private sector and government, the proportion of governmental investment seemed to be negligible. The purpose of asking government to be a partner is to ensure authoritative support when operating the village. The only village that claimed to be a foreign investment was the Indonesian Village. However, investigation showed that it was in fact privately-owned. The head of the village holds a Hong Kong passport by marriage. Thus, the main purpose of these joint ventures was to enjoy a series of preferential policies from the local government, such as tax exemptions and land leases.

The idea that tourism ultimately broadens local horizons has encouraged the provincial tourism bureau to promote ethnic tourist resources throughout the region. By 1997, at least nine different villages had been officially selected as meeting the criteria for ethnic tourist sites. The criteria include the location, history, the percentage of ethnic population, and local customs. This expansion also resulted from entrepreneurs' increased awareness of how authenticity drives the tourist market in ethnic tourism. Official approval by the Hainan Ethnicity and Religion Bureau (HERB) is widely seen as an indicator of authenticity. The HERB controls and monitors events related to ethnicity and religion. If the selected tourist villages are granted "*preserved cultural relics*" status under the HERB, this implies that the villages are "much less spoiled and more traditional" (Personal Communication, 1999a). Travel agencies in Hainan are thus more likely to take tour groups to these sanctioned village. Such designations often benefited the remote villages on the central route of Hainan where a greater degree of authenticity has been maintained. The tourist

villages located close to the city have been excluded from the HERB approval since "those villages (near Sanya and Haikou) are too commercial, too close to the city and their values are oriented toward money" (Personal Communication, 1999a). The influence of the HERB did not wane until the changes of traffic routes at the end of 1994. This research suggests that traffic routes then became the major force influencing the distribution of folk villages as well as ethnic presentations. Figure 6.2 presents the distribution of folk vi llages in 1999.

Figure 6.2. The Distribution of Researched Folk Villages in Hainan



6.3 The Distribution of Folk Villages in 1999

Table 6.1 presents the locations and characteristics of the folk villages in 1999. The majority of villages are concentrated in and around the city of Sanya. The Indonesian Village is located near the eastern highway and Baoting Areca Manor is located near the central highway. The field research unveiled an interesting finding that changes occurred in the distribution of folk villages following the new highway construction.

Table 6.1: The Characteristics of Folk Villages in Hainan

Name	Opening Date	Location	Tourist Arrivals (per week)	Number of Employees	Ownership
Hainan Village of the Chinese National Cultures	April, 1997	Haiyu central line, Tongzha	70 - 80	200	Private
Tongzha Li folk village	February, 1993	Haiyu central line, Tongzha	4 - 10	25	Private
Baoting Areca Manor	October, 1995	Ganzhaling, Baoting Li and Miao Autonomous Region	2,800 - 3,500	100	Private and government
Tianniu Miao Ethnic Manor	January, 1996	Tiandu township, near the city of Sanya	2,100 - 2,800	60	Private and government
Sanya Li Ethnic Folk Village	May, 1996	Tiandu township, near the exit of eastern express way	4,200	50	Private
Sanya Luhuitou Theme Park	July, 1992	Sanya	7,000*	150	Private and Government
Tianya Haijiao Theme Park	September, 1997	Sanya	70,000*	200	Private and government
Indonesian Village	February, 1996	Xinglong, Wanning county	15,385	107	Foreign investment

* Tourist folk village is a part of the whole theme park.

As noted in Chapter Three, three routes traverse Hainan from north to south: an eastern highway, a central route and a western route that links the towns. All routes run from Haikou, the main city in the north, to Sanya, a major tourist area in the south. The eastern route is by far the fastest and consists of a modern highway. The central route traverses the Li Autonomous Prefecture and the main concentration of the Li minority settlements, such as the cities of Tongzha and Qiongzhong that have the largest Li ethnic communities with 59% and 44%, respectively, of population of Li ethnicity (Hainan Tour Atlas, 1997). Road conditions are rough on the central route due to the jagged mountainous topography. The western route crosses the least developed part of Hainan and tourism development is still in its infancy due to the lack of basic infrastructure.

The first folk village opened in 1992 near the city of Tongzha in response to increased tourists' demand for experiencing ethnic cultures when driving down the central route. The first folk village, called "Fan Mao", was an actual Li residential community. Tourists spent an hour touring the village and experiencing the "back-stage" life of the Li minority. A thatched hut was built for ethnic dance performances. The original idea of the folk village was not primarily for commercial purposes. It was designed to showcase the ethnic culture and life to satisfy the tourists' curiosity. However, the large number of visitors stimulated the development of other folk villages along the highways and the number of active folk villages rose to a peak in 1997. Afterwards, the number of villages declined. The earliest villages were accessible from the road running through the central route of the island from Haikou to Sanya. Following construction of the faster highway around the eastern periphery of the island at the end of 1994, tourism traffic re-routed, resulting in the closure of a number of the folk villages along the central route. At the same time, new folk villages were opened adjacent to the eastern route, which now carries most of the tourism traffic. Figures 6.3 and 6.4 indicate that a changing distribution of folk villages that started in 1995

immediately after the eastern highway was completed. The number of villages built along the eastern highway has grown since then. In the meantime, the number of villages along the central routes has declined (Figure 6.5). In other words, a formerly supply -oriented distribution has become increasingly demand-oriented.

Figure 6.3
The Distribution of Folk Villages in 1995

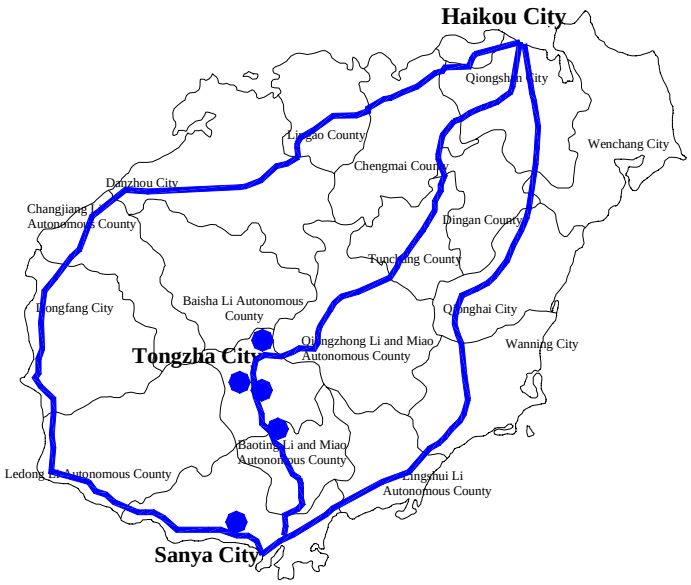
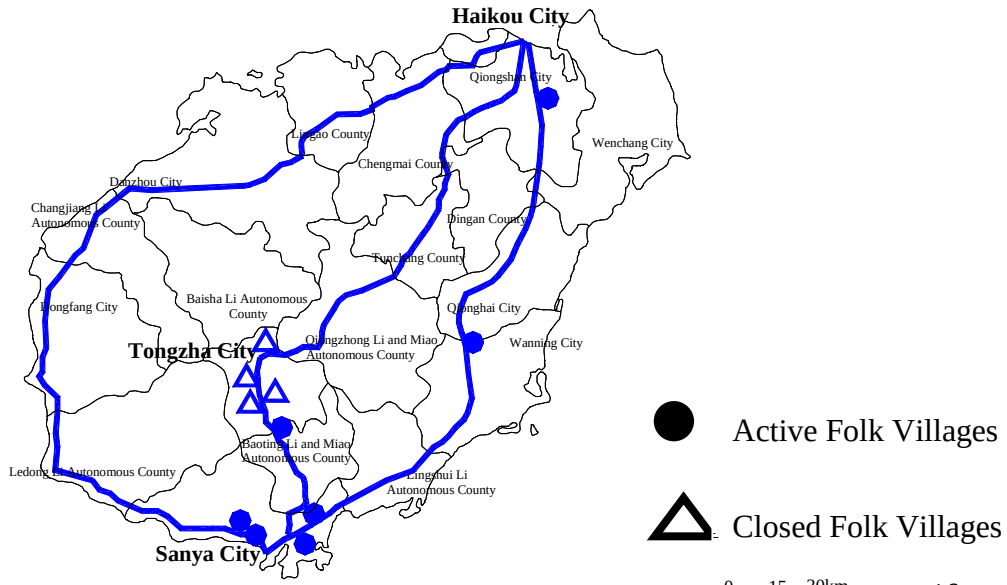


Figure 6.4
The Distribution of Folk Villages in 1999



All closed folk villages along the central route were visited. Some of the former managers and employees of the villages were interviewed. The reasons for the closure can be seen from the following:

1. The eastern highway construction dramatically changed the tourism traffic. It provides the fastest and most direct connection between Haikou and Sanya. Although the central route has a wealth of authentic ethnic cultures, the rough road conditio n reduces the number of tourist arrivals. Further, tour operators prefer to choose the eastern highway in order to provide tourists with a longer stay in Sanya, or more time for shopping.
2. Due to the route change, the folk villages in the central route wer e facing a sharp decline of tourist arrivals. Fierce competition and price slashing occurred along the central route to attract the possible tourist traffic but this did not work well. Business gradually moved to the eastern route, worsening the competit ive position of folk villages along the central route. A vicious circle emerged and migration occurred where several folk villages eventually moved to the eastern route to sustain their businesses.
3. Poor planning also contributed to the closure of folk vil lages on the central route. The majority of folk villages were operated by private entrepreneurs and grew in number in a spontaneous process. Commercial activities seemed to be dominant in each of the ethnic villages and little attention was given to sus tainable development. Site planning was almost non -existent. Shoddy imitation and intense price competition among folk villages was witnessed in the early 1990's when cultural tourism was perceived as a "gold rush". The eastern highway construction serv ed as a catalyst for change, and was the immediate cause of failure of the folk villages which already had a precarious existence.

With the changes in the distribution of folk villages, a series of social changes have surfaced. First, traditionally, many of the employees and dancers in the tourist folk villages were of Li or other minority cultures. However, the newer folk villages are in locations where minorities were largely absent rather than in places where they were in a majority. The villages that have opened adjacent to the eastern route pay more attention to attracting the tourist (and tour operators who largely determine where tourists will travel and stop), rather than presenting the authentic aspects of Li culture. Some employees in the new villages who wear Li ethnic clothing are not of Li origin. Ethnic clothing has become a business uniform and the "traditional" dance performances have become "manufactured" routines. Second, since the number of villages opened near the eastern route has expanded in a short period of time, tour operators have become increasingly selective. Instead of touring two or three folk villages, tour guides select only one village on the tour route. Thus, opportunities for interaction between tourists and ethnic minorities have been influenced by transport planners and evolving relationships between tour operators and the managers of the folk villages. Third, since their inception, the folk villages have been regarded as major employers in the surrounding ethnic communities. The movement of folk villages to the eastern periphery of Hainan attracts migration of ethnic people who lived formerly in the centre of the island. In particular, the young members of the ethnic family leave the traditional Li communities to seek employment opportunities. Thus, the development of cultural tourism is gradually changing the social structure of the ethnic minority and causing the relocation of expressions of their culture.

The changing distribution of folk villages demonstrated that, as the transportation network has changed, the locations of these villages have become increasingly demand - rather than supply-oriented, commodification of culture has increased and authenticity of experience, especially with respect to location, has diminished.

6.4 Non-commercialization versus Commodification

Commercialization of ethnicity is the process whereby ways of life, traditions and the complex symbolism which supports these, is imaged and transformed into saleable products (Cohen, 1987). Culture becomes the servant of consumerism and, as a consequence, its deeper meanings, social functions and authenticity are lost to the superficial (Greenwood, 1989). Robinson (1999) proposed two features of cultural commodification: (1) the positions of cultural commodification; and (2) the degree of the cultural commodification for touristic purposes. For the first feature, the presentation of cultural artefacts within a museum context can be non-contentious. Indeed, its educational function can be liberating for local cultures, allowing them to exhibit their history and culture to a wider audience. In that case, commodification can be a way of affirming identity and value (Robinson, 1999). On the other hand, the notion of charging tourists for access to a folk village or theme park exhibition may be viewed as a source of cultural conflict and a way of weakening cultural integrity. For the second feature, religious rituals, ethnic rites and festivals performed within the folk villages are generally reduced in length and simplified in order to conform to tourist expectations, resulting in what MacCannell (1984, p. 361) has termed "reconstructed ethnicity". Meanwhile, some indigenous cultures are not unaware of the economic advantages of packaging their cultures to meet tourist demands. Therefore, there is a tension between tourism business and indigenous peoples regarding the ownership and presentation of cultural property. Greenwood (1989) called this situation a "conflictual arena" when conflicts a rise over the rights, ownership and consent on the "what" and "how" of the cultural presentation.

In considering the question of authenticity of the folk villages in Hainan, one is immediately confronted with a variation of what Bonniface and Fowler (1993, p. 121) have termed "the moving object story". In their view, this relates to artefacts such as paintings and statues which have been removed from the original geographical and cultural milieu to an alien context. The object remains

authentic but its context is not, which raises the question of authenticity (Swarbrooke, 1994). As noted previously, the original folk village was an actual Li minority residential community. However, the changing distribution of folk villages associated with the re-routing of traffic resulted in a majority of villages being located near the city with easy accessibility. The degree of artificiality has increased accordingly.

Another important way to understand authenticity from a business' perspective is through "brochure images". Two types of brochures are available in Hainan: (1) village brochures; each folk village prints a small brochure to give to the tourist during a visit; (2) tour itineraries; each village designs an itinerary for tour guides and bus drivers. The latter includes instructions for the village tour and tips for tour guides. Some itineraries append coupons for free food and cigarettes to attract tour guides and drivers. Most village brochures highlight recreational aspects of Li culture. The tourist focus is drawn away from, for example, cultural impacts of modernization at villages and their natural environment. Nearly all village brochures "frame" authenticity by listing "typical" ethnic performances for tourists to observe and record on their travel tour. For example, the brochure of Baoting Areca Manor explicitly states that "Li women will dress up in full ceremonial costumes for tourists to take photos". Most village tour itineraries clearly indicate what tourists will see of traditional Li culture, including colourful ceremonial costumes, dance performances, Li wedding ceremonies and cockfighting demonstrations. However, no brochure noted that fees would be charged for taking photos of Li woman and attending enactments of Li wedding ceremonies. There is a clear contrast between Li culture performed for tourists as passive observers and opportunities for tourists to actively experience or participate in the Li lifestyle which seldom occurs. A few brochures refer to social interaction with the Li, mainly by drinking rice wine or tourists joining in dances. The brochure of Sanya Li folk village invites tourists to join in with everyday indigenous activities: "Feel free to join the Li minority in their daily chores like weaving

clothes, feeding their livestock, washing their clothes and swimming in the river". In fact, such tempting descriptions rarely turn into reality.

All of the brochures mention Li dance, especially the bamboo-beating dance or, in the case of the Indonesian Village, Indonesian ethnic dance as the key tourist attraction. However, none of the village brochures depicts tourists dancing or interacting with their Li hosts. The Li people are presented as objects for tourists to view. Tour itineraries largely describe Li dance as a tourist spectacle "*mudu chuantong Li wudao he yingyue*" ("Witness the Li dance with traditional music"), although a few invite tourist participation, e.g., "*jingqing chanjia tamen de dachaiwu*" ("do not hesitate to join them in doing the bamboo-beating dance"). Convivial tourists may also "join the tribal revelry in the dance hall" and "imbibe the locally brewed rice wine '*Shanlan Jiu*"".

The word authentic is not widely used in the travel brochures. Instead, the word "traditional" is often used to describe the Li housing, welcome ceremony, Li dance and rice wine. However, most tour itineraries refer to Li customs, such as the welcome ceremony, or the appearance of Li housing as "primitive". On the other hand, authenticity is widely ascribed to tourist meals available in the village, more by where and how the food is eaten rather than culinary content. Brochures state tourists will experience "*Lizhu shenyan – chaoxishang jiuchan*" ("a Li feast – a natural-style dinner on the mat-covered floor"), or tourists will simply "dine Li style". Other brochures use the more fanciful term "jungle feast" to describe the food where "snacks will be served in native style at the riverbank" with food cooked in bamboo, in the only reference to Li culinary traditions.

Some folk villages further link authenticity with the type of travel and the distance travelled. For example, Tongzha Li folk village is described as a "real adventure" where tourists can experience the "natural lifestyle" and search for authentic Li customs. The search for authenticity relative to the distance travelled provides a marketing device to sell the village tour. The brochures

describe the villages located on the central route as "more primitive" since they are "located deep in the *Wuzhi Shan* (Five Finger Mountain)".

According to the director of the Sanya folk village, the objective of the village is to "faithfully portray the life, customs, and conditions of the Li minority in the village" (Personal communication, 1999b). The "inhabitants" i n the folk villages are all of the appropriate Li ethnicity. They demonstrate traditional skills such as the manufacture of embroidery according to traditional methods utilising traditional materials, sing traditional Li songs in their own languages, play a range of traditional musical instruments, dance and present aspects of Li folklore. Some of the activities, such as dances and ceremonies, have been modified for presentation to tourists. The reasons for modifications are explained by the director of Baoting village as follows:

> *It is always difficult to cater to tourists. In terms of dance performance, our previous problem was the dance interpretation. These dance programs are often staged in Li-speaking areas yet tour parties usually have guides who do not speak Li. Moreover, the meaning and plot of each program and dance varies and few generalization can be made. Thus, tourists regularly complained due to a lack of interpretation. We have to modify the original dance performance into a simpler, easier way so that tourists can understand what is going on. However, the modification will inevitably change the authentic aspects of original Li dance.*

The lack of interpretation is clearly related to a common visitor complaint at dance programs, that of boredom. Most visitors are initially entranced by the colourful dances but then become bored by their length. Without interpretation, the dances become repetitive, breaks and characters are incomprehensible, and many visitors are unable to cope with t he lack of a familar timetable. However, in order to cater for the tourists' need, the end result is a mix of the authentic and the artificial.

In the folk villages, the role of non -commercialization is exposed by the expressed policy from the governmen tal instruction: "originating from real life but rising above it, and discarding the dross and selecting the essential". Paradoxically, following this dictum, both reality and unreality are heightened. This kind of mix of entertainment and education, of authenticity and fabrication, has been seen by some commentators as a manifestation of post -modernism (Urry, 1990). For Eco

(1986, p.1), it was "hyper-reality". In this context, the folk villages in Hainan could be described as "a semiotic system whereby a set of signs marks the displays as authentic, both with respect to the markers themselves and to the outside world" (Harkin, 1995, p. 653). In the quest for authenticity, the buildings and the material items form the backdrop for people as objects, and to the visitors they may seem to be engaged in (not acting) their "traditional" lifestyles in "non-commercial" environments. For example, visitors will be encouraged to join the young dancers at the end of the traditional Li dance program, and the dance may not be one whit the less authentic for the onlookers by having non-Li dancers in their midst. The relationship of marker to tourist, of non-commercial to commodified, is highly dynamic.

Authenticity appears to be a flexible notion in these folk villages. On the one hand, the manipulation of ethnic dance programs and other ethnic cultural events to serve economic interests without due regard to their cultural integrity has resulted in the loss of authenticity and educational value: spectacle and entertainment seem to be rated more highly in these folk villages. In some instances, ethnic cultures in Hainan have been commoditized to the point where a balance with historical and socio-cultural veracity has been lost, *e.g.,* there is a certain "museumification" of the Li ethnic minority in the idealised presentations of its culture for tourist consumption. This raises issues broader than authenticity, extending into the difficult questions of cultural integration, assimilation and political control.

6.5 Cultural Evolution versus Museumification

Local identity is always conditioned by a dynamic tension between exogenous forces and local traditions. Tourism is the latest (and perhaps the most intense) manifestation of these broader forces to impact upon and become appropriated by a local cultural discourse of identity and meaning. Conceiving of tourism as an adopted component of a local culture's internal dynamics of

ongoing change, rather than as an uncontrollable force bearing down upon locals, yields a more accurate view of the situation in Hainan.

