

## **CHAPTER III**

### **TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT**

Community development is seen as “a process designated to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance on the community’s initiative” (United Nations, 1955:6, cited from Telfer 2003:163). Since historic-village tourism involves the whole village, tourism development in such village especially should be considered in the framework of community development.

In this chapter, I will discuss tourism and development issues in this community, clarify further that tourism resource in Tuanshan village should be considered as common pool resources, and discuss the problems originating from this dimension that accounts for conflicts emerging in the village.

#### **3.1 Historic Village Tourism: Community-Based Tourism**

“Community-based approach” in tourism development was first proposed by de Kadt (1979), and it takes community interests into account in tourism planning. Murphy (1985) developed this idea and suggested tourism should be viewed as a local resource. He puts forward the concept of “community tourism product”, which is the integration of a destination’s resources and facilities, and is the one that community members wish to present to tourists. Timothy (2002) goes further and argues that community-based tourism is a more sustainable form of development than conventional mass tourism. He develops community tourism from two perspectives: public participation in decision-making and resident involvement in the benefits-sharing of tourism.

In this section, I will describe the state of tourism resources in Tuanshan and argue it should be seen as a common-pool resource. After that, I will consider this historic village tourism from the perspective of community-based tourism to discuss community participation and resident involvement in the benefits of tourism.

### 3.1.1 State of Tourism Resource

#### 3.1.1.1 Composition of Heritage in Tuanshan

Architecture is seen as the main tourist attraction in Tuanshan. In the conservation list, there are 15 well-preserved local-style dwelling houses, 3 village gates, 3 temples, and one ancestral hall, occupying 18,384.5 square meters. Figure 3.1 shows the map of those attractive houses and sites in the village, including the big well near the *Dacheng* temple which is not in the conservation list. These attractions mainly scatter in the four directions of the village.

Zhang's Family Garden (see Figure 3.3) is one of the most outstanding dwelling houses for tourism. It is composed of a big gate, three compound courtyards, one garden and one blockhouse. There are a total of 21 yards and 119 rooms, occupying 3495 square meters. It was built by Guoming Zhang, the 15<sup>th</sup> generation in the Zhang clan, in 1905. One of Guoming Zhang's sons called Hanting Zhang, who used to be senior governor in Jianshui County and held a good reputation among the people, and was praised to be an active supporter of the Communist Revolution by the government. However, he was classified as landlord (*di zhu*<sup>20</sup>) when China conducted a movement of land reformation and class categorization all over the country after new China's establishment in the 1950s. His house was confiscated by the government and redistributed to 22 poor households (*zhong nong* and *pin nong*) for residence, only two of which share the surname of Zhang. In 1981, the government redressed the classification of Hanting Zhang and compensated some money and a piece of land to his children for building a new house, which is where they currently reside. At present, there are 24 households living in this house and they own the property titles of the parts they live in. However, the garden within this house is not distributed to anyone but belongs to collective property of Tuanshan village.

<sup>20</sup> The principle of classification is based on the acreage of land one owns and the number of employees they have (meaning explore labors). Landlord refers to people who own a lot of land and employ someone to work for him. There are several categories for this classification. In a descending rank, there are mainly landlord (*di zhu*), well-off peasants (*fu nong*), medium well-off peasants (*zhong nong*), poor peasants (*pin nong*).





Figure 3.1 Map of Attractive Houses and Sites in Tuanshan Village  
Source: Picture on the back of Tuanshan entrance ticket





Figure 3.2 The East Gate of Tuanshan Village (The Main Entrance)



Figure 3.3 The Gate of Zhang's Family Garden

Beside Zhang's Family Garden, another house, the "Battalion Commander's Mansion" faced the same fate during this politic movement. It was also distributed to several poor families. For other old houses, even though they were not confiscated and redistributed during that time, with the growth of population and families, several families from the same ancestors now share them and some of them were sold to other families moving in from outside. Consequently, at present, several families share each old house, and all of the residents own the legal property title of the parts of the house they live in.

Furthermore, among these dwelling houses and sites listed above, generally there are only The General's Mansion, Zhang's Family Garden, ancestral hall, *Dacheng* temple, *Shangmiao* temple, Emperor Kindness House, the *Xiucan*'s house, and three gates that are opened for tourists until now. Currently, the elder citizens who believe in Buddhism and organize themselves as an informal Buddhist association use *Dacheng* temple as an activity location. The Ancestral Hall is also used as an activity location by the elder association in Tuanshan, which is different from the Buddhist association. *Shangmiao* temple is used as the gathering and dining place for villagers when there are some ceremonies and parties, such as the ancestor worship ceremony, *Chongyang* festival, wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony and so on. Besides these



sites which are managed by the committee, there is also another old house valuable for visiting but outside the management of the TMC. It is *Sima Mansion*, which is owned by a Mao family and charged privately. It is also the only old house that is owned by a non-Zhang family in Tuanshan.



Figure 3.4 Inside of *Sima Mansion*



Figure 3.5 Inside of Emperor Kindness House

### 3.1.1.2 Value of the Heritage

The heritage value of Tuanshan village is traced back to the 19th century. The state of the village and its architecture are closely linked to the flourishing Gejiu tin industry and cross regional economic trade with Southeast Asia after the construction of the Yunnan-Vietnam railroad (commenced in 1910) and the opening of the international traffic in Yunnan. According to some scholars, Tuanshan history is a microcosm of the history of the commercial and industrial development in Yunnan during that time.

Tuanshan architectures integrally conserve the architectural style of the 19th century's countryside, such as the traditional cyan-and-red stone mixed road. Typical architectures include the four-side-closed big yard of Han style (*si he yuan*), *tuzhang fang* of Yi style (house with clay-ceilings), and tile brim *tuzhang fang* mixture of Han and Yi styles. Its architectures are built in harmony with the mountains, and are varied in form and are exquisitely made. It is one of the classic representations of local Yunnan housing architecture that incorporates both ethnic minorities housing style and Han style.

The culture in this village is a mixture of Han and Yi cultural characteristics. Since Yunnan is the frontier area of China and the indigenous residents are minority ethnic groups, only until the Yuan and Ming dynasty did Han people immigrate to this area in large scale. So this village is a typical example that Han culture (migrant) and Yi culture (indigenous) met and fused. Furthermore, both Han culture and Yi culture are still alive in the village nowadays. For instance, ancestor worship (*ji da zu*) of the Zhang family, typical Han family culture, is one of most important ceremonies in the village (once a year for a small-scale ceremony, once every three years for a large-scale one) on the 20th of the first month according to the traditional Chinese calendar. The spring festival is another important occasion for villagers and on this festival the elders perform the Yi *Yanhe* dance collectively.

