

## **CHAPTER II**

### **TOURISM AND CONFLICTS IN THE DYNAMIC VILLAGE**

Before analyzing the problems and conflicts in tourism management, this chapter is going to give a general description of Tuanshan village: firstly, to describe various characteristics of the village such as geographic and ecological characteristics, climate characteristics and water issues, demographic characteristics and social economy and social organizations in this village; secondly, to introduce the village history which is divided into four phases, including the establishment of the village in the Ming dynasty, tin mining era in the Qing dynasty and before new China's establishment, the political movement era after the new China establishment, and the household responsibility system era after the open-and-reform policy; thirdly, to show the broad tourism context for Tuanshan in Jianshui county; fourthly, to introduce the history of tourism development in Tuanshan, which will be divided into three stages including potential tourism before 1997, preparatory stages from 1997-2000, dramatic changes of management and conflict emerging in the stage from 2000 till now; and finally, according to the attitudes of different villagers in Tuanshan tourism and in the conflict, villagers will be differentiated into six groups.

#### **2.1 Characters of Tuanshan village**

##### **2.1.1 Geographic and Ecological Characters**

Tuanshan village, which is subject to Xizhuang Township government, is located 13 kilometers west from Lin'an town (the capital) in Jianshui County (see Figure 1.2 in chapter one for the specific location of the site). Jianshui 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, and

has been the political, military, economic, cultural, and transportation center of southern Yunnan since the Yuan Dynasty (A.D.1271-1368).

The geographic location of Jianshui County is between 23°13' North, and 24°10'29" North; between 102°37'00" East, and 103°10'52" East, and it covers 3,789 square kilometers<sup>7</sup>. Xizhuang town is located west of Jianshui County, bordering on Shiping County. Tuanshan village, west of Xizhuang town, is located on a slope, facing wide paddy fields to the east, and backed by hills in west, and a river, named Lujiang river, runs in front of the village. The highest point is *Dacheng* temple, which is at an elevation of 1,377 meters above sea level, while the lowest point is the "Colorful gate" house, the elevation of which is 1,349 meters above sea level<sup>8</sup>. The village is about 20 thousand squares meters. This site is considered as in a favorable geographical and ecological position according to Chinese geomancy "*Fengshui*".

The transportation for Tuanshan was very convenient in past. From east-to-west, No. 323 national highway and MengBao railway<sup>9</sup> (from Mengzi county in east of Jianshui county to Baoxiu town in Shiping county in west of Jianshui County), which even set one stop near the village, go across in front of this village. However, MengBao railway is used only for cargo transportation now. One newly built super highway just passes by in front of the village but there is no exit/entrance gate near the village. Although it is only 13 kilometers away from the capital town of Jianshui County, the transportation is not currently convenient for villagers. They have to take a kind of three-wheeled car first, then switch to a bus or a kind of yellow car in order to go to the town. Because of the inconvenient transportation, agriculture in the village is mainly for self consumption.

<sup>7</sup> See website for further information about Jianshui County : <http://baike.baidu.com/view/769014.htm>. Accessed on Jan 15th, 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Statistics are from a government plan of Tuanshan development named "new socialist cultural village construction layout of Tuanshan" made by Yunnan government at county level in 2007. Actually, this layout has existed for several years.

<sup>9</sup> This is a part of *Gebishi* railway (*Gejiu-Bizezai (Mengzi)-Jianshui-Shiping*), which is linked to Yunnan-Vietnam railway in *Bizezai*. Yunnan-Vietnam railway is the first railway in Yunnan, which is built by French colonists and put to use in 1910. Its route is from *Kunming-Chenggong-Yiliang-Huaningpangxi-Kaiyuan-Bizezai (in Mengzi)-Hekou* to Vietnam. After construction, Yunnan-Vietnam railway became the main tool controlled by French colonist to exploit tin mining, to control traffic, telecommunication and the economy of Yunnan.

### 2.1.2 Climate Characters and Water Issue

The climatic conditions in Jianshui are rather pleasant, neither hot in summer nor cold in winter, which belongs to sub-tropical climate of low latitude without extreme coldness. The average temperature year round is about 19.8°C. The rain fall in a year is 796.3mm and average humidity is 71.8%. It is said Jianshui got the name because the basin was flooded every summer and autumn in the past. It was called *Huili*, which in ethnic language means the ocean. And in Mandarin, it is translated to *Jianshui*. In 2004, many rivers were flooded, including Lujiang River, the one in front of Tuanshan village. However, in dry season, water level in Tuanshan may drop greatly and this makes serious problems for agriculture there. Many villagers rely on water from the well near *Dacheng* temple. However, in the dry season, according to some villagers, water in the well was not enough and villagers had to wait for the water to come out.

Consequently, water has been an important issue in the village. According to one leader in the village, there was no irrigation system before the 1960s. Agriculture relied a lot on the rain. In 1958, one reservoir not so far from Tuanshan was built up and with the support of government at county and township levels, Tuanshan villagers managed to get pipes and transfer water into Tuanshan for irrigation. The first irrigation system was finished collectively by villagers in 1962. It is said, at that time, villagers were united and had a strong sense of collectivity. Later, they got more water from another newly built reservoir. Since then, the problem of irrigation of water has been resolved. Rice production is ensured. For instance, a family who owns a Two *mu* (about 0.13 hectare) paddy field may harvest over three thousand *Jin* (one kilogram equals to two *Jin*).

However, the problem of running water for drinking was not resolved at that time since water from reservoirs was not qualified for drinking. According to villagers, at the beginning, running water pipes were also installed and water had been used for

a period. And it is said at that time Tuanshan was the first village in the vicinity that had running water. But for some reason, such as lack of water and the quality of water was not good enough, and it was gradually abandoned and villagers stole the pipes.

Until 2007, some villagers decided to install running water by themselves and got water from either a well near *Dacheng* temple or a gully in the hill behind the village. Although the water flow is small, they make the wish of using running water come true.

### 2.1.3 Demographic Characters and Social Economy

There are 240 households and 877 people totally in this village, nearly 80% villagers belong to Zhang family clan. Now, the latest generation is 22<sup>nd</sup>. Out of this are minor family names such as the Mao family, Bai family, Huang family, Lu family and others. According to villagers, while the Zhang family has settled in the village for over 600 years, many minor families moved to Tuanshan to work for Zhang family or to marry with Zhang family members subsequently, and others moved in from nearby villages to buy a residence several decades ago.

Tuanshan village is said to be “a village carried from tin mining” (Wang, Zhimin 2002), that is, it is built with the money earned from tin mining. Due to limited land in Tuanshan and the prosperous tin mining industry in Gejiu (another city in the east of Jianshui county, and connected by the *Gebishi* railway in front of Tuanshan) in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, most of the male villagers went there for tin mining. There is a saying in Tuanshan that at that time villagers’ lives “neither relies on the sky, nor on the land<sup>10</sup>, all just on a letter of remittance”. Nearly all heritage houses in Tuanshan were built with these remittances. In the past, nearly 80% of households had family members working in the mining companies in Gejiu city and their remittance was the main income for their family.

However, since the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the mining in Gejiu has been declining, which directly impacted villager’s income. Opportunities for youth in village working there is scarce now, some even resigned from the company to stay at

<sup>10</sup> In the Chinese saying, life “relies on the sky and land” means peasants live on agriculture, which requires appropriate climate and fertile land.

home.

Currently, most of villagers are farmers in household registration system, and their livelihood mainly relies on agriculture and migrant labor. Around 100 people belong to non-agricultural households and the rest belong to agricultural households in the Chinese registration system<sup>11</sup>. Among these 100 non-agricultural people, there are around 65 retired people, who get pension from a mining company in Gejiu city or directly from the government<sup>12</sup>. As for agricultural people, the land is limited, around 0.65 *mu* (about 0.04 hectares) per person. They cultivate the land mainly for self-consumption and small trade in the village market. Only a few of them grow vegetables especially for sale.