Cultural evolution is an ongoing process. The contradictions of cultural tourism are not that it both "destroys" and "preserves" culture. Rather, tourism is itself part of the inherently contradictory process of cultural change associated with modernity (Oakes, 1998). Wood (1993, p. 58) pointed out that:

> *What is traditional in culture, the specification of links between an invented present and an imagined past, is constantly being symbolically recreated and contested. There is no objective, bounded thing that we can identify as "traditional culture" against which to measure and judge change. What is defined as traditional culture, both for the past and for the present, is constantly being reformulated.*

The paradox between cultural evolution and museumification is evident in Hainan. The majority of the ethnic Li minority has been "Hanised" and many distinctive ethnic symbols have disappeared. For example, until recently, the Li women had a custom of tattooing their bodies at the age of 12 or 13 (Su *et al*, 1994). Today, almost all Li people except the elderly women wear standard Han dress. The cultural evolution poses a serious problem for tourism business, as explained by the director of Baoting Areca Manor:

> *The Li culture has changed. If we showcase the modern lifestyle of the ethnic Li minority, visitors would be disappointed. In fact, there is little difference between Li people and Han people nowadays. Our problem is the presentation of the folk village - does it truly reflect the modern lifestyle or ancient lifestyle? The final choice was a mixed bag of both modern and past.*

The business managers of folk villages in Hainan have realised that the power of cultural evolution, particularly, acculturation, makes it difficult to position the theme of the folk village. Li traditions have indeed changed and thus are in need of reinvention for public display. The reinvention inevitably brings about questions concerning the veracity of authenticity. Examples can be seen in some villages near Sanya where traditional ethnic clothing has become a business uniform identifiable as Li. In the Hainan Village of National Cultures, 70% of the dancers wearing ethnic Li

dress were not Li. The actual Li dancers commented that the ethnic dress is only for performance, not for daily life. As suggested by the director of the village:

> *The reason they wear ethnic dress is to make sure they are different from ordinary tourists. To some extent, the performance has to be ancient, distant, and fossil. However, sometimes tourists developed a distorted image that the ethnic Li minority was totally non-modern and backward. They felt exotic to watch the ethnic dance performance, yet expressed little appreciation. They bought many ethnic souvenirs, yet knew little of the value.*

Tourists often expect the Li minority inside the villages to be quaintly traditional and in a state of "museumification". The folk villages in Hainan provide an interesting picture: those wearing traditional Li dress may not be Li, whilst those wearing Han dress may not be Han. The presentations of folk villages tend to be in a high state of "museumification", portraying traditional aspects of Li cultures, which are assumed to be ancient, exotic and fossil. The villages are like theme parks where "front stage" and "back stage" are totally separated. Tourism business pays more attention to meeting the expectation of tourists, and positions selected aspects of Li culture in an entertaining way. What is left for tourists is an incomplete and superficial image of Li culture.

6.6 Economic Development versus Cultural Preservation

Tourism is a process of economic development and integration in which the idea of place may be "commodified" through the marketing of increasingly standardised images. But it also injects a whole new set of possibilities that may be appropriated by locals as they reconstruct a sense of place. Folk villages in Hainan occupy an ambiguous space between these broader contending forces of cultural preservation and commercial tourism development. The provincial government has established a framework that encourages both market-oriented economic development and the preservation of symbols of cultural diversity. Because the idea of ethnic authenticity based upon cultural distance from the Han has been sanctioned and institutionalized by the tourism industry, a contradiction has surfaced between commercialism and the preservation of ethnic authenticity.

Managers of folk villages are not unaware of the need to meet the expectations of their visitors but to them, the idea of a contradiction between authenticity and economic development is generally incomprehensible. The villagers also tend to promote their own commercial tourism development quite vigorously based upon their perception of authenticity.

Tourism businesses play a key role in balancing economic development and cultural preservation. The research indicates that the village revenues are not generated primarily from admission tickets, but from the sale of tropical fruits, ethnic souvenirs and herbals by vendors inside the villages. In general, tour guides receive a large proportion of admission revenue, as a kickback for bringing tourists to the village. For example, in Baoting Areca Manor, the admission ticket costs 48 yuan (C$9.60) per person, and the tour guide often gets at least 40 yuan (C$8.00). Therefore, in order to maximise the revenues, villages usually expand the space for vendors and shrink the sites for ethnic performance. Table 6.2 shows the ratio between the size of performance site (*i.e.,* dance hall, wedding hall, ethnic pavilions) and the area allocated to vendor stands. The ratios indicate that commercialisation in villages is evident. The vendor stands have become the mainstream of the village presentation whilst the physical size of performance keeps shrinking. The vendors sell a wide range of commodities: tropical fruits, silver ornaments, herbals, jades and ethnic craft souvenirs. Their businesses hinge upon the volume of tourist arrivals. As one vendor in Baoting Areca Manor pointed out:

> *The [Baoting] village charges 300 to 400 yuan per stand per month and the rest is mine. The business thus depends on the number of tourists. Years ago, tourists bought a lot of mango and papaya, also a lot of expensive pearl jewellery. Now the competition has become very high, and the business turns difficult, especially many tourists have complained that the pearl jewellery is fake and overpriced. [Tourists] become smarter and smarter. They bargain the price fiercely and buy little. However, as long as tourists come, I don't worry about the business too much.*

Table 6.2: The Ratio between Areas of Performance Sites and Vendor Stands

Folk Village:	**The Ratio Size between Performance Site and Vendor Stands**

Tongzha Li folk village	1:4
Baoting Areca Manor	3:7
Sanya Li Ethnic Folk Village	2:3
Sanya Luhuitou Theme Park	3:7

The folk villages thus become a combination of ethnic presentations and sales outlets, but the major revenue is from the vendor stands. Tourists complained that some villages turn out to be big "farmers' markets", instead of ethnic theme parks. Economic development appears to be the top priority, whilst cultural preservation was treated as a form of tokenism. For example, when asked whether the village management has taken cultural preservation into account, the director of Sanya Li Folk Village explained as follows:

> *I am not sure what kind of cultural preservation you refer to. This is a tourist-oriented village and our business relies on the incoming tourists. My understanding of cultural preservation is to showcase the Li ethnic cultures by dance programs, songs, and costumes. Apart from these, I am afraid we don't have much influence on cultural preservation. The cultural preservation should be taken care of by the government.*

Cultural preservation seems to be an oxymoron in the village context. In fact, cultural resources were being exploited for commercial purposes and preservation could dislodge the present economic development. Further, tourism businesses in Hainan have a positive view on commodification of culture. Cultural preservation was often referred to as the "quaint" customs of the Li people and other "exotic" customs. Through establishing tourist folk villages, the businesses provide education opportunities for visitors and define key distinctions between Li culture and the tourists' cultures. In the economic realm, ethnic employment and income were offered by tourism businesses. Although the raw cultural resources in Hainan provide the context and environment for tourism, further refinement is necessary to ensure a tangible ethnic product, not only to facilitate the exchange of cultural experience for a financial return, but also to have the potential to create a situation in which the villages can promote cultural preservation through the careful management of resources.

6.7 Ethnic Autonomy versus State Regulation

State regulation in Hainan is moderate. The establishment of a Special Economic Zone provided a relaxed environment for tourism business. The intention of State deregulation was to minimise government intervention in the economy with few state-operated enterprises. In general, the operation of folk villages has been viewed as a "grass-roots" phenomenon and has received little attention from the government. For example, the interviews with the officials from the Hainan Tourism Bureau suggested that little information on folk villages can be obtained from the provincial level of government - none of the officials knew the number of folk villages that existed in Hainan. The reasons for such ignorance are as follows:

1. The operation of folk villages is small-scale and relatively insignificant for provincial tourism planning. In general, these folk villages were run by private businesses and required little investment from the state. Further, the locations of many of these villages were remote and difficult to access. For example, before the establishment of the eastern freeway in 1995, the majority of villages were located in the mountainous central region where the journey from Haikou to the centre took at least 5 hours.
2. The tourism image of Hainan is primarily based on sun, sea, sand and sex. The development of cultural tourism is still in its infancy and has been seen as an "add-on" program. Therefore, the state has held a *laissez faire* attitude toward folk villages. In fact, the provincial government has made little effort to support folk villages. Further, the Li and their culture have long been marginalized economically and politically. The government has yet to realise fully the importance and potential of ethnic cultural resources, especially for the international market.

3. The policies for the development of folk villages come directly from the local government where the village is located. There was little influence from central government or provincial regulations. The business relationships between the local government and folk villages are seen as the most critical issue. The directors of folk villages took a few administrative positions in the local government to get involved in local politics. They participate in the local economic development meetings and provide financial support for certain projects. Some villages even invited the local officials to join the business in order to ensure local administrative support for the operation.

Good relationships between the local government and the villages were rewarding. Local officials can alleviate tax burdens for the villages and provide a series of preferential programs to support the business. The director of Tianniu folk village commented as follows:

> *Tourism business in Hainan is seasonal: it rises to a peak from October to the Chinese New Year (generally occurring in February). However, it is a low season in summer. The [local] government here tends to help out our business. For example, the government provided a tax break in summer to alleviate our financial burden. Also, the government gave us some preferential policies when our business was going to expand. Generally, the land use fee would be much lower if we expand the physical size of the village locally. Nothing works out without governmental support.*

Tourism businesses did not view ethnic autonomy as a threat: on the contrary, ethnicity was viewed as a marketable tourism resource. For example, the village businesses located in the Li Autonomous Regions have boasted about their "authenticity" and "quaintness". The director of the Li folk village in Tongzha claimed that the only authentic folk village existed in the centre, not in Sanya or Haikou, since too much commercialisation happened there. When authenticating the ethnic resource for tourism purposes, the village uses a clear-cut distinction to make sure that Li minority people are different from Han majority people. Instead of showcasing the integration of the Li minority into the one happy Chinese cultural family and the unity of the Chinese peoples, folk villages in Hainan emphasize the uniqueness of Li culture and customs. The villages represent what Anderson (1983) called "imagined communities" to satisfy tourists' needs and wants. Further, some

lost traditions have been reinvented with a new look. Al though state regulation serves to strengthen cultural integration and economic development, village businesses in Hainan were very interested in authenticating ethnic resources for the touristic gaze.

6.8 Mass Tourism Development versus Sustainable Cultural Tourism

Sustainable development is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs" (UK Countryside Commission, 1989, p. 135). Sustainable development is applicable to tourism for two reasons (Gunn, 1994). First, the basic premise of sustainable development is to make growth possible but also require that the growth be positive: to provide net social and economic benefits. Second, it is development that is rooted in a stable and continuing resource base. It could involve the protection and survival of (1) the business enterprise; (2) the minority culture; (3) the natural environment; (4) small communities and their local decision making powers; and, (5) relationship of mass tourism to all the above. Thus, sustainability is based on the balance between stability and change. Ideally, a tourism practice, such as a cultural tourism site, should provide the tourists with a rich, accurate and entertaining understanding of cultural resources (Gunn, 1994). The key to success is that the facility within the ethnic community should evoke a fascinating and memorable tourist experience, while preventing degradation of the cultural resources of the "real" community. Thus it is at a site scale (*i.e.,* location, theme, carrying capacity) that the specific issue of balancing resource protection with development changes from policy to action. Sustainability is not, however, inherent to this type of tourism practice. In fact, tourism is a dynamic and not a static phenomenon. Similar to other industries, tourism is an agent of development and change. It is consumptive like other industries, and the level of consumption is determined by how tourism is developed (Woodley, 1993). At certain levels of consumption and with careful planning, tourism may be able to operate in a sustainable fashion.

Mass tourism is dominant in Hainan and over 95% of tourist arrivals come from mainland China. Tourism revenue primarily comes from domestic tourists (*i.e.,* 86.4% in 1997) (Hainan Statistics Bureau, 1998). Visiting Hainan is associated with enjoying sea -sand-sun-sex experiences and the island has not been seen primarily as a cultural tourism destination. Although the folk village tour has become an integral part of most tour programs, the full cultural significance has yet to be realised by tourism agencies. As noted previously, since the main revenue of folk villages is generated from tourist expenditures inside the village, the quantity of tourists has become the most important issue. The villages use a variety of incentives to attract potential visitors, particularly through the tour guides and bus drivers (*e.g.*, kickbacks, commissions, free meals, etc.). A pattern has surfaced whereby visiting folk villages is not controlled by the tourists, but by the culture brokers (*e.g.,* tour guides, travel agencies, tour bus drivers, etc.).

The word "sustainable" seemed to be a blurred term for most village managers. The village manager from Sanya Li Folk Village explained the reason:

> *I think it is a complex issue when you put your finger on sustainability. Our [Sanya Li Folk] village is a privately owned business and influenced heavily by the policies of local government and the number of tourist arrivals. Also, other villages moved from the central route have increased competition. Without strong local support and tourist flow, it seems unlikely to be able to develop any sustainable folk village.*

Sustainable cultural tourism development has not received enough attention from tourism businesses due to uncertainty of local policies and tourist arrivals. Most village directors expressed concerns over unhealthy competition and whimsical policies. The director of the Indonesian Village discussed the current business in Xinglong:

> *The local government supported the development of ethnic folk villages in 1995 and provided a package of preferential policies. However, since our business is very good now, some officials want to change the existing policies and try to tax this and that. Terrible things happened this year when the local government decided to build another Indonesian village in the downtown of Xinglong in order to get a portion of the profits. How can you imagine to have two exact same theme villages in such a small township? I think these officials have "red eyes" (in Chinese, means "green with envy") and will cause a difficult time for our future business.*

The comments from the director of the Indonesia Village reflected a deep concern over tourism planning in the long run. Although ethnic culture's important role was recognised by both tourism business and local government, cultural resources have been seen as a way of profit taking. As noted in the changing distribution of folk villages in Hainan, fierce competition and shoddy imitation occurred in some villages near the city of Sanya in order to get a share of profits from the tourist arrivals. Some villages have changed attitudes towards ethnic cultural preservation and, instead, have tried to exploit ethnicity for economic purposes. Sustainable cultural tourism development has yet to be seen in the short period of time in which ethnic tourism has occurred in Hainan.

6.9 Summary

This chapter has evaluated the authentification of folk villages from a tourism business perspective by using five pairs of yardsticks. It has detailed the changes in the distribution of folk villages following the new highway construction which caused a number of social, cultural and spatial impacts. Through interviewing the directors in eight folk villages, their opinions and comments on the development of folk villages were recorded and analysed. Economic development and profit seeking seem to be the most important goals for the village businesses. Mass tourism with a large number of tourists is viewed as an appropriate strategy in the short run. The issues of authenticity and commodification were explored in the folk village context. The results suggest that authenticity appears to be a flexible notion. To some extent, the manipulation of ethnic tourism programs has resulted in the loss of authenticity and educational value - spectacle and entertainment seem to be rated more highly in these folk villages. On the other hand, folk villages provide easy access for tourists to selected manifestations of the ethnic cultures. Tourism businesses have endeavoured to meet touristic gaze and expectations. Thus, the way of museumification can be found in these folk

villages. State regulation appears to be w eak for the operation of folk villages. However, the policies from the local government were seen as a critical issue for the prosperity of folk villages. Ethnic autonomy was not regarded as a threat for tourism businesses, but ethnicity was regarded as being a marketable tourism resource. Tourism businesses vigorously authenticate the ethnic cultural resources in order to achieve profits in the short term.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VISITORS

Various studies have pointed to the mutual benefits experienced in cross -cultural, tourist-host encounters, including the generation of positive attitudes on the part of both tourist and host (Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985), increased cultural understanding, the reduction of ethnic prejudices, and the development of pride, appreciatio n and tolerance (Reisinger, 1994). However, intercultural encounters often cause tensions and conflicts. Gessner and Schade (1990, p. 258) suggested that the tensions occur because "an already complex situation is exacerbated by ambiguities, lack of awareness and/or the misunderstanding of cultural behaviour standards, of language or of relational dimensions such as confidentiality or status". Van den Berghe and Keyes (1984, p. 347) observed that there are three types of relationships: (1) the tourist is a transient and relationships are particularly open to deceit, exploitation and mistrust since both tourists and indigenous people can easily escape the consequences of hostility and dishonesty; (2) the status of the tourist is inconsistent. Tourists are relatively ignorant of local cultures and thus often appear incompetent, ridiculous, gullible and eminently exploitable; and (3) interaction between tourists and tourees is intrinsically asymmetrical, not only in terms of disparity of wealth (favouring th e tourist) and information (favouring the touree), but also insofar as the tourist is a spectator and the touree a performer.

Folk villages in Hainan open a window of opportunities for the ethnic minorities to interact with the outsiders. Although these purpose-built tourist attractions attempt to portray the best of those tangible, selective aspects of ethnic culture with which the tourists can identify, tensions arise because of major differences in the way tourists and hosts categorize the same set of behaviours.

For example, stereotypes may develop because tourists and hosts are unable to acquire and categorize appropriately much information about the other culture in a short period of time. Tourists and hosts who have not been exposed to a particula r culture's standards or categorization, are more likely to impose their own cultures on others and use unfamiliar categories inappropriately. This often creates false expectations and frustration due to unconfirmed expectations. Tourists and hosts also have different ways of judging others and themselves, according to their own standards.

Authenticity has often been regarded as the most important criterion for the development of cultural tourism. However, recent research (Weiler and Hall, 1992; Kaplan, 1996; Stebbins, 1996; Walle, 1996; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999) has indicated that genuineness or authenticity of a tourism setting is not a tangible asset but, instead, is a judgement or value placed on the setting by the observers. Since folk villages are tourist-oriented and cater to visitors' needs and wants, tourists are seen as important stakeholders in authenticating ethnic cultural resources. The issue of authentification from a tourist perspective is the focus of this chapter.

Previous research (Mo scardo and Pearce, 1999; Edensor, 2000) on ethnic tourists has usually relied on individual case studies, with the result that insights have been less cumulative than they might otherwise have been. In other words, few comparative studies facilitate under standing of cultural tourists in different locations. Second, the majority of research has presumed that the tourists visiting culture-oriented destinations should qualify as "cultural tourists". In fact, many tourists participate in package tours that i nclude a series of recreational activities such as sightseeing, shopping and observing cultural performances. They usually lack the time and the depth of experience to understand the more complex and intricate aspects of indigenous culture.

This chapter first introduces the profiles of tourists in Hainan. It then addresses the background of the three folk villages in which research was undertaken: (1) Baoting Areca Manor; (2) Sanya Li Folk Village; and (3) Indonesian Village. It reports on the resul ts of a sample survey of

visitors to the three folk villages from which 586 useable responses were obtained. The opinions of tourists were outlined and their perceptions of authenticity were evaluated by using five pairs of paradoxes developed from Swain's work.

7.1 Tourists in Hainan

Mass tourism is the most popular form of tourism in Hainan. The number of visitors to ethnic folk villages is controlled by the accessibility to the site and the way the village has been promoted. The longer the village has been is existence, the more likely it is to receive large visitor numbers. Further, the degree of accessibility has become more and more important for organizing the tour programs by travel agencies. A great majority (98%) of tourists comes from mainland China (Hainan Tourism Bureau, 1999) on package tours which are the easiest way to travel to and within Hainan. Travel agencies on the mainland get a series of special deals when organizing tours. Fierce competition has caused price-cutting to encourage people to join the tours, and package tours provide cheap prices for tourists. For example, the 6-day package tour from Shanghai to Hainan, including return airfare, accommodation and food, costs around 1,500 yuan (C$300) in total, while the one-way airfare from Shanghai to Hainan costs around 1,200 yuan (C$240). Travel to Hainan without joining a package tour would result in a higher cost in both airfare and accommodation.

A large proportion of tourists is attracted by the exotic tropical climate in Hainan. The island has projected its image as a sun-sea-sand-sex destination by tourism bureaus. The tour encompasses a series of recreational activities such as travelling to the cities of Haikou and Sanya, including Yalong Bay; shopping at local jewellery stores; dining on seafood near Sanya Bay, etc. (Hainan Tourism Administration, 1999). In recent years, ethnic tourism has become an important part of the package tour, but its full significance has yet to be realized. Touring folk villages has been seen as a fringe activity and does not receive much attention. According to the print

brochures, although all travel agencies in Hainan include a folk village as an attraction in the tourism brochures, only 10% of the brochures introduce the background of the village and some information on ethnic minorities.

Visiting folk villages is one of the very few ways for tourists to interact with ethnic cultures. However, the travel routes are designed by the travel agencies and the ease of accessibility and the availability of payments have become the top priorities for choosing the village. Some villages have been developed along the eastern expressway to provide such convenience. The displays in most villages tend to be identical so that it is unlikely for to urists to visit two or three villages on one trip.

Because the village tour is not viewed as an important program by tour operators, the great majority of tourists from mainland China is not prepared for a visit to a folk village. They appear to have little information on ethnicity and participation in the village is totally arranged by tour operators. The interactions between tourists and ethnic minorities tend to be brief and controlled by staged settings. In general, the length of stay at the folk vi llage lasts around 40 to 60 minutes. The activities include attendance of a dance performance and a walk around the village for shopping, and a snack of ethnic food. Some tourists pay extra money to participate in several ethnic ceremonies, such as a moc k wedding. The relationship between tourists and ethnic people is thus highly transitory. Further, tour guides do not play a significant role in explaining and interpreting the ethnic cultures inside the village. They generally stand at the exit and wai t to find any lost visitors at the last minute. Therefore, tourists have a superficial experience in the folk village.