Compared to the high evaluation of the heritage value of Tuanshan shown above, some provincial experts in culture have another relatively low appraisal. They said that what makes Tuanshan distinguished is that so many ancient residential architectures remained in a village and these heritage architectures are still functioning in everyday life, but not highest architectural value, since in Yunnan



province it is abundant of many similar, even more delicate and beautiful, ancient architectures. In another words, the most valuable thing here is that it is a living cultural heritage site. Moreover, the history of this village implies the Chinese family culture and the prosperous economy development related to Southeast Asia during the 19th century. And last but not least, this village has produced many relatively reputed people in history, especially the ones supporting and contributing to the communist revolution, and some relatively famous events in the communist revolution took place in this village.



Figure 3.6 Women Weaving Mats and Seats with Rice-Plant-Stem in Zhang's Family Garden

### 3.1.1.3 Property Titles towards These Heritage

Property titles towards these tourist attractions are as follows: the village gates are collective property owned by the whole village; the garden part in Zhang's Family Garden is also collectively owned while the rest of the parts are owned by 24 families separately; other attractive old houses are owned by several families part by part; Zhang's ancestral hall and *Dacheng* temple are owned by the 4<sup>th</sup> productive





Figure 3.7 Intricate Three-Layer Sculpture<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> It is in a door in Zhang's Family Garden called "*Huan tian Xi di*" (means happiness). In this sculpture, the connotation is interestingly and vividly reflected by animals: the pied magpie (in Chinese saying call "*Xique*") on the top facing the land (land is "*Di*" in Chinese word), while the big ancient animal call "*Huan*" on the bottom looking at the sky (sky is "*Tian*" in Chinese word). So make them into a phrase, that is "*Huan tian Xi di*", to wish the household happiness everyday. This sculpture consists of three layers to give the picture a strong sense of three-D. However, the difficulty to make is so high that the payments to sculptor is much expensive: it is said, the payments for the first layer is silver as heavy as the wood bits they left out from the first layer; that for the second layer is silver double heavy; that for the third layer is gold as heavy as the wood bits.

team<sup>22</sup> and another two temples are owned by the 3<sup>rd</sup> productive team. However, according to Chinese cultural relic law, all of the culture relics belong to the state. Many villagers do not have a clear cognition of their rights and obligations towards these properties (or tourism resources). Some villagers consider the old houses to be owned privately, but at the same time, national laws protect them. Residents can neither destroy nor can sell them. Some villagers think that while it is prohibited to sell these houses by parts, for instance, the windows or doors, it may be permitted to sell the whole house. Other infrastructure and resources, such as road and land is collective owned. Households only have the use rights of the land they cultivated but not the ownership.

#### 3.1.1.4 Current Condition as Tourism Resource

Now, tourism development in Tuanshan is facing a serious problem: the condition of valuable old houses and architectures is far from prepared for tourism. Most of them need to be repaired. Except that some collective property, such as the garden part in Zhang's Family Garden, *Dacheng* temple, ancestral hall, village gates have been repaired since the beginning of tourism development, and some houses that the owner maintains and repairs well, many houses have been damaged partly, i.e. some walls and tiles have fallen down, some wood beams and rafters have been destroyed, many paintings and drawings have faded. Some wood carving decorations, doors and windows were removed or replaced by modern ones made of bricks and glass.

Furthermore, the internal structures have been altered and lost the original visage and functions. When these houses were built at the beginning, each was well designed for a big family. Each part in a house had its own function, such as for living, meeting visitors, cooking, a horse barn, storage barn, and so on. The division and layout reflects rigorous “*Li*” in Confucian culture (Yang 2004). Seen from outside, the whole family and their activities are surrounded by high walls and kept secret from outside. Only two or three main gates enable people to keep in touch with the outside world. Seen from inside, the house is divided into different parts for different people and activities. In Confucian culture, parents, the first son, other sons, and unmarried

<sup>22</sup> Since Tuanshan village is a natural village in the framework of Chinese political structure, there are two productive teams in Tuanshan village, the third and the fourth. There are 130 households and 433 villagers in the third team, and 115 households and 494 villagers in the fourth team.



daughters are situated in a rigorous and strict rank. Family members are settled in different parts of the house according to their positions within a family. Specific activities are restricted to a certain area within the house. But, many yards and rooms are connected to facilitate family members going to other parts with different functions. For example, one type of loft is called “walking and turning loft”, which is composed of four rooms in four directions. The four rooms are interconnected and make a circle surrounding the yard. This design saves space for the steps to each room. However, currently, most houses have been divided by several families who altered the structure of the house. There may be five or six families living in one yard which in past may just have functioned as the living room and meeting room. Tourists now can seldom experience such conveniences because most of these lofts have been altered and walls separate the rooms. To develop tourism, great efforts need to be made to repair and recover the original visage of those houses and architectures. Some villagers may need to be moved out to reduce the living population in old houses. So tourists can experience the living conditions, house structures and housing cultures in past.

### **3.1.2 Tourism Resource as Common-Pool Resource**

The term common-pool resource refers to “a natural or man-made resource system that is sufficiently large as to make it costly (but not impossible) to exclude potential beneficiaries from obtaining benefits from its use” (Ostrom 1990:30). It is developed from Hardin’s famous argument “the tragedy of the commons”, the theory of “the prisoner’s dilemma game”, and “the logic of collective action”. People have the common interest towards this kind of resource and they would be better off if that objective were achieved. But if each person pursues his self-interest rationally, that person will not achieve the common interest and may destroy the resource. Furthermore, none of them can be excluded from using this resource or getting interest from this resource.

As shown in chapter one, historic village tourism resources should be considered as common-pool resources. Firstly, the resource of attraction in historic village tourism lies in the cultural heritage, such as ancient houses, temples, ancestral

worship halls, histories embodied in these tangible heritages, intangible rural cultures, traditional lifestyles and so on (Ying and Zhou 2007). Community tourism products are considered by Murphy as the amalgam of the destination's resource and facilities (Murphy 1985). Healy (1994) involved broad landscapes including a variety of natural and built elements in tourism resources. Briassoulis (2002) goes further to argue 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 built attractions; facilities serving the needs of tourists; elements of the natural environment; infrastructure; local facilities serving the local population and tourists as well; the broader landscape of the surrounding region. Tuanshan is valuable because it "integrally conserves the architectural style of the 19<sup>th</sup> century's countryside", and it is the whole village, including the living rural culture and lifestyle, that is considered to be valuable by WMF. So, tourism resources in Tuanshan are not restricted in those 22 architectures, but consist of the whole village, including the natural, socio-cultural and built attractions; various facilities; elements of the natural environment; infrastructure; the broader landscape; culture, history and rural lifestyle.

