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Exploring the Potential of Mass Tourism
in the Facilitation of Community
Development:

A Case Study of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve,
Western China.

用于帮助社区发展密集型旅游业潜力的检测与评估
一个以九寨沟自然保护区为例的研究，
中国西部.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in Development Studies
at Massey University, New Zealand.

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2005

A b s t r a c t

It is not generally thought that there is great potential for sustainable and empowering local-level development through mass tourism; however the majority of world tourism continues to be at the large scale. This is especially so in China, where mass tourism is pursued as a means of developing the western regions where ethnic minority groups mostly reside. Instead of advising only small-scale community tourism based on theories of participation and empowerment, there is a need to examine realistically the potential of mass tourism for local-level development that is both sustainable and empowering. This thesis uses the case study of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, Sichuan, China to explore the possibilities for the development of resident Tibetan communities hosting more than a million Chinese tourists per year. According to the values of the Tibetan village Panyazhai, well-being has indeed been enhanced through mass tourism, in a manner that is moving towards sustainability and empowerment. The thesis concludes that in Jiuzhaigou regulation is the key to sustainable and empowering development, and appropriate regulation is best achieved through partnerships between local communities and the State that involve both formal and personal relationships.

人们普遍认为,通过大规模密集型旅游业为一个地区带来自主可持续发展并没有太大潜力.然而,世界大部分旅游业仍在继续以这种方式进行.特别是在中国,大规模密集型旅游业更是被作为少数民族聚集的西部地区发展的一种模式.因此,除了考虑以自主参预理论为基础的小规模地区旅游业外,有必要对大规模密集型旅游业为地区带来自主可持续发展的潜力进行实际地检测.本论文就是将每年接待逾百万游客的中国四川省九寨沟生态自然保护区作为研究实例,对当地藏民居住区发展的可能性进行了考察.根据对藏族村寨盘亚寨的评估,当地人民的生活水平通过大规模密集型旅游业确实得到提高,并且正朝着自主可持续发展的方向迈进.本论文得出的结论是:在九寨沟,合理有效的管理对确保自主可持续发展很有必要,而取得这种合理有效管理的最好途径是通过地区人民,旅游部门,和以当地行政以及保护区管理部门为代表的地方政府三者之间相互的合作.

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

Firstly and foremostly, I would like to thank the people of Jiuzhaigou for making this research possible. Especially the people of Panyazhai, and those in the clothes-renting gang: Bi Rang Zuo, Bu Zuo, Ge Ran Jiu and family, Jie Jie Zuo, Ke Ke Zuo, Ke Ke Ta, La De, Lang Zhu Nian Mo, Long Jie Guo, Long Me, Long Me Ta, Qi Me, Ren Jing Zuo, Suo Lang Geng Zuo, Yan Zuo Ta, Yu Bo, Xi Wang, Xie Zuo, Zhu Xi Na Me – and all those whose names I never learnt or never learnt to spell. In addition I thank those who welcomed me into their homes – especially the extended family of Jie Mu and Ge Qiu: La De, Ke Zuo and other family members. I especially want to thank Ren Jing Zuo, Yu Bo and Ge Ran Jiu who gave me a lot of assistance in communication, explanation, translation and introductions. A very big thank you to Keke – vice director, organiser and friend. Thank you for your trust and faith in my research, your behind the scenes organising, and the use of your modern facilities in times of need! I am also indebted to many at the administration, all of whom I do not have room to name, who helped with organising and participating in interviews

The next huge thanks is for my “China support team” of Zhou Jun (Jun), Ze Dan Zhuo Ma (Danielle) and Zheng Yong (Jonathan). Each of you contributed to this thesis in a different way through your friendships with me. Truly, there would be no research without your organisational help, excellent translation, and your warm acceptance in times of need. Thanks also to the Tang family of Chengdu: Xiaouu’s help at the New Zealand end with organisation and translation, and Uncle Tang and Aunty Wang for providing for me like a daughter while I was in China. I can never repay any of you for what you have done for me. Other people who hosted us in China include Pu Zong, Liang Ping and Xiao Yang of Jiu Xin hotel in Zhangzha, Juan Liu of Pengzhou Number One Middle School, the Zhou and Shi families of Chengdu, as well as Huang Qiqi, Zhang Jin and JQ of Chongqing.

At the New Zealand end, I thank my wonderful supervisor: Dr Regina Scheyvens who gave me free rein but also solid advice. Thanks also to my second supervisor Dr Barbara Nowak for helpful comments and to Dr Alex Chu who helped through his contacts in Chengdu. And of course, the support crew in Room 2.07 were invaluable in every step of thesis preparation, especially Ri, Bona and Rob, with whom I shared the office mostly.

I must finally thank my gracious friends and family. My father for his useful comments on the first draft, and the two people who have had to put up with the brunt of my struggles in this thesis: Cai Youwen, for accepting a very unorganised homestay situation and assisting me daily with my Chinese, and my husband Travis, who has paid the highest price for this thesis, as always with those closest to us. Thank you for your total trust, in which you never question me or my actions, and for your support both in China and at home.

Fieldwork was made possible through an NZAID Postgraduate Fieldwork Scholarship, assistance from my parents Nick and Jan (BMITW) Hoskins, and anonymous contributions from friends and members of Grace City Church. This degree was aided through a scholarship from Masterton Trust Lands Trust, and the Massey University Alumni Scholarship.

*This thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather Peter Hoskins.
In Loving Memory.*

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List of Abbreviations

CAT	Circumstantial alternative tourism
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CICETE	China International Center for Economic and Technical Exchanges
DAT	Deliberate alternative tourism
[e]	Electronic document (no page numbers)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (The World Conservation Union)
JNNRA	Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve Administration
JNSRA	Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration
MAB	Man and Biosphere Programme (UNESCO)
n.d.	No date
NGO	Non-government organisation
NTA	National Tourism Association (China)
NZAID	New Zealand Agency for International Development
Pers. comm.	Personal communication
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
QNPWC	Qomolangma Nature Preserve Working Commission
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SARS	Sudden Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SMT	Sustainable mass tourism
TAR	Tibetan Autonomous Region
UMT	Unsustainable mass tourism
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WCMC	World Conservation Monitoring Centre
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

G l o s s a r y

Guide to Pronunciation of Chinese Terms

This thesis basically uses the Pinyin system of romanisation for Chinese terms. Although Pinyin allows for recording the tones of the Chinese language, I have not used these symbols within the text, but have included the correct Chinese character in the glossary so that Chinese speakers may look up the word. This brief guide to pronouncing Chinese terms does not therefore include the tonal aspect of each syllable.

