INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rural Development in China

Rural community in China has been placed in the flow of social transformation due to various reforms since 1949 and rural society has changed a lot. In 1950s, land reform classified social classes, distributed farm-land to peasants, and changed the principle of social classification. This policy promoted agricultural productivity and rural development to a certain extent. Later, communal construction policy completely changed the traditional social structure, and reorganized the economy and social life in rural society. Clan and family economy was replaced by communal economy. The basis of social identity was also changed. Traditional identity, for instance, which was clan identity, gave way to national identity. In these ways, social culture in rural China and corresponding social institutions has been changed (He 2006; Lu 2003; Shen 2007). From 1966-1977, the Great Cultural Revolution strengthened the social classification ideology all over the country, while also brought disaster to rural development.

After 1978, the conduction of household responsibility system turned the family into the basic unit of production once again in rural area. Reform and an openness policy brought in market institutions, and the government began to retreat from people's daily life. While these policies stimulated rural economic growth, they also generated many social problems (Shen 2006; 2007; Xiao 2003). Public life and communications among villagers were weakened. Individuals were out of the traditional moral ties, but still did not form independent and responsible citizen consciousnesses. This leads to a lack of collective action and of a public social life. The relationship between government cadres and villagers became loose. A governance crisis appeared in the lowest levels of rural government. Modern laws promoted people's consciousness of their rights but also destroyed the traditional moral restrictions. Rights and duty have not been realized by people at the same time.

Some extremely interest-directed and self-centered consciousnesses emerged. Money became the most important measurement of various values. Some scholars claim "moral crisis emerged in China's rural areas" (Shen 2006).

With the opening-up policy and the burgeoning market economy, rural industry turned prosperous and was seen as a distinctive way to industrialization in China. It made a great contribution that transfers spare rural labor into industry workers. But due to low technology and low productivity in most enterprises, this strategy for rural development was gradually substituted by that of migrant labor for rural people in the 1990s.

Through a series of development strategies, China made great success in economic growth. However, the urban-rural gap has been widening[1], since generally rural areas are put in a position to backup China's early industrialization in cities (China Government 2006). The increasingly widened gap even impacts the structure of national economic development and brings lots of complex social problems. So current development strategy, "Socialist New Countryside" (*She Hui Zhu Yi Xin Nong Cun*) (Abbreviation in following: SNC) Construction aims to narrow the gap by encouraging development of rural areas, which is explicitly emphasized as not simply to pursue Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth, but to pursue the comprehensive development of the countryside. SNC was proposed in the Fifth Plenum of the 16th CPC (Communist Party of China) Central Committee in Oct, 2005 (ibid). It is seen as a new round of countryside development all over the country, aiming at "enhancing rural productivity, raising the farmers' living standards, improving rural infrastructure, boosting rural social undertaking and promoting grassroots political democracy" (ibid). As we can see, it involves infrastructure, production, livelihood, as well as rural culture and the social politic environment.

Furthermore, as a way for SNC construction and rural development, rural tourism is put in an important position due to the fast growing nature of this industry all over China and the world.

---

[1] From speech of Chen Xiwen, deputy director of the Office of Central Financial Work Leading Group, at a press conference sponsored by the State Council Information Office on February 22nd, 2006

1.2 Rural Tourism as a Development Strategy for Rural Development

As a tourism economic indicators showed in a report given by World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), called "The 2005 Travel and Tourism Economics Research", China has became one of the top ten tourism countries (quoted from Luo 2006). According to Zhang Xiqin, who is the vice director general of the national tourism bureau, in 2006, the number of domestic tourists is supposed to be 1.38 billion, increasing 13%; the number of foreign tourists may exceed 124 million, increasing 3.4% (New Dimension Planning & Design Institute n.d.a). Due to the increasing per capita GDP and rising value of RMB (*renminbi*, Chinese currency), experts forecast continuing fast growth of service consumption and tourism development in the future (New Dimension Planning & Design Institute n.d.b). It is argued that the tourism industry structure in China now is transforming from sightseeing tours to leisure-oriented tours, such as rural tourism (ibid).

Currently, the tourism industry is eagerly promoted in many provinces in China, especially in Yunnan, which is well-known for its diverse minority culture. In 2005, the number of foreign tourists in Yunnan was 1.503million people, increasing 36.5% compared to that in 2004; domestic tourists are 68.607 million people, increasing 14.1% compare to that in 2004 (Yunnan provincial tourism bureau 2006). The total income of tourism is 43.01billion yuan, increasing 16.5% (ibid).

Generally speaking, tourist destinations in Yunnan concentrate in six regions: the central part of Yunnan "international tourism region" (including Kunming, Yuxi and Chuxiong); northwest part "Shangri-La minority culture tourism and eco-tourism region" (including Dali, Lijiang, Diqing, Nujiang); southeast part "karst landscape and culture tourism region" (including Honghe, Shilin, Yuanyan terrace, and so on); west part of Yunnan "volcano landscape and border culture tourism region" (including Baoshan and Dehong); southwest party "Mekong sub-region international tourism region" (including Xishuang banna, Simao and Lincan); northeast part "red-soil altiplano tourism region" (including Zhaotong, Dongchuan district in Kunming, and north of Qujing) (Yunnan provincial tourism bureau 2005). The major types of tourism are minority culture tourism, ecotourism, border tourism, rural tourism, agriculture tourism, and meeting and business tourism.

While diverse tourism is enhanced, in 2006, the Yunnan government and provincial tourism bureau made great efforts to promote small tourist town construction and boost rural tourism. The tourism topic in 2006 was even identified as "rural tourism" by the national tourism bureau.

1.3 Small-Tourist-Town Construction in Yunnan

While tourism development is generally promoted as an important way to realize SNC construction, Yunnan, which is seen as having high potentiality for tourism due to its ethnic diversity and cultural richness, especially is in this case. With booming tourism competition all over the country, the Yunnan provincial government promoted "the second time of carving out (or creating)" in 2006, the starting year for the eleventh "five-year" development plan, in which the idea of developing small tourist towns was promoted (Qin 2005)[2]. It was seen as combining SNC construction firmly.

Ideally, benefits of this small-tourist-town (abbreviation in following: STT) construction for rural areas are embodied in several dimensions (ibid): firstly, encouraging rural economy through developing rural industry and services industry; secondly, improving the living environment for rural population by tourist infrastructure construction; thirdly, increasing employment by transferring abundant village labors to tourism-related occupations in the vicinity; fourthly, promoting rural spirit civilization construction by enhancing urban-to-rural communication flows and training villagers with tourism-related knowledge; fifthly, conserving affluent, special, historical, cultural heritages.

To carry out this strategy, the guideline "government direct, company participate, market operate, populace benefit, sustainable utility" will be followed. Furthermore some significant supports will be provided, such as funds, land, tax and household registration systems (*Huji*) (ibid). First, the government will appropriate certain amount of budget for the development project of STT. Second, the land supply for STT development will be given certain priority. For example, the land can be

---

[2] Qin Guangrong, deputy secretary of Yunnan provincial Party Committee and Managing Deputy Governor of Yunnan Province, presented the speech at the conference of Development of Tourist Towns in China", August 8th, 2005.

supplied through resettling villages, exploiting deserted land, giving privilege of land supply to urgent project and so on. Third, tax for related corporations who carry out such STT project is reduced. Fourth, the restraint of household registration system for farmers moving into urban areas looses. As we can observe, what is obvious is company and market forces will be encouraged in this STT construction. Some scholars succinctly point out that idea underlying this new strategy is borrowed from the successful experience of urban management: to promote land exploitation as a means to boost up tourism industry development (Lin and Yang n.d.).

In 2005, the Yunnan provincial government confirmed development projects of 60 small tourist towns, and 29 among them were put under construction, alteration, or promotion (Lian 2006). There are several models for STT construction, including heritage conservation town, ethnic culture town, eco-environment town, special economy cultivation town, and multiplex attraction town.

Taking Jianshui County, for example, as one of the heritage conservation towns under construction, the county is 1200 years old (first built and named in A.D.810, Tang Dynasty) and is located 220 kilometers away from and south of Kunming city, the capital of Yunnan province. It had been the political, military, economic, cultural, and transport center of southern Yunnan since the Yuan Dynasty (A.D.1271-1368).

Jianshui County, belonging to Honghe prefecture, is an important tourist destination in southeast "karst landscape and culture tourism region" of Yunnan province. Tourism resources there are considered very rich due to its long history and significant cultural, political, and economic position in southern Yunnan since the Yuan dynasty. It has been known as the "Confucian base in South Yunnan" (*Dian Nan Zou Lu*) and a "Town full of documentary" (*Wen Xian Ming Bang*). There are over 50 protected cultural relics in national, provincial, and prefectural levels, including karst caves and ancient architectures. In regards to architectures, it can be called a "museum of ancient architectures" (Zhang, Huijun 2005:308). It shares similarity with the architectures in the central part of China, but also different for incorporating the elements of local ethnic culture and natural environments, and embodying specific cultural historical information and meaning, which reflects the immigration of Han people into this southwestern frontier province and developing this area together with

indigenous ethnic people. So, history, culture relics, historic buildings and architectures are the most outstanding attractions for such a heritage conservation town.

1.4 Historic-Village Tourism

Historic-village tourism is one of the models of rural cultural tourism and exemplifies the heritage tourism at the village level. Actually, it has become a new selling point in rural tourism in recent years[3]. Historic villages (or called ancient villages) always have some similar characteristics: they were built during a glorious and prosperous period in history and/or by some historically significant families; its architectures and culture represent the societal situation at that time; however, due to the sequent lag of economic development or remoteness of geographic position, they were outside of the encounter of modernization and so have conserved historic architectures, traditional cultures, and lifestyles quite well (Lou 2007). Since these villages usually combine various factors integrally, such as specific ecological environments reflecting the traditional geomancy notion, traditional culture, cultural relics, historic architectures, and rural lifestyles, they will give tourists a strong contrast of modern scenery and life. Historic villages provide a living historic museum and cultural tracks for those who would like to trace back their history and think about their cultural identity within modern economic development and globalization.

In historic-village tourism, the source of tourist's attraction lies in the entire village, including the ecological environment, architectures, such as ancient dwelling houses, temple, ancestral worship hall, histories embodied in these tangible heritages, intangible rural culture, traditional life style and so on (Ying and Zhou 2007). Since the village is usually small, it is always considered as a whole for tourists who are concerned with the feeling and experience towards the whole village's environment, residents' hospitality, smells, sounds, and so forth, and experience this when walking or viewing in the village. This combines with community development most firmly. However, as we can see in reality, it also easily generates conflicts since it involves

---

[3] See the webpage: "Historic-village becomes the newest selling point during tourist golden weeks", available at http://mil.eastday.com/epublish/gb/paper293/6/class029300002/hwz1284282.htm, accessed on April 3rd, 2008.

several controversial issues, such as cultural heritage, community tourism; and also involves many stakeholders, including international conservation agents, government departments, private company, and different actors within the village (Hall 2003; Bao and Xun 2006; Xun and Bao 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007). And the conflicts are often related to the identity or conservation of heritage, politics within community, and benefit-sharing among various stakeholders.