7.2 The Background of Surveyed Folk Villages

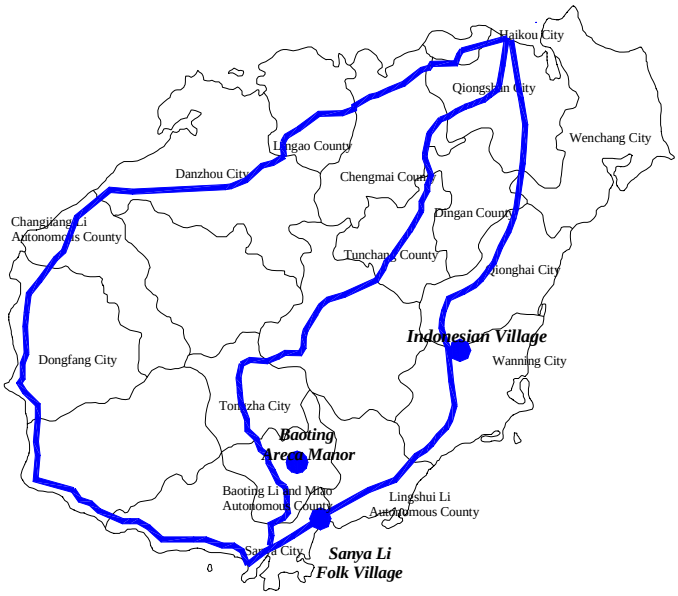
A visitor survey was conducted in three selected folk villages in the summer of 1999. For the purpose of this research, it was important to choose villages representing the whole picture of cultural tourism development in Hainan. Further, it was necessary that the surveyed tourists should

represent the general pattern of tourist arrivals in H ainan. Three folk villages were selected: (1) Baoting Areca Manor; (2) Sanya Li Folk Village; and (3) Indonesian Village. The reasons are as follows:

1. Both Baoting Areca Manor and Sanya Li Folk Village are similar in scale and theme. They showcase the Li culture and customs and are among the largest folk villages in Hainan. However, the locations are different: Baoting Areca Manor is located along the central route where Li communities are concentrated, while Sanya Folk Village is located along the easte rn highway. Both villages provide convenient transport access and attract a substantial number of tourists.
2. The Indonesian Village differs significantly in the culture displayed: it showcases the overseas Hainanese who escaped from Indonesia during the anti-communist riots in the 1950s. The village was developed to showcase the original Indonesian Chinese communities and has been well publicized throughout China. The inclusion of the Indonesian Village permits a comparison of visitors' responses to dif ferent cultures: Li and Indonesian.

Figure 7.1 shows the locations of the three villages. More detailed information on each village follows:

Figure 7.1. The Locations of Three Folk Villages in Hainan



7.2.1 Baoting Areca Manor

This folk village is located in Baoting Li and Miao Automonous Prefecture. The County of Baoting is one of the poorest regions in Hainan and the folk village is the main substantial tourist attraction (Figure 7.2). The village is surrounded by tall areca forests and used to be a re al Li community. It is a joint venture between the private sector and local government. The folk village is the largest in Hainan. The village not only serves as a model culture with which tourists can identify, but it also functions as an ethnic interp retive centre to showcase the culture to the tourists in a manner that the minority wishes to portray. For example, the village has a small craft gallery for exhibiting Li artefacts. Although the display is rudimentary, it strives to reflect the authenti c rural life of the Li minority. The village also provides a set of elaborate performances, such as the bamboo -beating dance, harvest celebration ceremony and Li wedding ceremony that are performed for tourists in about 30-40 minutes. It is highly commer cialized with hundreds of vendors selling ethnic souvenirs, crafts, silver ornaments, tea and local herbals. Tourists generally visit the village by tour buses and the number of tourist arrivals averages around 500 persons per day. They usually spend an hour or so touring around the village, watching dance performances and shopping.

Figure 7.2. The Gate of Baoting Areca Manor

7.2.2 Sanya Li Folk Village

Located on the southern exit of the eastern highway, the village is in a convenient location for tourist arrivals. The village was built in 1996 after the completion of the eastern highway and is not in the Li Autonomous Region. The village is owned by a private entrepreneur. The theme of the village is very close to that of Baoting's, however, it pay s more attention to the "work, life, love and festivals" of the Li (Personal communication, 1999e). For example, the dance program consists of a Lunar March 3rd ceremony (a sort of love parade of the Li) depicting the vanishing customs of the Li. Figure 7.3 shows a traditional Li pavilion where young people gather for singing and making friends. Tourists can rent Li clothing and take a photo inside the pavilion for a fee. The number of tourist arrival averages 600 per day and the majority visits the vil lage for 40 minutes and then moves on to the city of Sanya, the famous seaside resort in the south of the island.

Figure 7.3 The Li Pavilion in Sanya Folk Village

7.2.3 Indonesian Village

This village is located in the County of Xinglong, the well -known spa destination in Hainan. It was built upon the Xinglong Overseas Chinese Farm. Since 1952, more than 20,000 overseas Chinese

have settled at Xinglong following the anti-Communist riots in Indonesia. These overseas Chinese worked in tropical agriculture, including rubber and coffee plantations. The original idea for the folk village was to portray the image of Indonesia of those Indonesian-in-exile. The Indonesian Village has become "the most successful folk village in Hainan" (Hainan Tourism Bureau, 1999). It is estimated that 60% of tour buses in Hainan visit the village (Personal communication, 1999d) and tourist attendance averages 2,200 persons per day. The village is designed for tour groups and features Indonesian architecture, dancing and singing presented by the older generation of overseas Chinese (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 The Gate of Indonesian Village

7.3 The Profiles of Surveyed Visitors

The visitor survey for the three selected villages had three major sets of questions. The first set collected information about characteristics of the respondents' sociodemographics and their visit to the village (*e.g.,* type of transport, sources of ethnic cultural information and reasons for their visit).

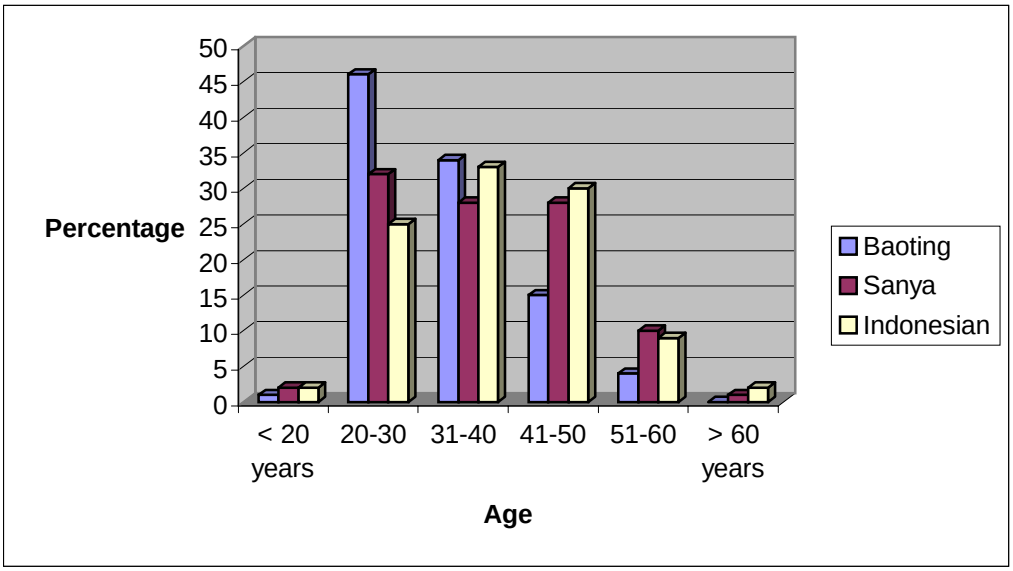
It also asked about their previous knowledge o f Li people or Indonesian Chinese. The second set of questions included perceptions of authenticity, expenditures and a set of rating scales measuring the importance of different aspects of ethnic experience. The final set of questions measured overall satisfaction with the village and with various aspects of the village (Appendix I). A total of 586 responses was obtained: 226 in Baoting Areca Manor, 134 in Sanya Li Folk Village and 226 in Indonesian Village. The response rate varied from each village. The Indonesian village recorded the highest response rate with 90%, compared with 75% in Baoting and 55% in Sanya. The low response rate in Sanya Village was due to the limited time for tourists to fill out the questionnaires. Most tourists were only gi ven 40 minutes in Sanya Village and tour guides were anxious to take tourists to the city of Sanya for sightseeing and shopping. Thus, a significant portion of their questionnaires turned out to be incomplete and could not be treated as valid data.

Statistical analyses were carried out to determine if there were significant differences in the three villages. A chi-square test was utilized to test for significant difference in responses among the three villages (Reynolds, 1977). Specific comparisons of t he three villages were completed with all alpha levels set at $P < 0.05$.

Chi-square analyses indicated that the tourists' profiles from three villages are very similar. The overall sample has more males than females (*i.e.,* Indonesian Village had 63% male respondents; Baoting 60% and Sanya 59%). Such gender imbalance can be explained by the fact that Hainan tourism has long been male-oriented. The image of sun-sea-sand-sex serves to attract male tourists. Although the majority of tourists' ages ranged f rom 20 to 40, a slight difference existed among the three villages: Baoting has the largest number in the 20 -30 age group (46%) and the smallest number of 41-50 age group (15%) (Figure 7.5). It is not known why this difference in age composition between sites was found. A chi-square test indicated that there existed no significant difference of

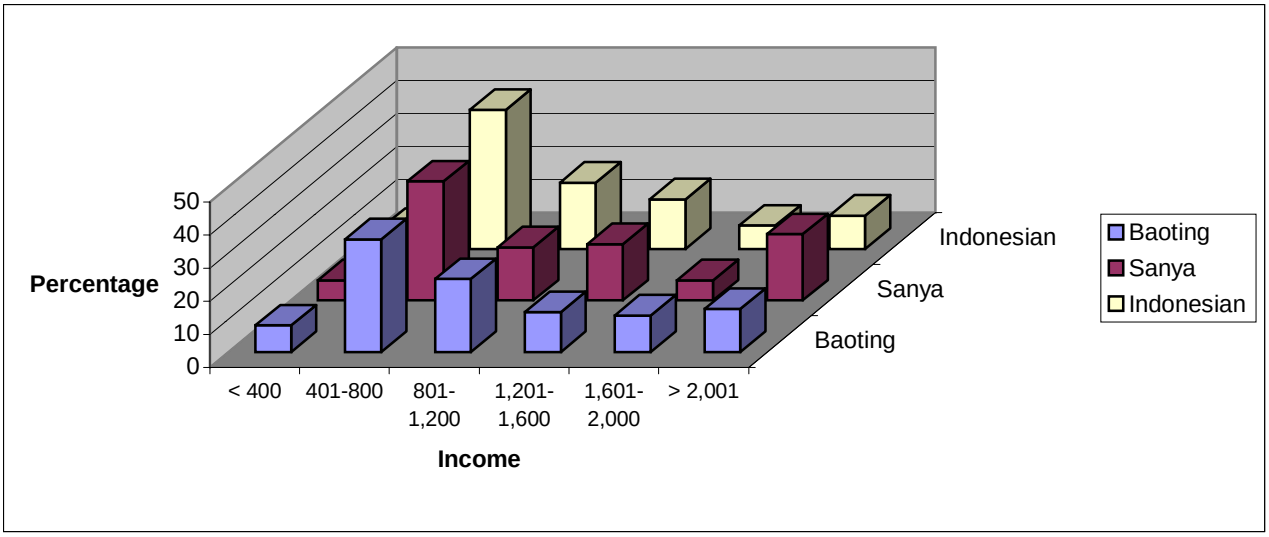
tourists' income in the three villages (X^2 =14.6, *df* = 10, P < 0.20). The average of surveyed tourists was around 400 to 800 yuan (C$80 – $160) per month (Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.5. The Age Groups of Surveyed Visitors



(*Chi-square* =35.7, *df* = 10, P < 0.05)

Figure 7.6. The Income of Surveyed Visitors



(*Chi-square* = 14.6, *df* = 10, P < 0.2)

In terms of education, respondents in all three villages reported a high education level (58% of respondents in Indonesian village, 56% in Baoting and 54% in Sanya claimed undergraduate degrees). When asked their occupations, administrative and governmental staff occupied the largest proportion of the sample: 55% of respondents in Baoting, 58% in Sanya and 64% in the Indonesian Village, respectively. Persons working in the civil services generally have high educations. Staff usually participates in a package tour organized by the government as a part of a welfare program and the tour serves to offer an opportunity to facilitate socialization and solve problems among colleagues.

In terms of ethnicity, the overwhelming number of tourists was ethnic Han (over 95% of respondents). Other ethnicities such as Miao, Hui (Muslim) and Li were negligible. This is not surprising given that most visitors come from mainland China and the number of international visitors continues to be small.

One can conclude that, with the possible exception of age, visitors to the three sites have similar characteristics. This is not surprising because they came from a similar origin (mainland China) and were involved in similar tours. It follows that, should differences in the responses to other questions be found between the three villages, they are unlikely to be explained by the personal characteristics of visitors.

The following sections evaluate tourists' perceptions of authenticity by using five pairs of paradoxes. The survey findings are reported and tensions during the encounter between tourists and host communities are addressed.

7.4 Non-commercialization versus Commodification

The concept of authenticity in tourism studies has been shaped by the work of MacCannell (1973, 1976). In his original presentation of authenticity, MacCannell argued that attractions could be

characterized as varying in the degree to which they were staged, that is, contrived for tourists. Tourists sought backstage (*i.e.,* genuine or non-contrived) experiences and demanded authenticity. In a range of extensions and refinements to this pioneering treatment of authenticity, a number of authors argued that not all tourists seek authenticity, that many recognize the inauthenticity of the experience, but that they still enjoy it (Cohen, 1979, 1988; Pearce and Moscardo, 1986).

The situation in Hainan is unique. A great majority of tourists participate in package tours and pay the expense prior the trip. Touring a folk village is a part of recreation programs designed by tour operators in Hainan, and tourists are not required to pay directly for watching the dance performance. Thus, it is difficult to judge the issue of non -commercialization solely from the visible financial exchange. Table 7.1 provides the reasons f or tourists visiting the villages. It is evident that "on tour" is the major reason to visit the folk village. Over 70% of respondents in both Baoting and Sanya villages indicated that a village tour is a part of the tour program arranged by travel agenc ies. Almost one third of respondents in Indonesian Village reported the trip as "personal want", however, most still participated in the package tour for easy access. The Indonesian Village is closer to and more accessible from the main city, Haikou, an d this may reduce slightly the reliance of the village on independent travellers.

Table 7.1: The Reasons for Visitation

Reason	Baoting (%)	Sanya (%)	Indonesian (%)
Tour Program	70	75	58
Personal Want	20	17	31
Others	10	8	11

(*Chi-square* =13.6, *df* = 4, P < 0.05)

A chi-square test for tourists' perception of authenticity showed no significant difference between the study sites (X^2 =8.2, *df* = 4, P < 0.10). Visitors in the three villages exhibited similar views on the issue of authenticity. Table 7.2 c ompares the tourists' perceptions of authenticity in the three

villages: 40% of respondents perceived Baoting as an authentic presentation of ethnic culture, 38% in Sanya and 37% in the Indonesian village. However, a substantial portion of respondents di d not view the folk villages as authentic (24% in Baoting, 15% in Sanya and 16% in the Indonesian village). At the same time, a large proportion of respondents claimed "don't know", with 37% of respondents in Baoting, 47% in Sanya and 47% in Indonesian Vi llage expressing this view.

Table 7.2: Perception of Authenticity

	Baoting (%)	**Sanya (%)**	**Indonesian (%)**
Authentic	40	38	37
Inauthentic	24	15	16
Don't Know	37	47	47

(*Chi-square* =8.2, *df* = 4, P < 0.10)

The findings suggest that a majority of tourists v isited the folk village as a part of a recreational program, and that their perceptions of authenticity were blurred. A large proportion of tourists did not have a clear picture of ethnic authenticity. Furthermore, only a fraction of tourists in all thre e villages was familiar with ethnic cultures prior to arrival (Table 7.3). A great majority judged their knowledge of ethnic cultures as "superficial" (64% in Baoting, 58% in Sanya and 59% in the Indonesian Village). At the same time, nearly 25% of respo ndents in each village claimed that they "don't know" about ethnic cultures. A chi -square analysis also indicated no significant difference between for the level of knowledge at the three villages (X^2 =5.0, *df* = 6, P < 1): both Li and Chinese Indonesian cultures were equally unfamiliar to the majority of respondents.

Of those who indicated that they were familiar with ethnicity, the sample of the three villages showed a similar pattern: a higher knowledge of ethnic dance/song, with 40% in Baoting, 41% in Sanya and 46% in the Indonesian Village, respectively (Figure 7.7). Such a relatively high degree of knowledge in dance/song can be understood as ethnic images of dancers and singers have been

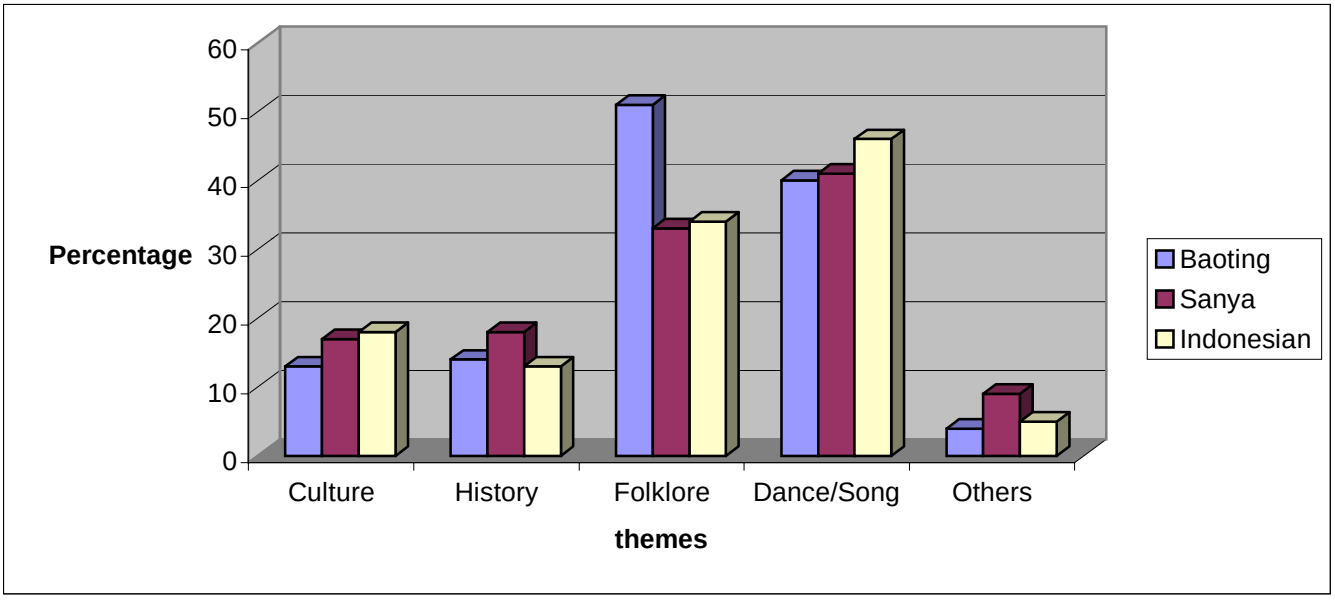
widely portrayed in the mass media. In general, tourists may be aware of the spectacular, such as the bamboo-beating dance, but not of other aspects of history or culture.

Table 7.3: Knowledge of Ethnic Cultures Before Arrival

Knowledge	Baoting (%)	Sanya (%)	Indonesian (%)
Very Familiar	3	2	2
Familiar	12	12	15
Superficial	64	58	59
Don't Know	21	28	24

(*Chi-square* =5.0, *df* = 6, P < 1)

Figure 7.7: Familiarity with Ethnicity



(*Chi-square* =7.90, *df* = 8, P < 1)

The findings suggest that tourists in Hainan are not prepared for a tour o f a village, and that their knowledge of ethnicity is superficial. In fact, the tour is arranged by travel agencies which prioritize the accessibility of the location. The tourists' perceptions of authenticity were blurred given the situation that tourists knew little of ethnic cultures. Of those who expressed familiarity with ethnicity, the majority relied upon spectacular images to evaluate authenticity. These images encompassed dance and song performance or folklore widely shown in the mass media. M any

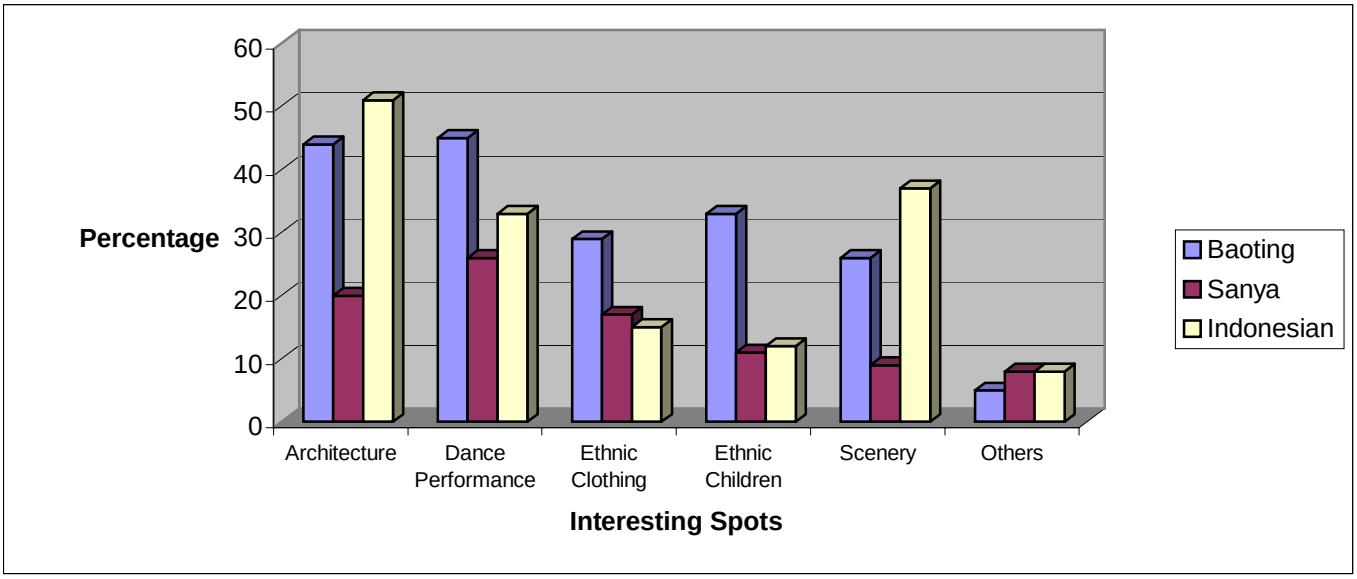
tourists are not aware of other aspects of ethnic history or folklore. From the survey, a large number of tourists expressed "don't know" and "no opinions" towards ethnicity reflecting that these tourists could not be viewed as true "cultural tourists ". Rather, they were incidental visitors to a cultural tourism attraction.