Each Chinese syllable is split into an initial and a final sound, with one of four tones assigned. The finals are normally a mixture of vowels (sometimes with 'n' or 'ng' added) pronounced as follows:

a	–	ah
e	–	eh
i	–	ee or sometimes as the 'i' in ditch.
o	–	or
u	–	oo
ü	–	yu

Many of the Chinese initials are consonants similar to their English counterparts (or similar enough for our purposes here) except for the following:

zh	–	pronounced something like the 'j' in Joe.
q	–	pronounced something like the 'ch' in China.
x	–	pronounced something like the 'sh' in sheet.
c	–	pronounced something like the 'ts' in sheets.

Hence 'Jiuzhaigou' should be pronounced 'jeeoh-jai-go', 'guanxi' should be pronounced 'gwan-she' and 'Cai' should be pronounced 'tsai'.

Note on use of place and personal names

This thesis has tried to be consistent in the romanised renderings of personal and place names that use non-roman scripts. I used the Pinyin system for romanising both Chinese and Tibetan place and personal names (including pseudonyms), except for those which are known outside of China in another form (for example: Lhasa, Chiang Kai Shek, Yangtze River). In the case of place names, I generally tried to use the official government designation in order that they may be found on a map or cross-referenced with other works. In the case of personal names, I used whatever was given me in personal communication, which was generally the Chinese rendering of a Tibetan name. In the case of pseudonyms, I replaced names with typical Sichuanese Tibetan names, rendered in Pinyin.

Glossary

Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture	阿坝藏族羌族自治州	Autonomous prefecture of Tibetan and Qiang peoples within Sichuan Province. Has thirteen counties, one of which is Jiuzhaigou County.
Amdo	安多	Branch of Tibetans, or the language they speak.
autonomous prefecture	自治州	Government administrative division. Provinces are divided into prefectures, some of which are ethnic autonomous prefectures allowed greater self-governance, highest official of prefecture must be of the ethnic minority concerned.
autonomous region	自治区	Government administrative division. Province-level areas of ethnic minorities guaranteed greater self-governance, highest official of an autonomous region must be of the ethnic minority concerned.
Bailongjiang	白龙江	River and forest bureau in Sichuan (<i>lit</i> : white dragon river).
Baima	白马	Branch of Tibetans (White Horse) that follow the Bon religion (pre-Lamaism).
Beijing	北京	Capital city of the People's Republic of China, situated in northeast China.
Bitahai	碧塔海	Lake in Zhongdian County, Yunnan Province.
Chengdu	成都	Capital city of Sichuan Province.
Chiang Kai Shek	张介石	Leader of the Nationalist government from 1928-1949.
county	县	Government administrative division, a county is normally named by its county capital, which is responsible for the management of the county's townships (县), which are in turn responsible for the management of other villages (村). Hence Jiuzhaigou is the name of a county, a large town and the national park.
Cultural Revolution	文化大革命	Period in Chinese history (officially 1966-1976) where students and workers revolted against the communist leadership and the subsequent put down where city youth were sent into the countryside for 're-education'.
cun zhang	村长	Elected leader of an administrative village.
Dai	傣[族]	Ethnic group found in southwest China and other parts of southeast Asia.
Dalai Lama	达赖喇嘛	Traditionally the highest spiritual and political leader of Tibet.
danwei	单位	Work unit. Under communism an administrative unit based around the workplace.
Deng Xiaoping	邓小平	<i>De facto</i> ruler of China from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Responsible for the 'open door' policies.
duiwai kaifang	对外开放	'Opening up to the outside' – referring to China's recent policies opening up the economy to foreign investment and ideas.
fazhan	发展	Develop, development.
Gansu	甘肃[省]	Province in northwest China.

goukou waimiande	沟口外面的	Belonging to outside of the gully mouth
guanxi	关系	Relationships, connections. Referring often to having the right connections in order to do something.
Guangxi	广西[壮族自 治区]	Zhuang people's Autonomous Region in southern China.
Guizhou	贵州[省]	Province in southern China.
Guwazhai	故洼寨	Village in Jiuzhaigou, near Panyazhai, mostly destroyed during the Cultural Revolution
Hainan	海南[省]	Island province off the south-east coast of China.
Han	汉[族][朝]	A people, state and later dynasty of China beginning around 200BC. Today, the main ethnic group in China is called Han.
Hanification		Becoming more like Han Chinese (<i>source</i> : author)
Heyezhai	荷叶寨	Village within Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, near Panyazhai.
Huanglong	黄龙[保护区]	World heritage protected area in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, Sichuan Province (<i>lit.</i> yellow dragon).
Huangshan	黄山	Famous mountain tourist destination in Anhui Province, eastern China (<i>lit.</i> yellow mountain).
hukou	户口	System of household registration in China.
Jiang Qing	江青	Third wife of Mao Zedong and leader of the Gang of Four, arrested after Mao's death for her part in the Cultural Revolution.
Jiang Zemin	江泽民	Served in the leadership of CCP and the PRC from 1989 to 2005 (including as President from 1993 to 2003).
Jianpanzhai	尖盘寨	Village in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, near Panyazhai.
Jiuzhaigou	九寨沟 [县][保护区]	Valley, county and protected area in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous prefecture, Sichuan Province.
Kawagebo	[梅里雪山]	Mountain in Yunnan Province, also known as Meili snow mountain (<i>source</i> : Tibetan).
Khamba	康巴	Branch of Tibetans in Northeastern Tibet and nearby provinces, and the language they speak.
Kuomintang	[中国]国民党	The nationalist government of China from 1912 to 1949. Fled to Taiwan to establish the Republic of China (<i>pinyin</i> : Guomindang, <i>lit.</i> The Nationalist People's Party of China).
Lhasa	拉萨	Capital city of Tibet (TAR).
luohou	落后	Backward, undeveloped, fallen behind, primitive.
Maerkang	马尔康[镇]	Capital of Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture.
Mao Zedong	毛泽东	Founder of the PRC and Chairman of CCP from 1935 to 1976.
Meili Snow Mountain	梅里雪山	Mountains in Yunnan Province, also known as Kawagebo (Tibetan).