In the field, villagers usually plant various vegetables for daily consumption or for feeding pigs. They also grow chili and some fruit trees, such as peach and pear trees. These plants can satisfy diverse needs in daily life and villagers always can utilize these plants most efficiently. Villagers can make many traditional foods with the vegetables or fruit they grow. For example, the hostess in a family may collect the fresh vegetables for daily consumption. But if it is too much, she may reserve it with salt and sell the product in the village morning market. Pears are also reserved with some herbs in a traditional way. Stems of water chestnut and grain can be weaved into mats and seats for self-use or for selling. Seen from this aspect, life in Tuanshan is still kept in a very traditional way, and reserves many characteristics of a small-peasant economy.

In the past, most families raised pigs, however, due to the pig diseases prevalent all over China in early 2007, many pigs died and just a little more than 100 pigs are left. Villagers now turn to raise chickens. Many pig barns are empty or used for raising chickens. There are also ten villagers who raise chickens and ducks in large scale, arranging from several hundred to several thousand.

Many young or middle-age male villagers are working as migrant laborers in other places. Generally, the migrant workers do not stay too long outside. Most of them just look for work within Jianshui County or not far from Jianshui and stay

<sup>11</sup> In Chinese registration system, non-agricultural household refers to those households do not live on agriculture and are not allocated land by the government; agricultural household refers to those households live on agriculture and were allocated land by the government in 1982.

<sup>12</sup> Statistics are from leaders in Tuanshan.



outside for several days or several months. Some even go out and return the same day. Only several villagers may travel a long distance to look for jobs. One leader in the village said that around 400 villagers are working as non-farm labors outside the village, and the cash income mainly relies on these migrant workers.

Villagers in Tuanshan share some collective land and properties, however, this is hardly to say there is a collective economy except in tourism since economic income from them is so small.

The two productive teams own these collective lands and properties separately, along with the third and fourth team (see more information about the productive teams in next section and Figure 2.1). Each team owns two *mu* collective fields (about 0.13 hectares) and the team leader is responsible for renting them to other villagers and gets the rent for some public affairs. However, according to the team leaders, it is difficult to get rent back now because several years ago, China implemented a policy that cancels the agriculture tax, called *tiliu*, which is considered the rent for the land people cultivated in household responsibility system, farmers don't need to pay tax currently and even get some subsidies for growing rice. Consequently, villagers who rent the collective land argued that they do not have to pay rent too since nobody needs to pay agriculture tax.

*Xiamiao* temple, which was used to be a nunnery, is now the collective property of the third team, and has been rented to a household for raising chickens. According to villagers, rent for five years is only around three thousand yuan. *Shangmiao* temple, which used to be a Taoist temple, also belongs to the third team, and now is the place for holding parties and ceremonies. A group of people manage these activities and charge the private ceremonies and parties for 3.5 yuan per table. Zhang's family ancestral hall and *Dacheng* temple were distributed to the fourth team. However, several rooms and small pieces of the square in the Zhang family's ancestral hall have been sold to a household. The rest is used as the gathering place for the village dancing team and the elder association (see more information regarding the elder association in next part). *Dacheng* temple is still a Buddhist temple at present and a group of old women who believe in Buddhism manage and hold activities there.

Tuanshan also have collective hills, which are behind the village. These hills

used to be covered by forest and the ecological environment was quite pleasurable. However, in 1950s, due to the commune movement and “Great Leap Forwards” movement, trees were cut down for firewood<sup>13</sup> on a large scale and the forest was destroyed. Later, according to a team leader, in order to encourage people to plant trees and recover the forest, one policy was implemented in the village that whoever planted trees in the hill would own them privately. As a result, some villagers planted trees and some did not. Nevertheless, the forest is no longer recovered. Currently, there are only some pine trees, weeds, corn and fruit trees in the hills. And the property relations towards these hills was quite vague until August 2007, when the government promulgated a forest reform policy that required villages to reconsider their hills and forest to decide whether they would collectively manage them or would like to distribute them to individual households. As for Tuanshan, according to villagers, since the area of hills is small, only 413.1 *mu* (about 27.54 hectares) totally, and villagers’ livelihood does not rely on it so much except as a graveyard, which they decided to own collectively. So they are managed by the village collectively and each villager holds certain share. Once they are used for developing certain economies and a get profit, 70% of the profit will be distributed to villagers. And villagers still have the right to use the graveyard in the hills.

#### **2.1.4 Social Organizations in Tuanshan**

There are three formal organizations, including the administrative village committee (AVC), productive teams, and communist party teams in Tuanshan.

Following government political construction and arrangement in the grassroots level, Tuanshan village is a natural village, which, together with the other 11 natural villages, belongs to an administration village and is under the governance of an administrative village committee (AVC). Members in this AVC are elected every three years amongst all villagers in this administration village. Theoretically speaking, this AVC is a self-governance organization and funds for it should be composed of two parts: half from government finance and another half arranged by the village

<sup>13</sup> During the commune movement periods, commune members ate in collective refectories, which needed a lot of fuel wood. And during the “Great Leap Forwards” movement, every village was motivated to melt iron for increasing steel stock and that cost plenty of fuel wood as well.

itself. However, since there is no collective industry, which can provide funds, in fact, all funds for the AVC comes from government finance at higher levels. And the committee is more like a government department. Furthermore, although committee members should be elected every three years, it seems the one who becomes a member must stay in the same position for a long period. For example, the director of the AVC has been in his position for nearly 20 years.

Villagers in Tuanshan are divided into two productive teams (see the position of productive teams that are in government administrative structure in Figure 2.1). Each productive team has over 100 households. This division has existed since 1970s. So, in some families, the couple may belong to different teams if both of them are original Tuanshan villagers before marriage. Each productive team has a team leader who gets some salary from the government. But the roles of the two leaders now are not so significant in villagers' live. Generally speaking, they function in several ways: first, to collect information about population, land, agriculture production, and so on; second, to assist the AVC for elections and finishing tasks that the government at the higher level requests; third, to announce some government policies to villagers; fourth, to manage the collective land and properties in Tuanshan; fifth, to help to organize labor in certain ceremonies, such as funeral ceremonies, and ancestral worship ceremonies. Once someone in the village passes away, his/her family members will invite the productive team leader to gather several labors to carry the coffin. The productive team leader will get money for doing this.

There is also a team of communist party members and a team leader. However, usually there are not activities in this team, except in some special occasions. For instance, when Tuanshan started to develop tourism in 2000, the communist members in village were mobilized to do some cleaning work, including demolition of some barns, toilets and other cabins that were constructed without permission and damage the tourist sceneries.

Apart from these formal organizations, there are still some informal ones, such as the elder association, dancing team, and the old Buddhist women's



association.