For attractive architectures, some ancient houses may be privately owned, but other attractions are inevitably collectively owned, especially the culture and history. Furthermore, one house may be owned by several families. It is impossible for a single family to develop tourism by itself since it usually only occupies a small part of the house. All residents in these houses have to be involved in and choose one single organization or corporation to manage for them. As a result, they get a common interest towards their houses.

Other temples, ancestral worship halls are collectively owned and used by Tuanshan villagers. It is impossible to privatize them or exclude villagers from using them. In addition, tourists cannot directly enter into these houses, they will walk along the streets, which are collectively owned and maintained by all villagers. Any family in the village may join in benefit sharing of tourism by opening shops, restaurants in their houses, or just selling goods along the streets. It is impossible to exclude them from joining in tourism. In a word, no one in the village can be excluded from using the "tourism resource".

Secondly, the tourism resource should be maintained in tourism development.



The resource can be a tourism resource only when the village is seen as a tourist destination, which means the image of the whole village should be constructed and maintained as a place worthy to go for sightseeing or on a tour. The image construction partly relies on tourist marketing, but the most efficient way is to leave tourists who go to the village with a positive impression and a good memory. Whether tourists are impressed positively or not relies on their feeling and experience towards the whole village's environment, attractive buildings, residents' hospitality, the smells, sounds, and so on, when walking in or viewing the village. The tourist resource simultaneously is the living resource for the villagers. If villagers lack incentives to maintain a good environment, or hospitality for tourists, it will negatively impact tourists' experiences. For example, especially in rural villages, there are always various productive tools, living stocks, and manure pits. Scattering productive tools everywhere, making living stocks ramble along the street and letting manure pits smelly seriously will destroy tourists' good feeling and further destroy the image of the village as a tourist destination. If shopkeepers and the owners of restaurants in the village just pursue their self-interests rationally, they may over-charge tourists or degrade the quality or quantity of dishes. Some competitors may viciously compete among themselves, just like the competition between the Emperor Kindness House and *Zhiwen* garden. So, if villagers lack incentive to maintain the image of the village and the tourism resource, and just take a free ride to get benefits, the resources will be destroyed and a tragedy of the commons will occur.

Consequently, tourism resources in Tuanshan should be considered common-pool resources, and as we see, there have been some examples that are called the tragedy of the commons. Ideally, to consider the tourism resource as a common pool resource, corresponding property relations in this regime should be followed to guarantee the smooth management of this resource, and inappropriate property relations may cause problems. In the following part, the vague property relations in Tuanshan is further discussed in order to better see the problems arising from this perspective.

### **3.1.2.1 Vague Property Relations in Tourism**

Property titles towards these heritages have been shown above. However, property titles alone do not make much sense for discussing problems here. As we

have seen in discussion of the concept of property relations in chapter one, property is considered as bundles of right, not the thing itself. It is about social relations between individuals, and social institutions further. It is embedded in certain social and cultural contexts in time and space. In China, all land in rural areas is collectively owned by villagers and culture relics belong to the state. Even though from the perspective of property titles, residents own the house they live in privately, they can not do anything they want with their houses but have to follow the law of culture relics preservation.

For developing tourism, villagers entering into the market, and their property rights should be bounded in a different context other than the previous one. They have to follow tourism management rules and pass on some rights to the management committee. Theoretically speaking, there should be certain contract or other institution between residents and the committee to define the responsibilities and duties for each other, that residents grant the rights of tourism development to the committee, and follow the corresponding rules, the committee will get certain rights to manage the houses, but have to owe certain duties to residents. At the beginning of tourism development, the former committee and government put a lot of effort into motivating villagers into developing tourism by having meetings with all the villagers. However, according to the villagers living in the old houses, nothing has discussed with them about the relations of responsibility and duties between the committee and residents. Villagers have just been requested to preserve the house well and to keep it tidy. Consequently, on the one hand, they have to allow tourists entrance into their house, observing or disturbing their daily life, but on the other hand, they get no compensation for giving up, in Ostrom's term, their access rights. When some villagers tried to struggle for the rights of getting benefit by making troubles for tourists, it was the government that helps to stop their behaviors, and enforced the relations between them and the committee. The relations between residents and the committee are still not settled. Villagers perceive that the tourist market has come to their village, but they are not sure what their position in this market is.

The current director tried to propose a management institution that is a joint-stock company, which replaces the committee to manage tourism. By this company, each family may share certain stock and get profit-sharing according to their stock. Those, who own the valuable old house opened for tourists, will be given



corresponding stock according to the acreage of their house. Those who do not have old houses will be given certain stock equally since they are considered sharing the name of Tuanshaness. He argues the institution will clarify the relationship between the company and villagers, and give villagers benefits. However, many villagers argue against this idea. They think if the committee is changed into a private company, the manager will be the one who benefits most, and most of villagers will only get little. Furthermore, they consider that the heritage as a whole is state property, and no one can change it into private property.

The proper property relationship between villagers and the one who is responsible for managing tourism needs to be figured out. This does not mean to make property relations fixed, but mean to make villagers realize and understand their positions in this issue. The suitable one is intimately related to the property relations at the meso-level defined by the institution chosen by the whole village to develop tourism. Such an institution has to be accepted by villagers and must also be legal in the context of the Chinese legal system and government administration system. In the next chapter, I will discuss this problem, and try to link the institution formation with China's transformation process.

### **3.1.3 Community Participation/Involvement in Tourism**

Community participation is an important way towards sustainable development of tourism and successful community tourism management (see a review in Cheng and Zhang 2007). However, due to formidable operational, structural and cultural constraints to participatory principles in many developing countries (Cevat, 2000; Timothy 1999), it is argued that community participation is not readily applicable to destinations in those countries. Ying and Zhou (2007) examined community participation in two historic villages in China from two perspectives: in the decision-making process and from tourism benefit sharing. They consider decision-making and benefit sharing to have some kind of inter-related influences, and are even two phases belonging to a hierarchy of different levels of community participation. They argued that due to the wide application of communal approaches for rural China's cultural tourism development, local communities' basic involvement

in benefit-sharing is ensured, which may largely contribute to the formation of the interrelations among different stakeholders, such as community, governments and external capitals, and directly influence the degree of community's participation in the whole process of tourism development. However, their discussion takes community as a whole to analyze the involvement in tourism, assuming that the community is integral and the cluster differences within the community are few. Consequently, it is not sufficient to understand the conflict in Tuanshan village.

In the case of Tuanshan, although the committee is elected by the villagers, the internal community participation, which is seen as community participation from inside of the community other than taking the community as a whole to consider its involvement in tourism, cannot be assumed as sufficient, since most villagers in fact even do not know the management rules.