Miao	苗[族]	Minority group of China and other south east Asian countries (known sometimes as the Hmong). In China, mostly found in Guizhou Province.
Minshan	闽山	Mountain range in Northwest Sichuan, on the edge of the Tibetan plateau.
momo	馍馍	Traditional Tibetan bread, term used in Jiuzhaigou to refer to any bread.
Mosuo	摩梭[人]	Matrilineal minority group in Yunnan.
Mu	亩	Area of land equivalent to 0.066 Hectares.
Nanping	南平	The old name for what is now officially called Jiuzhaigou County.
Nationalist	[中国]国民党	The Nationalist People's Party of China. Known as Kuomintang or Guomindang, they governed China from 1912 to 1949. Fled to Taiwan to establish the Republic of China.
Naxi	纳西[族]	Minority group in southwest China.
Pakeha		New Zealander of European descent (source: Te Reo Maori)
Panyazhai	盘亚寨	Village in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve.
po siji	破四旧	Smashing the old ways
prefecture	地区	Government administrative division. Provinces are made up of administrative prefectures, and prefectures are divided into counties [县].
province	省	China is divided into 22 provinces, which are directly under the central government at the same level as municipalities, autonomous regions and special administrative regions.
Qiang	羌[族]	Minority group in Northwest Sichuan.
Qin	秦[朝]	A people, state and later dynasty of China beginning around 220BC.
Qing	清[朝]	The last Chinese dynasty, ruled by the Manchus and fell in 1912.
Qinghai	青海[省]	Province in western China.
shaoshu minzu	少数民族	Minority nationality of China
Shuzheng	树正[寨]	Village in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, where most tourists stop.
Sichuan	四川[省]	Province in western China.
Songpan	松潘[县]	Town and county in Sichuan Province.
Tiananmen Square	天安门	'The gate of heavenly peace' to the Forbidden City in central Beijing. Best known in the West for the massacre of students that occurred there in June 1989, following pro-democracy protests.
Tibetan (Zang)	藏[族]	Ethnic group found in Tibet (TAR), Western China, Nepal, India and Bhutan.
xingfu	幸福	Happy, happiness, well-being.

Xinjiang	新疆[维吾尔 自治区]	Uighur Autonomous Region in northwest China.
Yangtze	长江	River running from the far west of China to the East China Sea, originating in Tibet and Qinghai (<i>pinyin</i> : Chang Jiang. <i>lit.</i> long river).
yuan	元	Chinese dollar (¥), also written RMB. ¥1 is worth US \$0.125 (USD: RMB is fixed 1:8).
Yunnan	云南[省]	Province in southwest China.
Zechawa	则查洼[寨]	Village in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve.
Zhangzha	漳扎[镇]	Town outside of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve.
Zharu	札如[寨]	Village in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, where the temple is located.
Zhongdian	中甸[县]	County and town in Yunnan Province.
Zhongguo	中国	China (<i>lit.</i> central kingdom)
Zhu Rongji	朱镕基	Premier of China, 1998 to 2003.
zizhi difang	自治地方	Autonomous place.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over time, research and general opinion has alternately advocated for and cautioned against tourism as an agent of development, and nowhere has the debate been more intense than when the subject is the less developed world. At the national scale, it is often claimed that tourism contributes to a rising income per capita, and can stimulate other industries in turn – the more tourists the better. Yet others have shown that most tourism revenues in fact ‘leak’ out of the nations concerned, that benefits accumulate to richer tourist-generating industrialised nations and environmental disasters accumulate to less-developed tourist-receiving sites. Although tourism benefits some individuals, it is now generally thought that in terms of community or local-level development ‘less is best’; serious restrictions on tourist numbers and behaviour must be imposed in order to protect community assets, environment, culture and society. Small-scale tourism is thought to be more sustainable, more empowering and more appropriate to development at the community level.

Yet this is a thesis about community development in the context of large-scale tourism. Aside from the claims of those who advocate, caution against or adapt tourism, this thesis explores holistically and realistically the potential of mass tourism in facilitating sustainable and empowering development at the local level. Others have studied the effects of mass tourism on communities, some from within modernisation or neo-liberal perspectives, some from within dependency perspectives, and some from within alternative development and tourism perspectives. But when an issue such as mass tourism is explored from any of these ideological viewpoints, one invariably misses out on truly understanding how the local people concerned view the whole process. This thesis therefore addresses the issue of community development and mass tourism through the understanding of the people of Panya Village, Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, Western China.

This chapter of the thesis will explore the way the research question came to be asked, in order to establish the researcher’s assumptions and positionality. It will then address the way in which the research question will be answered, outlining the general research approach, methodology and limitations, ethics and thesis outline.

1.1 Research Context

The research aim of this thesis was born out of my specific context and background as a researcher and a student. Firstly, familiarity with Chinese people and the Chinese Mandarin language enabled me to travel to China as a tourist, experiencing Chinese-style tourism and viewing both poverty and wealth within the Chinese context. Secondly, an undergraduate degree in Environmental Studies and a postgraduate focus on Development Studies were particularly helpful in revealing the complexities of the human-environment relationship, leading me to a greater appreciation of the problems of developing nations. One of the best solutions I had learned about that balanced environmental protection and development was the community-based ecotourism framework, where community organisations developed ecotourism lodges and tours for environmentally and culturally sensitive tourists to visit, thus participating in the equitable and sustainable development of an indigenous community.

In 2002, while travelling as a tourist around China considering possible development thesis topics, I was fascinated by Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, Sichuan Province, where mass tourism was meeting head-on with nature-based tourism and indigenous communities.