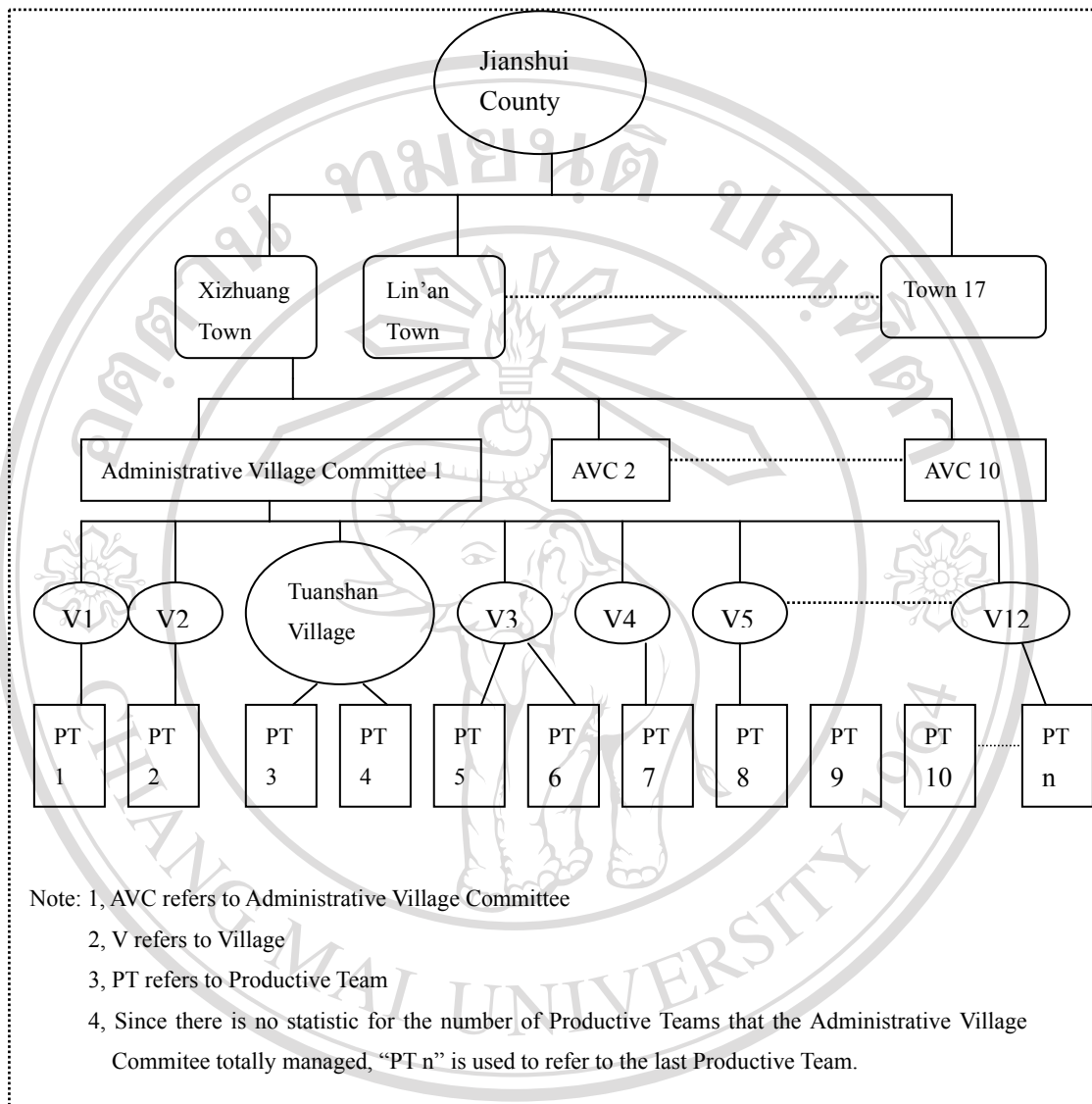


Figure 2.1 Government Administration Structure in Jianshui

The elder association consists of old villagers and was established in 1997. The association collects some money (two yuan at first, and five yuan later) from each member for operational funds. Members may gather in the Zhang's family ancestral hall for dancing and chatting. If someone gets sick, other members will buy some presents and condole with him/her. It also holds a ceremony once a year to show respect to old people, which is the *Chongyang* festival, held around October. After the operation of tourism in the village, the TMC also supports the elder association with

some money to hold the ceremony every year except 2006.

Dancing teams always go together with the elder association except that it includes some young women. It usually performs in villager collective ceremonies, such as the ancestral worship ceremony and *Chongyang* festival and sometimes, it will be invited to perform in other villages nearby as communication activities.

The old Buddhist women's association is composed of more than 30 old women who believe in Buddhism. They always gather in *Dacheng* temple, have vegetarian food and hold some Buddhist activities. The operation funds come from two channels: one is money collected from its members; another is donations from villagers and tourists who go to the temple.

The property of TMC is rather vague and will be introduced in detail in following parts.

## **2.2 History of Tuanshan Village**

### **2.2.1 Establishment of the Village in Ming Dynasty**

In Ming dynasty, around 1385, the ancestor of Zhang family immigrated to Jiانشui County in the trend of Han immigrants moving to Yunnan. Due to trade business, the ancestors came to Tuanshan and were impressed by the favorable ecological and geographical environment. Finally, they settled in Tuanshan and married local women. Originally, the aboriginal residents in Tuanshan are Yi people. The Zhang family got along with the local Yi people very well and gradually formulated their own family discipline of "hundred of tolerance", which exist until nowadays. Subsequently, the descendants of Zhang family increased fast and became the biggest and most outstanding family in Tuanshan.

### **2.2.2 Tin Mining Era in Qing Dynasty and Before New China Establishment**

With the growth of the population, land became limited and could no longer support so many people. Around the early time of the Qing dynasty, Zhang family

members started to move outside. In the middle and late Qing dynasty, the land was much more scarce. Consequently, Zhang family members began to operate trading again. In 1889, Mengzi was assigned as the port for trading with France, and French merchants transported tin through the red river to Vietnam and Hong Kong on a large scale. Tin mining in Gejiu flourished. The Zhang family took this opportunity and went to Gejiu to explore the tin mines. Luckily enough and with their hard work, the Zhang clan members got much tin with high quality and in large quantity. They went further, set up factories, expanded tin production, refined tin and traded the products to Hong Kong. At first, there were three households in the Zhang family operating three firms. Later, in 1900, in order to enhance competitive capacity in the market, the Zhang clan united together and merged their firms into one bloc, the “*Tian Ji Chang*”. Soon, *Tian Ji Chang* entered into the list of the top eight firms in Jianshui, and was named the “Tuanshan gang”.

While the Zhang clan members were becoming affluent, in their heart, their home in Tuanshan was still their starting point and the final point in their lives. Returning back to Tuanshan and building nice houses were still their dreams. As a result, they began to send remittance back and construct their houses. Within several years, many glorious and delicate houses were built. Although Zhang clan members were merchants and traders, they respected and admired the literate, and hoped their descendants would become literate. With such dreams and pursuits, they incorporated poems, paintings, proverbs, and apothegms into the decorations of their houses.

In addition to the construction of private houses, Zhang clan members enthusiastically devoted themselves to local public affairs. They donated money to build temples, open schools, construct village gates, repair roads and set up a bridge over the *Lujiang* river in front of the village.

In 1910, the Yunnan-Vietnam railway was finished and began to operate, which facilitated the transportation of tin. Two years later, Zhang clan members supported the construction of the *Gebishi* railway, the first railway built and operated

by citizens in Yunnan. However, before the completion of the railway, due to domestic wars, Zhang clan's bloc "*Tian Ji Chang*" went bankrupt. Only several small firms still operated. For commemorating the Zhang clan's financial support in the early phases of construction, one stop was made near the village to facilitate the Tuanshan villagers.

The Zhang clan paid much attention to education. They set up a primary school in the village and the funds for operation were donated by their firms in Gejiu. Children in the village and from nearby villages were free to study in the school. Therefore, a lot of offspring of the Zhang clan became literate and became officials in Jianshui.

Zhang family ancestral hall was used to as a ligament for the Zhang clan. It was the meeting place for Zhang clan members and place for ancestor worship ceremonies. Whenever there were significant issues or quarrels among villagers, they would have a meeting there and settle the issues; if some villagers were not faithful and did not respect their parents, they would be called to the ancestral hall, educated and punished; if some villagers conducted bad behaviors, besides education, they would be locked in a small room to repent their behaviors; if the descendants became fluent or produced a boy, they would go to kowtow and inform the ancestors of the good news. Through these activities, villagers kept their identity as Zhang clan members and maintained their solidarity.

During this period, the funds for activities in Zhang family ancestral hall were extracted from the rent of a tin mine in Gejiu, which was the collective property of the Zhang family.

At that time, most households had family members working in the mining company in Gejiu city and their remittance was the main income for their family. According to the old men in the village, at the beginning of the new China establishment, there were only 300 villagers staying in the village, most of which were the old, women, and children. Generally speaking, there were at least two people

in a family working in tin mine factories in Gejiu. And the remittance in the village may exceed 100 thousand yuan a year. Tuanshan villagers' life mainly relied on the remittance. There is a saying in Tuanshan that at that time villagers' lives "neither rely on the sky, nor on the land, all just on a letter of remittance". At the same time, due to a lack of labor, villagers in nearby villages rented most of the land. Some Zhang families also employed some laborers to work in their houses or fields. So, during this period, several other families moved into Tuanshan village for this reason, such as the Lu family, the Bai family and so forth.

During the liberating revolution period, the owner of Zhang's Family Garden even participated in the communist party organization "Nine-person group" and provided the garden part as the location of their activities.