To examine the status of participation, there are some ways to go about it. Apart from the division of the two perspectives, decision-making processes and tourism benefit sharing, which is used by Ying and Zhou just introduced above, Arnstein (cited from Telfer 2003:164) suggests a ladder of citizen participation with eight levels, ranging from manipulation and therapy, which is considered to be of non-participation levels, to citizen control, which is full managerial control.

*“The bottom two rungs of the ladder (**manipulation and therapy**) are outlined as non-participation levels, which have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation. The objective here is not to enable people to participate in the planning process but to enable those in power to educate or cure the participants. The third and fourth levels (**informing and consultation**) move into the area of tokenism where participants have the opportunity to speak but they have the lack of power to ensure that their message will be heeded. The fifth level is **placation**, which is a higher level to tokenism but the power still belongs in the hands of the elite. The final three levels of the ladder have increasing levels of citizen control. The sixth level of **partnership** allow citizens to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with those in power. In the seventh level of **delegated power** and the eighth level of **citizen control**, citizens have the majority of the decision-making seats or they have full managerial control”.*



Pretty (cited from Telfer 2003) also developed a typology of how people participate in development programs. Participation ranges from passive participation where people are told what development project is proceeding to self-mobilization where people take initiatives that are independent of external institutions.

For most villagers in Tuanshan, their participation in tourism is at the bottom two rungs of the ladder proposed by Arnstein. It was literates and government officers who discovered the tourist value of Tuanshan and encouraged villagers to develop tourism. They explained the value of the architectures in Tuanshan and made villagers realize the potentiality of tourism development. They appealed to the preservation of those architectures and trained some villagers to be tour guides. With their help and efforts, the villagers noticed the worth of their property, which in past was considered as old and worthless, and established the TMC, of which the director was chosen by government officers.

Even though the committee is considered as a civil organization, it is actually just operated by several members, and other villagers do not know how they operate it and what regulations there are. Who should or should not work in the committee, i.e. the job position like tour guides, ticket sellers or gatekeepers, and so on, is also unknown to them. Villagers just observe that there are some people who manage tourism, and sell tickets there, without knowing how these are worked out. When villagers were asked if they knew any regulations about the tourism development and the operation of the committee, most of them answered that they did not know and told me to ask the director, or that there were not explicit regulation. Some villagers living in old houses may answer that they were just asked to keep the yard tidy and to preserve the houses. Many villagers do not have a clear mind about the attributes and responsibilities of the committee. The committee for them is just to manage the cleaning affairs of old houses, to sell tickets, and to give salaries to those who work in it.

Apparently, the villagers elected the current committee; however, some villagers believe that government had determined those who were to become the director or members. The election was just tokenism and they just went through the motions. Since the person who got the highest vote did not become the director, villagers further confirmed their notion.

Leaders of productive teams, the committee director and government officers may hold some meetings in the village. However, only few people, about 10 percentages of the households, will attend. It is said the attendants always contest in the meeting and complaint that all income is paid to the salaries of villagers working in it.

So the participation of most villagers just stays in the lowest two levels of participation, and it is passive participation.

### **3.2 Tourism and Development Issues in Destination Community**

Community has been a controversial concept in social science theories. It is originated from sociology, such as Tonnies's differentiation of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, or Durkeheim's distinction between mechanical and organic social solidarity. Generally speaking, community is considered as a small spatial unit with little differentiation and sharing common norms. However, in resource management studies, a more political approach is suggested in which communities are seen as complex entities containing multiple actors differentiated by status, political and economic power, religion and social prestige, and interests (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; 2001). Walter argues a shift from looking at community as a social/demographic entity or unit to a community as a multidimensional/dynamic whole or system that the notion of community describes the way in which various dimensions of community such as people and organizations, actions, consciousnesses and contexts are integrally related to each other to form the community (Telfer 2003:163). To discuss development issues in tourism destination communities, Singh et al. (2003:10) considers destination communities to be "the locations, together with their natural and human elements, where tourist experiences take place and where the tourism product is produced".

Summarizing the above, in order to discuss tourism development in destination communities, community in the context of this thesis is seen as a multidimensional system including natural and human elements, in which environment, economy, different actors, social culture and power relations are integrally related to each other and need to be considered. In the following, I will

discuss the tourism and development issues in Tuanshan village from these dimensions.

### 3.2.1 Economic Aspect

Tourism has been embraced as an important development option world wide due to its perceived promises of economic growth creation. Although there are some debates regarding tourist income and employment multipliers, such as the argument that the raising of consumption costs subtracts from the increase of income generating activities in tourism, and that the jobs created are low-skilled and poorly paid (Ioannides 2003), a majority people still believe and a lot of research shows that tourism will boost the economic development and create employment opportunities in destinations in general (see a review in Cheng and Zhang 2007).

This is also true in the case of Tuanshan. Just like a government officer argued, in terms of economic growth, tourism will surely be positive and promising. In fact, although limited, tourism in Tuanshan has showed to villagers the potentiality of generating income (see table 3.1).

**Table 3.1 Tourism Income in Tuanshan**

Year	Ticket Price (yuan)	Total income (yuan)
2000	3	2,722
2001	3	19,804
2002	3	60,318
2003	3	68,212
2004	3 before April, 10 after that	75,979
2005	10	131,664
2006	10	About 170 thousand
2007	10	160,122

Source: Statistics are from records of the Tourism Management Committee in Tuanshan

At the beginning of tourism development, the price of an entry ticket was only 3 Yuan (less than 15 Baht), and the ticket income is very low, only 2,722 Yuan in 2000. With the development of tourism it increased gradually. For instance, it was 19,804 Yuan in 2001; 60,318 Yuan in 2002; 68,212 Yuan in 2003. From 2004 the price of a ticket was adjusted to 10 Yuan (less than 50 Baht), and the income increased faster, to 75,979 Yuan in 2004; 131,664 Yuan in 2005; and around 170 thousand Yuan



in 2006<sup>23</sup>; 160,122 Yuan in 2007. In January of 2008, the price increased again and reached 20 Yuan per ticket.

However, despite the growing amount of income, it hardly has contributed to most villagers' economic income so far. Of the income, a large part is used to pay salaries and daily expenses; 5% is for tax; some is used to repay bills (for instance, compensation for land occupied due to the construction of the road) occurring in the early period of tourism development; some is used to repair some public infrastructure. Usually, only a small amount is left. In some months, the expenses even exceed the total income. For example, according to the records of TMC, in January of 2007, the total income was 6210 Yuan, while the expense was 8740.02 Yuan, exceeding the total income, among which 3653 Yuan was paid for salaries and allowance; 860.10 Yuan was cleaning fee; 510.10 Yuan was for office expense of the committee; 587.82 Yuan was tax; 3129 Yuan was for infrastructure repairs. In 2006, the former committee only left 545 Yuan to the current one. And in 2007, the total income, which is 160,122 Yuan, subtracts the expense, which is 133,848 Yuan. Only 26,274 Yuan left. It is said that, villagers have only got two chances to share the tourism income collectively since 2000: 10 Yuan for once, and 7 Yuan for another time.