“We’re going tramping.” My Chinese friend informed us, a group of sweating and white-faced foreigners gathered in her small Chengdu apartment, continuing on to explain that it was going to be cold in the mountains we were visiting and to make sure we brought warm enough clothes. As we were all quite geographically disoriented at this stage of our whirlwind tour of China, we didn’t quite grasp early enough that the mountains she was referring to were actually the edge of the Tibetan plateau. We also didn’t quite grasp the incongruence between the New Zealand English word “tramping” (a word that for us is associated with large backpacks, faintly marked tracks, open fires, billy tea and daily eight hour long uphill treks) and the Chinese concept of nature-based scenic mountain tourism. Excited about possibly my first glimpse of something like ecotourism, and definitely my first glimpse of minority peoples in China, I boarded the bus at 7am in Chengdu during the hottest summer experienced in fifty years. Ten hours later we disembarked in Songpan County woefully underdressed and reeling from both the altitude and the culture shock of our bus trip shared with karaoke-loving, parasol-bearing, high-heeled, middle-aged tour

companions. *By the time we understood what was happening, it was too late. We were mass tourists. Asian mass tourists. Tramping, our Chinese friend conceded, had been a frightful misnomer. "But," she added brightly, "It's much cheaper to go this way, and we can see more things!" A statement that soon proved disturbingly correct as we were informed that the bus would be leaving for our first sightseeing tour at 5am the following morning in order to traverse the full 80-kilometre scenic round-trip of the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in one day. Our young, beautifully made-up tour guide herded us, flag in hand, into our twin-share three-star hotel bedrooms for an early night.*

Four days and three hotels later, we had experienced the wonders of the 'Fairyland on Earth' Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve and the amazing terraced mountain of Huanglong Reserve, along with several other sites of scenic and consumer interest in the area. The image of five thousand tourists with pastel sun-umbrellas forming an odd river bobbing steadily up the side of the mountain taller than New Zealand's Mount Cook stayed with me as I tried to make sense of all I had seen. The Coke machine at 3,500m. The tourists posing in Tibetan dress for photos en masse. The sedan chairs. The Tibetan women in their traditional dress looking utterly comfortable yet woefully out of place compared to the fashion-conscious tourists. The beautiful Tibetan homes. The women in high-heels with matching handbags under one arm and oxygen pillows under the other (connected directly up the nose by a tube). The trees, the lakes, the terraces, the temples. The busloads and busloads of tourists. The masses of souvenirs lining the marketplaces. The luxury hotels. The recycling bins, the first I had seen in China. The absence of children. 'What on earth in tourism and in development is happening here?' I asked myself.

The Jiuzhaigou experience taught me one thing about tourism in China. Where there is picturesque scenery, the tourists will go. All of them. Together. Later, learning of the status-based imperative to tourism in China, it became clear to me that community-based ecotourism was just not an option for development there. All tourism in China, almost by necessity, is mass tourism. But my studies in development and the environment had given me the very clear impression that mass tourism was evil: an imperialist, racist, anti-environmentalist bourgeois activity that destroyed local cultures and environments by drawing previously happily self-sufficient communities into a homogenising cash-based

global system of oppression and inequality. Yet since there was obviously no escaping mass tourism in China, the question for me was ‘how can this supposed evil be harnessed for local-level development?’ It seemed sensible to ask those who were most likely to know: the local people in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve.

1.2 Research Approach and Methodology

It is clear from the above incident that I had a lot to learn, both about my own conceptions of tourism and development, and the way others understand these concepts too. The problems surrounding the highly contested concept ‘development’ are somewhat over-documented, and I have attempted to avoid any superfluous additions to this debate by trying to understand and use ‘development’ as conceptualised by the case study community, without claiming that this is necessarily universal. The methodology thus employed in this research has been consistently one of understanding and explaining rather than defining, measuring and quantifying. Gaining an insider understanding of the way local people in Jiuzhaigou conceptualised development, and hence understood the changes that had taken place in their lives through tourism, could only really be done through a qualitative approach.¹

Yet even as I attempt to address my research question using a local understanding of development, the assumptions underlying the research question are not local. The questions I ask as a researcher are made up of complex assumptions that are embedded deep within both my cultural context as a young Pakeha New Zealander and the wider international development culture that informs most research and study in developing nations. During the thesis-writing journey, I have alternately attempted to separate myself from and accept my position within these cultures, attempting to go beyond my cultural limitations then recognising that mostly I cannot. My interactions with the Tibetan people of Panya through qualitative research enable me, to an extent, to step back and see development, tourism, sustainability and empowerment from a different perspective. Yet the Greco-Roman philosophical heritage of my education (of which this thesis is a product) has meant

¹ As Brockington and Sullivan (2003) discuss, this kind of topic (involving values and identity) can, at least initially, only really be researched inductively and qualitatively.

that my logic and my research is still based on the thesis-antithesis-synthesis approach of Western culture, where dichotomous comparisons abound, and every statement is 'proven' through references and arguments. Conducting research within these two different contexts (the local perspective and the academic perspective) definitely broadens my understanding of the processes of development.

Within this broader understanding, I have come to think that we definitely cannot see development as solely an economic or technological phenomenon. It is manifestly plain in this world that economics or technology cannot solve, or even explain, much of humanity's striving for improvement, an elusive concept that we try to pin down with the label 'development'. A step towards clarifying the approach I take in this thesis can be made with reference to Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen's conceptualisation of development as *freedom*. He eloquently makes the case for freedom as both the means and ends of development (Sen, 1999), seeing the expansion of freedom and the removal of 'unfreedoms' as prerequisite to and resultant of development as it should be. Yet even if I view poverty as a lack of choices and development as increasing freedom and opportunity, this view is not reflected necessarily in the powers that control development work. Hence not only have I had to attempt to understand and explain the conceptualisation of development that the people of Jiuzhaigou hold to, I have also had to come to an understanding of the kind of ideologies that inform deliberate development work through tourism in China. The first half of the thesis is dedicated to understanding development and tourism ideologies, both in general and specifically with regards to mass tourism in China. The second half of the thesis involved understanding the development ideologies of the groups involved in the actual case study, and the significance that this case study has in understanding mass tourism and development in China and beyond.