### **2.2.3 Political Movement Era after New China Establishment**

During the period of land reform in the 1950s, some villagers working in Gejiu returned to the village and got the distributed land, while some still stayed in Gejiu. Two Zhang families (Battalion Commander's Mansion and Zhang's Family Garden) were classified as landlords. Their family members were criticized and censured; their houses were confiscated and redistributed to some poor families. Most poor families getting the houses were non-Zhang families. Later, Tuanshan village was included in the communal construction movement and consisted of two productive teams. The productive teams took care of all affairs in the village. The productive team leaders, who are usually chosen from the poor people, supervised villagers' daily life in all aspects, including production, consumption, negotiation of the conflicts among villagers, organizing public activities and so on. According to villagers, the leaders organized the production activities and assigned the work for every villager. Villagers just waited for the work assignment everyday and followed the leaders' direction to produce. Even though some leaders were not good at production, and might make mistakes in directing production, every villager had to



follow. For instance, one leader directed villagers to transplant rice seedlings and the requirement was that the space between two seedlings had to be as narrow as holding one broken egg. Such a space was too narrow for seedlings to get enough air and sunshine since the regular space usually is about the width of an adult's palm.

Social re-classification and reconstruction of administrative structure in grassroots society changed the authority system in the village. In the past, elderly people had great power to deal with common affairs, to negotiate conflicts emerging in the village, to punish some bad behaviors, i.e. stealing. But with the social reclassification and depression of clan culture in the political movement, the productive team leader and government officers who were newly selected from the poor people and usually non-Zhang family members took the place of the old authority. The new leaders almost took charge of all activities in villagers' lives. At the beginning, the elderly might still deal with some conflicts within and among families, but later, people became accustomed to rely on the new village leaders (productive team leaders) gradually, and the old authorities finally were forgotten in village affairs. During this political movement period, clan identity and culture were also depressed and ancestor worship ceremony in Tuanshan village was forced to cease. There was also a record of family tree for Zhang clan and most Zhang families have one copy. But many copies were forfeited by the government at that time.

#### **2.2.4 Household Responsibility System Era since Open-and-Reform Policy in 1980s**

Around 1982, following the central government's direction, Tuanshan started to apply a household responsibility system, and villagers began to rely on the household economy again. Each household got its own land, started to produce and consume by itself. People concentrated on their own family economy and became responsible for their own life. While most villagers lived on agriculture, some that did not come back during 1950s were still working in Gejiu tin mining factory and sent remittance to their family in the village. A few villagers who used to be classified as

landlords and did not have the chance to study when they were young and went outside for work in some other industry like construction. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the mining in Gejiu has been declining, which directly impacted villagers' cash income. Opportunities for young people in village succeeding to the job of their father or relatives in the tin mining factory were reduced, meaning that they would not have regular salaries monthly. Furthermore, due to limited land, agriculture alone could not satisfy people's need for cash. Gradually, many young or middle-age male villagers started to look for non-farm work outside the village. Generally, the migrant workers do not stay too long outside. Most of them just look for work within Jianshui County or not far from Jianshui and stay outside for several days or several months. Some even go out and return the same day. Only a few villagers may travel a long distance to look for jobs. One leader in the village said that around 400 villagers are working outside the village as wage labors, and the cash income mainly relies on these migrant workers.

In 2000, in order to promote economic development, tourism was formally developed in Tuanshan with the help of government officers, which means a tourism management committee (TMC) was established and entry tickets began to be sold for sightseeing in the village. Several outstanding houses and buildings have been opened for tourists in succession. At present, 15 villagers directly participate in the management and operation of tourism in the tourism management committee. Nearly 100 elderly women joined in the queue to clean the streets and earn a cleaning fee. A pair of them will clean the streets in one day and get 10 Yuan per person. However, due to the limits of tourism income, most villagers' income still relies on work outside.

Even though villagers still belong to the two productive teams, the productive teams play little role in villagers' life now. Public activities dramatically decrease, and so do the work of the productive team leaders. In people's perception, the productive team leaders now have little to do except taking care of the wildfires in the hills, serious pests in the field, as well as organizing villagers' funeral ceremonies.

While the function of the productive team is reduced dramatically, some clan activities have been recovered since the 1980s. However, it is no longer the same as

it was before in terms of significance in daily life and attention that villagers pay to it. In 1988, some old men risked recovering ancestral worship ceremonies, which had been forbidden for three decades. Since then, this ceremony is held annually in the village. Most villagers will attend the ceremony. Relatives or Zhang family descendants in the vicinity are also invited to the ceremony. It is the biggest event in the village and several thousand of people may come to the village. However, since the funds for the ceremony now are collected from villagers who would like to attend (generally speaking, that is about 10 Yuan in cash and 1 kilogram of rice for each villager), in some villager's perception, it is now just a party in which villagers gather together and eat together. Some villagers who do not want to pay the money and rice will not attend. Seen from this view, the significance and implication of the ancestor worship ceremony in villagers' hearts have declined. The role it has been playing in unifying clan members and keeping the sense of collectivity is downplayed now. Consequently, although Zhang family is still the biggest family, comprising 80% of the villagers, and the ancestor worship ceremony has been recovered, the sense of collectivity as the Zhang clan for villagers has reduced.

This slip of the consciousness of being a clan also can be seen in the funeral ceremony, which is much simpler than that in past. It is said, in the past, that one funeral ceremony might invite as many as half of the total villagers since they were all closely interrelated and the ceremony lasted for three days. All people helping during the ceremony will be invited to eat together. But now, more and more families choose to pay the productive team leader some money and ask him to organize laborers. These laborers will be paid in cash but not invited to meals. Some elder women in the village are also invited to help to make *Zhiqian*, which in Chinese tradition is believed to be used by the dead as "money" in the afterworld. There may be over 15 elder women doing this work, and they will be invited to have a meal. *Shangmiao* temple now is used for gathering place for such ceremonies. There is also a group of people who are specifically responsible for preparing meals and getting rewards for their

work. Apart from these people who help with logistic work in the ceremony, the number of people invited decreases a lot too. Only will some close relatives and friends be invited to eat together. Blood ties or kin ties have been shadowed in such celebration occasions. Other secondary social ties, such as friends, and work partners, are increasingly paid more attention to. Economic rationality gets more weight than the unity of the clan to certain extent.

Moreover, with the development of tourism, the conflicts emerging in tourism management further deteriorate the relationship among villagers where the Zhang clan ties seem to not function well. In order to discuss the conflicts, the history of tourism development in Tuanshan will be introduced later. However, before that, it is necessary to introduce the broad tourism context in Jianshui County.

### **2.3 Broad Tourism Context in Jianshui County**

Tourism resource in Jianshui is considered quite 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” and a “town full of documentary”. With more than 100 ancient temples, 50 ancient bridges and 56 protected cultural relics at the national, provincial, and prefectural levels, which reflect the ancient Chinese culture and art, it also enjoys fame as "the museum of ancient construction" (Zhang, Huijun 2005:308). It shares similarities with architectures in the central part of China, but also different from that as it incorporates the elements of local ethnic culture and natural environments, embodying unique cultural historical information and meaning. Generally speaking, cultural tourism is the outstanding characteristic of tourism in Jianshui.

Jianshui is the hinge of transportation in southern Yunnan, 220 kilometers away from the provincial capital Kunming, 88 kilometers away from the new prefecture capital Mengzi, adjacent to Shiping, which is a culturally and historically significant town at the provincial level, and Yuanyang, where, the potential world

cultural heritage site, Hani terrace, is located. So, the geographic location of Jianshui is also an advantage for tourism development.

Tianshui people have recognized the tourism advantage and tourism has been developed in Jianshui since the mid-1980s, when some cultural relics were promoted for the first time, such as the karst cave “Swallow Cave” and Confucian Temple. In 1988, Jianshui was classified as the provincial historic city by Yunnan provincial government and permitted to open to the outside by the state council. In 1994, it was further listed as a national historic city by the central government. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jianshui County sought new economic growth points and tourism was taken into consideration. Soon, some literates made an investigation of potential tourist places in Jianshui, in which “Zhang’s Family Garden” was also included. However, due to lack of funds, the tourism development plan was suspended for a certain time.

But just after few years, Jianshui County took a series of measures which tried to promote tourism as an important economic growth pole. For instance, the super highway from Kunming to Jianshui was completed in 2004. It shortens the time from five hours to three hours, which facilitates easier tourist travel from Kunming to Jianshui. After improvements of roads, its geographic location is more favorable and an advantage for tourism development.