7.5 Cultural Evolution versus Museumification

As noted in Chapter 6, tourism businesses cater for tourists and folk villages provide selected cultural expressions to meet tourists' expectation. Figure 7.8 reports tourists' interests in village attractions. Respondents were given a list of possible attractions in the village and asked to check as many as appropriate.

A chi-square test was calculated and significant differences were not found between the villages (X^2 =49, df = 10, P < 0.05). Both architecture and dance performance were ranked highly in the three villages. The dance performances in both Baoting and Sanya were ranked the highest in interest among interesting features by 45% and 26% of respondents, respectively. Li dance performance is famous in China, particularly the bamboo-beating dance. Both villages have orchestrated excellent dance programs with a high quality of performance. The architecture in the Indonesian village was ranked as the highest attraction there and over 50% of the respondents thought the buildings were "very exotic". Many tourists commented that touring the village provided an excellent opportunity to know the Indonesian culture and the folklore in Southeast Asia without going abroad. Comparatively, the percentages of interests from respondents in Sanya Village were lower than in two other villages. Perhaps this is because tourists spent less time here touring the village as travel agents were anxious to move them on to the city of Sanya for shopping and dining.

Figure 7.8: The Interesting Spots in Folk Villages



(*Chi-square* =49, *df* = 10, P < 0.05)

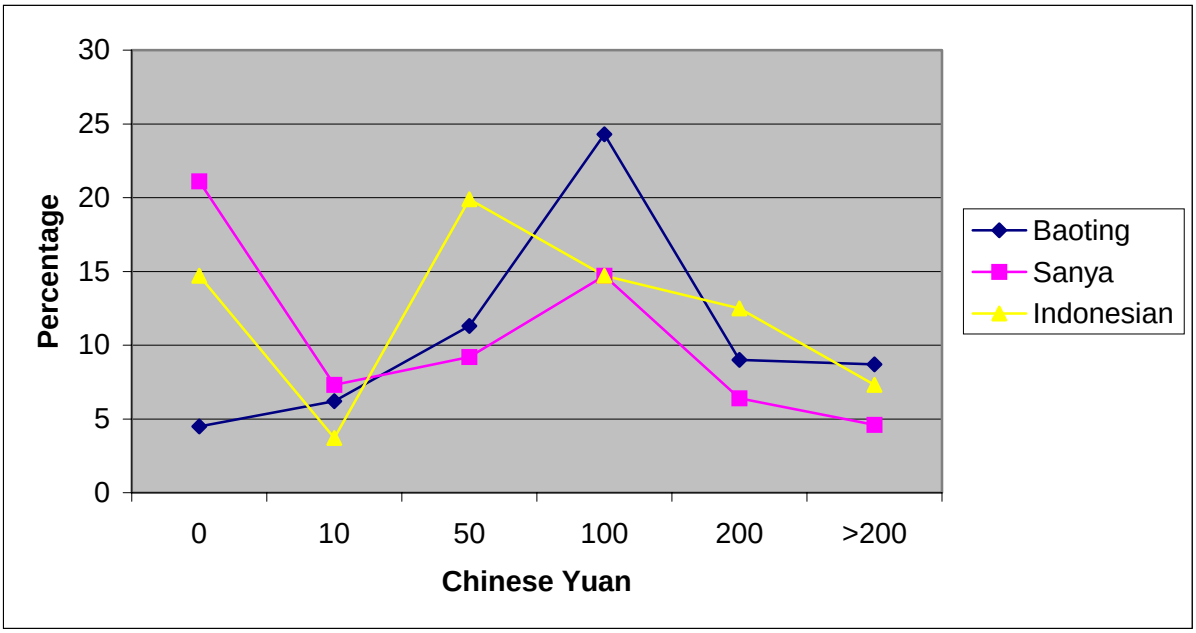
Tourists expressed a high degree of interest in ethnic custo ms and folklore. However, they felt frustrated that they were unable to find any help in deepening their understanding. For example, tourists indicated that they would like to learn about the essence of ethnic architecture, but nobody explained it to them. Even the village employees did not know how to explain the significance of a "boat-shaped house". At the same time, many tourists found "exoticness" to be a good indicator with which to evaluate the quality of the tour. Remarks such as "we like to se e different clothing" and "we want to know why they are wearing short skirts", reflect the curiosity of tourists and their interest in ethnicity. Apparently, tourists had an unclear picture of Li culture, and many concluded after touring the village that this ethnic minority is backward economically and socially - because they were not "modern" at all. These misconceptions can be attributed to tourism middlemen (*i.e.,* tour guides, travel agencies) who did not play a sufficient role in interpreting ethnic cultures for tourists. Some tourists developed a sense of ethnocentrism (belief in the superiority of Han culture) towards Li due partly to a lack of interpretation and information. What tourists found in the folk village is museumified elements of ethn ic cultures and the visitation reinforced the previous images

that the ethnic minority is backward economically and culturally. Tourism business, in fact, caters to tourists' desire to produce some "hyper-reality" to ensure a range of contrasts between to urist and host cultures. Eventually, these cultural differences turned into negative perceptions of the minority group for some tourists.

7.6 Economic Development versus Cultural Preservation

Tourists have significant economic impacts on the folk villa ges. The village business relies heavily on the number of tourists. Figure 7.9 provides the tourist expenditure in three villages excluding admission tickets. The average on-site expenditure per surveyed respondent was 143 yuan (C$28) in Baoting, 65 yuan (C$13) in Sanya and 108 yuan (C$21) at the Indonesian Village. One should acknowledge that the average expenditure from each respondent may include more than one person. Conservatively, it is assumed that each surveyed respondent represents three visit ors who spent money in the village. Thus, one can extrapolate the economic impact in the villages by multiplying the average tourist expenditure by the number of tourist arrivals and dividing by three. It is roughly estimated that gross tourists expendit ure is around 8 million yuan (C$1.4 million) per year in Baoting; 4 million yuan (C$0.7 million) per year in Sanya; and 28 million yuan (C$5.1 million) per year in the Indonesian Village. Although such extrapolation does not represent a comprehensive and accurate picture of economic impact, the rough estimations indicate that economic impacts on the local communities by the establishment of folk villages are very significant.

Figure 7.9. Tourist Expenditure in Three Folk Villages



(*Chi-square* =22.5, *df* = 10, P < 0.05)

Table 7.4 shows the items purchased in folk villages. A large proportion of souvenir purchases can be categorized as local specialties, such as tropical fruit (*e.g.,* mango, areca, lychee), herbal tea, and Chinese medicine. Tourists were also interested in purchasing ethnic trinkets and clothing. Surprisingly, the percentage of tourists who purchased "ethnic trinkets" in the Indonesian Village was nil (this largely accounts for the significant statist ical difference in souvenir purchases between the three study sites). This may be explained by a problem of cultural expression of the Indonesian Chinese - there was no representative souvenir product in the village.

Table 7.4: The Souvenir Items Purchase d in Folk Villages

Items	Baoting (%)	Sanya (%)	Indonesian (%)
Local Specialties	35	34	35
Ethnic Trinket	13	15	0
Ethnic Clothing	4	4	5
Silver/Jewellery	8	4	1
Photo-taking	2	1	2

(*Chi-square* =27.3, *df* = 8, P < 0.05)

Although tourists spent substantial amounts of money in the villages, the purchasing of craft souvenirs was not important. Instead, tourists spent more money on agricultural products, such as fruit, teas and herbals. One of critical issues in cultural preservation is tourists' propensity t o appreciate ethnic products and purchase souvenirs (Asplet and Cooper, 2000). The results suggest that the ethnic souvenir market in Hainan is still in its infancy and craft souvenirs remain to be developed and promoted. Although tourists expressed a de sire to seek craft souvenirs representing the village, culture-related merchandise appeared to be scant in the three villages. In particular, the Indonesian Village, with a strong theme of Indonesian Chinese, has not developed a single souvenir to attract tourists' buying desire. There is an important niche market to be developed in the production of ethnic souvenirs incorporating local cultural motifs for sale to tourists.

It is evident that tourists inject a substantial amount of money into the folk v illages through purchasing souvenirs and participating in ceremonies. However, there exists little effect on cultural preservation. Commercialization is highly visible in the villages and ethnic culture is for sale. Tourists in the villages are actually consuming the cultural resource.

7.7 Ethnic Autonomy versus State Regulation

Ethnic autonomy from a tourist perspective can be seen as aspects of power, control, information and knowledge. An ethnic community in an apparent situation of weakness nevertheless possesses the strengths inherent in being on home territory and knowing about its resources and potential. Tourists in Hainan regard ethnic autonomy and state regulation as dichotomies. On the one hand, state policies may change the authenti city of ethnic cultures; on the other hand, many tourists believe the prosperity of folk villages could not be sustained without the support of governments.

Table 7.5 lists the suggestions for future development in folk villages. The questions were open-ended and responses were grouped during the analysis. A chi -square test indicated that no

significant differences existed among three villages concerning the tourists' suggestions. The option of "village expansion" was ranked the highest by tourists . In particular, 46% of respondents in the Indonesian Village thought village expansion would be the best option for future development. Many suggested including other ethnic themes such as Thai and Philippine cultures in the village. Tourists hoped that expansion would not only enhance the existing facilities but also improve service and accessibility. The majority of tourists expressed high interests in folk villages, particularly, compared with other folk villages they had visited, such as Theme Parks in Shenzhen, a city next to Hong Kong. Village expansion also reflected the idea that tourists would like to see high ethnic autonomy in the village so that the community would control the presentation of Li culture.

Further, respondents expressed a need to strengthen the interpretation of ethnic culture with 7% in Baoting, 11% in Sanya and 12% in the Indonesian Village. Some tourists wrote that they felt lost in the village, surrounded by countless vendors. Others wanted to learn more of ethnic cultures through signage, video introduction and detailed interpretation. For example, tourists indicated that a Li interpreter is needed to explain the background of the folklore and customs prior to attending the dance performance. Respondents in both Sanya and Indonesian Village expressed concerns regarding authenticity (11% and 12% respectively). Some tourists even declared that "if Li people ran this village, it may be more authentic", instead of joint venture with government, as told by tour guides.

Issues such as sanitation improvement and vendor hassles were each raised by 13% of respondents in Baoting village. Many tourists complained about the poor toilet inside the village and that they were pestered by numerous vendors inside the village. An average of 9% of respondents in the three villages remarked on the high price of admission. A majority of tourists was not required to purchase tickets and the tour was arranged by tour operators. However, when they saw the ticket price at the entrance bulletin board, a number of tourists complained that it was

overpriced. In fact, higher ticket pricing has been set in order to give tour guides a kickback. Although it is an illegal action restricted by local government, the kickback is prevalent to encourage tour guides to bring more tourists to the folk villages.

Table 7.5. The Suggestions for Future Development

Suggestions	Baoting (%)	Sanya (%)	Indonesian (%)
Village Expansion	30	35	46
Detailed Introduction to Ethnic Culture	23	20	19
Strengthen Authenticity	7	11	12
Improve Sanitation	13	7	3
Lessen Vendor Hassle	13	9	3
Fair Ticket Pricing	7	11	8
Lessen Commoditization	3	2	3

(*Chi-square* = 13.7, *df* = 12, P < 1)

When asked whether the government involvement in the folk villages would be beneficial, a great majority of tourists stated "don't know" (60%). A quarter of respondents said "Yes" by adding that governmental involvement can regulate the tourism market, in particular, the activities of the informal sector in the village. Some tourists complained that no warranty of products existed in the village to fall back on if the purchased souvenirs were not satisfactory. "What if I bought fake jewellery or rotten fruits in the village?" Many tourists wanted the local government to regulate the vendor business in order to protect the consumer. In fact, folk villages in Hainan present an opposite picture: villages are not operated by the ethnic minorities and state regulation of the folk villages is weak.

7.8 Mass Tourism Development versus Sustainable Cultural Tourism

Mass tourism is the most common form in Hainan. Tourists in Hainan normally are mass tourists. However, they are not cultural tourists and have little knowledge of sustainable cultural tourism. The visitation of folk villages was organized by tour agencies and tourists have little time to

appreciate ethnic cultures. The number of repeat visitors was virtually non -existent. Thus, tourists have little expectation for the folk village and few insightful inputs for its future development . However, tourists expressed their opinions toward service quality during the survey. Service quality may be seen as an important aspect of sustainable cultural tourism development.

The perception of service quality by tourists is particularly importan t for the assessment of their hosts (Walle, 1998). Cultural differences influence the interaction processes between service providers and tourists. The tourists' and hosts' perceptions of service providers may have different implications for the assessme nt of service quality. Qualities such as being friendly, prompt, and helpful may have different meanings in different cultures. Therefore, there is great scope for the development of negative perceptions of service quality by tourists. The need to cater to those expectations, according to the tourists' definitions of service quality, is important for sustainable development. Since tourists' expectations are shaped by their culture, their culture is the basis for expected service standards. It can be ar gued that the tourists' expectations are also shaped by other factors, such as media, intermediaries, etc. However, although other factors exist, the influence of culture on individuals is arguably the most important (Porter and Samovar, 1988).

Table 7.6 presents mean ratings of satisfaction in the three village sites, ranging from 1 (very unsatisfactory) to 5 (very satisfactory). Overall, the ratings in three villages were very similar (*Chi-square* =0.09, *df* = 16, P < 1) and generally positive: tourists p rovided an above average impression of the overall quality with 3.1 in Baoting, 3.2 in Sanya and 3.5 in the Indonesian Village. Among all the attributes, the respondents gave highest marks for the quality of the tour guide with 3.8 in Baoting, 3.7 in Sanya and 4.2 in the Indonesian Village. This is perhaps surprising given the lack of interpretation at the folk villages but it probably reflects their role in the entire tour which may last several days. At the same time, tourists expressed the least satis faction in the high ticket pricing,

with 2.6 in Baoting and 2.8 in Sanya. Many tourists in Baoting also felt dissatisfied with the quality of souvenirs with a mean rating of 2.7.

Table 7.6. Mean Ratings of Satisfaction in Folk Villages

Attribute	Baoting	Sanya	Indonesian
Village Location	3.6	3.5	3.8
Architectural Design	3.2	3.2	3.5
Dance Performance	3.4	3.3	3.6
Ethnic Clothing	3.5	3.5	3.6
Souvenir Quality	2.7	3.0	3.2
Staff Quality	3.1	3.3	3.9
Tour Guide Quality	3.8	3.7	4.2
Ticket Pricing	2.6	2.8	3.3
Overall Impression	3.1	3.2	3.5

Note: rating scale ranged from 1: very unsatisfactory to 5: very satisfactory

(*Chi-square* =0.09, *df* = 16, P < 1)

When asked about the future prospects for folk villages, the majority of tourists replied, "keep it original" or "improve service quality". They believed the form of mass tourism in Hainan would continue in the near future. The distinctions between mass tourism and sustainable tourism were not important from tourists' perspectives. Tourists visited the vill age as a part of the tourism programs and had few ideas for village development in the long run.

7.9 Summary

This chapter provides an analysis of visitor surveys in three selected villages, and some insights into the attributes of visitors at these c ultural tourism attractions. It is normal for tourists of another culture to be both fascinated and apprehensive about a destination's different cultural and social structures. However, this research suggests that ethnic tourism development in Hainan is unique. Tourists in Hainan have distinct characteristics in authenticating cultural resources. These can be seen from the following points:

1. Tourists came from mainland China and regarded Hainan as an island resort. The majority of visits to folk villages in Hainan were organized by tour operators as a part of recreational activities. Tourists did not get prepared for the tour, and their knowledge of ethnic cultures was limited and superficial. A large proportion of tourists had no opinions about the issue of authenticity. The encounter between tourists and hosts was brief and exerted little social impact on the communities. The perception of authenticity was largely derived from blurred images developed from the mass media. The findings suggest that these tourists should not be viewed as "cultural tourists". Rather, they were incidental tourists in a cultural tourism attraction.
2. The survey suggested that the cultural experience is essentially the same in the three villages, regardless of cultures (Li or Indonesian Chinese) and locations (the central route or the eastern route). Statistical analyses indicated that the sociodemographic characteristics of tourists in the three villages were similar. They had a similar length of time touring the villages and gained superficial impressions. In particular, the survey results from both Baoting and Sanya were almost identical. However, some minor differences can be found in the three villages. For example, the Indonesian Village, due to its high publicity and exoticness, is somewhat different to the two Li villages: Indonesian architecture has received wide recognition and the overall service quality was ranked higher than at the other two villages.
3. Although tourists contribute a significant economic impact through purchasing souvenirs and tropical fruit, they are not directly involved in the process of cultural preservation. Most importantly, tourists expect to see quaintly "museumified" aspects of ethnic cultures and do not generally realize that ethnic culture has evolved with time. The service quality may be regarded as a prime issue for the development of mass tourism. However, the meaning of

the concept of sustainable development was still foreign for tourists and few insightful suggestions were found during the survey.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

The increasing participation of ethnic people in tourism may be linked to the belief that such activity facilitates understanding between minority and mainstream people. Under this argument, as majority people observe and experience ethnic cultures, their understanding and appreciation of ethnic positions on major issues improves. Increased understanding results in changed attitudes and behaviours that lead, in turn, to a more just and equitable relationship between minority and majority peoples (D'Amore, 1988). There is a growing and substantial literature on the development of tourism in ethnic communities, in particular, the socio-economic impacts on the communities. Tourism has great potential to generate many employment opportunities for ethnic communities within both the formal and informal sectors (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Research on community-based tourism has received widespread attention in recent years (Cukier and Wall, 1994; Long and Wall, 1995). For example, through the creation of jobs, tourism can offer an opportunity for the ethnic population to increase its income and improve its standard of living, and can also positively affect quality of life through increases in social status, empowerment and the creation of new occupational opportunities for youth and women (Hinch and Butler, 1996).

This chapter shifts the research on ethnic communities, as an identified stakeholder, to a specific group - ethnic dance performers in the folk villages. These dance performers, generally recruited by the villages from different parts of regions with a majority Li population, provide ethnic dance and ceremonies for tourists. The reasons for choosing dance performers to represent ethnic communities are: (1) ethnic dance performers are familiar with aspects of Li culture and the majority come from Li communities; (2) dance performers gain financially from tourism and have become one of the most visible manifestations showcasing ethnic customs and folklore; (3) dance

performers interact with tourists. The tourists, through observation of dance shows, are able to gain a brief insight into a selective array of ethnic expressions. Dance performers thus have become a crucial part of folk villages; and, (4) a dance troupe is a good group to conduct interviews with because they are generally well informed and experienced with both cultural performance and some aspects of tourism.

Although research on authenticity in tourism dance performances has app eared in some scholarly journals (Levine, 1983; Silver, 1993; Daniel, 1996), little academic attention has been given to the ethnic dance performers themselves and, especially, to their views on their employment and on tourism. Through the research on eth nic dance performers in Hainan, one can ascertain perceptions of cultural authentification by Li people. This chapter presents a study embracing eight folk villages in Hainan Island undertaken by interviewing 102 dance performers (sometimes individually and sometimes in groups) in the summer of 1999. Semi -structured and unstructured long interviews of two to three hours were undertaken to collect the research data. This method was chosen because it is "data revealing" (McCracken, 1988; Riley, 1993) and i s considered a powerful tool for gaining insights into the socially constructed realities of individuals (Kvale, 1996). All the dance performers were chosen with the assistance of the chief executive officers of the villages. Further, the researcher spen t two weeks in Baoting Areca Manor and the Indonesian Village and the surrounding ethnic communities to observe activities in order to get an in -depth insight into the lives of the dance performers.