1.2.1 Research Ethics

Because this research argues for a local idea of development in conjunction with the principles of sustainability and empowerment, it follows that the research itself should not only seek to understand sustainability and empowerment, but should *be* sustainable and empowering. Robert Chambers (1992) heads up a section in an IDS discussion paper

'Reversals of dominance: from extracting to empowering'. He notes that 'however useful and justified it may be, the consummation sought [of the normal research process] is to process the data extracted into a PhD, articles or a book' (1992: 36). Empowering methodologies however, still 'enable outsiders to learn, but through the sharing of information in a manner which enhances people's analysis and knowledge and leaves them owning it' (1992: 36). There is no doubt that the consummation of this research is in a Masters thesis. However, this does not mean that the methodology has to be purely extractive and self-serving. As the ethical guidelines of the Association of Social Anthropologists of Aotearoa/New Zealand state:

... in requiring students to do field research purely as a training exercise, [anthropologists] may be making an unfair imposition on research participants. Unless there is some potential benefit for the research participants, and not just for the students involved, such exercises should be avoided (ASAA/NZ, 1987: 3).

In terms of ethics and principles of research then, it is not enough merely to avoid disempowering, but the fieldwork component of this research should also aim to empower. As discussed later in this study, empowerment has several different aspects and levels. This research attempted to empower both local communities and the local park administration in terms of giving voice to these groups of people, misunderstood in a local, national and global sense, and subject to outside-imposed stereotypes.² This research also sought to obtain this information without causing problems for the participants, both within park administration and local communities. Hence I sought all the appropriate permissions, and went through all the government requirements and regulations of research in China. I consistently declined offers from more powerful contacts to help me in avoiding the more bothersome regulations, as this causes friction between the local government and the local Public Security Bureau (PSB), and further entrenches the flows of power.

Research that causes undue dissension and resentment amongst local people due to one's association with particular people in the field would lead to decreased social sustainability. Although I could not claim to be totally objective, I could at least attempt to be neutral in

² Yet even in my efforts do this, I agree with Scheyvens and Storey (2003: 237) that 'empowering methodologies alone will not dissolve the power relations which exists between researcher and participants.' I see it more as an ethical choice rather than a hope of changing the world as such.

local affairs, to not add to any tensions that were already present. In terms of using *guanxi* or connections³ to get things done my way, I believe research that causes one group of people to be obliged to obey another group of people in doing something that may cause personal trouble and may even be illegal is ultimately disempowering. Although I cannot claim to empower people exactly in these situations, I can at least attempt to not add to the pressures put on ordinary people by 'important' people, to attempt to be an ordinary person myself, rather than an important foreign visitor.

1.2.2 Methodology

The fact that my context as a New Zealander and a researcher is so far removed from the daily lives of the people in Jiuzhaigou working out the practicalities of mass tourism development necessitated that in the case study fieldwork I adopt something of an anthropological method in research. My basic methodology, for the most part, involved participatory observation:⁴ living and working as a hawker with the residents of Panya village. My shared experiences working initially as a hawker formed the basis of the relationships that allowed me to explore local understandings of well-being and development through discussion and observation.

The depth of understanding that can be gained from this kind of qualitative research is well documented by writers such as Babbie (1998) and Brockington and Sullivan (2003) who show how qualitative research is the only way to really understand a social situation as the participants in that situation understand it. The process of understanding a local conceptualisation of development, and understanding to what degree their current and past situations matched up with this conceptualisation, involved both interviewing, participation and observation. Obviously, as a person of a different ethnicity and language, and one who is not a current member of what is essentially a fixed community, it was not possible for me to be an unobtrusive researcher. Instead, I followed in Liebow's (1967) example, where I

³ A concept discussed in Chapter Four.

⁴ I prefer the term 'participatory observation' to what some such as Babbie (1998) and Brockington and Sullivan (2003) describe as 'participant observation', since the immersion of the researcher in daily activities is much more than just sitting back and observing research 'participants', it is experiencing the daily lives of 'participants' yourself, as far as possible for an outsider.

recognised my position as a researcher openly, but still let myself become a part of the community as far as possible. Living with several local families enabled me to experience first hand the conditions of life, and to use everyday opportunities as launching pads for discussion. Along with firsthand participation and observation, 'snowball' sampling (Babbie, 1998) was used for getting interviewees, whereby contacts I made were asked for other contacts who would know something more about a particular issue.

The use of participatory methods was initially planned for the fieldwork phase of the research (see Appendix One and Two); however, on arrival in Jiuzhaigou it became clear that most participatory exercise methods were not appropriate to the local context. People invariably preferred casual conversation to formal exercises, and people politely declined to take part. For the women, especially, the use of a paper and pen was discouraging, even taking notes in my own personal notebook. Hence, the fieldwork became an exercise of sharing work, purposeful chatting and participatory observation. Fortunately, later in my fieldwork period, several of the younger people became comfortable with research procedures, and assisted me in working through much of the information to check its accuracy and consistency. These young people assisted in the operation of the participatory exercises that were eventually carried out once the community came to know me better.

1.2.3 Limitations

This research is set within a particular place and time, where Jiuzhaigou as a tourist destination is popular, well-regulated and supported by the host communities. The research investigation is limited to living memory, where the current situation in Jiuzhaigou is compared by residents to the situation around twenty to thirty years ago. Clearly, the situation could change just as easily in the future, and could even end up worse than it was twenty years ago. The research is therefore limited in that it is a snapshot of a specific time, and should not be taken as definitively true even one or two years from now. In addition, this shows how important it is to not only analyse local well-being changes, but also to investigate sustainability and empowerment concerns as these give an indication of where the development situation in Jiuzhaigou is likely to head in the future.

Although my grasp of Mandarin is good enough for the hawking business, the use of a translator was essential for interviews, since Mandarin Chinese is a second language for both myself and the people of Jiuzhaigou. However, the narrow geographical area covered by the local dialect⁵ meant that there was only one known person who could speak both English and the local Tibetan dialect – the extremely busy vice-director of the reserve. Although many people tried to convince me that a Mandarin translator would be adequate, I personally preferred to work through a local translator for accuracy and for the comfort of the local people. Because this was not possible, I hired a translator who could speak both Mandarin and university-level English and was from a nearby area. Hence the limitations of this research are often linguistic, where translation went through two translators, or where one or the other of us was working in our second language, or a mixture of all of these methods. Linguistic limitations also apply to secondary sources, where I have mostly consulted English language sources in my literature reviews and statistical information.