Besides the entry ticket income, tourists usually have little expenses in the village. Most tourists just follow the tour guide or walk around the village, and visit these open sites for two or three hours without having meals or staying over night. Since the guide will not usually introduce them to the *Sima* Mansion, not many tourists go to that house. However, either having heard about this house or having come many times, some tourists would like to make a special trip to this house. Only a few tourists will stay over nights in the village, most of those are students who go to there to draw pictures, and foreigners who have come to the village many times. However, they also spend little except for the accommodation, which is often 20-40 Yuan per day per person. According to the current director of the tourism management committee, who is also the owner of Emperor Kindness House, the main place for home stay in the village, there were nearly 200 people who stayed over night in the village in 2007.

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<sup>23</sup> One accident happened in the middle of 2006 that the ticket seller and recorder, also the wife of former director, claimed tickets and money she kept for the committee were stolen from her house. From then on, her work was taken over by another woman and there was no record for the late part of that year.

Apart from the direct distribution, some villagers also get economic income by selling some products in their yards, such as Chinese foot binding shoes made by some elder women in the village or collected from old women, grass mattes, preserved pears, carving stones, carving wood, and some other antiques. The most popular product is Chinese foot binding shoes, which is favored by foreign tourists most. The price for one may range from 10 to 35 Yuan. It depends on the size and the degree of refinement. The second is grass mat which is bought by both Chinese and foreign tourists. The price for one may fluctuate from 8 to 20 Yuan according to different qualities. However, generally speaking, the selling is not satisfied and only restricted to several households who live in the yard where the tourists pass by. For instance, in a yard of Zhang's Family Garden which is the must-go place for tourists, the hostess makes these shoes by herself. Some times, she may sell six pairs of shoes in a week; while other times, she may sell nothing in a month.

However, for most villagers, due to limited tourist products and short stays of tourists in the village without much expense, they generally cannot get income from tourism related activities. As a result, many villagers think tourism has nothing to do with their livelihood and this leads to carelessness about the village's tourism development.

In addition, there are five souvenir shops in the village, but the local villagers open only one of them. The other four shops belong to people from outside. The first souvenir shop was opened in 2005 by an outsider. According to the owners, due to small number of tourists, their businesses can only just survive.

### 3.2.2 Environment Aspect

Due to the small number of tourists and usually short periods of stay in Tuanshan, the direct impact of tourists' behavior on the environment has not been obvious. Instead, the factors that influence the village environment are more likely generated from the effort of developing tourism and habitants' daily lives.

When tourism started in Tuanshan, great efforts were devoted toward cleaning and back out of some barns, toilets and cabins that were built on the way of the tourist route. It has improved the tourism environment enormously. The streets are

cleaned every day by cleaning workers. The yards and houses included on the tourist route are also requested to be kept clean by giving the residents some cleaning fees. According to villagers, generally speaking, the environment has been improved with the development of tourism.

However, the appearance of the whole village is still not tidy and standard for tourism development. Some toilets together with the pig barns are along the street. Dejections of living stocks can be seen in the street and even in some houses. There is no unified and clean sewage disposal or drainage system. Waste water runs along the street. There is also no public street light system. Inside most of the houses, many production tools and living stuffs are messily put in the yards. This influences the total appearance of the old and delicate houses.

Later last year, most villagers installed running water in their houses with a kind of soft pipe. It was not organized by the government or village committee but by villagers themselves. When it makes villagers' life more convenient, it further negatively impacts the appearance and the sanitation situation of the village. Ugly gray soft pipes run along the wall of the old houses and go across the streets. When villagers turn on the taps, the water goes everywhere. The waste water in the street increases and reduces the beauty of scenery in the village.

### **3.2.3 Social Differentiation**

Tourism development in Tuanshan differentiates villagers according to capitals they occupy in tourism, including economic capital, social capital, and cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (1986), economic capital is the material form of capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Social capital is the collective actual or potential resources, which are derived from durable networks of relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, or put it in another way, the membership in a group (ibid). It is made of social obligations or connections, and is convertible into economic capital. It may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility. Cultural capital is institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications. For Bourdieu,



cultural capital implies a broad consensus on valued cultural forms. Cultural resources, such as education credentials have become a new and distinct source of differentiation in modern societies. The cultural capital, such as knowledge, culture, and educational credentials becomes the “second principle of hierarchy”, while the economic capital, such as wealth, income, and property, is the “dominant principle of hierarchy”. The idea of culture as capital insightfully draws out the power dimension of culture and resources in market societies (Swartz 1997).

The three kinds of capital are convertible to each other. According to Bourdieu, capital by nature is “accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its “incorporated”, embodied form)...enable them (agents or groups of agents) to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (Bourdieu 1986). It is “the potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself” and “a force inscribed in objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible” (ibid). Labor is seen in a much broader range (culture, social, just as shown above), which constitutes power resources. Under certain conditions and at certain rates, they can be converted into another. And the real logic underlying the functioning of capital, the conversions from one type to another, is the changing of power relations.

Tourism development in Tuanshan brings economic benefit and improves the environment, but at the same time, it brings competition among the villagers. Since the implementation of a household responsibility system, villagers have concentrated on their family development separately and have not gotten involved in other community resource management that generates economic interests apparently. And their culture, family identity, and social bonds with other villagers did not become capital before tourism development. As Bourdieu argued, capital only becomes capital when it is included in human relations, and capital needs a field of power relations (Bourdieu 1986). In Tuanshan, cultural heritage tourism economy provides the field and context for capitalization of culture and social relations. Culture and social relations become capital and a means of servicing different social agents for getting interests from tourism. Here, with Bourdieu’s term, we can say culture is capitalized. Villagers are involved in the tourism economy, utilizing and manipulating their social relations or culture differently. Cultural capital and social capital are constructed in

tourism development.

In this case, cultural capital refers to 1) Zhang's family culture, the identity of Zhang's family descendants in the old valuable house, or the identity of being Tuanshaness; 2) Education and work background. Social capital means social bonds among villagers for struggling in benefit-sharing.