The dancers' comments and attitudes not only reflect t he perception of authenticity in ethnic communities, but also shed some light on problems and prospects of cultural tourism development in Hainan. This chapter first introduce the profiles of the dance performers and the characteristics of dance performan ce in folk villages. It then evaluates authenticity from the dance performers' perspective by using the same five yardsticks as used in the preceding chapters.

8.1 The Profiles of Dance Performers

Table 8.1 presents the village names, locations and the nu mber of interviewed dance performers. The dance performers were young: 30% of performers were under 20 and 65% were between 20 and 29 years of age. The majority was unmarried (70%) and female (70%). The gender imbalance can be explained by the nature of the dance performances that require more female dancers. Since the dance programs have been designed as an exotic and feminine performing art, male dancers generally play a minor role during the show. Amongst the 30% of dance performers who were married, the majority of their spouses also worked in the village. In terms of income, dance performers received a higher salary than other employees in the villages. The reasons for this are the higher workload, their visibility in the villages, and the skill required.

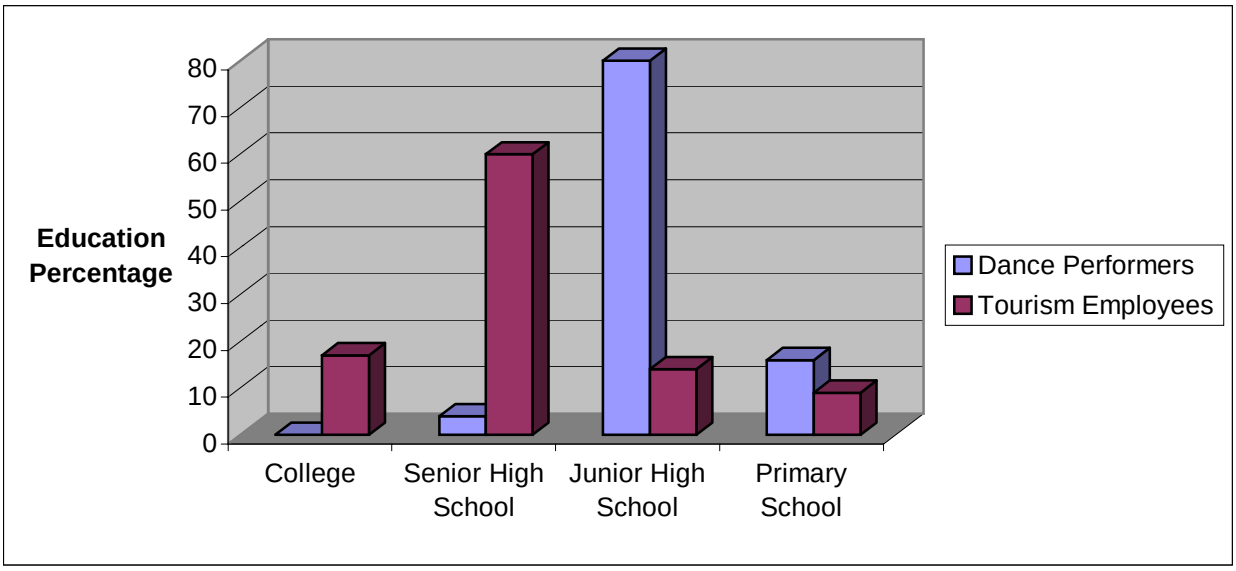
Table 8.1: The Village Names, Locations and Number of Interviewed Dance Performers

Village Name	**Location**	**Number of Interviewed Dance Performers**
Tongzha Li Folk Village	Tongzha, Central Route	3
Hainan Village of the Chinese Nationalities	Tongzha, Central Route	17
Baoting Areca Manor	Baoting, Central Route	16
Tianniu Miao Ethnic Folk Village	Tiandu township, Eastern Route	12
Sanya Li Ethnic Folk Village	Sanya, Eastern Route	14
Sanya Luhuitou Theme Park	Sanya, Eastern Route	12
Tianya Haijiao Theme Park	Sanya, Eastern Route	8
Indonesian Village	Xinglong, Eastern Route	20

Figure 8.1 presents a comparison of the educational levels of dancers in the folk villages with those of the average tourism employees in Hainan. The tourism emplo yees referred to here are people who work in the hospitality industry that is sanctioned by government (*e.g.,* hotels, restaurants, travel agencies, guides). Dance performers in the folk villages have a much lower education, with a majority holding a junio r high school diploma (80%). Only 4% have a senior high school diploma.

Comparatively, 60% of employees in the tourism sector have a senior high school diploma and 17% have a college degree. No dance performers had a college degree. In addition, a smal l proportion of performers dropped out of junior high school and most of these were female.

Figure 8.1 A Comparison of the Education in Folk Villages with the Tourism Sector in Hainan



(Source: the tourism sector data adapted fr om Hainan Tourism Bureau, 1999)

Although the physical scales and themes of folk villages vary with different locations, the characteristics of dance performers and performances are consistent. Ethnic dance shows are generally performed in a large dance h all (a thatched hut) that can accommodate 300 -500 tourists at one time. The total number of dance performers in a show is around 30 to 50, depending upon the nature of the performance. The dance programs are reconstructions of the exotic, more popular elements of ethnic folklore and are staged for tourists exhibiting selected aspect of ethnic minority life. For example, the most popular Li show in Hainan is the bamboo -beating dance that can be seen in every Li folk village (Figure 8.2). The dance perfor mances are spectacles. They keep alive (even revive) traditional art forms and practices, giving the tourists a chance to view some limited

cultural aspects of a lifestyle as it once was. Therefore, dance performers in these folk villages are not required to be professional, yet the performance should be seemingly authentic from a tourist's perspective and cater to the tastes of tourists. Again, as in the preceding chapters, the five dichotomies will be used to position the performers with respect to aut henticity.

Figure 8.2 Li-Style Bamboo-Beating Dance

8.2 Non-commercialization versus Commodification

Dance performers are a distinctive group in the village. They are paid relatively well and as the folk village proprietors strive to make a profit, th us, they are required to perform as long as tourists visit the village. However, as will be seen, the exchange of money to experience a performance does not necessarily mean complete commodification. In fact, many visitors may not pay a fee directly to enter the folk village, it being subsumed in the price of the tour package. Furthermore, even if they

do pay an entry fee, they are usually not charged specifically to experience a dance performance. Thus, once having entered the village, the performance is free.

In order to understand non-commercialization versus commodification, this section is divided into two categories: dance performances and dance performers.

8.2.1. Li Dance Performance

Artistic forms in tourism are often represented by products that are more commonly used, more "authentic" or "genuine", outside of the tourism setting. Therefore, in a dance performance, one of the first issues to be considered is what is a "non-commercial" dance. For an ethnic dance, "non-commercial" revolves generally around anonymous authorship, and skill or accuracy in the replication of something used functionally by members of a given society (Daniel, 1996). Non-commercialization relates also to the use of functional items from one society which are viewed as ornamentation, entertainment, or contemplation by members of another society (Cohen, 1988). Non-commercialization includes a sense of boundary among differing sets of conventions, rules or regulations (Kasfir, 1992).

Handler and Saxton (1988, p. 242) argued that there are two kinds of "non-commercial": the one applied to visual arts is generally an external judgement by the spectator and the one applied to performing arts and their case of "living history" is an "experiential" authenticity. In the visual arts, authenticity is most often based upon collectors' tastes and collectors' naming and categorization of genres and styles (Kasfir, 1992, p. 44-45). For example, the Western ballet can be viewed in its tourism art dimension (Daniel, 1996). Although ballet is not commonly regarded as tourism art, it is actually a European American cultural (or ethnic) dance form and, as such, it has often been staged, prepared and packaged to frame European American cultures. Experiential authenticity is concerned with "perfect simulation", replication of a past, an isomorphism or similarity of structural

form "between a living history activity or event, and that piece of the past it is meant to re -create" (Handler and Saxton, 1988, p. 242). Authenticity prevails when the individual is affected or touched so that he feels that the "real" world and the "real" self are consonant (Handler and Saxton, 1988, p. 243). Touristic dance performance runs parallel to living history projects in that it relies heavily on the desire for "non-commercial" experiences of the performer to satisfy the tourist's desire for "the authentic" (Daniel, 1996).

From the performing community's point of view, non -commercial dance forms are differentiated from one another by means of style, type an d context and, until the appearance of tourism, the mixing of forms has generally been judged as a violation of the boundaries between forms. Combinations of dance steps from different traditions, that is, inter -traditional mixtures, have been judged as "fakes", "frauds" and certainly less than authentic. However, sometimes such mixed performances possess a creative aspect, both from emic and etic perspectives (Daniel, 1996). Frequently, touristic performance has become the category of dance in which the mixture of varied traditions and major change may take place. The tourism setting, as seen in the folk villages, provides the space and time for ideal definitions to expand, for play and experimentation at the boundaries with combinations of styles and t raditions that reach for innovation and creativity.

Ethnic dance in Hainan originated from spontaneous improvisation in the Li communities. The Li people formed different types of dances to celebrate the harvest or to mourn the dead. For example, the bamboo-beating dance, the most famous Li dance, originated from the funeral ceremony (Personal communication, 1999c). However, given the huge success of its debut performance in Beijing after the Communist Party took power in 1949, the bamboo -beating dance acquired a new meaning. Instead of being performed only for the funeral ceremony, it is now viewed as a festival celebration and has been completely integrated into the contemporary tourism system. Further, traditionally, the bamboo selected for a perform ance should be reddish in colour.

The Li minority believed that the colour red is a "good omen" and can drive away evil (Su *et al*, 1994). However, since the bamboo-beating dance has been turned into a touristic dance, the importance of colour selection of bamboo has disappeared. The religious meaning of the bamboo colour has also been forgotten. Instead, the dance emphasises the bamboo-beating rhythms, intimate team playing and smiling faces. The "new" (restructured or reinterpreted) form and style have emerged as "authentic" for the Li community. Further, the "evolved" bamboo-beating dance has become an important part of Li cultural identity and is held in high esteem by many tourists.

Li dance programs have gone through a series of evolutions. In order to fit tourists' schedules and tastes, villages have reorganized dance programs. In general, they comprise five items that last for 30 to 40 minutes. These items encompass: (1) a harvest celebration; (2) love songs by Li youth; (3) a religious ceremony for curing disease; (4) a bamboo-beating dance; and (5) a visitor participation program. For several years after the Communist revolution, sacred Li religious ceremonies and dances were not generally held in public because of the secular ideology of the Communist government. However, the touristic setting provides an opportunity to revive these disappearing rituals and dances. The religious ceremony in the folk villages is viewed as "cultural" rather than "religious". Over time, some of the Li religious gestures, chants and rhythms have been placed in combination with secular love songs and drumming. Thus, a new form of cultural expression has emerged in the folk villages.

Tourists are also responsible for modifications in the dance performance. Since folk villages in Hainan are tourism-oriented, the program design has taken the needs and desires of tourists into consideration. For example, tourists are encouraged to participate in the dance performance in the final part of the show. Because tourists do not usually know the rules and rhythms, they are often indulged when they mistakenly cross boundaries, by dancing their versions or imitations of dance sequences and traditions, by entering a dance form that prohibits certain personnel, and by not

following the musical or gestural leads. These "mishaps", and the responding behaviour that attempts to make the guest feel safe and free from embarrassment, allow spontaneity and improvisation to flow, facilitating creativity. Therefore, Li dance perfor mers can experiment with variation, indulge in mixtures among dance traditions, and be creative.

Both dance performers and tourists are often able to experience authenticity bodily and thereby, simultaneously express authenticity and creativity. Paradoxic ally, the commodification of Li dance can be viewed as a positive mechanism in the pursuit of non -commercialization. The experience of performing, especially the experience of dancing, is ultimately a route toward genuineness: to that space and time where the energy within a dance performance deepens from a routine presentation to a more intensely experienced performance by both the performer and the viewer. This experiential authenticity, as clarified by Handler and Saxton (1988), further explains "non-commercialization" and "reinvention" of dance performance for tourists. As a result, I suggest that the definitions of "non -commercialization" and "commodification" are relative terms, and are judged by both performers and tourists.

8.2.2 Dance Performers

The dance performers are seen as the critical indicator of authenticity. What happens to the performer in the process or as a result of a performance is often deemed critical in determining "non-commercialization". In fact, both within or outside of the tourism setting, non - commercialization that is located within the performer's background and involvement is a critical criterion in evaluating dance performance.

There are two critical indictors for the authenticity of the dance performance: (1) eth nicity of the dance performers; and (2) the dance training (Daniel, 1996). For the first criterion, Table 8.2 presents a breakdown of ethnicity in each village. The majority of dance performers came from

local or the neighbouring communities. Folk villa ges located on the central route recruited mainly Li people, whilst villages located on the eastern route generally hired a small proportion of non -Li performers with a range from 10% to 25%. The only exception was the Indonesian Village in which 50% of dance performers were of Chinese Indonesian origin and the rest were second -generation Indonesian Chinese who could not speak the Indonesian language. In general, the second generation has little knowledge of Indonesia and can be viewed as being local Hain an residents. Unlike the formal sector of the Hainan tourism industry, where ethnic minorities do not constitute a large proportion of employees (Ouyang, 1999), the establishment of tourist villages has not only created substantial employment opportunitie s for ethnic minorities, especially youth, but also vigorously promotes the informal sector, such as vendors, drivers and guides.

Table 8.2 An Ethnic Composition of Dance Performers

Village	**The Percent of Ethnic Minority (%)**
Tongzha Li Folk Village	100
Hainan Village of the Chinese Nationalities	90
Baoting Areca Manor	100
Tianniu Miao Ethnic Folk Village	80
Sanya Li Ethnic Folk Village	90
Sanya Luhuitou Theme Park	80
Tianya Haijiao Theme Park	75
Indonesian Village	50*

Note: * represents 50% Indonesian Chinese

Through the interviews, the dance performers indicated that ethnicity is not the only selection criterion for recruitment. Since the dance troupe is a team, "getting along with the team" has been the most important selection fac tor. The village directors have paid more attention during recruitment to dancers' aptitude for learning, physical appearance and personality. Some directors even insisted that performers from mainland China work better than Li performers because those

from the mainland are "smarter" than those from the minority. For example, the director of Sanya Li Ethnic Folk Villages commented that:

> *When we hire the ethnic dance performers, the first thing we consider is the aptitude for learning to dance. In general, the Li have known the ethnic dance during childhood, therefore it is much easier for young Li girls to learn these dance programs. However, I have to tell you two things: first, the dance programs we present are not totally ethnic Li dance- they have been modified to fit tourists' tastes and time schedules. Second, some dancers from mainland China do a better job than ethnic dancers here. They are smarter than the ordinary Li. Thus, ethnicity is an important criterion when choosing the dance performers, however, it is not a must.*

The dancers generally do not have prior professional training. The dancers' educational level is usually low and prior formal training appeared to be virtually non-existent. However, the interviewees indicated that dance training was obtained in the following three ways:

1. 26% of interviewed dance performers stated that they had dance training during junior high school. The junior high schools in the Li Autonomous Prefectures generally offer Li dance classes as part of the curriculum. Therefore, some already have experience when they became dance performers in the folk villages.
2. 65% of interviewed dance performers have learned dance techniques by on-the-job training. For example, the tourist village hires choreographers from the ethnic communities to train these performers in a short period of time. They experience what is essentially a "crash course" requiring intensive exercises in a very short period of time.
3. 9% of interviewed dance performers have gone through professional training from the local ethnic dance schools.

Thus, the majority of dancers received dance training informally. When asked whether such informal training would affect the authentic presentation of dance performance, one ethnic Li dancer in Baoting Areca Manor commented that:

> *I think [on-the-job training] is sufficient. The choreographers who the village invited are senior instructors from the central part of Hainan. Although they have never gone through formal education or held any dancing diploma, they are indeed professional and very patient to teach us. On the contrary, I do not believe in the ethnic dancing schools in Sanya. Many teachers are Han and their understanding of Li dance is different from us.*

The comments from the ethnic dance performers reflected the perception of non-commercialization in dance training. Although dance training at an arts school is seen as "authentic" from a governmental perspective, it is not widely viewed as "authentic" by the dance performers. As noted in the comment, many teachers are of Han origin and the dancing schools are run by the government that has promoted the institutionalization of Li dancing and singing. Li people learn new routines at a government arts school, including Li poetic songs, myths or way of life. Thus, such dance training was regarded as encouraging "manufactured" routines or, at best, a blend of Han and ethnic Li forms.

8.3 Economic Development versus Cultural Preservation

Economic development is recognized as a driving force in tourism. Governing authorities in destinations where the indigenous people represent the minority have been anxious to reverse the perceived growing dependency of indigenous people on social assistance. Increasingly, economic development through tourism is one of the strategies being chosen to foster the economic independence of ethnic minorities (Altman, 1989; Parker, 1993). Frideres (1988) suggested that there are structural inequities built into this private capitalist approach to economic development that run counter to the interest of ethnic people. He argued that the economic mechanisms that are most likely to lead to success must be based upon community control rather than individual enterprise. From this perspective, considerable effort is required to provide effective protection to the community interests of ethnic people as they increase their participation in the capitalist framework of tourism development.

The situation in Hainan folk villages is very different from the North American context. First, the settlement of aboriginal land claims with indigenous minorities does not exist in Hainan.

All lands belong to the government and the Li minority have no control of the land base. The central government set up a number of "autonomous regi ons" in which the majority of the population belongs to the ethnic minority. However, the state's definitions of ethnic space were seldom in keeping with the perceptions of the ethnic groups themselves and, very crudely stated, the historical emergence of autonomous regions represents the explicit institutionalization of cultural and ideological ideals (socialist transformation) which served to organize space according to culturally, politically and economically dominant cores (the Han Chinese) and subordi nate peripheries (ethnic minority groups) (Oakes, 1992). Traditionally, Li believe that they are joined inseparably with nature and see the Earth as their "root" rather than a resource to be used only for their short-term advantage (Personal Communication , 1999d). However, since all lands are controlled by the government, ethnic communities have to relocate their homes if development occurs in their communities. Examples can be seen relative to the mass tourism development in the Yalong Bay resort area i n which ethnic communities were forced to move to nearby regions in 1995. Further, many of the attempts by the local government to integrate ethnic minorities into prevailing wage economies have led to their alienation from the land, with consequent negat ive impacts.

Second, the majority of folk villages in Hainan are run by private enterprises and non -Li people. Ethnic minorities are seen as a marketable resource, yet little attention has been paid to cultural preservation. Therefore, a tension betwee n economic development and cultural preservation is evident in the context of Hainan folk villages.

Ethnic dance performers are better paid compared with the traditional alternatives. The research showed that the individual monthly salary ranged from 300 yuan (C$60) in Tongzha Li village to 1,000 yuan (C$200) in Luhuitou theme park. In addition, room and board were covered by the villages. According to the data collected from the interviews, the average net income of a dance performer was around 5,000 yu an (C$1,000) or 6,000 yuan (C$1,200) per person annually.

Comparatively, the average annual income per capita in Hainan was 5,664 yuan (C$1,133) in 1997 (Statistics Bureau of Hainan Province, 1998). Thus, the net incomes of dance performers are above the average level, when room and board are taken into consideration.

The salary of the managers is higher than that for the dance performers. The difference is significant. The manager of a folk village averages around 800 to 1,000 yuan (C$160 to $200) per month, approximately 50% higher than the dance performers. However, managers live with the dancers under one roof and they eat the same food. In the Indonesian Village, even the chief director's house is next to the employees'.

Since room and board were covered by the village, dance performers appeared to have more disposable income than many other people. Over 50% of interviewees claimed that they spent the income locally with little saving. Most male dance performers complained of high expenditures (*e.g.,* buying cigarettes and liquor); 35% of interviewees stated that they save money for the future; and 15% of them not only save money but also remit money home. Performers who remit money were married females, and they did this to support their children's living and education expenses, or to finance their parents. Unmarried female performers also expressed the view that a dance career is short, therefore, it is necessary to start saving money and to seek a family to settle down.

When asked if tourism development would change Li culture, many Li dancers held a positive opinion towards tourism and economic development. One Li dancer in Baoting Areca Manor described the situation as follows:

> *This area [Baoting county] is very poor and backward. My family has worked on the farm for generations, however, my parents still barely make ends meet. I am the youngest daughter in the family and have been dancing in this village for a couple of years. Even though my income is not high, I feel this job fits me very well. We present our culture by performing dances. My parents once visited me and felt very happy to see my performance of traditional Li dance.*

Tourism generates both direct and indirect employment which can be measured through salaries and their subsequent redistribution. Employee salaries vary directly with the scale of the establishment

(the larger the establishment, the larger the salary), and the geographic distribution of earnings is unbalanced. Villages close to the cities of Sanya and Ha ikou offered higher salaries, while the villages in central Hainan offered the lowest. Such imbalances result in greater urban growth as ethnic minorities migrate to take advantage of the employment opportunities. Folk villages located in the central part of Hainan have experienced a large turnover of dance performers. For example, the Tongzha Li Village has only three dance performers and many performers have migrated to the main resort areas of Sanya, where dance performances in restaurants and hotels pay much higher salaries. Cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue for ethnic dance performers. In fact, ethnic dancing skills are viewed as a good way to make money.