Furthermore, the appearance of the county is also improved. Several main streets in the old towns were rebuilt to recover the Qing style of construction for attracting tourists around 2005. A new town layout was made and the Lin’an town, the capital town of Jianshui County, is expanded greatly.

However, early start-up and huge effort is not echoed by fast development. Tourism resource has not turned into an economic resource. It is still in the primary development stage when high investment meets low returns. In 2003, the tourist number in Jianshui was 654,000; the income was 203,260,000 Yuan. In 2004, the tourist number was 803,462; income was 251,150,000 Yuan. In 2005, the number was



908,000; the income was 285,530,000 Yuan. Especially when comparing the tourism in Lijiang, which started tourism much later than Jianshui, the tourist number and income is quite small.

Most tourists to Jianshui are residents in Honghe prefecture or Yunnan province, occupying 40% and 75%. The number of foreign tourists is around 10 thousand per year. However, education levels among tourists are usually high, as tourists with college education occupy 45%, and that below primary education just around 3%. Furthermore, many tourists may visit Jianshui many times, comprising 65%. And 77% of tourists express that they would like to come back to Jianshui again if possible (Zhang, Huijun 2005:310).

For the reasons of low development, it is said that the tourism infrastructure, and tourism service industry are under the standard levels; the development of cultural relics and tourist products is rather low. Culture should be the most outstanding attraction for tourism, however, it has not been deeply explored and well organized to show to tourists. It has a lack of impressive influence. Tourists just engage in sightseeing at those cultural relic sites but cannot get the spirit of the culture or an impression (ibid).

Currently, Jianshui is promoted as one of STT, and Honghe prefecture has decided to promote the tourism industry to be the mainstay industry, and Jianshui is listed as one of the significant places. One of the tourist routes under construction is “Kunming-Jianshui historical cultural significant town-Yuanyang Hani terrace”.

So tourism in Jianshui is quite controversial, on the one hand, it is considered promising and invested a lot; and on the other hand, the development is quite slow. One of the tourist sites in Jianshui, Tuanshan, is also stumbling on the way to tourism development.

## 2.4 History of Tourism Development in Tuanshan

### 2.4.1 Potential Tourism before 1997

Situated in Jianshui, it has been a "museum of ancient construction" and a long developed tourism destination since the 1980s, Tuanshan has been known and visited by residents in the vicinity long before tourism development. In 1987, it was listed as a historic site by the construction bureau at the county level in official application documents, with the name of "Zhang's Family Garden". Later, Jianshui was formally assessed as a historic town at the provincial level, and "Zhang's Family Garden" became a historic site.

### 2.4.2 Preparing Stage from 1997-2000

In 1997, when Jianshui County sought new economic growth points and an investigation of potential tourist places in Jianshui was carried out, the name of Tuanshan, for the first time, replaced "Zhang's Family Garden", appearing in the list of Jianshui's historic relics. At that time, many precious photos were taken and village history was collected, which afterward become most important and first hand information for understanding Tuanshan. According to literates and government officers who did the collection, they held many meetings with villagers and explained the value of the houses to them. At first, only residents in big valuable houses came, but later, other villagers came to listen too. Villagers were encouraged to preserve their house and tourism development was talked about for the first time.

Later, the Yunnan-Vietnam railway was rediscovered and due to the fame of Zhang's family garden, some tourist companies brought foreign tourists (mostly French) to Tuanshan as a part of the China-France exchange program. A foreign photographer even came to Tuanshan for nearly a month and took a lot of photos. It is said that this foreigner contributed a lot for the later reception of the certificate from WMF.

### **2.4.3 Dramatic Change of Management and Conflict Emerging Stage from 2000 till Now**

With the increasing number of visitors, some villagers and government officials noticed the tourist value of Tuanshan village at the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Consequently, in 2000 tourism was formally developed in Tuanshan. A tourism management committee (TMC) was set up and started to sell tickets for sightseeing in the village.

At the beginning of the tourism development, with the help of some literates and government officers, great efforts had been given to educate villagers in the value of their houses and the significance of developing tourism, to make villagers feel tourism is something they should become involved in and promote. In order to tidy the tourism environment, with the support of the Township government and AVC, the TMC cleaned the street and back out some toilets, pig barns, shelters and cabins that were constructed without official permission on the way of the tourist route. Because of the preparing and cleaning project which destroyed some villagers' interests, some villagers were hostile towards tourism at the beginning. They were not friendly with tourists and did not support tourism. Some villagers refused to accept tourists to their houses or purposely made trouble for tourists. For instance, someone put a big iron hollowware in front of the door to prevent tourists from entering. However, the former committee, with the help of the village committee members and township government officers, successfully persuaded these villagers to stop these behaviors and accept tourists. At the same time, the former committee gave subsidy to the households who opened themselves to tourists, and supported some public welfare in the village, such as paying the water fees for the villagers annually, and supporting the ancestor worship ceremony and *Chongyang* festival ceremony. These measures were welcomed by villagers and they became supportive to tourism development. Furthermore, with the raising of fame, more tourists came to visit the village; the tourism income increased a lot, from 2,722 Yuan in 2000 to 68,212 Yuan in 2003 (the price of one entrance ticket is 3 Yuan); even TV programs and some films were shot in the village. As a result, villagers became proud of their village.

While tourism had smoothly developed, it was then interrupted in 2003 and has since been under a messy situation of management, leaving tourism development stagnated, i.e. the tourist number stays less than 20 thousand every year (see more information about the income in each year in next chapter, Table 3.1).

In 2003, some villagers (the current director as the representative) began to question the validity of the TMC. Since the TMC was established initially by township level of government in 2000 and the government appointed the director, while other committee members were chosen by the director, including persons from other villages nearby. They argued that their own tourism resources should be taken charge of by their own villagers. Consequently, all committee members were reclaimed by Tuanshan villagers while still assigned by government.

In the following year, some gossips about the behaviors of the former director emerged since most villagers did not receive so much direct benefit from tourism. Villagers started to suspect that the former director corrupted the management and occupied much money secretly. Facing these problems, the former director asked for the township government's help for resolving the problem. As a solution, the township government took over the committee and directly managed the tourism by itself. As a result, the government took all tourism income.

However, problems still went on. The current director, who was the leader of the elder association at that time, claimed that collective property of Tuanshan should be used for villagers' benefit but not government's benefit. Consequently, he locked the Zhang's ancestral hall and the garden part of Zhang's Family Garden. This seriously impeded tourism operation. Finally, in 2005, the township government returned the committee and tourism management to Tuanshan. The former director still took charge of the management.

From January of 2006, several households who lived in "Emperor Kindness House", "The General's Mansion", "Xiuc'ai's House", and "Sima Mansion" decided to separate from TMC and to sell tickets (three Yuan for each house) separately by each household. The villagers called this, "ticket in ticket event". Consequently, the order of tourism management was completely disturbed. According to villagers, during this period, villagers from the four households, gathering at the entrance of the village at a desk opposite of the ticket office, tried to persuade and draw tourists to their houses

and sold the tickets. The ticket selling was quite disorderly. Apart from this, they also wrote some notes or signs on the walls along the street, which either introduced their house or showed the direction of their house. This event impacted tourism in Tuanshan quite a lot. The township government tried to stop, and the Jianshui county TV program even came to shoot the situation and interview villagers. Later, these households felt pressured and resorted to more covert ways to compete with the committee. According to some villagers, they used to ask children in the village to take tourists to their house and give certain rewards to them if they successfully brought one. This situation lasted for nearly a year.

At the end of 2006, the former director of the committee died from a serious disease. Then with some claims for villager-elections, an election was held in the village at the end of 2006 under the supervision of the upper government. And four committee members came out. Among them, three were retired governors and teachers, and one was the elder brother of the former director.

After the election of the new committee, the current committee made some reforms towards management. It added cleaning fees for villagers who live in the old house, keeping the yard tidy, and who clean the street. According to some villagers, the director also made some promises. One promise was about installing running water for villagers within three months. So he gained the support of the villagers at the beginning of 2007.