Consequently, villagers differentiated in previous chapter own different capitals as following:

**1. Proactive and empowered villagers:** All family members of the current director are retired teachers and have relatively high pensions every month. It endows them considerable economic capital in terms of money. The director is also one among a few of old men belonging to the two oldest generations of Zhang family who are still alive. These two identities (retired teacher and old generation) endow him much social capital, that means he was honored by most villagers and easily got their support and trust. Meanwhile, they also have great cultural capital. As introduced in the previous chapter, the current director has successfully constructed the image of his house in tourism, and the strategy of promoting significance of this house has endowed them great power to argue for their interests. His alliance, the family living in *Xiucai's* house has the same cultural capital. Both of them also have economic capital in terms of property titles towards their house. The family of the retired government officer in the committee, who is living in a newly built house, does not own such cultural capital and economic capital like this, but owns social capital, which means it belongs to one part of the alliance of previous two families.

**2. Semi-proactive villagers:** Firstly, the descendants of the original owner of Zhang's Family Garden who are still living in it have strong cultural capital towards tourism since Zhang's Family Garden is the most famous site for tourists and they construct their identities as the direct heirs of the house. This identity provide them strong base for claiming benefit from developing tourism. Since only the retired schoolmaster gets pensions, they have less economic capital than that of the previous villagers. They also have economic capital in terms of property titles towards parts of the house. So their argument of benefit-sharing is powerful.

Secondly, some other peers who also live in the old valuable houses and are heirs of original owners also have much cultural capital and economic capital in terms

of property titles.

**3. Semi-proactive and empowered villagers:** The descendants of the original owner of Zhang's Family Garden who are not living in it also have great cultural capital. Even though they have moved out of the house, they still share the same identity as the previous villagers. Furthermore, they have better work experience outside. These are two important reasons why the former director was chosen to that position in TMC at the beginning. However, their economic capital in terms of money is limited since they live on agriculture and some remittance sent by their children, having fewer resources to generate money. Their economic capital in terms of property titles towards old house is disputed, since they do not have the property titles of the old house, but they have the government documents of correcting the mistake of classifying them in the 1950s. They argue that although they cannot get back the parts distributed to other families, they should have rights to the garden part that nobody lives in and has been considered as collective property. However, many villagers do not agree and think the garden is collective property.

**4. Proactive but powerless villagers:** The Mao family is not satisfied with the image construction of the Zhang family in tourism that based on Zhang's family culture and consequently limited benefits for them. They want to construct their own identity based on the Mao family with their house, which is also delicate. However, since the image of their house in Tuanshan tourism has not been successfully constructed and they are not involved in the tourism management committee, they have less power to argue the significance of their house for tourism development and as well as their interests. Their cultural capital is very small and their economic capital in terms of property is still potential in the tourism context, and in terms of money it is also limited since they have limited means of getting money and relatively large expenditures in daily life. They mainly rely on one person's pension and do not have land except a parcel of land in front of their house less than 10 square meters where they can only plant some vegetables for eating but staple foods and most other vegetables and meat have to be bought from the market.

**5. Defensive villagers:** Most villagers who live in the old house and got their residence through land reform are still poor now compared with the villagers above. They rely on agriculture and migrant labor, which gives them little economic capital



in terms of money. They also have less cultural capital but great economic capital (in terms of property), since they do not share the identity of the original owner of the old house. Sometimes, they are negatively considered to be the ones who got a house without paying anything<sup>24</sup> by some descendants of the original owner.

**6. Neutral villagers:** Villagers not living in the valuable old houses have the least cultural capital. The cultural capital they may have is that they are Tuanshan villagers and should share in the benefits of village tourism. The economic capital in terms of money varies greatly among them. Some have better economic income and live in newly constructed concrete buildings; some with low income just live in old clay houses.

### 3.2.4 Culture Change

Tourism in Tuanshan has formally developed for seven years. It would be too hasty to discuss culture change in the village. But some subtle changes have appeared. As the scholar, Yang (2004), who did research in Tuanshan early on, wrote that during the first time she went to Tuanshan the villagers were friendly, provided hospitality and loved to share their history and stories with her. However, after three months, when she went to the village again, the situation changed. Conflicts emerged and villagers were arguing a lot about benefit sharing. Some villagers refused to accept tourists into their houses or purposely made trouble for tourists, with the argument that they could not get any benefit from tourism as it all went to the pocket of the committee members, so they had no reason to open their house for tourists. The old women who made Chinese foot binding shoes competed among themselves facing with tourists and finally sold the products at a very low price. So she regretted that “the folkway in Tuanshan has changed”, and “When the inherited houses from generation to generation become a sort of capital, and their daily life become a good for selling, their heart will no longer get quiet” (ibid: 159).

At present, although most villagers have accepted tourists and tourism, and the old women do not gather around tourists and compete with each other, but sell in

<sup>24</sup> The connotation of the saying “they got the house without paying anything” is that they should not request more from tourism income. For instance, they should not expect the government to repair houses for them but should repair them by themselves.

some separate sites, the argument for benefit-sharing is still going on.

### 3.2.5 Power Relations

As has been shown above, the political dimension within the community has been noticed by many scholars (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; 2001; Hall 2003; Telfer 2003). Hall introduced this approach to community tourism. He argued that “communities are complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence” (Hall 2003:99), and it is more likely to be the norms that conflict and disagreement between members of a community over the outputs and outcomes of tourism emerges (Hall 2003:100). Identification and representation of tourism resource, marketing and promotion, decisions affecting tourism, tourism management, and structure of agencies for tourism development, within communities are all situated in a political process, which involves the values and interests of various actors (individuals, interest groups and public and private organizations) in a struggle for power (Hall 2003).

He discussed decision-making at the local level from this political approach and from three dimensions: one-dimensional; two-dimensional view and three-dimensional view.

The one-dimensional view just emphasizes observable, overt behavior, conflicts and decision-making. It contends that the community decision-making process is visible. However, since “power is not evenly distributed within a community, and some groups and individuals have the ability to exert greater influence over the tourism planning process than others through their access to financial resources, expertise, public relations, media, knowledge and time to put into contested situations, in some circumstances, public involvement in tourism planning can be more accurately described as a form of tokenism” (Hall 2003:104).

Two-dimensional views focus on decision-making and non-decision-making and observable (overt and covert) conflict. It argues to consider further the political framework and institutional arrangement, to see the positions each stakeholder occupies in decision-making (Hall 2003:106).

Three-dimensional views consider the representation of the tourism resource. The most appropriate example is heritage tourism, in which heritage is constructed and corresponding power is legitimized by the representation of heritage (Hall 2003:107).

In the case of Tuanshan, as I have discussed above about the differentiation of villagers, villagers in different positions of this conflict own different capitals (economic, social, and cultural). Capital in fact is situated in a field of power relations. The real logic underlying the functioning of capital, the conversions from one type to another, is the changing of power relations (Bourdieu 1986). So, these discussions help to clarify people's position in this field of power relations, and to understand the political process from two-dimensional views.