For contests in heritage, many researches focus on the contestations of identity towards heritage, the contesting making of heritage, or the politics of heritage (Cheung 2003; Harvey 2001; Hitchcock and King 2003; Long 2000; Thorley 2002). Some discussed the contests appearing in the process of making heritage a tourist resource or managing heritage tourism from the perspective that conflicts between tourists and local people in terms of making heritage attractive to tourists while needing to be appreciated by local people as well (Chang 1997; Teo and Yeoh 1997). Furthermore, contest may also appear among different stakeholders with different histories and identities in heritage tourism development (Herzfeld 1991).

For the issue of community tourism, since 1979, initiated by de Kadt (1979) and later developed by Murphy (1985), community has been recognized as an important approach to consider tourism. In this widely discussed concept of community tourism, the significance of community participation in tourism is highly praised for sustainable development of tourism and community tourism management (see a review in Cheng and Zhang 2007).

However, some scholars find out that due to different economic, cultural and democratic atmospheres, community participation in tourism is restricted by cultural structures and ideology (Cevat 2000), or else, it is limited within economic benefit-sharing in developing countries. The theory of community participation may not fit for China or even Third World countries very well (Timothy 1999; Ying and Zhou 2007). Furthermore, studies on community tourism in China are still limited (Bao and Xun 2006), and many problems along with tourism management have not been answered satisfactorily, especially problems in historic-village tourism management (Lu et al. 2005).

Conflict may lead to destruction of community tourism resources (both physical conditions and fame among tourists) (Xun and Bao 2005). And it is

necessary to manage such conflicts and encourage collaboration among stakeholders so that community-based cultural tourism can proceed. To consider conflicts or contests in historic-village tourism, attention is more likely to be paid to discuss management models, and the relationship among different stakeholders pertinent to tourism development, such as community, government and enterprises (Xun and Bao 2005; Ying and Zhou 2007). They hope to draw out a universal management model for tourism development (for example, villager self-development models and local government invest-to-development models (Chen et al. 2005), or endogenous models and exogenous models (Ying 2006)).

Consequently, these researches tend to treat community as a whole and homogenous stakeholder in order to get the over-all picture of community tourism, considering all the stakeholders involved in tourism development. They think although there are differentiations within the community, they are more likely to pursue the same interest (both economic and environmental) when villagers face other stakeholders outside the community (Ying and Zhou 2007).

However, as we can observe in reality, disagreements and conflicts among members of a community in tourism development are more likely to be the norm (Hall 2003; Xun and Bao 2005). The factors within community or heterogeneity of community, or in another words, "politics at community level" (Hall 2003), can not be neglected if we want to promote tourism development in communities. Furthermore, since conflict is a normal consequence of human interaction during change periods, it can be an opportunity for creative problem solving (Millar and Aiken 1995:620, cited from Hall 2003). Actually, some scholars have realized this point and call for more research about the management process occurring within communities, social differentiation within community and the institution of tourism and it is functioning on social differentiation (Hall 2003; Ying and Zhou 2007; Ying 2006).

1.5 Tuanshan Tourism: Opportunity and Challenge

Tuanshan village is a historic village which has had developed tourism for several years. It is a subject of the Xizhuang Township government, and located 13 kilometers west of Lin'an town (the capital town) in Jianshui County (see Figure 1.1

and 1.2 for specific location of the site). This village faces wide paddy fields, backed by hills, and this site is considered as in a favorable geographical and ecological position according to Chinese geomancy "*Fengshui*". From east-to-west, No. 323 national highway and MengBao railway[4] (from Mengzi county in east of Jianshui county to Baoxiu town in Shiping county in west of Jianshui County) cross in front of this village.
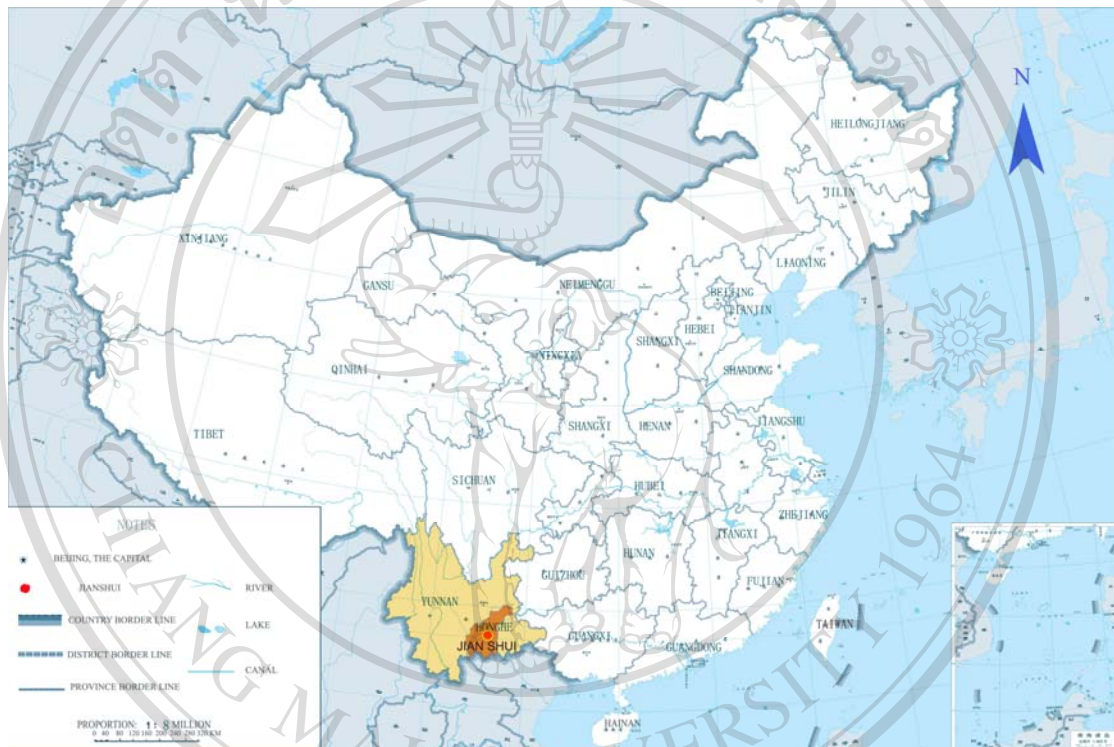

Figure 1.1 Position of Jianshui County, Honghe Prefecture, Yunnan Province, China

Tuanshan village, over 600 years old, was established by the Zhang family ancestors in the Ming dynasty around 1370, and is about 20 thousand squares meters. There are 240 households and 877 people total in this village, among which 178 households and 677 people belong to the Zhang family clan. Out of this are minor family clans such as the Mao family, Bai family, Huang family and others.

Since the end of the 20th century, Tuanshan has been a tourist destination with a small number of tourists. After 2005, tourism was catalyzed by a certificate from the World Monuments Fund (WMF), a non-profit international organization

---

[4] This is a part of *Gebishi* railway (*Gejiu-Bisezai (Mengzi)-Jianshui-Shiping*), which linked to Yunnan-Vietnam railway in *Bisezai*. Yunnan-Vietnam railway is the first railway in Yunnan, which is built by French colonist and put to use in 1910. Its rout is from *Kunming-Chenggong-Yiliang-Huaningpangxi-Kaiyuan-Bisezai (in Mengzi)-Hekou* to Vietnam. After construction, Yunnan-Vietnam railway became the main tool controlled by French colonist to exploit tin mine, and to control traffic, telecommunication and economy of Yunnan.

based in New York. They said, *"Tuanshan is the most beautiful village where the architectural style of the 19th century and beyond remains intact and the distinctive way of people's life is preserved, fully showcasing China's indigenous cultural characteristics,"* and *"We put Tuanshan on our Watch List because we believe it is of world value and is the common heritage of the whole humankind"* (Anonymous 2005).

Furthermore, in 2007, the whole village is signed as a nationally significant tourist site and conservation unit.
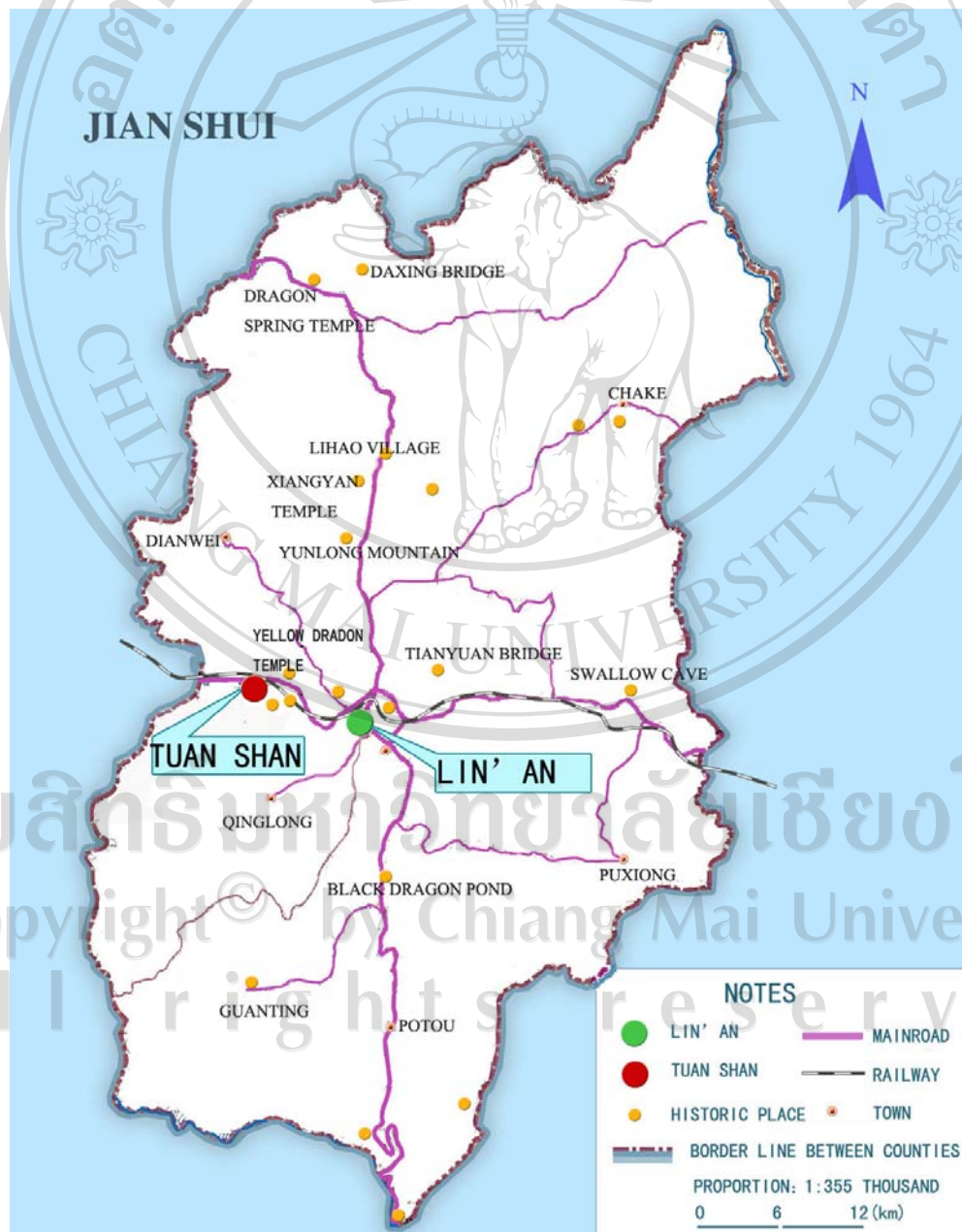

Figure 1.2 Position of Tuanshan Village in Jianshui County

These certificates and STT construction projects in Jianshui undoubtedly catalyze the rural tourism in Tuanshan village. Albeit the historical architecture of Tuanshan village have been known by and been a tourist destination for some locals in the vicinity long before the certificate, and a tourism management committee (TMC) has been established to manage heritage tourism since 2000. Now it suddenly has become famous in all scales, from local to national, and to international. The conservation and development project is put on agenda and it is even assigned as one show-village for constructing a new-socialist-countryside. The future of tourism in the village is considered to be quite promising.