Other limitations are political, where the sensitive place of Tibetans within China is aggravated by the independence claims of Tibet proper,⁶ meaning that both I and my translator were warned by the local PSB to avoid all mention of politics or religion in discussion with anyone. There was also a considerable amount of reticence on the part of the people of Jiuzhaigou, both government-employed and self-employed, in regards to my questioning, as they too are understandably wary of outsiders stirring up political trouble in areas that the State would rather they left alone.

Bureaucratic requirements for gaining research permission involved time consuming negotiations with several different levels of government as well as the reserve administration and local PSB; this meant that the research scope had to be reduced from the wider Jiuzhaigou area (involving two government institutions) to just the actual protected

⁵ The use of the word 'dialect' here is somewhat inaccurate, since the language of the Tibetans of Jiuzhaigou is likely to be a Qiangic language (<http://tibet.ethno.info>). The language of the people of Jiuzhaigou and the Tibetan language (in any dialect) are definitely mutually unintelligible (according to a Lhasa Tibetan interviewed). However, people use the word 'dialect' to indicate their Tibetaness culturally and ethnically.

⁶ This thesis provides no discussion in regards to Tibet's claims to independence, or China's claim to Tibet. It is not considered relevant to the topic at hand since the Tibetans of Jiuzhaigou have been distinct from Tibetans in Tibet for hundreds of years, and were not claimed by Tibet in negotiations.

area managed by the joint Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve Administration/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration (JNNRA/JNSRA). Research in China requires permission from the province level, the prefecture level, and the county level, of which I thought I had obtained the first and last prior to my arrival. Research requires a Foreign Expert's Visa (F), even for students. A Foreign Expert's Visa requires an invitation from the highest Foreign Affairs Office in the province, which requires an invitation from an organisation, company or government agent that will be responsible for the researcher. Culturally, 'being responsible' for a foreigner in China obliges the host to lavishly provide for their accommodation, transport and translation. A host must also report foreigners staying in private homes to the local PSB station within 48 hours of arrival. Despite having an invitation from an organisation, I could only be given a tourist visa by the Chinese embassy in New Zealand because my research had to be vetted by the Foreign Affairs Office in China before I could proceed. In total, these requirements took six weeks to meet once I was in the country.

Both Chinese and Tibetans are hospitable people, willing to please and to provide – a cultural strength for them, but an academic weakness for me in that seeing that I got what they thought I wanted was much more important to them than 'the truth'. Hence I attempted to triangulate as much of my information as possible through various sources in order to avoid only knowing simply what I appeared to want to hear. The limitations of triangulation lie in the fact that this research deals with opinions and perspectives, which of course are different for each person. Triangulation was therefore mostly done through repeated questioning and observation, along with group discussions (as recommended by Babbie, 1998 and Kumar, 2002). It must be recognised here that people by nature are not always consistent in their answers, hence any social research is highly contestable and subjective.

Finally, a major limitation and yet key idea of the research approach is summed up by John Muir:

When we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe (Muir, 1988: 110).

This research is limited in its observation and analysis since I do not have the room, the time, or the ability to encompass the universe of interlinking complexities to which the key themes of mass tourism, local-level development and Western China are 'hitched' to.

1.3 Thesis Outline

The necessity of understanding context has been recognised more and more within development and tourism thinking. Understanding ideological contexts is particularly helpful in explaining why and how development has been pursued in the way it has, and why and how the various problems of development have come about. While this chapter introduces the research aims and methodology, the following three chapters seek to understand the ideological context for development through tourism, internationally and in China.

Chapter Two traces the ideologies of tourism and development through their recent history in order to position this research within its historical and theoretical context. The chapter seeks to show the importance of inductive, context-specific research in development and tourism (which are place-based practices) as opposed to deductive theory or ideologically based research that does not recognise its own inevitable subjectivity. The concepts of sustainability and empowerment are introduced as appropriate ethics of local-level people-led development.

Chapter Three critically explores the concepts of mass tourism and local development, trying to go beyond uninformed generalising stereotypes. The tourism system is explained, showing the complexity of the elements involved and the impossibility of generalising statements about mass tourism's sustainability or prospects for empowering development. The chapter shows how sustainability is related to regulation, and empowerment to benefits and control, neither of which are necessarily excluded by mass tourism in development.

Chapter Four turns to China, seeking to understand the way that tourism and development are conceptualised and practiced in the Chinese context. The chapter places Chinese ideas of development and tourism within their historical context, showing how Western-style

modernisation and development are used for Chinese purposes. The chapter introduces the role of protected area tourism in the development of the ethnic minority groups in the western regions of China.

Chapter Five moves on to the case study side of the research, introducing the protected area of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, destination of more than a million tourists a year and home to more than a thousand Tibetan residents. The case study serves as a context within which to explore ideas of local development through mass tourism, and this is done by delving into one community's understanding of well-being and how that well-being has changed over time as tourism has increased to the reserve. The chapter outlines the methodologies used to do this in each section of the findings.

Chapter Six then discusses the situation as described in Jiuzhaigou, looking at whether the reserve has moved towards sustainable tourism and empowering development. The factors specific to tourism in Jiuzhaigou, life in Jiuzhaigou and the management of Jiuzhaigou are discussed in order to understand how it is that Jiuzhaigou has managed to move towards sustainability and empowerment where other sites of mass tourism have failed.

Chapter Seven brings together the case study, the research aims and the ideological contexts and discusses what emerges as the three main themes of this research: the importance of regulation for sustainability and empowerment, the interrelatedness of sustainability and empowerment, and the need for partnerships to ensure appropriate regulation for local-level development. The thesis concludes with some key recommendations for further development in Jiuzhaigou and a summary of the main contributions that this thesis has made.