The former director came into power due to his cultural capital as the descendant of the Zhang's family garden, as well as from work experiences outside. He chose committee members who maintained good relationships with him and owned certain social capital or cultural capital. For instance, he chose Wang who is a villager in a nearby village because Wang was a partner of his when he worked as *Baogongtou*. He considered this person to have a broad vision and social bond with the outside. Villagers actually did not participate in choosing committee members.

However, the current director, as we see above, who owns various capitals and also enthusiastic in tourism development, was not chosen, although he was supported to open the family restaurant. Consequently, in order to seek more interest from tourism, he applied social capital, lobbied villagers, made alliances, as well as made troubles, such as excluding outsiders from the committee, intriguing several households into selling tickets by themselves and locking some attractions. During the election at the end of 2006, according to villagers, he even manipulated economic capital in terms of money to "buy" votes. He finally became the director who was considered as having great power to manage tourism and benefit sharing. He and his alliance occupy three fourth of the committee members. After he came into power, he reformed the allocation of salaries within the committee, and gained more salaries than the former director. He and his alliance also left some jobs, such as ticket sellers, gatekeepers, and parking lot keepers, for their relatives.

The Mao family is also eager to join tourism development. However, since it



owns relatively low capitals (economic, social, and cultural), it has little power to compete with the alliance of the current director. And the host takes the strategy to blame the committee and the current director that they are sectarians and exclude his family. He has been seeking social capitals from tourists by building good relationships with some tourists, especially those who are journalists, professors and teachers. He always talks to other tourists and says that he has good relationships with many foreigners, journalists, professors, etc, and those people support him to struggle with the Zhang family. According to him, he never asks for entry fee from these people. He also seeks cultural capitals by researching the history of his family, introducing his house to tourists and writing books.

Semi-proactive villagers including two descendant families living in Zhang's Family Garden and other peers are not as proactive as the current director and Mao. They have great cultural capital and property, but less economic capital in terms of money. Although the schoolmaster and the team leader in *Shangmiao* temple also have great social capitals, they are reluctant to compete with the current director. According to the schoolmaster and his wife, they did not care about the election. The schoolmaster was recommended to be a candidate, but none in his family voted for him. His wife even voted their son who was not qualified for election.

The former directors' and his old brothers' are two families that are semi-proactive but empowered. Their cultural capital (identity and work experiences) put them into power, and brought them economic capital (salaries in committee) and social capital (relationships between them and government officers). And even after the death of the former director and the succession of the current director, they still maintain a certain power in the committee in terms of occupying a job position in the committee. However, since they did damage some villagers' interests (crack down some illegal constructions) and did make the record of income and expenses unclear, they lost some villagers' supports.

Defensive villagers have less cultural capital, little economic capital in terms of money but great property capital. Social capital in terms of relations with other empowered villagers is also small. They are also not likely to compete with other powerful villagers. They are reluctant to attend village meetings but just blame the TMC. They are in somewhat powerless position in tourism.

Neutral villagers have the least cultural capital in terms of relations with old valuable houses. In order to share benefits in tourism, they are more likely to support whoever promises them something. Some of them claimed they were cheated by the current director because he used to state that he was not looking for economic benefit in the committee, and promise them to install running water. However, after he became director, he got more salary than the previous one and did not mention running water at all.

In summary, the management institution is still under the process of construction. People manipulate different capitals to look for their position in the institution or in changing the existing institution. This leads to conflict. Cultural capital in this case is in a significant position and power always originates from it. However, since different capital is convertible, and during management, social capital becomes outstanding, people who lost it but in power will be deserted by the public.

### **3.3 Public Welfare as Expected Tourism Benefit**

Improvement of public welfare is also a component of community development, just like the aims in SNC construction: “raising the farmers’ living standards and improving rural infrastructure”. Since tourism development is considered to be a strategy to promote community development, it is expected to bring about improved public welfare. In the case of Tuanshan, where tourism development still in a low stage and the villagers have not got much direct economic benefit from tourism, public welfare is especially expected as a tourism benefit. However, since villagers have much expectation on improving public welfare, failing to resolve the problems of public welfare results in dissatisfaction, suspicion and gossip in tourism development. In this section, I will mainly discuss running water systems and residential conditions that are considered the most important for villagers.

#### **3.3.1 Running Water System**

As shown in chapter two, water has been an important issue in Tuanshan village. With the help of the government and the villagers’ collective efforts, the

problem of irrigation has been resolved. However, the problem of running water for drinking was not resolved. Villagers have a very strong wish to install a running water system. During the election at the end of 2006, the current director made the promise that he would install running water within three months once he became the director. His promise won a lot of votes for him. However, after ten months, he still did not realize his promise. Villagers were quite disappointed. Whenever villagers talked about the current director, they mentioned the issue of running water. This issue made the current director lose much support from the villagers, and led to tensions between TMC and the villagers, as well as some violations towards tourism management rules. For instance, some villagers do not follow the rule that the structure of old houses can not be altered, and new buildings in the village are not permitted. Several two-layer new buildings were constructed, and some villagers modified the internal structure of the old valuable houses with brick and concrete in 2007.

### **3.3.2 Residential Condition**

The residential conditions of most villagers are not satisfied, especially those living in old houses. It is always several families that share a small yard or a living room. Since the government in the 1950s allocated many households living in old valuable houses, some were allocated in some rooms that used to be utility rooms and the air and light conditions are quite awful. Some rooms are broken and rain may go inside. It is said that it is very difficult to repair old houses because of the structure. If one tile is broken, several tiles will be victims during repairing. If one balk is broken, a large area will be renewed. Currently, many old houses need to repair but residences living in them are reluctant to do this work. They hope the government will repair it for them. However, there are not enough funds for government or TMC to repair and conserve these heritages.

Furthermore, due to the small space, it is easy for frictions to emerge among households in the same yard. Some villagers who like quiet environments may resent the noisy sounds made by their neighbors. For instance, the retired schoolmaster's wife always complains about the neighbors who are too noisy; one neighbor's dog always comes to her kitchen to steal food; other families in the same yard always



make the yard dirty without cleaning and so on.

Therefore, most villagers living in the old house are eager to move out. One villager who only has a small room said if villagers can get a piece of land outside, they would like to build a small house to live alone rather than stay in the old house. Since tourism is promoted in their village, and it has been talked about a lot that a big project<sup>25</sup> will be carried out which will move over 100 households living in old houses out of their homes, their hopes of improving their residential conditions are intimately linked to such a tourism development project. According to the villagers, the project has been talked about for many years and even a newspaper in Jianshui had announced the news. However, there is still not any sign that the project will start. Some villagers attribute this to the nonfeasance of the TMC. They feel that the TMC members should go to lobby government officers with some tricks, such as constructing good relations with government officers by warmly welcoming them, giving gifts, communicating frequently etc. Interestingly enough, these are just what the current directors blamed his predecessor for as corruption.