However, as time passed by, running water system was still not installed. And the villagers found out that the new committee received more salary than the previous one and there is less money left at the end of the month. The villagers became disappointed, and become inactive in tourism development. They complained to the current committee, but at the same time they lacked the consciousness of being subject to development of tourism, and were waiting for the government to resolve its problems. The relationship between villagers and the tourism management committee developed into a stalemate. This situation led to some serious problems towards tourism development. For instance, in the past, new buildings were forbidden in the village according to the rule. Former committees abided this rule very well and villagers were always persuaded not to violate it, although sometimes it needed some help from the police station at township level or other land-related government



departments. However, many villagers accuse the current tourism management committee, and it leads to violation of the tourism management rules. Several new two-layer concrete houses were launched or built in 2007, and destroyed the integral appearance of the whole ancient village. However, the committee members could do nothing with them. According to villagers, since the current committee is not capable of helping villagers repair their houses or resolving their residential problems and also has not done anything good for them, they cannot stop villagers from improving their own living conditions. And in fact, the committee members did not try to stop them too. It is said that even though they want to interfere, no one will listen to them.

Although there is great dissatisfaction towards this committee, no one thinks about changing the situation. In the villagers' minds, this committee can last for three years until the next election, unless the government officers come to organize a new election for them. Many villagers tried to ask government to manage tourism for them again, however, due to some behaviors of the current committee, the relationship between committees and other organizations and departments also became rigid, and the government is afraid of involving itself into this intractable issue. The situation is currently stagnated, as are the number of tourist arrivals.

This is the basic process of tourism development seeing from the villagers' perspective. As we can see, within this process, the management body has been challenged and changed for several times (see in Table 2.1), from that of government appointed and with outsiders, to that of government appointed and without outsiders, to that of government directly taking over, then back to that of government appointed and without outsiders, and lastly to that villager self-elected members.

In addition to the changes of the management body and changes in the relationship between the villagers and the committee explicitly presented above, some other changes, debates, and conflicts within this process are worth mentioning here in order to comprehensively understand the conflicts within the community, including changes of relationship between the committee and the government, the debate of the attributes of the tourism management committee, conflicts between the Mao family and the committee, and vicious competition among restaurants.

**Table 2.1 Changes of Tourism Management Body**

Time	The way to come out	Managers
2000-2003	Government appointed the committee director and the director chose other committee member	One descendants of Zhang's Family Garden, three other Zhang family members, one outsider from a village nearby
2003-2004	Government appointed the committee director and the director chose other committee member	One descendants of Zhang's Family Garden, four other Zhang family members,
2004-2005	Government took over the management	Township government
2005-2006	Government appointed the committee director and the director chose other committee member	The same as in 2003-2004
2006-now	Villager self-elected	The owner of Emperor Kindness House, a brother of the former director, two retired governors (one is Zhang family member and another is non-Zhang family member, the surname of which is Lin)

#### 2.4.3.1 Changes of Relationship between Committee and Government

According to villagers, the township government, administrative village committee and productive team leaders provided much support to tourism management before 2007. Some leaders in the village committee used to be the directors of the tourism management committee nominally, although they actually didn't manage the tourism directly. The township government gave the furniture in the office. Productive teams provided the rooms for the ticket office and committee office. When they have some activities, such as make a spring-cleaning throughout the village, the township government may provide some funds for it. Some books

introducing Tuanshan were also given out by the government for sale in Zhang's family garden. The police office at the township level helped them to conduct the necessary cleaning and back out at the preparation stage, as well as to help resolve some conflicts emerging between villagers and the committee.

In return, the former committee also gave some back to these related department or leaders. For instance, one thousand Yuan per year was given to the police office; 50 Yuan per month was given to each productive team leader. If the government officers came to Tuanshan, the committee took care of them very well or invited them to have dinner. The committee also supported the elders' athletic meeting of Xizhuang town. In the words of some villagers, the committee maintained a good relationship with other organizations and departments, while these departments also paid more attention to and helped the committee.

However, after 2007 the inauguration of the current director, he criticized these behaviors, which he considered to be corruption. He argued that the township government and village committee often borrowed money from the former committee without returning it back. And the former committee members, together with the tour guides, always went out for dinner, which cost a lot of money. Money earned in previous years was used for such corruptive behaviors. He plans to clean up such corruption and give the benefit to villagers. Consequently, he cancelled the subsidy and support to the productive team leaders, township government, police office and other outside activities, and no longer takes the tour guides and committee members out for dinner. He even made a rule that the committee would not play the role of host to any government officers, that means they will not provide food to them or invite them to have meal. A tour guide even made a crack about that, saying, "They even do not provide a glass of water, and let the government officers go back in thirst".

As a result, the relationship between the committee and other organizations and departments became rigid. In the past, the government officers came to Tuanshan very often, but later, the frequency decreased a lot. The support from the government is also reduced. According to villagers, the current committee went to the tourist bureau to ask for some funds but failed.

#### **2.4.3.2 The Debate of the Attribute of Tourism Management Committee**

As to the attribute of the TMC, different people have different sayings. The current director said the committee was registered as a civil organization, while another committee member, the elder brother of the former director, said it operated according to the rule of Township Enterprises, which means the TMC got a sort of certificate for operating tourism services and charging for tickets, and paid tax monthly. According to the government officer who is responsible for tourism in Xizhuang town, the TMC belongs to a civil organization, but it also got profit from tourism management. The civil organization is just a temporary identification for such TMC since it is still in the process of exploring suitable way of management. And in fact, what exactly defines a civil organization is not clear for the government officer. This title just intends to differentiate it from a government department, as well as a corporation or company. In villagers' perception, before 2007 the TMC was a semi-government organization because the leader of TMC was assigned by the township government, and it became villagers' collective organization now because the current committee has taken back the tourism from government by village election. However, some villagers who do not care about the tourism consider that the TMC only belongs to those households who own valuable houses and work in the TMC.

Currently, the director, with the other two committee members would like to change the committee into a company. They claim only if the committee turns into a company, can tourism be efficiently managed. Their argument is that villagers have not got much benefit from the tourism and do not have much enthusiasm towards tourism. Furthermore, since the mechanics of benefit distribution is unclear and contested, villagers pay much attention to arguing their benefit but not to collaborate to develop tourism. This deteriorates the relations among villagers and impedes the tourism development. If it is a company, all of villagers will share certain stock of the company and will benefit from the profit sharing mechanism. At that time, these kinds of problems will disappear. However, some villagers disagree with this saying. They

think only if the TMC is a government organization will they get benefit. With the mechanism of a company, the boss or managers will take over the tourism resources and get the most benefit. They consider it is not fair to turn the community or state property into the property of a company.

#### **2.4.3.3 Conflicts between the Mao Family and the Committee**

For a long time, Tuanshan has been famous in the vicinity as “Zhang’s Family Garden”. Many locals around may know the name of Zhang’s Family Garden but not Tuanshan village. From 2000, the government and the villagers began to develop tourism formally by advertising Zhang’s Family Garden, although it is only one tourist site among 26 heritage sites in the village. All public pamphlets for tourists mainly utilize the development history and family culture of Zhang’s family to add meaning and stories for the old houses and scenes. Since all the houses in the conservation list, except Mao’s houses, were built by Zhang family members and the host of Mao’s house did not live in the village before 2000, there were no problems about this kind of advertising.

However, after the development of tourism in 2000, the host of Mao’s house came back and found that some valuable antiques in his house were taken as photos and then printed on the tourist pamphlet, which is mainly tagged with the name of Zhang’s Family Garden. Furthermore, he found he could not get benefit under the management of the TMC. From then on, he began to argue that the antiques in his house are most valuable and the advertisement of Zhang’s Family Garden is partly a piracy of his antiques. What made him angrier was that his house even was not listed in the conservation list carved in a big stone at the entrance of the village by the prefectural government. In the tourist pamphlet introducing Tuanshan old house, he is described as the person “to speak without a guard on his mouth, to always do something special and go his own way”. He refused to join the TMC and claimed that Zhang clan exclusively occupies the power of tourism management, attacked his reputation, devalued his house and held back tourists from entering his house.