Despite a positive outlook for tourism, there are issues that may impede tourism development and the formation of management institutions. The first issue is substandard infrastructure and environmental sanitation. The second issue is that villagers do not cooperation within tourism management. Currently, Tuanshan tourism is managed by a single committee composed of several villagers. However, villagers do not cooperate with this TMC and there are many conflicts within management. Villagers contest over ownership of this tourism resource, distribution of tourism-derived benefits and forms of tourism management among themselves. Such contests lead to messiness and irregularities of management, work absenteeism, negative attitudes and gossip among villagers. All of these contestations negatively impact tourism development as tourist companies are discouraged to bring tourists to the village.

The first type of conflict concerns questions of the authenticity of this heritage: Zhang's Family Garden and *Sima* Mansion. Advertisements have highlighted Zhang's Family Garden even though it is only one among 26 heritage sites in the village. Conflict arose when antiques in *Sima* Mansion (Mao family's house) were claimed as being of the Zhang family's heritage. The owner of the house, who was absent at the time of this claiming in tourist brochure, accuses the tourism committee for piracy and refuses to join the tourism management committee in village.

The second type of conflict is about the sharing of tourism-derived benefit. Tourism-derived benefit may be embodied in several ways, such as job opportunities provided by the tourism committee, money subsidies for households living in old houses which is open for visiting, distribution of money left from committee

management (mainly the entrance fee income), and financial assistance of some public affairs. However, there is no explicit distribution scheme of benefit-sharing that is accepted by villagers.

The third type of conflict is over the form of management: should the TMC be a governmental body, civil organization or company? The TMC is formally registered as a civil organization. However, since the leaders of the committee were assigned by upper level government before 2007, in the villagers' perception, the committee has been a semi-government organization. At the end of 2006, the leaders, for the first time, were elected by villagers with some claims of villager self-election. Some committee members at the present argue it should be a company for efficient management while some villagers claim the tourism resource is a community or state property and management body should be government organization.

As shown above, conflict appearing in historic-village tourism management is a common and crucial topic. For this case, first of all, contests emerge in the early stages of tourism development when management institutions are still on the process of formation. At this stage, villagers just come to encounter tourism and tourism is about to change their life to some extent. Villagers interact with tourism and respond to or negotiate with tourism management institutions. To discuss contests in this stage will reveal the interplay between actors (villagers) and the structure (tourism management institution) and add some understanding to the process of institution development of tourism management.

Secondly, the problems emerging in Tuanshan village are about the cooperation amongst villagers, and why villagers do not choose cooperation in tourism development but rather contest each other. This is closely related to community participation. So, to discuss the factors influencing villagers' decision of non-cooperation will make some contribution to the discussion of community participation study in the China context.

Thirdly, this kind of contest shares some similar aspects as that discussed by many scholars concerning heritage, such as identity construction towards heritage, and the making of or politics of heritage, while involving some other aspects, such as property rights interwoven in heritage or institutional arrangement in management. So this case may provide a valuable example to understand this issue.

Last but not least, while tourism is promoted as a significant strategy for SNC construction and is considered to bring various benefits, as we know, tourism does not just bring those benefits as people expect: It is a double-edged sword for destination communities. While tourism may bring some good effects on destination societies, such as boosting economic development, creating job opportunities, reviving local people's cultural identity, and so on, it may also make some problems, such as overusing natural resources, destroying vulnerable social-cultural system, negatively impacting the communication and friendship of local people, and so on (see a review of tourism impact studied in Cheng and Zhang 2007). What needs to be pointed out is that tourism impacts on destination communities are not always identical. How tourism influences community depends on the social characteristics of the local community, such as local organizations, history of tourism development, and the type of tourism (Huse et al. 1998).

Currently, rural tourism is proposed as an important strategy to promote rural development and construct a new socialist countryside. However, it is still not clear how tourism will interact with villagers' daily life and the existent (or changing) social institutions, as well as how to guide these interactions in the expected direction. To discuss this point it will be helpful for further designing of management mechanisms and analyzing tourism development in community. So under contemporary circumstances, in Yunnan, or even in China on the whole, this topic is realistically significant, since tourism has become an important strategy for SNC construction.

To summarize above, in this thesis, I will analyze the problems of noncooperation and conflicts appearing in Tuanshan village when it develops historic-village tourism, discuss possible factors contributing to them, show how people interplay with institutional formation of tourism management and how people construct their identity and conduct politics in heritage tourism, and try to cast some light on community participation discussion in China and how tourism development is related to rural social institutions.

1.6 Research Questions

According to the justification and problems stated above, my focus here will be about understanding the intra-community conflicts and non-cooperational behavior appearing during the institution development process of historic-village tourism management.

To discuss this issue, several following questions should be addressed:

1.6.1 How has tourism been developed and managed in Tuanshan village? And how does it influence the village and villager's lives?

1.6.2 What kinds of conflict emerge in the institution development process of tourism management, and how do different stakeholders contest?

1.6.3 How do external factors, such as government (policy) and tourist market, affect the conflict and institution development process?

1.6.4 What factors contribute to conflicts and noncooperation? And how are those conflicts and non-cooperation related to social institution and tourism development?

1.7 Research Objectives

While the main aim of this study is to understand the intra-community conflicts, several specific objectives are as follows:

1.7.1 To study the process of tourism development in Tuanshan village and its interaction with villagers' lives

1.7.2 To find out various conflicts appearing in the early stages of tourism development

1.7.3 To analyze the impact of external factors on the institutional making process of historic-village tourism management

1.7.4 To analyze factors contributing to conflicts and non-cooperation, and discuss the interplay of social institution and tourism management

1.8 Theories, Concepts and literature review

In order to understand the conflict, answer these questions, and realize these objectives, we can search in concepts from three levels of abstraction. First, due to the

contestation over heritage resources, related concepts needs to be clarified, such as the nature of the resource. Second, social relations involving management also need to be explored to comb contests. Third, in practice, various practical factors conducive to the emergence of the conflict should be searched.

In this section, related concepts within the three levels will be reviewed. The first one is historic-village tourism resources as common pool resources, which will situate the discussion of cultural heritage management within the framework of common-pool resource management. The second one is institutional and collective action, which discusses the tourism management institution and various factors contributing to conflicts. The third is property rights in historic-village tourism, which clarifies complex and nested social relations in management. The last one is heritage tourism resource as a contesting space and politics of heritage, which unfolds the nature, meaning and value of this cultural resource under management.

1.8.1 Historic-Village Tourism Resource as Common Pool Resource

Tourism is widely considered a promising industry for development. However, at the same time, it "carries with it the seeds of its own destruction" (Murphy 1985:32). Tourism may bring destructive impact on local society, such as overuse of natural resources, destruction of vulnerable social-cultural systems, negative impacts on the communication and friendship of local people, congestion of public facilities and so on (see a review of tourism impact in (Cheng and Zhang 2007). These destructive impacts will render declining feelings and decreased pleasure of tourists, and eventually the decline of tourism.

To avoid these negative impacts in developing countries, de Kadt firstly proposed a "community-based approach" which takes community interests into account in tourism development. He argued "it is essential that those interests be articulated from the moment potential projects are identified" (de Kadt 1979:23-26).

Murphy developed this idea, considering government should use a community-oriented approach in tourism planning and management to warrant public support and to create an environmentally- and socially-friendly "community tourism product" (Murphy 1985). He suggests tourism should be viewed as a local resource

(ibid). Produced within a framework considering local environmental, local cultural, business and management factors, this "community tourism product" is "an amalgam of the destination's resource and facilities", and at the same time, and more importantly here, "it is one which the community, as a whole, wishes to present to the tourism market" (ibid:37).

In addition to considering tourism as a local resource, some scholars discuss tourism resources as common pool resources (CPRs) and experience the characteristic problems of CPRs: overuse and lack of incentive for individuals to invest in maintaining or improving them (Briassoulis 2002; Healy 1994; 2006).

CPRs are natural and human constructed resources characterized by subtractability and nonexcludability (Oakerson 1992; Ostrom 1990; 1992; Ostrom and Schlager 1996). Nonexcludability means it is costly to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from the use of CPRs and substractability refers to the exploitation by one user reducing the amount available for others. For tourism in particular, Healy (1994, cited from Briassoulis 2002) identified both natural and highly developed tourism landscapes as an important common pool resource. He defines tourism landscapes broadly to include a variety of natural and manmade elements and implicitly refers to their socio-cultural content and dynamics.

Unsatisfied with Healy's analysis, which is restricted to the visual dimension mostly and concerned from the perspective of tourists only, Briassoulis goes further to adopt a holistic view of tourism and resources and tries to conceptualize the tourism commons more broadly and comprehensively (Briassoulis 2002). She considers that the tourism commons comprises the whole spectrum of resources that host areas and their surrounding regions possess, comprehensively including the natural, socio-cultural and manmade attractions: facilities serving the needs of tourists; elements of the natural environment; infrastructure; local facilities serving the local population and tourists as well, and; the broader landscape of the surrounding region.

These resources are "used in common by tourists, locals, and others", and it is "difficult, socially unacceptable, or physically impossible to exclude any of these groups from using a given resource". Furthermore, "consumption by one user reduces the quantity of resources (of the same quality) available to others", and "congested and overcrowded streets and other facilities…diminish variously the value of the

tourist experience". Consequently, all tourism resources possess the two distinguishing characteristics of CPRs—nonexcludability and subtractability (Briassoulis 2002:1068).

While Briassoulis considers the whole tourism commons from the perspective of both tourists and local people and shows some implications of "tragedy of tourism commons" in sustainable tourism development and policy design principles for management, I would like to take historic-village tourism in particular to discuss its common feature for management specifically from the perspective of community.