2. TRACING IDEOLOGIES

Tourism over the last century has been explicitly linked to development. If 'development stinks' (Esteva, 1987: 135), then the discourse surrounding the conceptualisation of tourism certainly reeks also. This chapter seeks to trace the ideologies of tourism and development through their co-evolutionary historical paths and into their complex and tumultuous contemporary relationship, in order to establish how it is that tourism is so consistently immersed in the language of development, and to ascertain whether the practices are redeemable in any way, despite their ideological heritage.

Table 2-1 provides an overview of the key development ideas of the Modern and post-Modern ideological eras, using Korten's (1990) concept of generations to trace their evolution, and to convey the idea of relationship and continuity between ideologies in general and consequent ideologies of development and tourism. Like Korten, I find using a genealogical analogy useful in that, like their biological counterparts, generations are 'born' in different eras but continue to exist alongside each other (and not always peaceably). This table is the basis for the discussion of the changes in development ideology in the following sections. Section 2.1 discusses the first and second generations, introducing the 'grand theories' of the Modern era, theories that seem to be opposites according to the political spectrum – but are actually fairly similar in their firm belief in industrialisation and economic growth, and in the ability of 'Man' to prescribe a grand overarching theory pointing the correct way to achieve these. Section 2.2 outlines the more complicated generations within the post-Modern paradigm, where it soon became apparent that the Modern ideologies and associated development and tourism theories were too simplistic to explain and plan for development in the real world. Attempts to redefine, alter and adapt theory and practice abounded then later receded with the rise of the post-Modern development-is-dead approach. Yet critiques helped to form a kind of ethic of ideal development and tourism based on the concepts of 'sustainability' and 'empowerment', and the rejection of ideologically-based research in favour of that informed by context. Section 2.3 positions the subject matter of the thesis within this framework.

Table 2-1: Development and Tourism Theories in Context

Generation ⁷	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Predominate Timeframe	up to 1960s	1970s	1980s/1990s	1990s
Era	Modernism		Post-Modernism	
Preferred strategy of 'official' development	Modernisation	'Liberal' Modernisation ⁸	Neo-Liberalism	
Purpose of official intervention ⁹	Developmentalism		Globalism	
Development Strategies	Economic Growth	Growth with Redistribution	Market Liberalisation	
Alternative Thought/Critique		Dependency theory	Alternative Development	Post-development
Alternative Purposes of Intervention ¹⁰	Relieve the poor	Help the poor help themselves	Provide institutional conditions necessary for the poor to help themselves	Address global, national or regional injustices that cause / continue poverty.
Alternative Development Strategies ¹¹	Relief and Welfare	Self-Reliance	Sustainable Systems	People's Movements
Tourism Platform ¹²	Advocacy	Cautionary	Adaptancy	Knowledge-based
Relationship between tourism and development ¹³	Tourism assists development. It is good.	Tourism creates dependency: assists under-development. It is bad.	Tourism can be good for development if it is sustainable, participatory, authentic, small-scale.	Recognition of the reality of mass tourism. Need to understand the tourism system as a whole including its relationship to development.

Source: Author

⁷ Korten (1990): originally generations of NGO work, but a helpful way of referring to each period of thinking.

⁸ Maiava (2001)

⁹ McMichael (1990) divides development practice into these two world frameworks, broadly consistent with modernisation and neo-liberalism, but shows the key emphasis of each era.

¹⁰ De Senillosa (1998): expanding on Korten's generations

¹¹ Korten (1990): the generations of NGO development work.

¹² Jafari (1989): platforms of tourism writings

¹³ Based on my understanding of the explanations of the different platforms given by Jafari (1989) and Weaver (1998).

2.1 'Modern' Era: The Grand Theories

The Modern era produced two 'grand' theories of development, Modernisation theory and Dependency theory, both of which attempted to explain and instruct development. Tourism theory's attendant contributions have been the 'advocacy platform' and the 'cautionary platform'. This section will look at the two ideological generations of development and tourism born in the Modern¹⁴ era (Table 2-1).

2.1.1 *The First Generation: Modernisation and Advocacy*

The first 'generation' of ideas (Table 2-1 above) is based on a Modern understanding of the world system, including the Modernisation paradigm of development theory, the advocacy platform of tourism writings, and the Eurocentric, paternalistic understanding of development as illustrated by the focus on 'relief and welfare' in development assistance. Tourism was viewed mostly as an extension of Modernisation into backward areas.

Modernisation theory is the name given to the group of theories that interpret and plan for development according to classical economics. It is based on the idea that societies evolved through stages (Webster, 1990) and a sharp distinction was drawn between 'traditional' and 'modern' society (placing the West firmly in the latter). Modernisation theory upheld that Western contributions of capital, technology and information could be used in developing nations in order to 'kick-start' development on a path towards the final stage of 'high mass consumption' (Rostow, 1956). It is considered a rather crude theory, in that its key tenant is that 'western modernity is the objective to achieve on a global level' (Narman, 1999: 151). The main supposedly imitation-worthy aspect of Western civilisation is of course the capitalist economic system (Matinussen, 1997). Modernisation theory is more of a theory of promotion rather than reflection, with little serious attempt at informed critique or evaluation. There was little alternative thought at this stage, though some non-governmental organisations (NGOs) held more closely to poverty relief as the aim of development rather than economic growth as such (de Senillosa, 1998).

¹⁴ This thesis uses 'Modern' to specify things associated with the Modern era, and 'modern' to refer to something contemporary.

In conjunction with the premise that tourism encourages economic growth, Modernisation theory is the basis of the tourism writings of that era, which reflected the same Western, modernising values. Broadly comparable to Modernisation theory in ideology, *the advocacy platform* (Table 2-1 above) of tourism writings is characterised by an unwavering promotion of tourism as a strategy of economic development (compared with the Cautionary platform in Table 2-2 below). Jafari (1989) suggests possible ‘advocates’ as being part of the private sector (such as tourism businesses, consulting firms and trade associations) or the public sector represented by agencies such as national tourism administrations and government caucus groups. Both sectors’ justification for advocacy is based mostly on the importance of tourism to the national economy, although other virtues that are not economic are presented also – such as the preservation of tradition and environments (see Table 2-2). Jafari also notes that the advocacy platform, much like Modernisation theory and neo-liberalism, ‘continues to be voiced by mostly the same private and public interests, and their message has remained basically unchanged’ (1989: 20): ‘mass tourism is a ticket to development’ (Jafari, 1989: 21).