8.4 Cultural Evolution versus Museumification

The folk village setting is an ambiguous context in terms of dance performance. On the one hand, the goal is the replication or simulation of a set, conventional dance tradition or style. On the other hand, the villages provide the space and time for that same dance struc ture to evolve and change. In Hainan folk villages, time is condensed to fit the economic interests of entrepreneurs as well as the concentration time limits of tourists. Space is decorated with elaborate costumes and designed stage sets that project spe cific visual images. Ethnic dance forms are condensed structurally and improvised sections of accompanying music are shortened or replaced by set, composed lyrics. In addition to these changes, Li culture is constantly evolving in the face of change with in the environment in which it exists. Questions of authenticity therefore are difficult to address.

Most interviewed dance performers agreed that what they performed is totally different from the present reality in real Li villages. The state of museum ification was obvious in the folk village context. One dance performer in Sanya Li Folk Village expressed the following concerns:

> *When we perform the Li dance, tourists often view us differently. Some tourists from mainland China used very rude words to describe Li people. They suggested we are ancient, backward and barbarian. In fact, we are exactly the same: we can speak Mandarin, we know the fashion in big cities, and we look like Han.*

For ethnic dance performers, cultural evolution is not presented on the stage. Further, they have little opportunity to interact with tourists, or to demonstrate that ethnic culture is not static but evolves from time to time. It may become necessary for dance performers to move from primarily serving the needs of tourists to adopting a more proactive role in protecting ethnic culture from the effects of tourism. This concern reflects, in part, the relative lack of control of ethnic communities over tourism development in the area.

As a tourism site, the folk village is a business enterprise whose "success" is largely decided by the level of its popularity among tourists. Catering to tourists with entertainment and a certain degree of excitement is an inseparable element of a tourism attraction. Ethnic dance performances are widely viewed as a form of entertainment. The relationship between tourism and cultural conservation has both positive and negative aspects. While many Li have felt that tourism has commodified many aspects of their culture, it has also provided financial resources to assist in the preservation of the cultural elements that make Li artefacts and cultural practices attractive to the visitor. On the other hand, the Li minority is not well positioned to take advantage of the opportunities presented by cultural tourism. The development, marketing and delivery of the ethnic product is undertaken by private enterprises. The Li minority has played a minor role in decision making and is viewed as a marginalized people in Hainan. Therefore, in order to avoid the tendency towards freezing the Li culture, Li control needs to be fully exercised so that the Li people will have real power to decide what is appropriate for presentation. But at the village level, this is presently not the case, because the folk villages are owned by non-Li entrepreneurs and economic development is the top priority.

8.5 Ethnic Autonomy versus State Regulation

There are usually two levels of local government. On the one hand, there is the formal structure of local governance often imposed and supported by the Han majority. On the other hand, there are the traditional forms of government associated with ethnic Li cultures characterized by: (1) reliance on the village council of elders; (2) highly valued communal and kinship bonds; and (3) decision making through consensus building. Li communities are much influenced by the traditional forms of government. Tourism development has gradually changed the structure of ethnic communities. One dance performer in Tongzha Li Village explained the situation as follows:

> *When I planned to leave the village of Baisha seeking a job, I first had to get my parents' agreement; also, my family was required to obtain agreement from the entire clan in the village. Consensus was not always easy to reach because some village heads were concerned by the changes – they felt I would be in a dangerous position in the outside world. However, last year when I returned to my village, I bought a lot of gifts and brought some money for my family and relatives. They came to realize that it was a wise idea to send me out of the village.*

In Hainan Li communities, the immediate effects of economic and technological progress on traditional society are evident. Systems which were able to prevail in a rural environment where communities were restricted in size, and where social units were well integrated and dominated by direct personal relationships, are giving away to new social and cultural systems inherent in modernization and urbanization. Tourism development in ethnic communities has been viewed as imposing a strain on traditional structures; specific cultural traits are eroded and relations between individuals are broadened and become more indirect.

State regulation has encouraged tourism involvement by the Li minority, in particular, the young Li, given that the unemployment rate is very high (around 50% based on unofficial data). At present, ethnic autonomy has not formed a threat to the State. In fact, the government hopes to reduce financial burdens through the development of tourism. Tourism is thus widely viewed as a job and revenue generator. However, the job prospects for the Li minority seem to be dim. In

general, the Li have little education and their most common occupations in the ho spitality sector appear to be menial, such as room cleaners and kitchen helpers. Many young Li people have quit jobs due to high workloads and discrimination. Work in folk villages is seen as the most welcoming occupation. One Li dance performer in Baot ing Areca Manor described the feelings as follows:

> *I worked a couple of years in the hotel restaurant as a waitress. It was a restaurant themed in ethnic Li food and we were supposed to dress in Li costumes. However, I was not happy not only because the workload was very high, but also they [non-Li managers] teased and joked about our presentation. My feeling is much better here [folk village] being a dance performer. Even though the workload is the same or sometimes higher, I feel pleased to showcase our culture and work in the ethnic Li context.*

According to Swain (1989), the fundamental challenges to sustainable ethnic tourism are whether sufficient autonomy is exercised by the ethnic minority group, how their culture is marketed, what sociocultural responses from the ethnic minority group are expressed toward tourism, and what the prospects are for future development. The establishment of folk villages provides a sense of ethnic autonomy for the Li minority. They realize that Li cultures have been marketed to the outside with high values. Some dance performers believe that as long as they "stay ethnic", they can benefit more from economic improvement and incentives from the government. The regional government was approaching tourism with realistic optimism – cultural tourism is seen as a part of an overall economic plan, not a single solution.

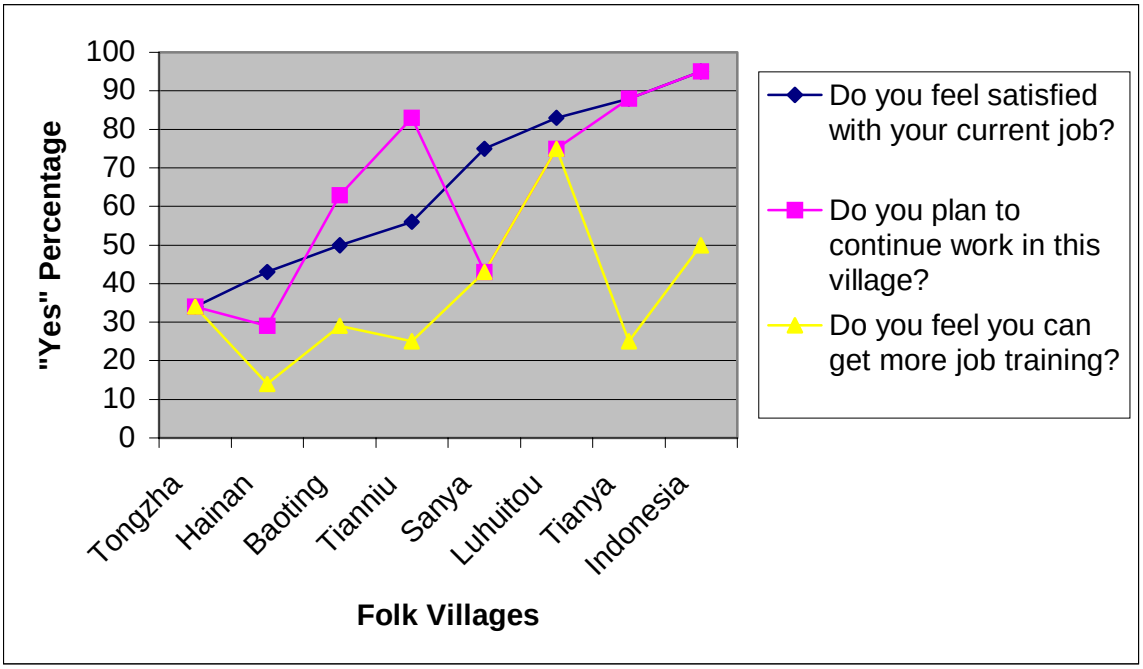
8.6 Mass Tourism Development versus Sustainable Cultural Tourism

Mass tourism development is usually viewed as having negative impacts on ethnic communiti es through environmental degradation, and acculturation due to the direct contacts between tourists and hosts. The majority of interviewed dance performers expressed the following concerns regarding the mass tourist arrivals: (1) Poor visitor behaviour du e to a lack of cultural sensitivity. Visitors were often unaware of Li cultural background, norms and folklore. Dance performers were seen as tourist objects with little respect being given to them during shows; (2) Inconsiderate taking

of photographs and best seats (and best views) being taken by visitors. Visitors use flashlights to get good pictures in the dance hall and some even jump on the stage to acquire a good picture. This poor behaviour disrupts the dance performance; and (3) visitors lacked reverence or interest in the dance performance's meaning. Visitors had little knowledge to appreciate the dance and some made rude comments on the dance programs.

Figure 8.3 shows the responses by dance performers about job satisfaction and training opportunities. Generally, dance performers were satisfied with their job because they enjoy respect from other employees in the village. Performers in the Indonesia Village showed the highest level of satisfaction (95%) with their jobs, whereas performers in Tongzha Li village showed the least satisfaction (66% felt dissatisfied). Dance performers in villages located on the eastern route generally expressed higher levels of satisfaction than those in villages located along the central route. When asked if they will continue to work in the village, both Tianya Haijiao theme park and Indonesian Village respondents expressed the highest willingness, 88% and 95%, respectively. However, only 29% of dance performers in Hainan Village of Chinese Nationalities lo cated on the central route planned to stay on.

Figure 8.3: Responses by Dance Performers about Job Satisfaction and Training in Eight Folk Villages (N = 102)



The reasons for such differences can be explained by the bus iness situation on the central route. Interviewees in three villages along the central route expressed concerns about the declining volume of tourists (two of three were actually in the process of closure). For example, villages in Tongzha were facing a sharp decline of tourists following the opening of the express highway built along the eastern route. One female dance performer in Tongzha Li village said:

> *We used to have 80 employees but now only 25 are left. We used to have 500 or so tourists visit our village per day but now only 20-30 tourists per week. Two years ago, I could earn as much as 800 yuan but now barely make ends meet. Most dance performers had to quit the job or move to [tourist villages in] the east to dance.*

In contrast, dance performers in villages located along the eastern route remarked how busy they were during the peak travel season (generally during the lunar Chinese New Year and the winter season in mainland China). Many complained that they were too busy dancing on the stag e to take any breaks. The managers in the Indonesia Village even have to increase the number of dance performances to keep up with the volume of tourist arrival.

In response to the opportunities to get more job training, the majority of answers was pessimistic. The only exception was in Luhuitou theme park where 75% said there were more training opportunities. Further inquiry revealed that this theme park has a package offer that if a dance performer keeps working more than three years, he/she can swi tch to full-time status as a dancer with full medical insurance.

These findings reveal an interesting situation: the level of job satisfaction does not seem to relate directly to income: higher income does not yield higher levels of satisfaction in the eig ht folk villages. Instead, the level of job satisfaction is related more to the potential number of tourist arrivals. Because the increasing number of tourist arrivals brings business for the folk village, this, in turn, increases the job security of the dance performers. Thus, from a dance performer's perspective, mass tourism is important. The business prospects for dance performers hinge upon the number of tourist arrivals.

A number of other issues were raised during the interviews. First, dance p erformers in these villages generally lack legal contracts and protection. As a rule, they usually deposit several hundred yuan (1C$ = 5.2 yuan) by the time they accept the job and the deposit can only be refunded after working for a half year or one year. Second, they are deprived of public holidays and weekend breaks. The villages, such as the Indonesian Village and Baoting Areca Manor, allow only one two - day break in one month. Third, the villages provide limited health care for employees. The employees are not ensured prompt treatment should a medical emergency occur.

8.7 Summary

The research suggested that a tension existed between commodification and authenticity in the ethnic communities. The commodification can be seen as the need for jobs and incomes from the

ethnic community perspective, while authenticity can be measured by the dance performance, the level of training and ethnicity of dancers. Li dance performance, as a part of Li culture, has evolved. For example, the original ritual meaning of the bamboo-beating dance has been converted into a celebration. The selection criterion for the reddish colour of bamboo has disappeared. The issue of ethnicity has not been considered as a critical element by village employers. Further, dance training was not necessarily related to government sanction. Cultural preservation and ethnic autonomy can be reflected in the content of folk villages – to portray ethnicity with commodification. Consequently, mass tourism is regarded as the preferred development to ensure economic prosperity in the village and the level of job satisfaction is associated with job security.

Thus, the Li minority has authenticated its cultural resources in the context of Hainan folk villages. The research suggested that commodification of the Li culture is used as a positive mechanism in the pursuit of sustainable development, because the former is inseparable from the village's development process. The practice so far has demonstrated that this process is used to determine the nature of cultural products and the control of access to them for consumption by tourists. Appropriate commodification will strengthen the village's competitiveness, vital for its survival. Efforts must be made to maintain ethnic cultural integrity in the village, as cultural tourism may "turn exotic cultures into commodities and individuals into amusing 'objects' for tourists' consumption" (Klieger, 1990, p. 38). It is possible that novel encounters will gradually become routine for both tourists and hosts, and cultural presentations may become more and more removed from the reality of everyday life. Therefore, the temptation to "freeze" the Li culture in time should be avoided. Numerous forces, in addition to tourism, influence cultural change.

CHAPTER NINE

COMPARISONS

Tourism has emerged as an important route towards cultural enrichment. Cultural tourism not only provides opportunities for ethnic minorities to showcase their cultures, customs and heritage, but also causes a series of tensions. The tourism-culture relationship has long been associated with cultural tensions and the use and misuse of cultural resources (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Previous tourism research has tended to focus primarily upon the customers that an organisation serves (Walle, 1998). Although this focus is legitimate, the needs of other stakeholders are often underemphasized or overlooked. When this occurs, decisions may be made without adequate consideration of key impacts that need to be evaluated when strategies are being developed. Further, little research has been done to review the roles of stakeholders who authenticate cultural resources. In other words, it is important to understand who authenticates culture and how this occurs because many stakeholders are involved in the negotiation of cultural authenticity.

This thesis identifies four critical stakeholders: governments, tourism businesses, tourists, and ethnic communities. Five pairs of yardsticks were developed based upon Swain's (1989) work to examine the issue of authentification. These constructs are: non-commercialisation versus commodification, cultural evolution versus museumification, economic development versus cultural preservation, ethnic autonomy versus state regulation, and mass tourism development versus sustainable cultural tourism. The previous chapters demonstrated that tension exists both within and between each of these constructs. The various stakeholders hold different positions with respect to the various paradoxes, and tensions exist between their poles. These differences merit comparison to understand fully the process of authentification in Hainan.

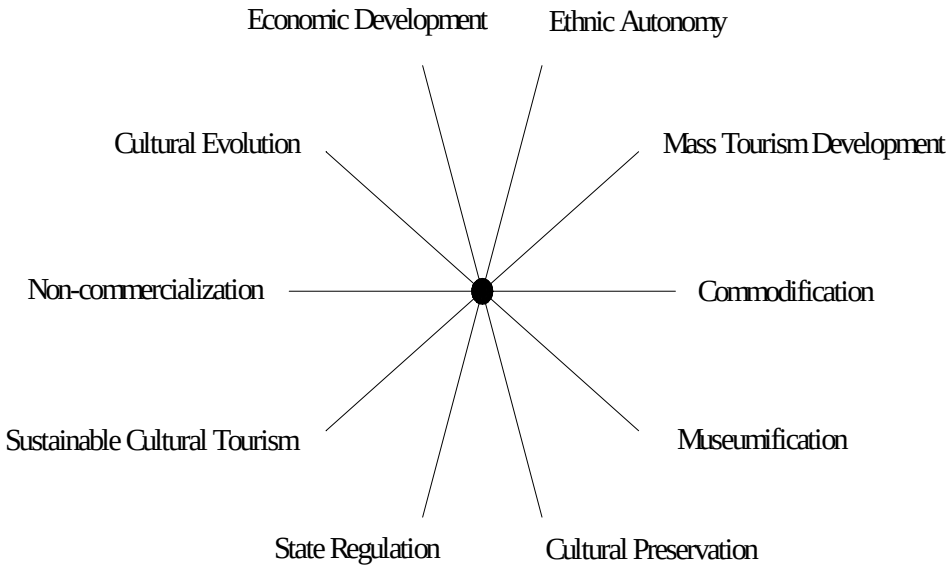
It is suggested that the five yardsticks can be viewed as overlapping and interacting, as shown in Figure 9.1. The convergence point can be seen as a neutral position for each of the five

constructs. Figure 9.1 illustrates a situation in which one stakeholder is located in a medium position on each of the five yardsticks. One position is not to be regarded as necessari ly superior or inferior to any other. Rather, any position will reflect the goals and objectives of those being evaluated and, thus, is likely to vary between stakeholders. Research in Hainan folk villages indicates that during the process of authentific ation, the four stakeholders exhibited different positions on the five constructs. For example, the national government pays more attention to state regulation to curb ethnic autonomy, while tourism businesses are more interested in economic development t han cultural preservation. Visitors have no opinions about the ethnic presentation and their experiences in the folk villages are superficial. Dance performers are attracted by better pay and cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue. Thus, the four stakeholders exhibit four differing patterns when authenticating ethnic culture.

The objective of this chapter is to summarize and compare the positions of stakeholders on each of the five constructs. This comparison is aided by the use of diagrams. The thesis has adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods. For example, results of surveys with visitors are reported using numbers, percentages and statistical tests. On the other hand, other materials are presented in a more qualit ative fashion, *e.g.*, quotations from discussions with dancers. The diagrams do not portray quantitative measures but are the results of a qualitative assessment reflecting judgements based upon the empirical research presented in the preceding chapters. At the risk of oversimplification, these diagrams constitute a relatively clear way to present the position of each stakeholder group with respect to the attributes of authentification. Further, the diagrams are supplemented by a summary table (Table 9.1) which provides justification for the placements on the diagrams. In each of the stakeholder diagrams, the position of a specific stakeholder group is indicated for each construct by a small dark circle. Of course, it must be acknowledged that stakeholder groups are not homogenous and that, in reality, there may be considerable deviation

about these points. The emphasis here is the relative position on each construct, rather than the precise measurement of the position. For example, the perspectives of national governments may differ from those of local governments. Furthermore, not all constructs are of equal importance to all stakeholders. Thus, the dimension of greatest importance to each group is given greater prominence in their diagram through po rtrayal by a heavier line. Thus, for example, ethnic autonomy is indicated in an extreme position in Figure 9.5 because most minority people support this position and desire greater community control over tourism activities. However, it is not the strongest position that which they hold. Although their culture is important to them, they place great stress on enhancement of economic opportunities and are prepared to compromise cultural attributes for the benfits of economic development. That is why this dimension is indicated by a heavier line.

Figure 9.1: A State of Equilibrium



9.1 Governments

The governments have been separated into three levels in this study: national, provincial and local. The extent of their roles in tourism varies. In fact, governments at different levels act as coordinators, planners, regulators and entrepreneurs in tourism development. Hainan has enjoyed a flexible political environment and tourism has long been viewed as an important economic strategy. Cultural tourism development influences local policy making and ethnic identity. Tensions are raised when governments authenticate Li culture and transform cultural experiences into a product to be bought and sold.

National government pays more attention to state regulation than ethnic autonomy. Chinese autonomy policy explicitly declared minority areas to be an inseparable part of the People's Republic (Conner, 1984). National unity is the major guideline when developing ethnic tourism. Control is an important issue in the presentation of ethnic culture. National government plays a double role in authenticating the ethnic cultural resources. On the one hand, it supports the cultural distinctiveness for economic development, particularly tourism development; on the other hand, it suppresses any "true" autonomous rights. In terms of commodification, the national government standardizes ethnic markers to fill a symbolic and commercial niche for public gaze. Ethnic attractions, such as folk villages, have been commodified with the support of state policies. In terms of cultural evolution, the policies for state government seek to "fossilize" certain aspects of cultural tradition, drawing distinct boundaries around local customs, fixing them in time and space, and ensuring they remain encased as exhibits for the modern tourists to observe and appreciate. State policies also encourage the Li to be more "developed" and "modernized". The direction of evolution can be seen as a process of "Hanification" in which the Li minority is subsumed into the Han majority. National government places great weight on job creation and cultural tourism is viewed as one of the best ways to minimize the high unemployment rate in ethnic communities. Economic functions

have been given prominence and cultural preservation has not gained much attention from the national government. Finally, the meaning of "sustainability" appears to be very different from what is known in the developed countries where social-cultural and environmental issues have been given greater priority. Sustainable tourism development is a kind of "window-dressing" and policies of environmental protection still lag behind those in the West.