Historic-village tourism can be seen as a part of rural cultural tourism, in which tourists expect to experience different rural culture, since the source of attraction lies in cultural heritage, such as ancient houses, temples, ancestral worship halls, histories embodied in these tangible heritage, intangible rural culture, traditional life-styles and so on (Ying and Zhou 2007).

However, it has more specific characteristics. Firstly, it is the entire village that is the attraction of tourism but not just several ancient houses or other physical constructions. Since village is usually small, it is considered as a whole for tourists who concern the feeling and experience towards the whole village's environment, residents' hospitality, smell, sound, etc, when walking or viewing in village. For example, in Tuanshan village, only 26 heritage sites are listed in the prefecture government heritage conservation list. However, it is the whole village that is packaged for tourism and the receiver of the WMF heritage certificate.

Secondly, it's development follows a distinctively "communal approach", the prevailing characteristic of China's historic-village tourism development (Ying 2006; Ying and Zhou 2007). There are several essential traits of this communal approach as follow (Ying and Zhou 2007:102):

"1. Village, or rural community, acting as the basic unit of destination, is "enclosed" and "sold" to the tourists as a single tourism product by charging an entrance fee;

2. A special corporation is formed to take charge of the integral business of cultural tourism in rural community, regardless of the diversities in capital structures;

3. Besides the negotiated payments to those contracted households opening to tourists, a certain proportion of the revenue from ticket sales is shared by the whole community, through a capitatim cash distribution and a better community welfare system supported by the revenue;

4. The locals still have the right to run their own small tourism business, but should be under the coordination of the special corporation."

This approach in historic-village tourism is considered to be in accordance with the politic-economic environment in China and socio-cultural characteristics in ancient villages per se. Ying discussed the reasons from four aspects: policy structure (land is collectively owned; self-governance policy in village), economic development (individual economies are underdeveloped and do not have the capability to develop tourism personally; rural society needs public funding), social culture (strong family system and culture), and realistic operation (tourist attraction is highly in accord with resident's living environment) (Ying 2006).

Consequently, within this communal approach, it is easy to understand that for community members, their village tourism resources (tourism commons) are a kind of common pool resource to which the concept of CPRs is applicable, and it has to be used and managed commonly to produce "community tourism product".

First, historic-village tourism resources include a whole spectrum of village landscape, facilities for tourists, natural resources, manmade attractions, as well as history, intangible rural culture, traditional life-styles, etc. These resources are both tangible and intangible, and totally overlap the living environment for residents. So, from the perspective of residents, most resources (such as tangible resources include public facilities and communal temples; intangible resources include the fame of the heritage and cultures) are inevitably used commonly while others (such as private houses) also should be managed commonly for tourism within the communal approach. It is "difficult, socially unacceptable, or physically impossible to exclude

any of the residents". They have to cooperate to produce a "community tourism product" both for tourism development and for their own living.

Secondly, different from natural resources, which may be consumed directly by villagers, it is tourists who consume directly the "community tourism product" produced by villagers with their tourism resources (e.g. tourist attractions, public facilities, culture, etc). Villagers use these tourism resources mainly as productive elements to produce tourism products to sell to tourists, while also using these resources (now it is living environment) in their everyday life.

In Ostrom's term, the resource stock here is the whole set of tourism resources elaborated above and the resource unit is the benefit villagers gain from the tourism industry and this tourism product. The benefit may be economic income from tourism or enjoyment of the promoted public facilities which are "produced" for tourists but are also inevitably enjoyed by villagers.

Since within a period and in a certain context, tourist numbers in villages is a given and their expense is limited, the benefit in terms of economic income is limited. The economic income (or tourists expense) gained by one villager is never available to another villager. And "the subtractability of the resource unit [Here: each people's gain from tourists' expenditure] leads to the possibility of approaching the limit of the number of resource units [Here: total expenditure of tourists] produced by a CPR" (Ostrom 1990:32).

Furthermore, every resident's behavior or use of these resources influences such "community tourism product" in terms of physical environment, hospitality atmosphere, and authenticity for tourists. Especially negative rivalry within limited benefit, such as vicious competition among different restaurants, may cause a tragedy of the commons, such as overuse of natural resources, displeased tourist experiences due to unfriendly relationships between villagers, destruction of environment, deterioration of socio-cultural atmosphere etc. These will eventually influence the tourism benefits for residents, in terms of tourist income, improvement of village environment and conditions, and other nuanced intangible cultural and social benefits.

So, historic-village tourism resources in China possess the two distinguishing characteristics of CPRs—nonexcludability and subtractability. It should be considered as a kind of common pool resource for villagers and its management should be

situated in the theories of the commons. Adams et al suggest that conflict over the management of common pool resources are not simply material but arise at a deeper cognitive level (Adams et al. 2003:1915). Differences in knowledge, understanding, preconception, and priorities among stakeholders reveal different interpretations of certain issues and may provide a deeper explanation of conflict. Furthermore, the knowledge that makes stakeholders define the problems of resource use can be seen in three realms: knowledge of the empirical context, knowledge of laws and institutions, and belief, myths and ideas (ibid). The three realms contrast with the three levels which are discussed below.

1.8.2 Institution and Collective Action

The strategy for successfully managing commons is to develop institutions that are legitimate in the eyes of resource users and encourages collective action in the way of using resource sustainably. In order to understand contestation emerging in the institution formation of historic-village tourism management, I will address institution and collective action in this section. Institution is seen as rules, regularized patterns of behavior, and more importantly, people's everyday practice. Successful institutions are based on collective action. Factors influencing collective action will be discussed. Moreover, a social constructivist approach to see collective action in the process will be taken in this case.

1.8.2.1 Clarifying Institution

Generally, an institution is defined as "complexes of norms and behaviors that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes" (Langill 1999). It is the "rules of the game" and is distinguished from organization, which is the players, or "groups of individuals bound together by some common purpose to achieve objectives" (Leach, et al. 1999:237).

Institutions can have both formal and informal rules that shape interactions among humans and between humans and nature (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). Formal institutions may be rules that "require exogenous enforcement by a third-party organization", while informal institutions can "be endogenously enforced" and "are

upheld by mutual agreement among the social actors involved, or by relations of power and authority between them"(Leach, et al. 1999:238).

However, rules do not guarantee specific behaviors people actually take. So, to see the contesting situation and to improve the practice of community-based management, institutions should be seen not as the rules themselves, but as "regularized patterns of behavior between individuals and groups in society" (Mearns, 1995, cited from Leach et al.1999). According to the theory of practice, structure, rules and norms emerge as products of people's practice and actions (Giddens 1984, cited from Leach et al.1999). Rather than a fixed framework, "rules" are constantly made and remade through people's practices" (Leach et al.1999), and institutions are constructed and maintained by people's active "investment" (ibid). For example, for property institutions, Peter Vandergeest pointed out that property institutions could be broken into four kinds practice: communication, convincing, remembering and enforcement. Property is not property until it involves all of these four kinds of practice (Vandergeest 1997).

Furthermore, institutions are dynamic, since, while some routine action serves to reproduce structures, rules and institutions, other action serves to change the system and remake new rules in the long term (Leach et al. 1999). Generally speaking, informal institutional change may be a slow and path-dependent process due to the embeddedness of informal institutions (North 1990, cited from Leach et al. 1999). However, formal institutions, such as legal frameworks may change quickly (Mearns 1995, cited in Leach et al. 1999). So studying people's everyday practice as "rule-in-use" is helpful to see institutional dynamics, and to display a holistic picture of institutional arrangement.

As scholars have showed, "the success of CBNRM depends on whether the local actors see these institutions as legitimate" (Kull 2002). In another word, it should be based on collective action of local people. Collective action is not automatically reached when there is an institution for management. Institutions may be contested and remade by local people in the operation process to match theirs, if there is, potential collective action. Or even the establishment of institutions are based on such collective action, with the time and space change, people's interests or values will change, and then the same collective action may not be guaranteed (Gibson and

Koontz 1998). As a result, it will cause inefficiency and contestation in formerly accepted institutions.

Consequently, institutions in community-based management are dynamic, always contested and reconstructed by actors involved in the long run. Contestation in resource management may emerge from the institution formation process and should be considered with collective action.

1.8.2.2 Collective Action

One presumption underlying community-based resource management is that community can cooperate and engage collectively (Agrawal and Gibson 2001). However, with some failure in conducting CBNRM, the issue of collective action underlying has attracted an increasing amount of research (Molinas 1998; Ostrom 2000; Steins and Edwards 1999; Varughese and Ostrom 2001)

Collective action is considered as an "action taken by a group (either directly or on its behalf through an organization) in pursuit of members' perceived shared interests" by Marshall (cited from CAPRi glossary). This is only one among numerous definitions (see the CAPRi glossary[5]).

Meinzen-Dick et al further conceptualizes collective action, and identifies several components that collective action requires, such as, "the involvement of a group of people", "a shared interest within the group", and involves "some kind of common action that works in pursuit of that shared interest". It should be "voluntary, to distinguish collective action from hired or corvee labour" (Meinzen-Dick, et al. 2004:200). For example, as they illustrate, collective action include "collective decision-making, setting rules of conduct of a group and designing management rules, implementing decisions, and monitoring adherence to rules" (ibid).

Collective action also should be distinguished from both organizational and institutional action. According to Meinzen-Dick et al, an organization may exist without leading to collective action, while collective action may occur spontaneously, "as an event (a one-time occurrence), as an institution (rule of the game applied over and over again), or as a process" (ibid).

Collective action may result in institutionalization of routine maintenance of such collective choice. And "institutionalization reduces transaction costs of

---

[5] http://www.CAPRi.cgia.org/glossary.asp#C

23

renegotiation, as well as uncertainty", while it also reduces the flexibility and adaptability of collective action (ibid). However, institutions do not necessarily come from collective action or serve a collective purpose (Leach et al. 1999). Institutions in community-based management may either emerge from routine maintenance of collective action (endogenously enforced) or is given exogenously without collective action underpinning (exogenously enforced).

Collective action in this case refers to the agreement villagers should reach in this historic-village tourism management, in terms of agreement toward various management institutions. Since what will be discussed in this case is intra-community contestation, this means villagers did not reach their agreement or did not take collective action, and so I will discuss the factors influencing collective action in the last part of this conceptual analysis.

1.8.2.3 Factors Influencing Collective Action and Social Constructivist Approach

Whether local users take collective action and invent institutions to govern and manage their resources depends on the calculation of cost-benefit perceived by them (Varughese and Ostrom 2001). The considerations within calculations of cost and benefit may include the scarcity of resources, attributes of the resource that permit users to learn the dynamic patterns of the resource stock and flow, their interests or benefit towards resources, potential costs for cooperation, mutual trust among users to ensure the predictability of cost and benefit, etc (ibid). Underlying these considerations, several factors have been discussed by many scholars, most of which focus on values, heterogeneity, social capital and gender.

Homogeneity and shared norms are general assumptions underlying highly promoted community-based natural resource management systems (Agrawal and Gibson 2001). Homogeneous values within a community are considered as playing an important role within management (Kleymeyer 1994, cited in Gibson and Koontz 1998). However, homogeneity within community does not guarantee successful conservation of natural resource at the community level (Agrawal and Gibson 2001), or even guarantee collective action within the community (Gibson and Koontz 1998).