Consequently, it leads to dissatisfaction towards the committee.

### 3.3.3 Other Public Welfares

Some other public welfare needs are also always mentioned by villagers when talking about tourism development, such as paying the irrigation water fee, paying subsidies on the ancestor worship ceremony and the *Chongyang* festival. After tourism development, the former committee paid irrigation water fees annually for all villagers, and gave financial support to the ancestor worship ceremony and *Chongyang* festival. This released villagers' hostilities towards tourism development at the beginning, and encouraged them to become involved in tourism. However, in the opinion of the current director, TMC is only in charge of tourism development affairs, and should be separated from other village public affairs. He argues that the committee should not pay irrigation water fees for villagers and he is reluctant to support the *Chongyang* festival. In 2007, the subsidy for the *Chongyang* festival was delayed for nearly a month. And it caused some suspicion among villagers that the

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<sup>25</sup> See footnote 7 in chapter two.

committee may not support the festival.

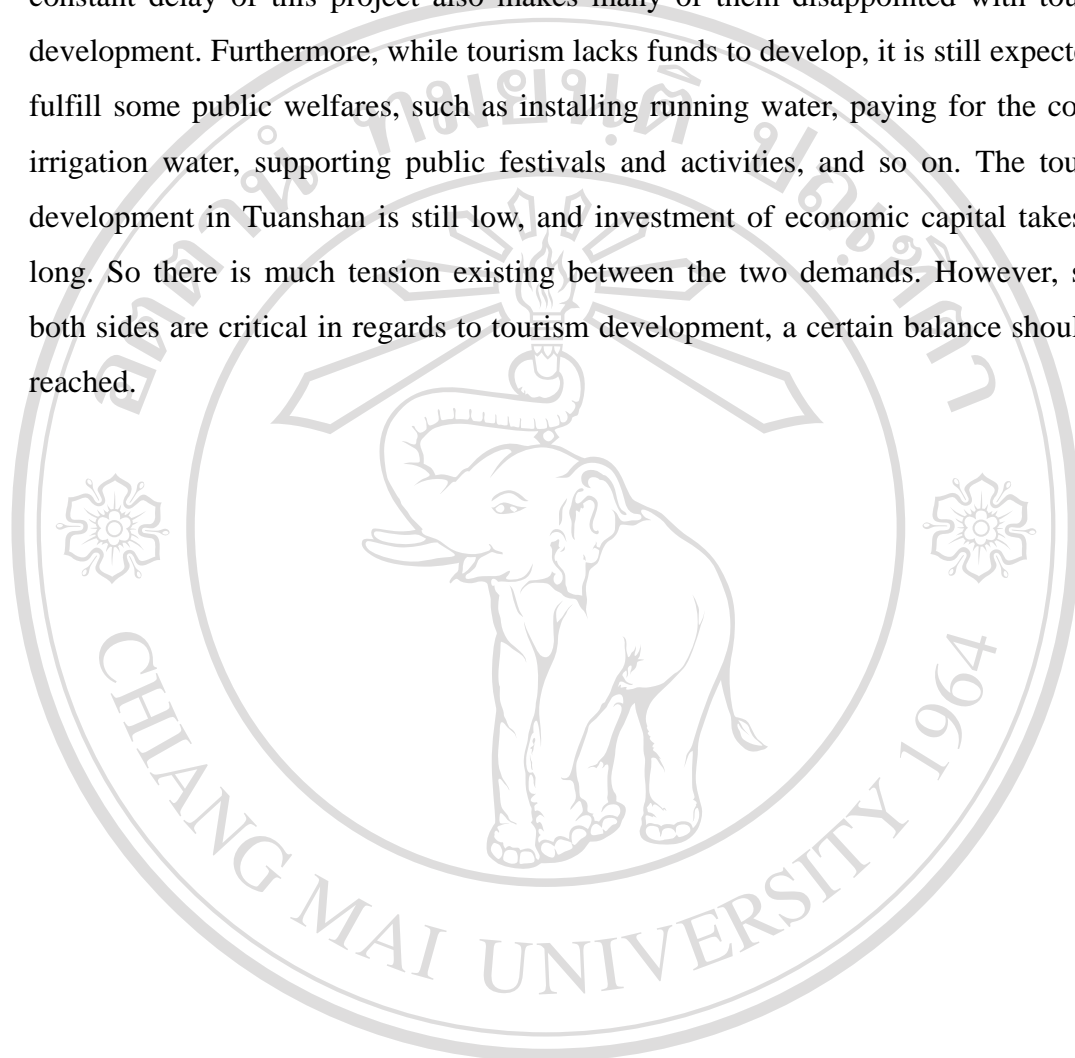
### **3.4 Conclusion: Property Relations, Community Participation and Tensions between Tourism Development and Community Expectation in Historic-Village Tourism**

To summarize this chapter, tourism resources in Tuanshan village should be considered common-pool resources, and tourism development should be discussed in the framework of community development. For the first point, the committee members and many villagers have had some sense that they should promote tourism together, and villagers should be united to do this work. However, since they only think about the property relations within the framework of private property or state property, they did not figure out the suitable relations among themselves. Furthermore, the contested attributes of the committee also make the property relations more complex. The property relations towards this resource are unclear for villagers, and this leads to many conflicts when villagers try to pursue their interests in tourism.

As to the second point, firstly, there is a low level of community participation in tourism development. Villagers are treated as objects to be manipulated and educated. They are not informed about management rules and operations of the committee. They do not have a clear idea about the attributes and responsibilities of the committee. They do not even know how the process of election works when they were asked to elect a new committee, but just observed that the person who got the highest vote did not become the director. This low level of participation results in their suspicious attitude towards the committee, both regarding the former one and the new one, and this leads to conflicts between villagers and the committee. And since villagers did not know how the TMC operated, they were easily convinced by some arguments against it.

Secondly, there are tensions between the limits of tourism development stage and villagers' relatively high expectation. Although tourism in Tuanshan has been developing for seven years, it is still in a very low stage of development. The income from tourism is very limited, at no more than 180 thousand Yuan per year. And villagers do not have economic capital to develop tourism by themselves but need

outside capital coming in. The government's project has been discussed for many years but is still in the air. This news gives villagers great expectations. However, the constant delay of this project also makes many of them disappointed with tourism development. Furthermore, while tourism lacks funds to develop, it is still expected to fulfill some public welfares, such as installing running water, paying for the cost of irrigation water, supporting public festivals and activities, and so on. The tourism development in Tuanshan is still low, and investment of economic capital takes too long. So there is much tension existing between the two demands. However, since both sides are critical in regards to tourism development, a certain balance should be reached.



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