Hainan did not become a province until 1988 when the national government made it a Special Economic Zone. Therefore, the new provincial government has focused upon economic development. Tourism is identified as Hainan's leading sector. Hainan's tropical location is a major advantage for mass tourism development, particularly to attract mainland tourists. The rapid development of tourism holds out the prospect of substantial benefits to Li communities. Numerous Li folk villages have been built along the highways in response to increased interest from domestic tourism. However, most administrative positions are occupied by Han people sent directly from mainland China who generally have little knowledge of ethnic cultures. The provincial government pays little attention to the negative sides of commodification and musemification of ethnic cultures. Instead, mass tourism is highly encouraged by the provincial government. Although sustainable development plans, such as the establishment of an eco-province, have been proposed by the provincial government, little work has been implemented to date.

Economic development has also become a focus from the local governments' perspective. Hainan was under the tight control of Guangdong province before 1988 and served as a military base to contain Southeast Asian countries. Agriculture was essentially the only source of income for Li communities. Tourism is a novel idea for the local government and the impacts on the communities have yet to be appreciated. The primary criterion of cultural authenticity from a local government's perspective lies in the distance from the locational core of the ethnic community. Many officials have overlooked that the delivery of a tourism product includes a set of services and

is not simply an attraction or accommodation (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Li communities strive to redefine their cultural identities through tourism development. Economic development may gradually erode the cultural preservation and local government plays a passive role to find a balance between power, policy and place.

Figure 9.2 shows a general pattern from the governments' perspective. Governments place high emphasis on state regulation to prevent "true" ethnic autonomy. Policies reflect that the majority of administrative officials are sent from mainland China and Li peo ple have little control over tourism development. Further, the majority of directors in folk villages is not of that the Li origin and ethnic involvement in control of tourism is not significant. Governments encourage economic development through mass to urism development and a high degree of museumification and commodification. Cultural preservation and sustainable tourism development have not gained much attention.

9.2 Tourism Businesses

In Hainan, most tourists visit folk villages as part of organized tours, direct contact with the ethnic minority is limited and tourism businesses almost always play an intermediary role to help tourists interact with local people at folk villages. Village business in Hainan is largely privately -owned with little assistance from the government. As noted in Chapter 6, the changing distribution of folk villages due to highway traffic re-routing indicates that this business lacks proper planning and is highly profit-oriented. The newer folk villages are located where Li are largely absent rather than in places where they are in a majority. Village managers pay more attention to attracting the tourists rather than presenting the authentic aspects of Li culture. Some employees in the new villages who wear Li clothing are not of Li origin. At times, ethnic clothing has become a business uniform and the "traditional" dance performances have become "manufactured" routines.

Figure 9.3 presents the main pattern from a tourism business' perspective. Although tourism businesses play a key role in balancing cultural preservation and economic development, the latter appears to be the most important while cultural preservation is treated as a form of tokenism. The management of the folk villages insists on "livening things up" so that the visitors will not get bored. Consequently, the managers have decided to reduce the long traditional dance performance to a token 20 minutes or so and to present a visitor participation program at the end. Village managers often fail to see the significance of the profound cultural differences that exist in ethnic cultures. Instead, folk villages become a combination of ethnic presentations and sales outlets from the numerous vendor stands. Ethnic presentation is in a state of "museumification" , portraying traditional aspects of Li culture as ancient, exotic and fossilized. Tourism businesses pay more attention to meeting the expectation of tourists and present selected aspects of Li culture in an entertaining way. Meanwhile, the effect of state regulation on village business is moderate. The operation of folk villages has been viewed as a grassroots phenomenon and ethnic autonomy is not viewed as a threat. Location in the Li Autonomous Regions has become a marketing strategy to convince tourists that the villages are "authentic". Authenticity appears to be a flexible notion in folk villages. The manipulation of ethnic dance programs and other ethnic cultural events to serve economic interests has resulted in the loss of authenticity and educational value: spectacle and entertainment seem to be rated more highly in Hainan villages. Since the business hinges upon the number of tourist arrivals, mass tourism is used to exploit ethnicity for economic purposes. Sustainable cultural tourism is not widely appreciated or addressed.

Thus, the pattern of constructs associated with village businesses is different from the governments'. Economic development and mass tourism development have been prioritized and commodification is common in the villages. The effect of state regulation is moderate and ethnic presentation has become a strategy to attract tourists.

9.3 Visitors

Survey research in three selected folk villages indicates that, in the Hainan folk villages, visitors should not be seen as "cultural tourists". The majority (98%) of tourists come from mainland China on package tours which are the easiest way to travel to and within Hainan. Although tourists showed interest in ethnic cultures, the majority has little knowledge of ethnicity, at best, the blurred images from mass media. They usually lack the time and the depth of experience to understand the more complex and intricate aspects of ethnic culture. It is more appropriate to call them "coincidental cultural tourists" who are not well prepared for a tour of a village and their knowledge on ethnicity is superficial.

Figure 9.4 presents the pattern of constructs from a tourist's perspective. Their opinions toward folk villages tend to be open-ended. Tourists have a distinct perception of constructs and looked for a non-contrived ethnic presentation in the villages. They have no opinions about the ethnic presentations and expect to see fossilized aspects of ethnic presentation in the village. They would like to see an "authentic" ethnic-controlled village. However, they also hope that the government will regulate the village businesses, especially the informal sector. Such conflicting opinions suggest that tourists have little understanding of the nature of cultural tourism development and were influenced by the accessibility of the site and the way the village has been promoted. In general, their opinions towards the five pairs of paradoxes appear to be neutral. Tourists contribute a significant portion of economic inputs for folk villages through purchasing souvenirs and tropical fruit, however, they are not directly involved in the process of cultural preservation. Most importantly, tourists expect to see quaintly traditional aspects of ethnic cultures and do not generally realize that ethnic culture has evolved. Although tourists are looking for perceived non-commercial (or non-contrived) aspects of ethnic presentation in the villages, the place

they visited, in fact, is a highly commercial attraction. What they expect to see is actually a "musumified" presentation of ethnic culture.

Tourists in Hainan villages can be viewed as passive observers and opportunities for them to actively experience or participate in the ethnic culture seldom occurs. Tourists judged the is sue of authenticity based upon their perceptions and blurred images. Authenticity is a judgement or a value placed on the setting by the tourists. Consequently, villages endeavoured to meet the touristic gaze and expectations that turn ethnicity into "hy per-reality".

9.4 Ethnic Communities

This thesis shifts the research on ethnic communities to a specific group – ethnic dance performers in the folk villages. Dance performances are spectacles and the dancers constitute a young and beautiful subset of Li people, indicating immediately the obvious fact that such entertainments cannot truly portray the intricacies of a complex culture. In part because of this, Li dancers are appropriate individuals to consult concerning the authenticity of cultural touri sm because they share aspects of their culture with tourists, interact with tourists, are positioned on the interface between tourism and culture on an ongoing basis, and have familiarity with the compromises and trade -offs required to provide an attractiv e tourism product.

Figure 9.5 presents the pattern from the dance performer's perspective. Economic development seems to be the most important aspect for dance performers. Many dancers are attracted by better pay compared with the traditional alternativ es. Employee salaries vary directly with the scale of the village and the geographic distribution of earnings is unbalanced. Such imbalances result in greater urban growth as Li migrate to take advantage of the employment opportunities. Folk villages lo cated in the central part of Hainan have experienced a large turnover

of dance performers. Cultural preservation does not seem to be an important issue for ethnic dance performers. In fact, ethnic dancing skills are turned into a good way to make money.

Li dance programs have gone through a series of evolutions in order to fit tourists' schedules and tastes. The most famous program, the bamboo -beating dance, has evolved from a ritual performed in the funeral ceremony to a popular show for celebration. T he dance acquired a new meaning and has become an important part of Li cultural identity and is held in high esteem by many tourists. However, for dance performers, many other evolving aspects of their culture are not presented on the stage. Certain aspe cts of Li culture are typically viewed in isolation and outside of an appropriate context. Dance performers find that the portrayal of their culture is confined to limited aspects in isolation and these items are manipulated to attract tourists. Further, many dance performers have limited opportunity to interact with tourists or to demonstrate that Li culture is not static but evolves from time to time. In fact, dance performances are widely viewed as a form of entertainment and museumification is necess ary to cater to tourists.

Dance performers in the villages are mostly young attractive females whose performance emphasizes romantic aspects of the Li lifestyle. These performers cannot represent the Li as a whole. Further, they are paid relatively well and the village proprietors strive to make a profit – they are asked to perform as long as tourists visit the village. The performance has been highly commercialized and turns into a commodity being subsumed in the price of the tour package. Therefore, commodification and the pursuit of economy have become the major issues for dance performers. The establishment of folk villages provides a sense of ethnic autonomy for the Li although real control may lie elsewhere. Communities realize that Li cultures have been marketed to the outside with high values. Dance performers believe that as long as they "stay ethnic", they can benefit more from economic improvement and incentives from the government. Mass tourism is

seen as an optimal strategy since the business prospect for dance performers hinges upon the number of tourist arrivals.

9.5 Summary

Different stakeholders have different positions on cultural tourism, as shown in the diagrams. Table 9.1 provides a comparison between the four stakeholders regarding the five yardsticks. Major differences in the placement of stakeholders are associated with differing emphases and orientations. For example, governments at different levels support tourism development for the purpose of economic improvement. However, tourism is highly centralized within state agencies and control is a major issue. Therefore, governments emphasize state regulation to discourage local nationalism. Tourism businesses, in contrast, typically hold customer-oriented perspectives. The primary focus of economic development is usually not protecting the host culture but rather achieving general economic development through satisfying visitors. Village businesses are apt to consider ethnic culture as just another "natural resource", which should be orchestrated in ways that please tourists and attract outside money. This orientation, of course, is different from that of ethnic communities, who focus primarily on cultural evolution and their well being. Li culture has been commoditized and authenticity appears to be a flexible notion to be negotiated and moulded into *ad hoc* resources or assets to be "spent" in order to achieve economic priorities. Tourists have little knowledge of ethnic cultures and their impression of villages tends to be superficial. Tourists have perceptions of authenticity, however, their judgements rely on blurred images which do not provide constructive ideas for future development. They look at ethnic cultures as being distinctive and different from "mainstream people" (however the term is used). Although visitors are aware that certain ethnic arts, crafts, music and dance performance are unique (and marketable for that reason), they typically fail to see beyond this façade and seldom comprehend greater, more profound differences or

vulnerabilities. Finally, dance performers considered their jobs and remunerations. Economic development is the major issue for ethnic people participating in a dance career. Dancers are willing to perform almost any program. Conse quently, this leads to "staged" authentic events to cater to tourists' desire.

Five yardsticks proposed in this thesis provide a fuller understanding of the differences among the four stakeholders. Economic activity in cultural tourism involves these sta keholders whose views should be considered when development takes place: the needs and vulnerabilities of several different stakeholders need to be taken into account when strategies are forged. Strategies for future development should focus upon fine tun ing these imbalances to ensure optimal results. For example, the governments should work closely with tourism business to avoid negative implications of economic development. Tourism businesses should be involved with ethnic communities to set up a susta inable development agenda. Further, village businesses need to provide an informative introduction for tourists so that they are acquainted with ethnic cultural development.

Table 9.1 A Comparison of Four Stakeholders' Attitudes Toward Five Paradoxes

	Non-Commercialization vs. Commodification	**Cultural Evolution vs. Museumification**	**Economic Development vs. Cultural Preservation**	**Ethnic Autonomy vs. State Regulation**	**Mass Tourism Development vs. Sustainable Cultural Tourism**
Governments	• Li cultures have been commodified with the support of state policies. • Li are associated with specific and delimited cultural markers. The authenticity of Li cultures is determined by the local governments	• The policies seek to "fossilize" certain aspects of cultural tradition. • Cultural evolution is seen as a step towards "Hanification". Policies focus upon "distinctiveness" which leads to the creation of folk villages as "open air museums".	•Economic development is widely supported. •Governments vigorously encourage commercial development. Tourism is regarded as an important way to revive vanishing ethnic cultures.	• Tourism is highly centralized within state agencies. State suppresses any "true" autonomous rights. • Provincial and local government is controlled by officials sent from mainland China.	• Governments support mass tourism development and plan to move to ecologically-friendly tourism products. • Sustainable cultural tourism has yet to be realized
Tourism Businesses	• Li cultures have been commodified. • Authenticity is a flexible notion. Spectacle and entertainment are rated more highly.	• A high state of "museumification" in villages. • Village business pays more attention to meeting the expectation of tourists and positions selected aspects of Li culture in an entertaining way.	• Economic interests are prioritized and this has resulted in the loss of authenticity. • Cultural preservation is viewed as a responsibility taken care of by the governments.	• Ethnic autonomy is a marketable strategy to attract tourists. • The effect of state regulation is moderate	• Business hinges upon the number of tourist arrivals and mass tourism is highly encouraged. • Sustainable tourism planning is non-existent.
Tourists	• Perception of authenticity is strong and commodification is regarded as a problem by some tourists. • Tourists have a blurred image of ethnic culture and a superficial impression of villages	• Tourists have little knowledge of ethnic cultures. • Tourists expect quaintly non-modern ethnic presentation.	• Tourists inject significant amount of money in villages by buying souvenirs. • Tourists do not participate in the process of cultural preservation.	• Tourists have neutral viewpoints towards ethnic autonomy. • Tourists hope governments regulate the village business.	• Mass tourism is popular and the majority of tourists come from the package tour. • Sustainability means more information on ethnic cultures
Ethnic Communities	• Dance performance has been modified to cater to tourists. • Ethnic dance is viewed as a form of entertainment and tourism is viewed as a generator of jobs	• Dance performance is totally different from the present reality • Cultural evolution is not presented	• Economic gain is the major issue for ethnic dancers. • Ethnic dance is viewed as a spectacle for entertainment.	• The control of tourism by ethnic people is weak. • Ethnic people are governed by both local government and village council.	• Mass tourism is welcomed to keep the current business. • Ethnic minority is not aware of sustainable development

Figure 9.2: Governments' Perspective

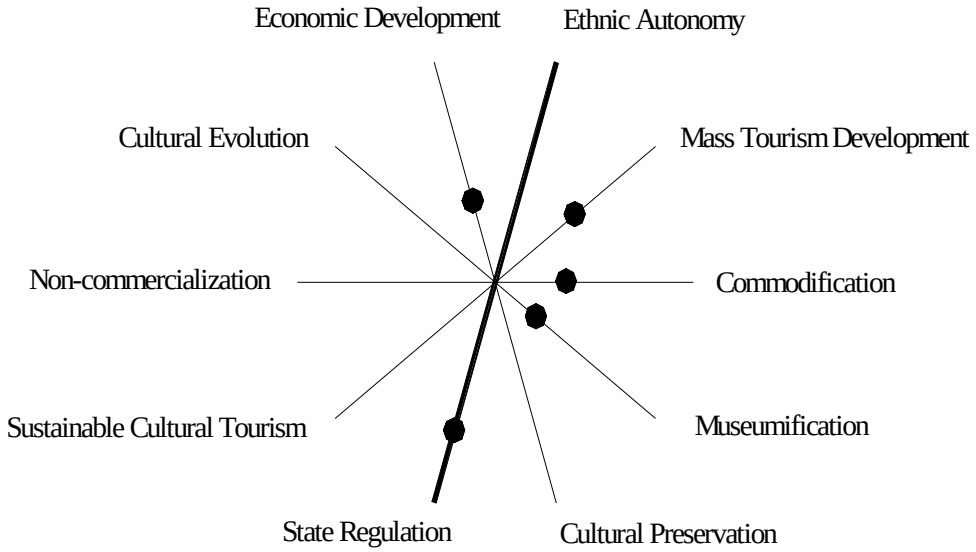


Figure 9.3: Tourism Businesses' Perspective

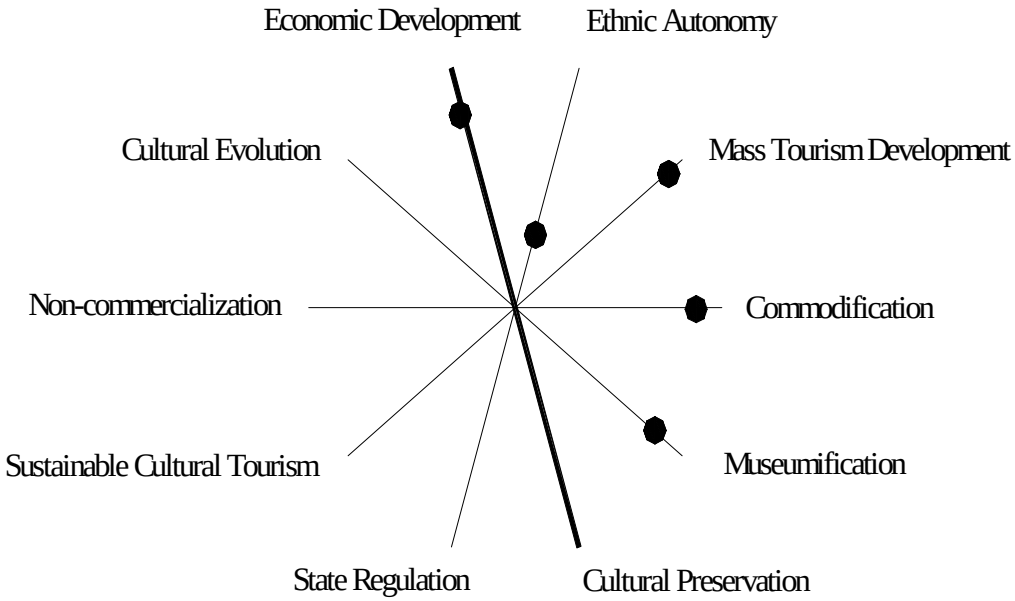


Figure 9.4: Tourists' Perspective

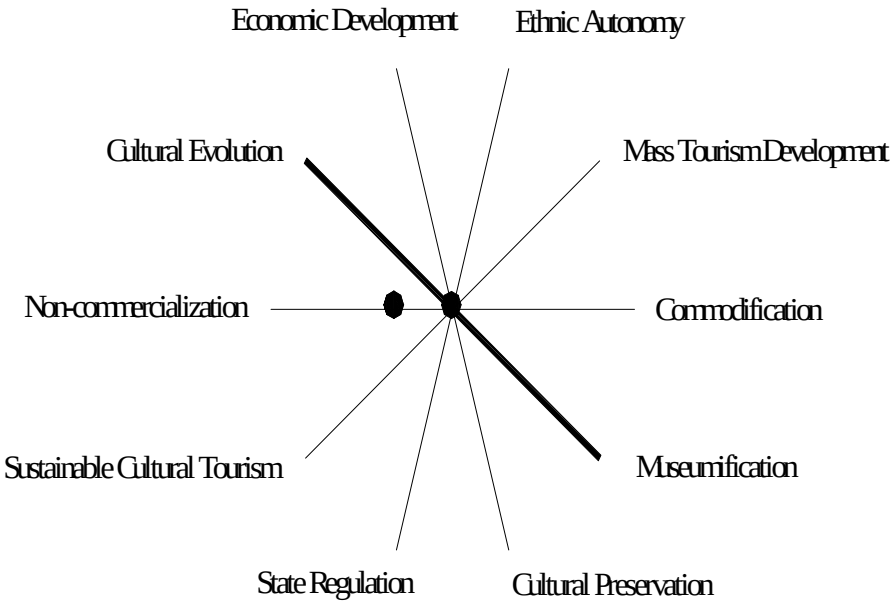
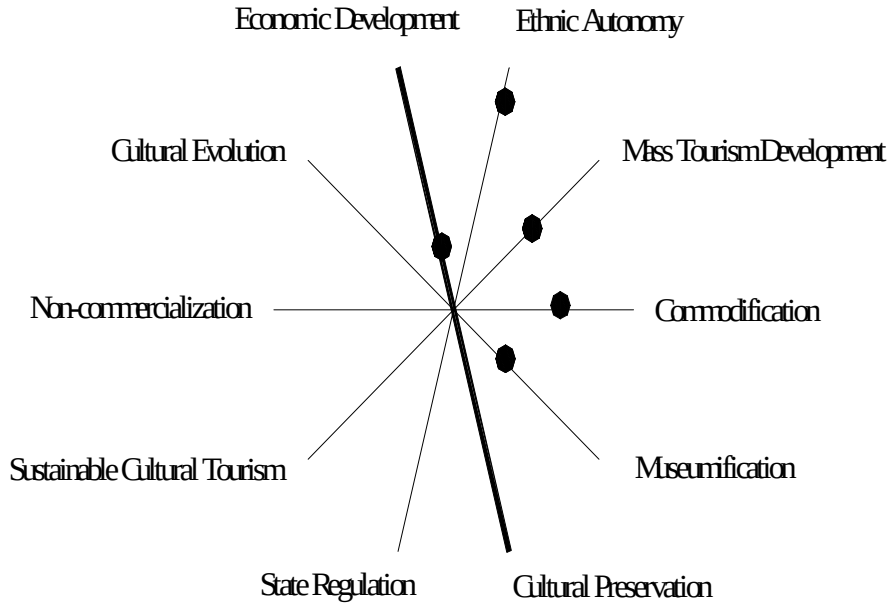


Figure 9.5: Ethnic Communities' Perspective



CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

Cultural tourism is a form of cultural production. It takes placed through several media – tours, folk villages and the like. Various aspects of ethnic culture – music, dance, crafts, stories, sites, architecture – are represented to visitors by tradition bearers, performers, tour guides and others. Someone pays – visitors, governments or organizations. In the mix, a complex production emerges, a new form of culture that reflects the varied interests, goals and sensibilities of stakeholders. Untangling the various ways of authenticating cultural tourism is a complicated task. The goal of this thesis is to develop a conceptual framework to analyze and evaluate the authentification by different stakeholders of cultural tourism in a specific setting. The following objectives were formulated and employed to guide the project in addressing the research goal: (1) construct a research framework focused on the issue of authentification by identifying four key stakeholders involved in cultural tourism; (2) trace tourism development in Hainan and examine the involvement of Hainan Li minorities in tourism development. Folk villages have been identified as a significant point of access for investigating the tensions in authenticating cultural resources; (3) apply a variety of research methods and undertake empirical research through collection of primary data from the four identified groups of stakeholders; and, (4) compare and analyse the findings by arraying stakeholders on five paradoxes which constitute a conceptual framework for the examination of authentification and test the utility of the framework.