For collective action, firstly, values are not "static givens", but can change across time and space (ibid:628). With the change of environment and situation,

people may vary their values. Secondly, values and value homogeneity should be considered as endogenous factors in community institutional construction. Through actively constructing institutions, communities can "manage" their values and then achieve successful collective outcomes (ibid:623-626).

The impact of heterogeneity among appropriators, such as diverse socio-cultural composition, different interests of appropriators, heterogeneity of assets, on success of collective action is highly contested by different scholars (Varughese and Ostrom 2001). After studying differences in location, wealth disparities, and socio-cultural differences among members of forest user groups, Varughese and Ostrom conclude heterogeneity does not have a determinant and uniform impact on the likelihood or success of collective action. Instead of focusing on these differences among users, it is more important to ask how these variables are embedded in situations with regard to the benefit-cost calculus (ibid).

The term social capital captures the idea that social bonds and norms are critical for sustainability. There are four important features of social capital discussed here: relations of trust; reciprocity and exchanges; common rules, norms and sanctions; and connectedness in networks and groups. With high social capital, people usually have the confidence to invest in collective activities, knowing that others will do so too (Pretty 2003).

Jose R. Molinas presents an econometric analysis of the determinants of successful collective action. He found that "the level of cooperation is not monotonically related to either the degree of inequality of endowments within the community or the level of external assistance; rather, it is of an inverted U-shape from; and cooperation increases as the level of women's participation and social capital increases" (Molinas 1998).

Furthermore, instead of identifying various factors or predefined principles for successful collective action, Steins and Edwards argue a social constructivist approach to collective action in common-pool resource management (Steins and Edwards 1999). They criticize the post-positivist ontology in collective action theory as it assumes that outcomes of collective action processes are determined by a number of predefined design principles, but overlooks the process through which actors construct collective action.

They argue that humans are social actors, and have the ability to make decisions based on social experience combined with the capacity to manipulate social relations and to enroll others into his or her project. So going beyond the essentially humanist sociology, they study the state of affairs in an action arena as the outcomes of interactions between social actors and nonhuman entities (ibid).

Besides critique of postpositivist ontology, they also criticize the assumption underlying CPRs theory that CPRs are single-use resources, by arguing that in reality, natural resources produce a multitude of resource units. Furthermore, they argue external or contextual factors significantly influence the actor's motivation and should not be overlooked in analysis of CPR management.

Consequently, in this perspective, collective action is considered to be a socio-technical process that means collective action involves not only people but also a variety of nonhuman resources, such as common goods or problems, a certain technology, money, and so on. The stakeholder's choice for a certain course of action will be influenced by, first, networks of social relations and socio-technical networks; second, the meaning that is attributed to the collective management system; third, perceptions of the wider environment in which the collective action process is embedded; and forth, social experience (ibid).

Correspondingly, in the case of historic-village tourism, contestations occurring within tourism development and management should be considered in the process of institutionalization and collective action from the perceptive of practice or contemporary social constructivist theory. Community is composed of multiple actors with multiple interests, and these actors interrelate in local level processes (Agrawal and Gibson 2001). The tourism resource here is not a single-use resource for tourism but also the very living resource for villagers. Villagers, as social actors, calculate and make decisions based on their social experience and their perceptions of various factors coming into their field of view and into their life.

Consequently, actors and processes are two critical perspectives for discussing contestations in making collective action and in the process of institutional formation here. According to the discussion above, in the case of historic-village tourism, several aspects in villagers' live can be drawn out to ask question here. They are, but not limited to: physical attributes of the heritage tourism resource; property

rights within tourism management; people's livelihood strategies and involvement in tourism; people's perception of benefit and cost (including obligation, but not limited in economic aspects); different values among villagers towards this historic-village tourism; social networks or social capital; history of tourism development or previous experience; tourist markets; government policies; international or national heritage identification certificate. These factors influence villagers' cognition and considerations in their decision-making in collective action choice that are conducive to the contestation. The factor of property rights is in the realm of knowledge of law and institutions, and also that of values towards heritage in the realms of belief, myths and ideas. They are important and complex, and will be discussed as two concepts in following section.

1.8.3 Property Relations

Property rights of resources are significant inquiries towards the emergence of collective action, appropriator organizations, and their survival. One requirement for these successes is that the property rights for appropriators is recognized and legitimized both internally and externally, and the users of a CPR are its owners (Ostrom 1992). Without legitimate property rights in management, contestation can easily occur.

In the case of historic-village tourism in China, which is more likely to take a communal approach for development, property rights should be considered in two levels: at the meso-level, the rights towards tourism development and operation over the village tourism resource on the whole (Ying and Zhou 2007); at the micro-level, individual household's property rights within village to claim their rights and share in this tourism development and its corresponding obligations. Since property is a very significant concept and imprudent understanding may cause contests, it will be clarified and discussed in detail in this section. After introducing the concept of property as bundle of rights, social institutions, and the social relations model of property, I will turn back to discuss property relations in this historic-village tourism from two levels.

Property is a set of rights, not a physical thing. It is right "in the sense of an

enforceable claim to some use or benefit of something" (Macpherson 1978:2). As an enforceable claim, this implies that "property is a political relation between persons", and there is somebody to enforce it, such as society or state, custom or law.

Property rights are not united. Sir Henry Maine represented property as a "bundle of rights" to address the multiplicity of property rights (cited from Hann 1998). Ostrom differentiated different rights when discussing the use of common-pool resources: operational-level ("access" and "withdrawal" rights), collective-choice level (management, exclusion, and alienation rights) and constitutional levels of rights (Becker and Leon 2000; Ostrom 1990; Ostrom and Schlager 1996).

While operational-level rights are to exercise a right, collective-choice rights permit people to participate in the definition of future rights to be exercised. And constitutional level rights affects collective choice by determining who prescribes, invokes, monitors, or enforces rules. These property rights are independent of each other, however, they are held in a cumulative manner (Ostrom and Schlager 1996).

Furthermore, property rights are not only a bundle of rights, but also nested, for instance, as the property right toward a fruit tree is characterized by nested and overlapping rights for different actors in terms of gender, age, kinship (Peluso 1996; Rocheleau and Edmunds 1997).

Property is about relations between individuals. As Cairns argues, "the property relation is triadic: A owns B against C, where C represents all other individuals…" (Hollowell 2003:120). That A owns B refers to the relation between individual and object, while that A against C refers to relations between individuals.

To put it another way, property is social institution regulating social relations (Hollowell 2003). As a social institution, it implies a system of relations among individuals and structuralizes human relations, which includes both rights and duties. One point needing clarification is that since the core of the institution of property is rights to things, not things themselves, there is no profound significant difference between corporeal property and incorporeal property.

As a social institution regulating human relations, property embraces specific social sanctions, which reinforce the behavior that makes the institution keep going (ibid). Sanctions are culturally different and can be traditional beliefs, ethical values,

as well as legal regulations. So property "must be broadened to include the institutional and cultural contexts" (Hann 1998).

To put property in social systems or cultural contexts, the concept of entitlement is quite useful. Property can be broadened in terms of "the distribution of social entitlements" (Hann 1998) or is "a social system composed of entitlements that shape and are shaped by social relationships"(Singer 2000:4).

Property is a bundle of rights, however, "it is not at all clear that all the sticks in the bundle fit comfortably together" (Singer 2000:3). In practice, most property rights are shared or divided among several persons, such as family members, homeowners and landholders. And more often, there are conflicts among these multiple titleholders. So, property rights are intrinsically limited both by the property rights of others and by public polices intended to ensure that the exercise of property rights will not compromise the public good.

To better understand the nature of property and address these conflicts, Singer proposed a social relations model of property (ibid). First of all, property rights can be bundled in different ways and there are multiple models for defining and controlling property relationships. In Rose's term of "property as storytelling", there are many different narratives for property models, and private property is only one mode of storytelling (Rose 1994). This helps us to get out from the dichotomies existing in property regimes: public property and private property, and individual property and communal property.

Furthermore, property rights are embedded in certain social and cultural contexts in time and space (Hann 1998). It is also both contingent and contextually determined in contexts including the social effects of exercising property rights on others, as well as in changing societal conditions and values. So we have to discuss property rights in different contexts. For instance, the property model for a village's resource use before tourism development is different from that of it afterwards.

In the case of historic-village tourism, at the macro-level, cultural heritage is publicly considered to be national property. Nations have ownership of cultural heritage and government is usually assumed as the agent of management. However, towards the rights of tourism development and operations at the meso-level,

especially in ancient villages, there is no legal, formal definition (Ying and Zhou 2007).

Some scholars argue that since heritage resource is public property, the rights of heritage tourism resource development should belong to government, while some considered that it is more realistic and environmental-cost minimized to grant the rights of heritage tourism resource development to the market (Ying 2006). Ying showed the ambiguous description of rights of tourism development and management in the ancient village in China results in contests among tourism stakeholders, in terms of government, external capital, and community (Ying and Zhou 2007)

In China's political setting, the democratic reform has begun in rural area since 1980's and rural communities have gained some self-governance rights decentralized by the countryside administration, but it still "lacks a clear definition of governments' respective purviews and commitments in administration", which enables the governments to intervene into the rural cultural tourism development to an optional extent, according to their practical interests and needs" (Ying and Zhou 2007:104). So whether or not the government or the village has the rights of tourism development and operation in historic-village tourism is flexible and ambiguous. This is an important external factor, which villagers may perceive differently. It will influence their construction of the problem and benefit in the process of institutionalization of management towards this common-pool resource. And contestation within the community may emerge.

At the micro-level, before those old houses become heritage, their property rights are bounded in the contexts of private property. However, after becoming cultural heritage and involving themselves in tourism, some rights held by the owners of these houses, such as alteration and management of houses, have to be given up and passed on to the tourism management corporation or committee for conservation and commoditization of heritage (for instance, to "remake" heritage to find out some "selling points" for tourism) (Teo and Yeoh 1997), while some corresponding obligations about conservation will be added.

As a result, heritage houses and other valuable tourist resource are put in a separate and different context, and have to follow some presumption in that sphere. This new added actor and the alteration of the property rights model may change

previous social relations within the community, and cause intra-community contestations, in terms of who should take what duties and own what rights towards different resources.

What is more complex is that when villagers formulate certain institutions and organizations to managing the heritage resources for tourism, questions about the distribution of benefits in tourism will emerge. In the communal approach, a certain proportion of benefits will be distributed to villagers based on their separate property rights towards their houses which are open for tourist visiting or based on property rights towards some intangible factors such as the membership of the village. How people perceive these rights will influence the institutions they formulate and the actions they take.

1.8.4 Politics of Heritage

As the previous part has shown, property is triadic. When we mention property, it always involves two parts: one is towards the social relations or social system in time and space as discussed above; another is towards the valuable thing (both corporal and incorporeal), which has cultural (and spiritual) meaning to people (Abramson 2000). So, to consider the contests towards the houses' heritage in a property regime, besides the property rights discussed in the previous section, another dimension that also should be taken into account is contests towards the heritage per se. In this section, I will introduce the definition of heritage, why heritage is contested and the implications of the contesting nature of heritage on heritage tourism management, as well as how these ideas will help to understand the contestations in historic-village tourism.