#### 2.4.3.4 Vicious Competition among Restaurants

For the restaurant, at the beginning of tourism development in 2000, three households were selected and supported by the government (5,000 Yuan per household) to develop “*nong jia le*”, which means restaurants in the countryside serving country-style food and providing accommodation. However, only two of them finally opened their restaurants: one was opened by the present director, another by a villager working in a nearby factory and living in the new type of house but renting an old house for opening the restaurant called *Zhi Wen* garden. In 2005, the third restaurant was opened by a committee member at present. So there are three restaurants operating in the village currently. However, none of them are operating very well due to the small number of tourists staying for a meal.

The worst is *Zhi Wen* garden due to vicious competition from the other two. According to the owner of *Zhi Wen* garden and some of the other villagers, the current director uses many strategies to draw tourists to his house for having a meal and staying over night. For instance, put the introduction of his house on the wall outside of the ticket office; asked tour guides or children to introduce his house and lead tourists to have a meal there. Consequently, fewer and fewer tourists come to *Zhi Wen* garden for food and accommodation, and at most of time, the restaurant became a place for playing *majiang*<sup>14</sup> for some villagers.

The best is the one belonging to the director. Because the yard he lives in is exclusively owned by him, he manages the yard very well. It looks very clean and tidy. Last year, he even built a new toilet and a bathroom for tourists. He is also knowledgeable about the history and culture of his house, so he can introduce his house to the visitors. In 2007, his house received nearly 200 tourists, half of whom were Chinese residents and the rest were foreigners. And among those foreigners, half of them were French. He said foreigners would like to experience Chinese daily life. They may cook Chinese dishes by themselves, and use chopsticks. Some of them even stayed for several days in the village.

<sup>14</sup> A traditional game for leisure or for gambling. The same like playing cards.

## 2.5 Differentiation of Villagers in Conflicts

According to the attitude different villagers hold and the position they occupy in power relations in Tuanshan tourism and in the conflict, I will differentiate villagers within six categories (I just intend to sketch different stakeholders within the community in the conflict here in order to give a basic understanding of who is involved in the conflict. See more analytic discussion about these categories are in following chapters): proactive and empowered villagers, semi-proactive villagers, semi-proactive and empowered villagers, proactive but powerless villagers, defensive villagers and neutral villagers. This part will be devoted to describe their situations and attitudes towards tourism development, in order to gain an overall picture of all contesters in these problems.

### 2.5.1 Proactive and Empowered Villagers: The Family of Current Director of the Tourism Management Committee in Tuanshan and Its Alliance

Proactive and empowered villagers are villagers who behave very actively in pursuit of power and interests in tourism, and have come into power. They are considered as the center of the conflict.

The current director is a retired teacher and has been retired for ten years.

There are three people in his family now, his mother, his wife and himself. One of his sons got injured at work and can not work anymore, and his family is living outside. Another son died several years ago. Three of them are retired teachers and get pensions monthly. They do not have land and have to buy everything for consumption.

The house his family lives in is called “Emperor Kindness House”, the name of which is originated from the honor—*Anren*<sup>15</sup>— given to a female ancestor who had been a widow since 20 years old but raised a son alone who got rich later and was appointed

<sup>15</sup> *Anren* is an honor given to she who is seen as Lucretia. In this case, this woman lost her husband when she was still young, only 20 years old. She didn't marry again but raised the children alone. Furthermore one of her son later got rich and became a government officer. So she was praised by the government for her chastity and successful motherhood.

as a government officer belonging to the fourth hierarchy in the Qing dynasty.

The house was built in 1900 and located outside of the southern gate, occupying 2500 square meters and the built acreage is 1500 square meters. There are two compound yards. His family now is living in the second compound yard while the first one has been sold to other people since 1960s. This architecture of this house is kept quite well and the appearance is very tidy. There are only six people<sup>16</sup> in total, and there are not much production tools or living stuffs. As for the yard he is living in, according to a local literate who is the first one that took photos and collected documents of Tuanshan in 1997, in fact, only one third belongs to him while another two third belongs to his two brothers who do not live in Tuanshan. He also might not return back to live here if his son did not get in trouble<sup>17</sup>. In 1997, when the local literates and government officers wanted to promote tourism all over Jianshui and went to Tuanshan to collect information, his house was where they stayed. The current director has noticed the tourism value of his house and maintains his house consciously since then. According to villagers, he even moved some stone originally paved in the road outside of the southern gate to the road in front of his house around 1999.

When tourism was first developed in Tuanshan in 2000, his house was one of the sites for a restaurant supported by the government with a fund of 5000 Yuan. However, his restaurant is criticized for over-charging and having little quantity of food. Although he participated in these preparatory works for tourism at the early stages, he was not a member in the committee at first. He was used to be the leader of the elder association around 2005. At the end of 2006, through elections, he became the director of the committee.

Since all of his family members used to be teachers, they know the history of their family and house very well. They will introduce some stories of their ancestors,

<sup>16</sup> Three for the directors' family (his mother, his wife and himself), and three for another household living in the first compound yard (a young couple with their son).

<sup>17</sup> According to villagers, his son addicted himself to drugs and in order to help him to get rid of drugs, the current director moved back to Tuanshan after retirement. However, his son could not get rid of it and died later.

the structure of the house, functions of each part, meanings of the pictures and poems on the walls and pillars to tourists. They may even interpret some items in the house and talk about Chinese history and their life philosophy. For example, there is a special well called *Zhuangyuan*<sup>18</sup> in his house which just looks like a square jar, the five sides of which are built with stones. The depth is less than half meter and so are the widths in four directions. Surprisingly, water in it is never finished and can satisfy the whole family's daily use. However, the name of *Zhuangyuan* well is not from their ancestors but from a tourist. According to the villagers, there was a tourist who brought his children to this house and his son drank the water in the well. Later, this son past the exam and entered the university. His parents were so delighted and returned back to the village, telling the current director that the well is a *Zhuangyuan* well. From then on, the well is called *Zhuangyuan* well.

They have paid much attention to advocate their house. They made a board with some pictures and introductions of his house for advertisement, which was used to be put on the wall outside of the ticket office and later in the front of his yard. Since 1998, this family has prepared comment books for visitors leaving remarks and signatures. They are now on their fifth of such books. Seen from some words tourists left, they did not know the existence of this house before they came to Tuanshan. However, they got to know this house and the host, and also have remembered there is such a house in Tuanshan after they came.

This family has a good relationship with the family living in *Xiucai*'s house, just near the director's house, another valuable house and one stop in the tourist route. An old man in *Xiucai*'s house is a retired government officer and also one member in the current committee. In addition to the two, there is another retired government officer, who is living in a newly built house, in the committee. Three of them are considered to be in an alliance. As introduced in the history of tourism development, these villagers are the one who have eagerly challenged the TMC management and

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<sup>18</sup> *Zhuangyuan* is a form of address for one who is the number one in the national examination in ancient China, like a champion.

finally came into power.

### **2.5.2 Semi-proactive Villagers: The Descendants of the Original Owner of Zhang's Family Garden Who Still Live in Zhang's Family Garden and Some Other Peers Who also Live in the Old Houses and are Heirs of Original Owners**

Semi-proactive situations here refers to the state in which people would not like to compete with others for positions in the committee and also did not occupy any powerful position in TMC, but still claim strongly the part of tourism benefit they deserve from their point of view. They are reluctant to be involved into the center of the conflict and would like to stay a little away.

Twenty four households currently live in Zhang's family garden; however, only two of them are descendants of the original owner. Of the two, one host is a retired schoolmaster who is respected by the villagers. He is always invited to do some writing work for villagers and to assist in the elections for both for the village committee and for the tourism management committee in the village. However, he claims he is not interested in competing positions in committee. His family also did not vote for him during the election.

Another host is a farmer and the leader of the group of people responsible for preparing meals in *Shangmiao* temple, whose eloquence is well known. He is now living with his wife in a small yard, and his two sons and one daughter are living outside of the village and are considered as having good prospects by the villagers. He used to be the accountant in the former committee and is the one who got the highest vote during the election at the end of 2006 but did not participate in the management of the committee finally, because he was supplanted by the current director and he does not want to involve himself in such a contention for power and profit in the committee.