This final chapter offers a number of conclusions based on the evidence presented throughout the previous chapters. It also outlines theoretical implications, makes recommendations for tourism planners, and suggests opportunities for future research.

10.1 Theoretical and Practical Implications of the Conceptual Framework

The framework proposed in Chapter 2 is useful for understanding the authentification of ethnic cultures in a developing country destination. Cultural tourism here refers to tourism activities in which ethnic people are directly involved either through control of the tourism offerings and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction (Hinch and Butler, 1996). Therefore, it encompasses a variety of dimensions including the social, economic, and political, as well as attributes of the physical environment. Cultural tourism promotes the ethnic culture and its heritage to the larger world in a variety of ways. Different stakeholders are involved with achieving goals centred around the ethnic culture. However, different stakeholders have different goals and objectives, *e.g.,* the business sector prioritizes economic development, which is primarily concerned with general economic growth that is closely tied to pleasing visitors.

This conceptual framework is employed to enhance understanding of the authenticity of cultural tourism when indigenous communities experience tourism development. The findings suggest that authenticity is relative rather than absolute and, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. It is desirable to shift from a previous focus on the nature and identification of authenticity to a focus on the more tractable question of authentification. This thesis proposes that it is more useful to evaluate who authenticates rather than to adhere to some absolute standard of "authentic" ethnicity. In other words, it will be more constructive to identify those who make claims for authenticity and the interests that such claims serve. The following research implications serve to promote an understanding of cultural tourism in China, as well as contribute to the literature on tourism and planning in developing areas.

The conceptual framework identifies four key stakeholders in a Chinese context: (1) governments, (2) tourism businesses, (3) visitors, and (4) ethnic communities. Five paradoxes based upon Swain's work serve as a set of yardsticks to evaluate the tensions inherent in the process of

authenticating ethnic cultures. The findings suggest that stakeholders exhibit different positions with respect to the various paradoxes and the tensions that exist between their poles. For example, governments have focussed upon state regulation of ethnic control, while tourism businesses have prioritized economic development. Tourists in Hainan generally do not have a clear picture of folk villages and their perception of authenticity relies on blurred images from the mass media. Ethnic communities realize that their culture has value economically, yet their performances in villages tend to fossilize certain aspects of cultural tradition, draw distinct boundaries around local customs, and fix these boundaries in time and space.

Hainan has a wide diversity of tourism resources. One of the important resources is ethnic culture. Although the minority populations are not heavily involved in tourism, their existence is widely publicized in the tourism brochures and mass media. Ethnic minorities generally participate in the informal sector by selling craft souvenirs and local fruit. A small proportion of the population works in the hotels and tourist folk villages. Thus, they cannot be seen as a major component in Hainan tourism development at present. However, there exist huge potentials to market ethnic cultures by establishing a variety of ethnic attractions. Folk villages are viewed as the most visible manifestation for tourists to become acquainted with ethnic cultures.

The research in Hainan folk villages indicates that the development of ethnic attractions is still in its infancy. Village businesses and governments hold different views in authenticating ethnic cultures. While governments provide infrastructure to facilitate tourism development, the reactions from villages seem to be mixed. For example, the highway reconstruction has caused the movement of villages from the central route to the eastern route for easy access for tourists. The cultural landscape has changed and folk villages have lost their original meaning to showcase the authentic aspects of ethnic cultures. Instead, some employees in the new villages who wear Li clothing are not

of Li origin. Li culture is performed by some people who are not Li. Authenticity is a flexible notion and the degree of artificiality has increased.

Tourists in villages provide a different perspective on cultural tourism. The majority participates in package tours and paid for the expenses prior to embarking on the trip. Touring folk villages is a part of recreation programs designed by tour operators in Hainan, and tourists are not required to pay directly for watching the dance performance. Thus, it is difficult to judge the issue of commodification solely from a visible financial exchange. In fact, many visitors seem to be engaged with ethnic "traditional" lifestyle in "non-commercial" environments. They are encouraged to join the young dancers at the end of the traditional Li dance and the dance may not be less authentic for the onlookers for having non-Li dancers in their midst. The relationship of marker to visitor, of non-commercial to commodified, is highly dynamic. Such combinations suggest that authenticity is negotiable.

The nature of dance programs has been modified to fit tourists' expectation. As noted in Chapter 8, ethnic dance in Hainan originated from spontaneous improvisation in the Li communities. The Li formed different types of dances to celebrate the harvest or to mourn the dead. The most famous bamboo-beating dance actually originated from the funeral ceremony, but is now viewed as a festival celebration and is completely integrated into the contemporary tourism system. Further, the bamboo selected for performance should be reddish in colour since red is a good omen to drive evil away. However, once the bamboo-beating dance turned into a touristic performance, the colour selection of bamboo disappeared and the religious meaning of the bamboo colour was also forgotten. The contemporary dance emphasises the beating rhythms, intimate team playing and smiling faces. Ethnicity is not the most important selection criterion for dancers. The "new" (restructured or reinterpreted) form and style have emerged as "authentic" for the Li

community. The issue of authentification, in fact, is an ongoing process and evolves from time to time.

The success of cultural tourism and cultural longevity in Hainan will ultimately be determined by the four stakeholders investigated in this thesis. The proposed conceptual framework draws attention to major stakeholders of cultural tourism that might otherwise be overlooked. It examines the notion of authenticity through the investigation of Li culture in Hainan. It also helps to organize much of the information on, and many concepts pertaining to, cultural tourism relative to a broader perspective that can be used for analysing tourism decision making in a variety of locations. The research indicates that the four stakeholders exhibit different positions in authenticating cultural resources. Diagrams in Chapter 9 show differing patterns for each stakeholder group and indicate that their ways of authentification are disparate. Therefore, the significance of this framework is not only to understand the degree of tensions developed by different stakeholders, but also to facilitate dialogue among these stakeholders and, ultimately, to develop a format for sustainable cultural tourism in Hainan.

10.2 Recommendations for Sustainable Cultural Tourism Development

Cultural tourism development is necessary because it can contribute to sustainable growth in the destination. There are three main reasons why this should be so. First, at the level of product development, the ethnic elements cannot be substituted, even if staged versions can be reproduced for the tourist gaze. Without the indigenous cultural elements, tourism in Hainan would be quite soulless and unspectacular. Second, within the context of sustainable development, equity issues including questions surrounding indigenous access to opportunities in tourism businesses should be addressed (Tacconi and Tisdell, 1993). A mode of development that ignores the interest of local residents will never be acceptable to the host community, whose positive attitude to outsiders has

always been a key ingredient in the success of a destination. Third, ethnic issues are closely related with "civil society" and "human rights". The sooner the ethnic minorities are legitimately incorporated into the decision-making process, the better it will be for tourism development in the destination areas. This, as many researchers have argued, is what "just tourism" is about (Hultsman, 1995). The following provides recommendations for cultural tourism development in Hainan. The relative importance of each recommendation is given by the order of presentation.

1. In terms of the position of the ethnic communities, it appears that ignorance is the greatest barrier to effective participation. For most Li people and local governments, the urban business culture is an alien feature that has surfaced in their community in the 1990's. Further, they are not in a position to compete with experienced operators who are already well connected, well funded and have access to planning and business intelligence. Folk villages in Hainan are generally small scale and lack proper planning and administrative support. Thus, ignorance as a barrier is not restricted to the Li population alone; it also affects the planning machinery and the bureaucracy vested with the task of implementation. To overcome the above constraints, it is imperative that an ethnic policy be integrated into the tourism planning process. For example, strategies should be implemented by the provincial and local governments to mandate consultation with the ethnic communities and their representatives to ensure that minority people's interests are protected and that they are encouraged to be actively involved in the tourism development process. It is recommended that the provincial government initiate a "round table" representing all tourism stakeholders so that dialogue and information exchange can be facilitated. Ethnic participation (or even grassroots participation) should also be provided at the local governmental level so that minorities can participate in the development of folk villages and other ethnic attractions and

products. Tourism developers ought to devote more attention towards ensuring a greater degree of indigenous participation. One of the effective ways is coordination, such as consultation and focus group discussion, to get Li people involved in the economic development, design and planning of the attractions. Some educational programs sponsored by local governments are needed to help Li people develop appropriate tourism products. The findings of this thesis would form an appropriate departure point for such a discussion.

2. Commodification of ethnic culture is an important process in developing ethnic tourism attractions. The experiences provided by folk villages are created, bought, sold and consumed in distinct ways. The nature of the product and the details of its marketing profoundly impact both the hosts and the guests. However, this type of commodification process can be used as a positive mechanism in the pursuit of sustainable tourism development. By using this mechanism appropriately, the competitiveness of the folk village will be strengthened. Having this competitiveness is vital for an ethnic attraction and the destination in which it is located. Folk villages should make ethnic sites, events, festivals and art forms into living, interactive and animated programs without sacrificing their cultural integrity. It is recommended that local government should set an administrative guideline for village development. The guideline should include a set of criteria to regulate the ethnic displays. For example, the regulations on ethnic dance programs should require that they meet the criteria of original culture, folklore and music. At the same time, tourism businesses should play an active role in partnership with other industries to provide more ethnic tourism products. For example, village businesses could develop a series of Li cultural souvenirs with the textile industry and promote craft souvenirs. Such strategic

alliances may effectively promote cultural tourism, present a broader picture of ethnic cultures, and further stimulate local economies.

3. The strategies of economic development typically centre around making the assets of an ethnic culture more sellable or marketable. This focus, however, does not necessarily centre on the needs of the ethnic community and its unique wishes or vulnerabilities. Furthermore, tourism businesses are apt to embrace a fairly short-term perspective, which may undercut the long-term well being of the host communities. Although folk village businesses may not focus on the long-term needs of the ethnic community and the long-term potential of the opportunity being developed, the ethnic community is profoundly interested in its long-term future. Many dance performers expressed a strong desire to "stay ethnic". To best respond to the needs of ethnic communities, cultural tourism developers must forge long-term products and promote long-term ethnic involvements in order to ensure that equitable strategies and tactics are recognized and promoted. Long-term development strategies should be fostered by all levels of governments. It is recommended that the provincial government should provide long-term tax incentives or policy preferences for village businesses. The intents of developing cultural tourism should be emphasized in the regional policies. Different stages of developments should be explicitly stated in the tourism policies, *e.g.,* three-year plan and five-year plan to ensure the sustainable development of folk villages. The longer the businesses can be encouraged to stay within the communities, the better it will be for those communities. It is both morally proper and makes good business sense to take the long-term interests of the host culture into account when strategies are being developed. Further, cultural tourism stakeholders should demonstrate that the authenticity of ethnic cultures can be better showcased in ways that make sense to the tourism

businesses. Since a long-term opportunity is more cost effective than projects with a short life, a commitment to preserving and enhancing ethnic cultures is a wise and potentially lucrative strategy.

4. At the same time, efforts must be made to maintain the ethnic integrity of a tourism attraction. Tourism business "can turn exotic cultures into commodities and individuals into amusing 'objects' for tourist 'consumption'" (Klieger, 1990, p.38). As a result, novel encounters gradually become routine for both tourists and the ethnic hosts, and cultural presentations become more and more removed from the reality of everyday life. The related temptation to "freeze" culture should be avoided. Culture is not a static entity as all "viable cultures are in the process of 'making themselves up' all the time" (Greenwood, 1982, p.27). Numerous forces in addition to tourism influence cultural change. Governmental instructions and tourism planners need to anticipate major trends and, most importantly, identify and involve the important stakeholders who authenticate ethnic cultural resources. As indicated above, the provincial government should, as a high priority, develop a forum that will bring stakeholders together to exchange information and discuss their concerns. Also, the local government should highly recommend that village businesses, such as folk villages, provide a detailed introduction to Li culture (for example, the origins of the Li people, the past and present of Li folk dance, the contemporary Li lifestyle) so that the spectacles which are observed can be placed in a broader context. In this way, tourists' appreciation for both the ethnic cultural displays and Li culture as a whole would be enhanced.

5. One of the greatest paradoxes encountered in the folk villages is the contradiction between ethnic tradition and contemporary lifestyle. From a visitor's perspective, Li culture should be different from what can be called "mainstream" culture. This, of course, does not mean Li culture is totally alienated from mainland Chinese cultures. Due to an unfortunate chauvinism, ethnic communities may feel that labels such as "folk" or "traditional person" are degrading and insulting. However, these labels often have an economic value and can be sold to the larger world as tourism services and products. Many significant and positive elements of ethnic cultures are basic and enriching, and benefits accrue both to members of the ethnic communities and to society in general. Sharing "traditional culture" has the potential to build bridges of mutual respect and understanding. On the other hand, the developers of cultural tourism should be aware that part of the ethnic culture may be private and should not be cavalierly shared with the public without proper management and planning. Governments should play an active role in encouraging the establishment of high quality folk villages, cultural interpretation centres and other attractions (such as agricultural attractions related to the tea and rubber plantations) along the central highway. Tourism products can be diversified along the transport route. For example, the city of Haikou can arrange an ethnic food festival (*e.g.,* bamboo rice cooking, rice wine) to attract tourists just arrived from mainland. The food may intrigue tourists to explore the authentic part of ethnic cultures. Such introductions may motivate tourists to visit of folk villages located in the central part of Hainan. Finally, an appropriately organized the tour in Sanya could provide an excellent opportunity to buy good quality ethnic souvenirs and related products. In this way, a "cultural corridor" could be created in some of the poorer areas in the island where many minority people live.

6. Cultural tourism itself introduces many enticing opportunities for progress and change within the minority culture. The presentation of Li culture is a dynamic business. The villages adopt ethnic clothing as a type of business uniform. Even street vendors were observed wearing ethnic clothes over modern ones, presumably so that they could be identified as part of a minority group and derive the associated benefits of perceived authenticity. Li culture is being nested within a complex mosaic of tradition, society and culture. The role of governments should shift the tight control of ethnic autonomy to flexible policies. For example, allow Li communities to develop their own cultural products without going through the red tapes for approval. Village business should be encouraged to expand the current ethnic programs in Li autonomous regions, in particular, the central route of Hainan. Governments at different levels should acknowledge that ethnic communities have a right to their culture and traditions when they are becoming more economically interconnected with the mainstream world. Governments should play a crucial role to help minorities to cope with the massive changes, and to ensure that the traditions of the ethnic cultures survive as a functioning ensemble. Investment in ethnic education and heritage preservation is necessary for wise long-term development.

10.3 Future Research Directions

There are surprisingly few examples of the evaluation of different stakeholders' perspectives on the concept of authenticity in the developed world, not to mention the developing world. It is hoped that this research has filled a gap by answering questions pertaining to the authentification of cultural tourism in a developing country destination. However, there is still a great deal of scope for additional research on various aspects of cultural tourism in developing and developed countries.

This thesis has focussed upon Li folk villages in Hainan. Other ethnic minorities reside on the island, such as Miao and Hui. Although their involvement in tourism seems to be much less significant, future research should extend to these people to compare the possible differences. Further, this thesis analyzes cultural evolution by dance performance, customs and folklore. Other elements, such as craft souvenirs, merit research in the future. As noted previously, the majority of ethnic minority participation occurs in the informal sector by selling souvenirs and tropical fruit. Comparative studies between vendors and village employees would be of interest to researchers.

This thesis compares four key stakeholders in a Hainan context based on the tensions that exist when authenticating cultural resources. Other stakeholders and their roles, such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and international organizations, could be identified. Although they may not play roles as important in Hainan as the four identified stakeholders, research along these lines would add valuable knowledge about how the private sector and NGOs are becoming involved in authentification and the potential for collaboration between different stakeholders.

There is also a real need to understand other aspects of tourism in developing countries. Hainan is an interesting laboratory in which to undertake research to understand cultural tourism development. Further research could include the nature of impacts which may be unique to developing countries, management issues, resident perceptions of tourism, interactions between locals and tourists, and tourists' perceptions of developing country destinations.

The conceptual framework proposed in this thesis could be applied to other situations, such as multicultural Canada, native people, Mennonites, etc. Academic interest in these kinds of studies may include learning whether or not the conceptual framework presented here is useful for understanding the authentification of cultural tourism in other destination areas under a similar set of yardsticks. As well, this type of research could reveal similar or dissimilar constraints to the

application of this framework based upon other socio-cultural, political and economic environments in other parts of the world.

10.4 Concluding Remarks

Although this study has focussed on Hainan, China, many of the findings would probably be similar in other developing countries whose cultural traditions, social mores, political structures, and economic situations are similar to Hainan's situation. As governments, tourism businesses, visitors and ethnic communities increase their understanding of tourism and as the economy is expanded through tourism, it is hoped that the principles of this framework will reveal a broader picture of cultural tourism development and illuminate tensions which exist during the authentification of ethnic resources. Ultimately, recommendations developed from this empirical research can be applied to mitigate the negative and enhance the positive aspects of cultural tourism.

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Appendix I:

A Questionnaire Survey for Hainan Ethnic Folk Village

Dear Sir and Madam:

University of Waterloo, Canada and Hainan Tourism Bureau are collaborating with a questionnaire survey on the ethnic folk villages. The survey outcomes are for academic purpose only and provide an opportunity to improve the villages. Thank you very much for completing the questionnaire. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

1. Sex (please tick in one of the boxes) Male Female

2. Age under 20 20-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 over 60

3. Marital Status single married divorce/separate

4. Education primary school middle school high school

undergradate/college graduate

5. Ethnicity Han Hui Li Miao Other_____

6. Occupation _____

7. Income per month: under 400 yuan 401-800 yuan 801-1,200 yuan

1,201-1,600 yuan 1,601-2,000 yuan over 2,001 yuan

8. The purpose of visiting the folk village:

personal want tour program other_____

9. What was your level of knowledge of ethnic Li and Miao prior to arrival?

very familiar familiar smack don't know

10. If you are familiar, would you please indicate what part of ethnicity?

culture history folklore dance/song other_____

11. Do you find this village is authentically reflect the life and culture of ethnic Li and Miao?

yes no don't know

12. How much money did you spend on shopping in the village? _____ (yuan)

13. What kind of souvenir did you purchase in the village? _____

14. What is your suggestion for the souvenir? And what is your most interested souvenir?

_____

15. Did you take photos in the village? yes no

16. If you did, what kind of photos did you take?

ethnic architecture dance performance ethnic clothing/costume

ethnic children/girl scenery other_____

17. What is your suggestion for the future improvement in the village?

_____

18. Please indicate your level of satisfaction during the trip in the folk village. Rating scale ranged from 1: very dissatisfactory to 5: very satisfactory.

Attribute	Very Satisfactory				Very Dissatisfactory
Village Location	5	4	3	2	1
Architecture Design	5	4	3	2	1
Dance Performance	5	4	3	2	1
Ethnic Clothing/Costume	5	4	3	2	1
Souvenir Quality	5	4	3	2	1
Staff Service Quality	5	4	3	2	1
Tour Guide Service Quality	5	4	3	2	1
Admission Ticket Price	5	4	3	2	1
Overall Impression	5	4	3	2	1

Appendix II

Interview Protocol

A number of interviews were conducted in folk villags of Hainan from May to August 1999. The interviews were carried out by both semi-structured and open-ended formats. The interviews were recorded by taking the notes and an assistant from University of Hainan. The outlines of objectives of interviews are as follows:

1. Meet with relevant persons in the Li administrative levels and determine attitudes toward tourism and ethnic tourism development.
2. Interview folk village managers regarding the number, location and opening date of all Li folk villages in Hainan.
3. Interview with researchers from Hainan Ethnicity Research Centre in Tongzha to determine the location of other tourism-oriented folk displays.
4. Collect brochures pertaining to ethnic cultures in Hainan during the interview.
5. Interview the directors of each folk village to determine the nature of experiences provided, ownership, employment structure, and attitudes for future development.
6. Interview employees (*e.g.,* dance perfomers) concering employees' qualification, job training, ethnicity, where they come from, job status, level of satisfaction, etc.
7. Interview street vendors concerning the business, ethnicity, income and attitudes towards village business.