It is easy to find many definitions of heritage. Succinctly, ICOMOS New Zealand defines cultural heritage as something "which is valued due to its historical, archaeological, architectural, technological, aesthetic, scientific, spiritual, social, traditional and other special cultural significance associated with human activity" (Turnpenny 2004:296).The internationally leading one is defined by UNESCO and many national definitions are defined according to this one. However, after scrutinizing the evolved process of defining the term 'heritage', Ahmad pointed out,

"no uniformity exist between countries towards the definition of heritage" (Ahmad 2006).

Heritage initiatives are always traced back to the later 19th-century and to the 1882 Act in particular (Carmen 1999, cited from Harvey 2001). The rise of heritage is also seen as related to the post-Fordist economic climate, which is central in post-modern era. Such as McCrone et al. argue "heritage has its roots in the restructuring of the world economy—a process which began in the 1970s" (Harvey 2001). And the emergence of a global concern for heritage conservation was concomitant with the expansion of tourism into a global phenomenon (Peleggi 2002).

However, heritage does not necessarily run parallel with economic commoditization and the burgeoning leisure industry since heritage is not "only about the economic practices of exploitation" (Harvey 2001).

Going beyond commoditization and commercialization, Harvey argues that the notion of heritage can be used "in order to legitimate a national consciousness or a communal memory akin to an early nation state", and the presentation of heritage sites is always "presented (or intentionally not presented) within the context of political agendas and wider conceptions of popular memory contemporary to the time". In another words, heritage is not a given, but it is a "cultural process" (Harvey 2001) and a "cultural construct" (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, cited from Hall 1997), "people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate it and contest it", and "it is a part of the way identities are created and disputed, whether as an individual, group or nation state" (Harvey 2001). It is a "value-loaded concept" (Hardy 1988, cited from Harvey 2001:324).

Sites selected to represent the country's heritage have strong implications for both collective and individual identity and create social realities (Black and Wall, 2001, cited from Hitchcock and King 2003). For instance, Peleggi elaborates how cultural heritage comes into being with the raising of Thai identity in the process of modernization as a strategy of creating political myth (Peleggi 2002).

Heritage is therefore a contested subject (Hall 1997) for people constructing various identities within it and trying to legitimate certain power. Or in Herzfeld's words, while a single stereotypical history is attempted to be imposed on a certain heritage (monumental) place, it is inevitably embodied with many histories. And

residents always negotiate in order to construct their own heritage to meet their needs (both material and spiritual) in living social time (Herzfeld 1991). So "heritage sites are destined to be sites of controversy, as different groups embracing different narratives seek to assert symbolic (or economic) ownership of these sites" (Adams 2005). And "conflicting interpretations of heritage are grounded in contesting constructions of the past, which are adapted and redefined in relation to the present" (Thorley 2002). Consequently, heritage becomes a space for contesting identity, and for constructing relationships among different groups of people (Gupta and Ferguson 1999).

Succinctly, heritage is construction of the past for present purposes, it is historically contingent, embedded in a particular social context, and it is the production of identity, power and authority throughout society (Harvey 2001). The value of heritage is from the construction of the identity, social memory and power related to it, and the making of heritage is always political (Cheung 2003). The nature of heritage identification and its management is also political (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, cited from Hall 1997).

Heritage is, by nature, highly contested and of a political nature, and this has implications on its management. Turnpenny argues the traditional definition of cultural heritage is usually concerned with "architectural interest, historic interest, close historical associations with nationally important people or event, group value" and that it will "focus on the physicality, traditional characteristics of history, archaeology or architecture", but overlooked the definition "from within", that means definition and values that local communities identify in their environment (Turnpenny 2004). He claims that lack of such definition from within is the cause of low community engagement in heritage conservation. To conduct community-based heritage management, "heritage managers should consider the "joined-up" nature of cultural heritage (tangible and intangible connections)—material and physical environment connect to social practice, social activity" (ibid). Intangible concepts such as myth, faith, and legends also should be incorporated into group perceptions of cultural heritage in order to create a position for the community.

Smith, Morgan and van der meer go further, arguing who defines heritage, owns the knowledge and also that recognition of the knowledge is a kind of access to

get involved in and claim rights towards heritage management (Smith, et al. 2003). The traditional notion of cultural heritage management privileges the knowledge and assessment of experts, such as archaeologists, anthropologists, historians and/or conservation architects, and their development and implement management policies and strategies (ibid). And it "formalizes conflicts over the use and disposition of heritage places that are valued by archaeologists and other interests" (ibid). So, "cultural heritage management is about managing conflict". At one level, it is about "managing conflict over heritage places and how they should be used". At another level, it is about "managing conflict over the meanings given to heritage and the past and how these meanings are used in the present" (ibid). Consequently, to ensure a community's real participation, it should involve their knowledge towards the heritage and give local heritage value primacy since it is the local people's own heritage (ibid).

Going beyond the stereotype that "the socio-political dynamics of cultural heritage management as an international phenomenon", Long considers the management of cultural heritage within local contexts (Long 2000:317). He proposes that heritage is creolized and it involves both professional and popular constructions of heritage. Creolized heritage is defined as "that loose yet conformed body of archaeological, anthropological, historical (both professional and amateur), linguistic and geographical knowledge that has been augmented with popular myth, hearsay, valorized regional and national socio-cultural characterizations as well as cultural and racial stereotypes and caricatures" (Long 2000:320). It is situated between official, professional and popular, and also non-professional representations of heritage. Creolized heritage is hybrid in nature and intimately linked with contestations about the past and therefore has a distinct socio-political value (Long 2000). The title of his paper "not the heritage of the other" implies that heritage is a mix, with every group of people claiming that heritage is not privately owned, which means they also have the right to this heritage. It is not about excluding other people, but about not being excluded.

Besides the contests within heritage, when it comes to heritage tourism, the contests in making heritage become much more complex. Cultural heritage may be constructed as a discourse to legitimate state power on this cultural resource in tourism development by using the "power of knowledge" (Phuong 2004). The contest

originates from the contesting identity and meaning of the heritage space, but also can be seen as contesting power in terms of resource control, management and utilization (ibid).

Furthermore, the same contests not only occur among state and community, but also occur among villagers within a community. At the local level, community is multiple and complex, and there is also a question of priority of various identities (Ashworth 2003). The representations of heritage are related to the politics within community in tourism management (Hall 2003).

Considering this from another aspect, contests may originate from two central parts in heritage tourism management: conservation and commoditization (Deacon 2004; Henderson 2001; Kato 2006; Negussie 2006; Teo and Yeoh 1997; Turnpenny 2004). Authenticity is the most controversial issue within the two parts.

As we see, in cultural tourism, the cultural resource is an on-going symbolic reconstruction, and different actors always actively utilize, manipulate, and reinvent this cultural resource to meet their different interests (Wood 1993). Authenticity is not something that essentially exists, but is socially constructed and invented, and related to the identity and the power inheritors use to claim their rights (Picard 1996; Wood 1993). Moreover, the authenticity experience depends on the view and expectations of the tourist and the observer (Picard 1996). So to claim whose heritage is more authentic within heritage tourism management does not make much sense unless it is discussed with the concept of cultural politics.

"Cultural politics", written by anthropologist Sherry Ortner, "are struggles over the official symbolic representations of reality that shall prevail in a given social order at a given time" (Wood 1993). It means that culture is endowed a political connotation which is related to collective identity, authority and honor. In fact, it is not culture which engenders the conflict, but the access to the resources behind it (Peluso and Harwell 2001). Therefore, since tourism can become part of the struggle over symbolic representations of reality, ethnic, religious and national identity, it may engender cultural politics, and this brought attention to domestic stratification and conflict (Wood 1993).

To sum up, the meaning and value of heritage is constructed with certain identity and legitimating power. Heritage is intrinsically political and is a contested

space, and heritage tourism resources as cultural resources are also contested in terms of cultural politics within community.

This political construction influences the image promoted for tourism in heritage tourism management. Like Peleggi showed in Thailand, some heritage with significant value may not be promoted actively since it's significance does not accord with what the government promotes as Thai identity (Peleggi 2002). In other terms, promotional narratives towards heritage in tourism is influenced or restricted by a national or publicly provoked narrative. So when considering why and how the promotional image of this historic-village image comes into being, not only should the politics within the community be considered, but also the external factors (and narratives) cannot be neglected.

Therefore, when we consider historic-village tourism management, especially the intra-community contestations within tourism management, in which the tourist attraction is mainly from heritage, the value and meaning constructed for it and for promotion should be considered carefully, since it may engender contestations amongst villagers who hold different perceptions of value and meaning of this heritage, as well foster political issues towards power in community decision-making (Hall 2003).

Furthermore, some scholars have shown that tourism can engender domestic stratification, heritage creolization in local contexts, in terms of people's constructions of heritage in their life, and how people perceive the heritage should be paid more attention to in order to construct a proper image of heritage in historic-village tourism to avoid potential serious stratification or contestation.

Additionally, as having shown above, knowledge of heritage comes together with power in heritage management. Whose knowledge is given primacy in heritage assessment will impact on the ownership of power to manage it. So, in discussing the property rights in heritage tourism development, one cannot neglect the significance of knowledge used in the assessment of heritage. In this case, amongst villagers, whose narrative of this heritage is utilized to promote heritage significance, whether Mao's, Zhang's or others', will be conducive to their power to claim rights over management or benefit sharing.

Consequently, since people's perception of the value and meaning of heritage will influence their benefit-cost calculus, involvement, and choice in collective action and institutional formation of tourism management, this issue should be taken into consideration seriously to find out the local standpoint for tourism development in order to reduce intra-community contestations and to reach certain collective actions within the community toward tourism management.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

Factors and relations in historic-village tourism management are shown in the following diagram (Figure 1.3).

In this framework, the gray circle refers to historic-village tourism management—the area of discussion, in which there are three components: heritage as a contested space, property rights, and collective action and institutional development process. As discussed in the previous section, they can be seen as situated in three levels of abstraction and they are interrelated.

The concept of "institution and collective action" is used to discuss the practical level and look for the contestations emerging here. Variables within it are: physical attributes of the heritage tourism resource; people's livelihood strategies and involvement in tourism; people's perception of benefit and cost (including obligation, but not limited in an economic aspect); social networks; history of tourism development or previous experience; tourist markets; government policies; and international or national heritage identification certificates. Furthermore, not restricted by these variables identified here, the process of institutional arrangement will be addressed to examine the interaction between actors and structure.

Second, "property relations" seeks to discuss the property rights and social relations within this tourism management. There are two levels of property rights, one is at the meso-level, rights of tourism development and operation of the whole village heritage; another is at the micro-level, villagers' property rights in this tourism development. The first one is directly influenced by external factors such as government policy and perception on heritage. The property model for the last one is complicated, and includes various rights and duties related to tourism management.