The two families are typical examples of villagers in such a semi-proactive



situation, since their houses originally belonged to them and are also important stops along the tourist route. They can easily justify their arguments of being the owners of the old houses and claims of sharing benefits from tourism development. For instance, facing tourists, they always emphasize that they are the genuine descendants of the original owner who built Zhang's Family Garden, and enjoy talking about their family tree and their predecessors' stories.

However, since they only occupy a small part of the whole house, and have to share a yard with some other households, they always hope they can move out through the tourism development project. As the retired schoolmaster's wife complained, they feel that the old house is dark, disordered, crowded, noisy and not convenient. There is no toilet in the old house and residents have to walk into the dark for several minutes for toilets in the evening. She always complained about this inconvenience to me when I lived in her house.

Because none of them work in the committee, they claim that although their house is the most important one in Tuanshan, they only get a little benefit from tourism development. At one time, when they talked about the tourist guides in the village, the schoolmaster's wife complained that there was no one living in their yard that is employed as the tourist guide. She claimed her daughter-in-law should have got the job.

Other people also living in the old houses listed in the conservation record and heirs of original owners share the same opinions toward tourism development in the village. They claim the value of their house, and argue their parts in benefit-sharing. Furthermore, they wish to move out of these houses too.

### **2.5.3 Semi-proactive and Empowered Villagers: Family Members of Former Director Who are also Descendants of the Original Owner of Zhang's Family Garden but not Living in Zhang's Family Garden**

This category only includes two households that are occupying certain

powerful position in TMC and hold a semi-proactive attitude in competing power.

One is the household of the former director, who is also a descendant of the original owner of Zhang's Family Garden. His family was evicted from their ancestors' house due to the political movement in the 1950s. But in 1980 when China redressed and corrected some mistakes in classifying people during that movement, they were claimed as innocent. However, since the house had been allocated to other families formally with land titles, they could not get back their house but were compensated with another piece of land and some funds for building a new house. There are two families, the former director's and his elder brother's, each of which got a land of 400 square meters and 1500 Yuan.

He had worked outside for *baogongtou*<sup>19</sup> since 1970s. In 2000, he was appointed as the TMC director to start tourism development in Tuanshan. He organized the committee members and tour guides by himself. His wife was a ticket seller at that time. However, due to serious disease, he passed away at the end of 2006. And at present, there is only his wife living in Tuanshan. Two of their sons have married and are living outside. And the last son is also working outside and seldom comes back.

In 2007, his elder brother entered into the TMC after the election as the cashier, and his wife still acts as the gatekeeper in the garden part of Zhang's Family Garden. However, they do not get along with the current director very well. In the past, there was only the former director's wife taking care of the garden. In late 2007, a daughter-in-law of one TMC member was appointed to share this work. And each one works half a day. Consequently, the former director's wife gets less salary now.

The elder brother has two daughters. One is teaching in a school not far from Tuanshan, and another one has married and stays at home. The son-in-law is doing construction work outside. This family operates a small grocery shop in the village.

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<sup>19</sup> *Baogongtou* refers to the one is the leader of some construction workers and responsible for looking for some construction projects and managing the team.

#### 2.5.4 Proactive but Powerless Villagers: The Mao Family

The category is a special one for the situation of Mao family, who is enthusiastic to build its own museum and to claim its power and rights in TMC. However, since it is outside of TMC and generally speaking TMC has neglected its claims so far, they are considered as powerless in the conflict.

As I introduced in the previous part, Mao's house is the only one that is big and valuable but was not built by Zhang family member. Actually, there are five households sharing the whole house. Three of them are outsiders who bought some parts of the house during the 1960s, and another one is Mao's brother but has not lived there for a long time.

Mao used to be a worker in Gejiu city and retired in 2000. After retirement, he came back with his wife. Before that, his house was managed by an old woman from a Zhang family. Since their family had not lived in Tuanshan for a long time and his wife is a farmer from another county, they do not have land here. However, according to them, they are Buddhists and Mao can write with very good handwriting. So they are often invited to attend some ceremonies regarding Buddhism. Their life relies on his pension and rewards gained from these ceremonies. They also do not have many friends and relatives in Tuanshan.

Because of the conflict between Mao and the TMC as introduced above, Mao does not cooperate with the TMC and claims he is going to construct his own museum. In fact, although it is small, many sculptures in his house are quite exquisite. He also maintains his house very well and knows a lot about the architecture. Just like the current director, he can introduce the architectural traits of his house, the family history and interpret pictures and poems in his house. However, while he explains them to tourists, he always complains of the Zhang family at the same time. He claims that he has written a book introducing his house and his family history that will correct some sayings of the Zhang family on his house. Furthermore, this book will be

published in both English and Chinese. He said that his house will be known worldwide after being published.

Mao also has kept tourists comments in notebooks since 2000. And two of such comment books have been finished. He always shows previous tourists' comments, some foreign money or coins given by some tourists to new comers and claims that many tourists still maintain good relationships with him after leaving and would like to provide help if necessary.

### **2.5.5 Defensive Villagers: Other Villagers who Live in the Old House and Got the Residence through Land Reform**

Defensive villagers in the conflicts refer to those who neither are ambitious to compete the power in TMC nor have the enough capital and power to compete, but just would like to grasp the opportunity of tourism development to get some benefits or improve their living conditions. They can defend their claims to certain extent as they have property title towards those attractive houses.

According to the literates and government officers who collected documents and wanted to promote tourism in Tuanshan at the very beginning, people who live in the old house but just got the residence through land reform in 1950s, claimed at that time that the old house was not their house but allocated to them. However, if they are asked again at present, they all claim that it is their house.

Interestingly enough, these villagers were poor people when they got the house, and most of them are still poor now compared to other people who are descendants of the prosperous families. Most of them live as agriculture and migrant laborers. Since most migrant labors do low-skilled work, they just get 20-30 Yuan per day. They expect to share the benefit from tourism but are not in power. Some of their daughters or daughters-in-law work as tour guides; some sell souvenirs in their yards; but most of them only can get the cleaning fee for the yard. Some think tourists disturb their daily life. They expect to develop tourism but some consider the prospect

is not so promising due to the disorderly management and lack of good leaders.

There is also a rumor among these people that the land title issued during Chairman Mao's period will be invalid and the house will be returned back to the original owner. They claim that the descendants of the original owner have got the compensation and it is unreasonable to return the house to them.

#### **2.5.6 Neutral Villagers: Villagers not Living in the Valuable Old House**

Neutral villagers stay most far away from the intra-contestation. Sometimes they may seem to have the least to do with the conflict. However, sometimes they may play a significant role in power competitions since their opinions are more likely to be influenced by lobbyists.

The number of villagers in this group is the biggest and this group is the most diverse in terms of economic conditions and attitudes towards tourism development. These villagers are not living in the attractive old houses, and do not pay much attention to tourism development, especially the old, since they have not seen much relations between that and their livelihood. They think that the TMC just takes charge of valuable old houses that can be opened for tourists. However, some younger villagers also consider that since they live in Tuanshan and they collectively own the village land, they also have rights to benefit from tourism. Most of them hope the government will take over the management of tourism and conduct some projects. They think only if the government manages tourism for them, then tourism may develop well and improve villagers' lives.

#### **2.6 Summary**

In this chapter, I have laid out the general picture of Tuanshan village and its tourism development, as well as introduced the conflicts in detail, which are prepared for discussion in the following chapters. Several points are worthy to figure out here again for attention. First, Tuanshan village has limited space and land for expanding



its population and it made villagers seek work outside. Their land is mainly cultivated for self-consumption. Migrant works are just as complement strategies for providing cash. Their life is still kept in a very traditional way and reserves many characteristics of a small-peasant economy. Although there are some collective properties for Tuanshan villagers, they have not played a role in the collective economy. There is little collective income except tourism income. Second, Zhang clan culture has changed with various political movements and social reforms and the old clan authority system has been destroyed. Third, the broader tourism context for Tuanshan in Jianshui County is still underdeveloped, which inevitably restricts tourism development in Tuanshan.

Based on this general information, the following chapters will be devoted to discussing and analyzing these problems and conflicts from three dimensions, with concepts introduced in chapter one. The next chapter seeks first to discuss tourism and development issues in this community and then to analyze problems from several points within this dimension.