Both of them impact the villagers' perception of tourism management in their village. Institutions thus formulated will manage such property relations.
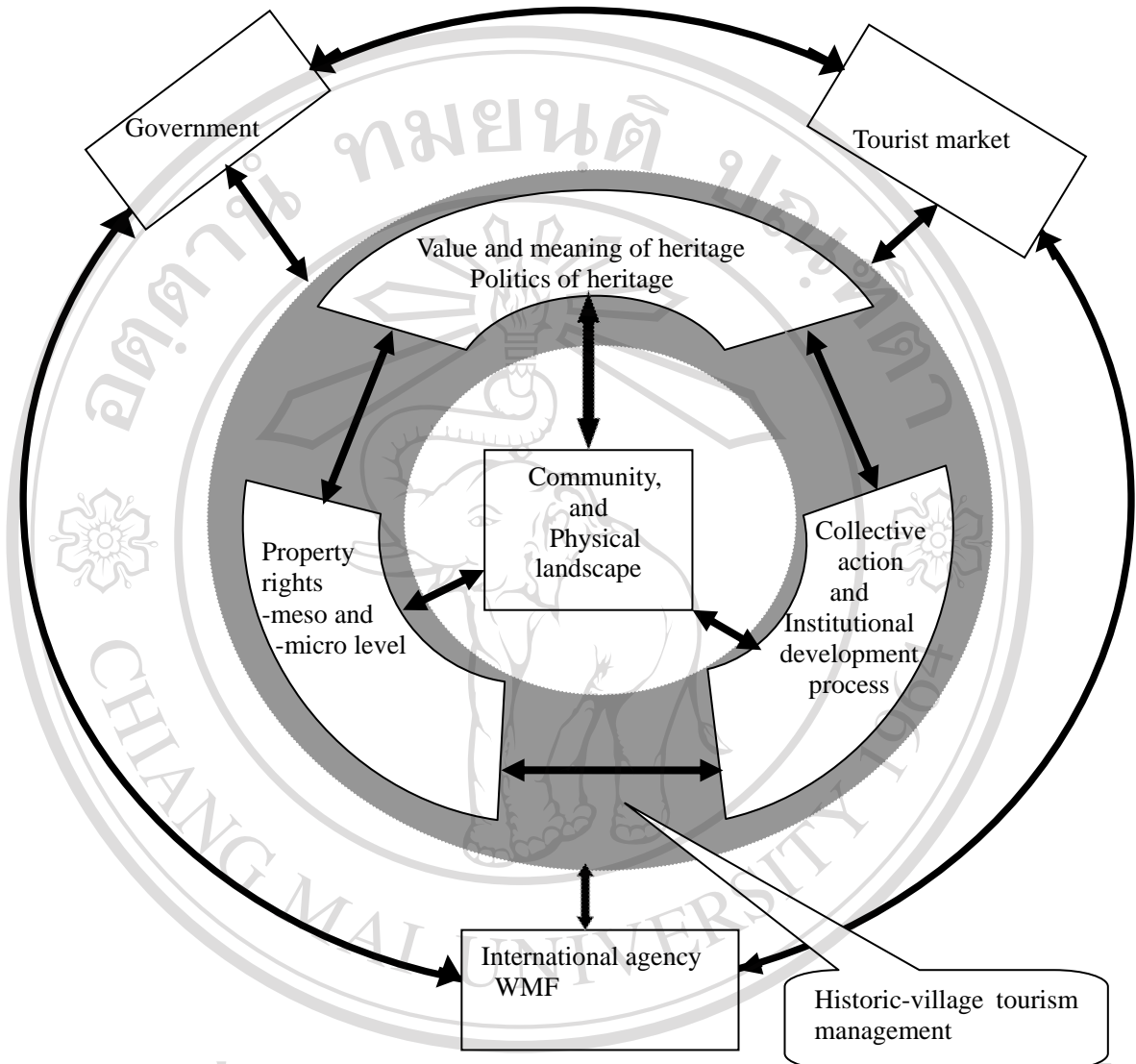

Figure 1.3 Conceptual Framework

The last concept mainly discusses the meaning and value of heritage, and its political and contested characteristics. The value and meaning of heritage is one aspect in property. Defining the meaning of heritage impacts directly on the design of a property rights model. The meaning and value of heritage perceived by villagers and other stakeholders also must have an effect on their calculation and decision-making. Meanwhile management institutions reflect and manage these values.

In general, it manages the whole village tourism resource, which, in the specific Chinese context, can be seen as a common pool resource for all villagers. The management certainly influences and is influenced by this community through

people's behavior, perception, decisions and livelihood strategies. Moreover, the management is influenced by external factors, such as government (policy), tourist market and international agency (here specifically, WMF).

Although this framework looks very complicated, my focus will be put on management, specifically actors and practice in collective action and the institutional formation process, to understand the contestations, and their implications on management.

1.10 Methods of the Study and Data Collection

When I was thinking about a topic for my thesis, I heard of some talks from one of my colleagues about the conflicts among villagers in Tuanshan village which is in my hometown, and from that I knew the conflict between the Mao family and the Zhang family, as well as the event of "ticket within ticket" in 2006. He presented his consideration about this issue and suggested that I do some "practical" research on this conflict, which inspired me with an idea of discussing about management of cultural resources or tourism resources. After discussing with teachers and friends about the feasibility of the endeavor, finally I took it as the topic for my thesis, and hoped to discover the factors conducive to these conflicts. In this way, I was able to make some contribution to my hometown with the knowledge I learnt from my MA courses.

After one-year course study in Chiang Mai, I conducted my preliminary field trip in Tuanshan village in February 2007 in order to collect data for proposal writing. It was in the golden tourist week during the spring festival. I acted as a tourist and did some sightseeing in the village, aiming to experience the tourist atmosphere in the village and observe the conflicts from a tourist perspective. I also made a special trip to Mao's houses, which is still out of the management of the TMC. Following my colleague's suggestion, my friend and I entered Mao's house and initiatively confessed that this was our special trip to his house since we had heard about his house from some friends. The host warmly welcomed us and introduced his house to us. Furthermore, since my friend shared their family name of "Mao" [6], our talks

---

[6] According to a Chinese saying, people sharing the same family name belonged to the same family 500 years ago. So, people usually identify themselves as relatives, and by this way, two strangers may get closer.

turned out to be more relaxed. From the talks, I confirmed the conflict existing between the Zhang family and Mao families.

From the first trip, I gained a general impression about Tuanshan village and the tourism situation. Since the tour guide told me that there would be an ancestral worship ceremony several days later, I decided to take the second trip to the village to observe this event. By chance, my family, some relatives and neighbors were also planning to go traveling somewhere during the spring festival period. They had heard about the beautiful houses in Tuanshan village before but had not been there. Consequently, on March 9th, we set off on our trip to Tuanshan together and attended the ceremony as tourists.

After two observations in April, with the help of a relative who is a friend of one cadre of Tuanshan administrative village committee, I entered to the village again, met the leaders of the village committee, and introduced myself as a student who would like to do a thesis about tourism development in Tuanshan village. Later, I arranged to stay with a Zhang family unit in which the host was a retired schoolmaster and also one of the descendents of the founders of Zhang's Family Garden, the most outstanding old house in Tuanshan. The schoolmaster was very kind, and guided me in a stroll around the village, introducing information about the village as well as information regarding tourism development. So I started to enter into people's everyday life, making myself familiar with them, observing their livelihoods and hearing their opinions about tourism development. However, I did not probe the conflict directly. There are two reasons: firstly, I thought before they got to trust me that I just wanted to do academic research which aimed to help them to analyze problems, to discuss their conflict directly may have caused refusal and difficulty in access; secondly, I needed to get the information about the history of tourism development in the village before I could discuss conflicts emerging in the process. Consequently, at the beginning, I just idled about in the village and chatted with every villager I could. I also talked with some tourists in the village for their opinions towards the village and tourism. However, most of information was from several main stakeholders that I paid special trips to visit. Villagers I met at the beginning helped to introduce me to other villagers. Several stakeholders were interviewed, including Mao family members, the current director, the other three committee members, one

productive team leader, the owner of *Zhiwen* Garden restaurant, one tour guide, and one souvenir-shop keeper. Generally I did not open my notebook and take notes when I interviewed them in order to avoid making the interviewees feel uncomfortable to talk naturally and relaxed. So sometimes, after the interviews, I would rush back the room I stayed to write down the information I just got. In some occasions, if I needed to write down some numbers or complicated information that was not sensitive, I also took notes immediately with the permission of the interviewees. Sometimes, I did the note taking until the evening. In the evening, I analyzed the information I got during the daytime, made some annotations, and tried to get the picture of Tuanshan village and the tourism development history and classify the problems. Generally speaking, the interviews I conducted were as casual and relaxed as normal chatting. I asked very generally "how has tourism been developed in Tuanshan" and then tried to encourage them to introduce me about the history of tourism development. In regard to this, the stories I got from each stakeholder were different from each other. But each one pointed out the problems and conflicts that were related to themselves and basically involved all conflicts existing in the village.

Gradually, the tour guide I met at the schoolmaster's dinner table and I became friends. She gave me great help and provided lots of information during the time I stayed in the village. Even when I was out of the village, we still kept in touch and she would inform me of updated news. Since the owner of one souvenir shop asked me to teach him English, he also provided me a lot of information about the situation while chatting.

At this time I stayed in the village for a week, got familiar with history of tourism development and the situation of conflicts, and categorized the conflicts. And I also interviewed some scholars having done research in the village for getting some suggestions about the topic.

In October 2007, after my proposal defense, I went back China and started to conduct my field research in Tuanshan. The field work started from November and finally ended in February 2008. Since Jianshui is my hometown, it was easy for me to manage investigation and rest. I went to the village at least twice per month except in January. Usually I stayed in the village for a week or so and went home to relax and analyze data. Sometimes, I stayed for several days and then went to look for other

secondhand data, or interview some government officers and literates. In December, my supervisor also paid a special trip to my research site which helped her get a firsthand understanding about my site and the on-going field work. I really appreciate the comments and suggestions my supervisor and professor Anan gave me for further exploration and investigation in the field.

Since I had categorized the conflicts I was going to study and apply them to some concepts that showed me the points I need to collect data on (see in the section 1.8 "theories, concepts and literature review"), during this time, I tried to get this information and identify the connections amongst them as well as that between the information and the conflicts. When analyzing data, the household is taken as the unit of analysis.

I still stayed with the same family, since I found staying with this family was good for my research. First, the economic conditions of this family were relatively good and there was spare room for me. Second, because my topic is about the conflict emerging in the management, the position this family is good for conducting investigation and avoiding unnecessary suspicion and bias from other stakeholders, since it also involved this issue but was not involved in the center of conflict too much and the family held a relative moderate attitude towards this issue. It helped me to keep certain distances from some strong opinion that might influence me on developing my idea. Third, the retired schoolmaster has a better reputation among villagers and is more moderate in the issue. He and his wife were kind to me too. When I strolled in the village and chatted with villagers, the fact that I stayed in the schoolmaster's house made me easier to accept. Some villagers even considered me as a student of the schoolmaster.

In the field, participant observation and interview were used as the main methods to collect data. Key informants include the host and hostess of the family I stayed with, the tour guide, the Mao family, the current director, the wife of the former director, the elder brother of the former director who is also currently a committee member, the leader of village committee, the leader of the communist party in the village, an executive leader of a productive team in the village, and one descendant of the founder of Zhang's Family Garden who gained the highest vote in the election at the end of 2006 but did not undertake the position in the tourist

management committee. In addition to in-depth interview of these key informants, I also interviewed villagers in different positions within the conflicts, including those who were not living in the old heritage house, or old houses with relatively low value. Some tourists, government officers at county level and some local literates were also interviewed to gain external opinions and background information. Otherwise formal interviews, when I strolled in the village, were also conducted along with some informal interviews or chats with villagers. There are two sites, a plat in front of the eastern gate and another plat in front of the Zhang's Family Garden, where villagers usually gather together and chat around lunch and dinner time. I always listened to their talks and chatted with them there. During the periods I stayed in the village, three funeral ceremonies were held. I, with introduction from the hostess I stayed with, joined in the ceremony and helped them make the *zhiqian* (money for the passing person) together with the old folks. By this chance, the old folks became familiar with me and it facilitated my interviews in their houses later.

During field research, I also looked for many secondary data like relevant government documents, books and articles that former scholars had written about Tuanshan, website news provided the necessary background information and new related trends. These were important for studying the history, and background of this village or this issue, and providing other academic opinions for comparison or exploration. However, since generally speaking, the documents towards this village were limited due to it having just recently attracted much people's attention since the end of the 20th century. And those documents mainly focused on the architectural introduction, description and discussion. So, much information about the societal situation in the village depended on interviews and villagers' stories. Since most of these secondary data are written in Chinese, the words and sentences from these sources and cited in this thesis are translated by myself. They may not reflect the original Chinese meaning very precisely due to both my limited English ability as well as the differences between the two language systems.

When I wrote my proposal, I planned to use quantitative methods to complement the qualitative approach since it provides a time dimension and gaining detailed and in-depth information, a qualitative approach has some limitations, for example, producing piles of materials and consuming a lot of time (Meinzen-Dick, et

al. 2004). With a quantitative method, I could make a system sampling and gain broader-covered data about the situation of tourism management, villagers' general ideas towards tourism management, and discuss the interrelationship among different factors identified in the framework. However, after conducting several questionnaires, I realized that the results looked rather like structured interviews but not quantitative questionnaires. And with a questionnaire in hand, villagers felt restrained to answer the questions and it was rather difficult to make them talk freely and express their perceptions. Consequently, I gave up and focused on interviews and observation.

Topics about conflicts are usually sensitive and difficult to do investigation on. So in my field work, I tried a lot to overcome this difficulty from the very beginning of my research as I showed above. In addition, during investigation, I tried to keep myself neutral in the conflicts and did not express my emotional appraises towards any persons but just asked about their opinions towards certain issues. I just showed that I would like to hear different voices to gain a comprehensive understanding about the issue. Consequently, they became more open to talk about the conflicts emerging in their village, as well as their opinions. Furthermore, I would like to point out here again that I have no intention to judge or have any prejudices towards the personalities of any villagers I described in this thesis. And if there is any negative feeling towards any stakeholder herein emerging after reading my thesis, I will feel very sorry because that is never my intention and it will miss the main point with which I chose to study this topic. From a sociological perspective, villagers' behaviors and actions are influenced by various social institutions. Social institutions are always the ones that need to be focused on and responsible for conflicts in society, but not specific stakeholders.

Moreover, I was born in the same county as that this village belongs to, and I speak their dialect. I always introduced myself as a resident in another village of Jianshui County. It made it easier to get in touch with villagers since, generally speaking, many villagers also knew my village or had relatives, or friends there. I shared some value and culture with villagers. However, I'm not a member of that village. So I considered myself as an insider to certain extent and an outsider to certain extent in this investigation (Chen 1997). This facilitated somewhat easier access to that place and to understand their behavior due to similar language and

culture, while also having problems understanding some different social norms and cultures, as well as to be aware of some valuable nuances I may have taken for granted.

1.11 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is divided into six chapters. The first chapter was the introduction of this thesis, in which the historical background about rural development and tourism development in China and in Yunnan was introduced; the topic was justified; research questions and research objectives were presented; the theories and concepts I am going to apply were reviewed, which mainly include ancient-village tourism resource as common pool resource, institution and collective action, property rights in ancient-village tourism, heritage tourism resource as a contesting space and politics of heritage; methodologies I used in investigation were introduced; and furthermore, the thesis organization is sketched.

The second chapter will be the place to give a general picture of Tuanshan village, including physical character, demographic characters and social economy of the village; history of the village; history of tourism development in Jianshui and Tuanshan, and differentiation of villagers in conflict. I will show changes in the village, villagers' livelihood, villagers' involvement in tourism, as well as the problems and conflicts emerging. Finally, I will differentiate villagers in this study based on their economic base, social (property) base, different identities, and their links to tourism.

Chapter three will analyze the problems in the idea of tourism development as community development. The concepts of tourism resources as a common pool resource and community participation will be used to understand the emergence of conflicts. The tense relations between villagers' expectations and the current conditions of tourism resources and return capacity seem to be a factor causing this conflict.

Chapter four analyzes the problems of management institution. The formation process of management institution will be discussed in the context of China's social transformation. Broad heritage management institution in China,

different models of tourism management in historic villages, and the Tuanshan tourism management institution will be firstly discussed. Then two important factors influencing the institution and collective actions are considered in detail. And finally I will devote a discussion the core point—questions about cooperation (or noncooperation) in this process with theory of collective action, and furthermore, from the perspective of social transformation in order to reveal the relations between the formation of tourism management institutions and social institutions in destination areas.

Chapter five will deal with the issues of the politics of heritage. The image construction for tourism promotion in Tuanshan and villagers' identity constructions towards these tourism resources will be discussed to show how the politics of heritage impacts the formation of tourism management institutions.

Chapter six will be the conclusion, which will discuss the major findings, present theoretical discussion of these findings, give some policy suggestions, and finally will point out the limitations of this research and make suggestions for further research.

A figure of the analysis organization is shown in following (Figure 1.4) to provide a better visible structure. As have discussed in justification part in the first chapter, the thesis finally tries to cast a light on the discussion of community participation in China, understanding institutional development of tourism management from the perspective of community, understanding the politics of heritage within community, and discussing interaction between tourism development and rural social institutions by understanding the intra-community conflicts in tourism development. So, in the thesis organization, tourism development as community development (chapter three), which discusses tourism development in the background of community development, will be discussed firstly to show the community context of the conflict, in which community participation also will be considered. After that, various concepts (chapter four and five) as used for understanding the conflict will be discussed, including management institutions, property relations, collective action, and identity construction.

Community development

Economic

Environment

Social differentiation

Culture change

Power relations

Public welfare

Community → Social network (capital) → Social transformation

Community conflict

Management institution

--Management body

--Management rules

Property relations

Collective action

Role of government

Community
participation

Tourism Management

Tourism

Cultural heritage → Identity and values
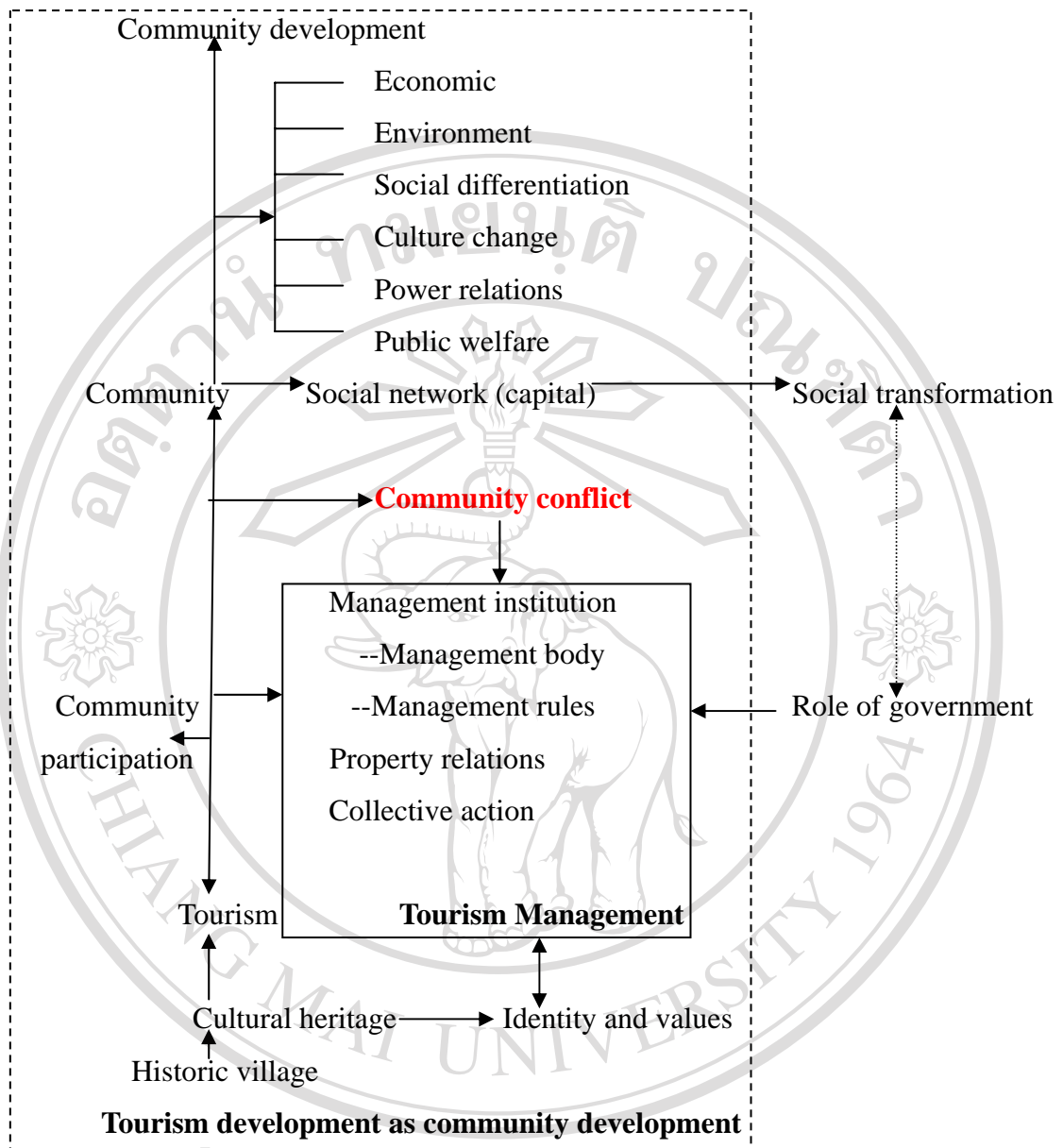
Historic village

Tourism development as community development

Figure 1.4 Framework of Analysis Organization