Table 2-2: Positions of Advocacy and Cautionary Platforms on Tourism’s Impacts

<i>Advocacy Platform</i>		<i>Cautionary Platform</i>	
Economic	Socio-cultural	Economic	Socio-cultural
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Tourism is labour intensive: fulltime seasonal unskilled ◆ Generates foreign exchange ◆ Can be built on existing infrastructure ◆ Spreads development ◆ Complements production of other economic activities ◆ Has high multiplier effect 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Tourism broadens education ◆ Promotes international peace and understanding ◆ Breaks down: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> language barriers socio-cultural barriers racial barriers political barriers religious barriers sex barriers ◆ Reinforces preservation of heritage and tradition ◆ Promotes worldview of membership in the global community ◆ Enhances appreciation of one’s culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Tourism causes inflation ◆ Results in high leakage ◆ Has seasonality and contributes to unemployment ◆ Is susceptible to change, rumour, spread of disease and economic fluctuation ◆ Results in unbalanced economic development ◆ Leads to extraneous dependency ◆ Increases demonstration effects ◆ Destroys resources and creates visual pollution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Tourism contributes to misunderstanding ◆ Generates stereotypes of the host and guest ◆ Leads to xenophobia ◆ Results in social pollution ◆ Commercialises culture, religion and the arts. ◆ Threatens family structure ◆ Contributes to prostitution ◆ Increased instances of crime ◆ Conduces conflicts in the host society.

Source: Jafari (1989: 22)

2.1.2 The Second Generation: Dependency and Caution

The second generation (portrayed in Table 2-1) includes a slightly more complicated group of theories, relating to both development and tourism. The first generation lived on with official development in the West remaining a version of Modernisation theory. The second generation was born with Dependency theory, which gained in influence as a possible alternative to capitalist development. A new, cautionary platform of tourism writings also emerged based on the values of Dependency theory.

In response to the economic downturn and political unpopularity of America in the 1970s and the consequent rise in popularity with the more leftist critiques of development, Modernisation theory toned down its market focus a little leading to what Maiava (2001) calls 'liberal' Modernisation.¹⁵ This humanising of Modernisation theory is perhaps due to this being the only time in development history where any real challenge to the theory has gained influence, as shown in the approximation of the relative importance of various development schools of thought given in Figure 2-1.

Figure 2-1: Pictograph Showing Relative Influence of Various Development Schools of Thought

Predominate Timeframe	Up to 1960s	1970s	1980s/1990s	1990s+
Development Thinking	Modernisation		Neo-Liberalism	
		Dependency		
		Bottom-up ideas	Alternative Development	Post-development

Source: Author

¹⁵ Maiava introduces this term to describe the 'subtle shift whereby the liberty of people rather than economies came to be seen as the focus of development' (2001:12). Though not using this term, De Senillosa supports this analysis in terms of NGO thought and action during this period of time (1998:44).

The key challenge to Modernisation theory in this era appeared in the Latin-American inspired Dependency theory. Dependency theory is often portrayed as the antithesis of Modernisation theory in that capitalism is the culprit in the former and the saviour in the latter. Whereas Modernisation theory agrees that Western capitalism is what developing countries need in order to escape poverty, Dependency theory argues that capitalism is exactly what caused the problems in the first place and its continuing presence prevents developing nations from ever escaping poverty. Dependency theory is a general term used here to group together the range of neo-Marxist theories that deal with the issues of dependency and underdevelopment (Barnett, 1988). These theories all agree that the conditions prevailing in developing nations are a result of the same historical process in which the West became 'developed' – development was linked to underdevelopment as the opposite face of the same coin (Frank, 1966). The development of the 'first world' relied on a 'process of subordinate development or underdevelopment' of the 'third world' (Leys, 1976: 92). Capitalists sought opportunities to accumulate capital due to resource abundance or cheap labour; this capital was then invested in areas with a high return (Leys, 1976). Dependency analysts showed how this resulted in a process where wealth had a net flow in one direction – from the 'periphery' to the 'centre'. This process was and is seen to be played out through the mechanisms of colonisation, imperialism, debt burdens, development advice, unequal trade and tourism.

Tourism, especially mass tourism, was seen as a prototype of unequal trade and cultural imperialism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998), a process that was seen as strengthening the exploitative bond between the centre and the periphery. Dependency theory led to the beginnings of the *cautionary platform* of tourism writing during the 1970s (Jafari, 1989) as shown in Table 2-1. This platform revealed the 'road pattern of apparently negative economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts resulting from tourism's rapid and largely unplanned development' (Weaver, 1998), cautioning against tourism in general (as seen previously in Table 2-2). Key arguments include the analysis of tourism expenditure 'leakages' (Britton, 1982) and of the commoditisation and imperialism processes inherent in tourism, sometimes referred to as 'neo-colonialism' (Shivji, 1973 as cited in Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

The second generation thinkers especially critiqued the first generation for its failure to acknowledge the negative impacts of international relations. In reference to Modernisation theory, Dependency theorist Hoogvelt scathingly remarks on the lack of understanding of conflicts of interest in development processes:

One gets the impression that the history of mankind has been one happy, relaxed and peaceful exchange of ideas, stimulating progress here, there and everywhere where contact between societies is made. Cultural diffusion appears as a friendly merchant traveller, a timeless Marco Polo, innocently roaming the world, gently picking up a few ideas in one place and harmlessly depositing them in another. Incredulously ... 'domination', 'exploitation', 'imperialism' and 'colonialism' are not discussed ... (Hoogvelt, 1976: 18 as cited in Webster, 1990: 61).

Dependency theory advocates a controlled economic growth independent of the developed nations ranging from mild reformist strategies such as structuralism to more radical revolutionary solutions as a progression towards an independent socialist state.

2.1.3 *The 'Modern' Era Critiqued*

In some ways, the two key ideas of the Modern era are not antithetical as both Modernisation and Dependency theory are entrenched within a Modernist way of thinking. Crush (1995), while recognising the importance of Dependency theory in incorporating power relations into our analysis of development, points out that:

The radical anti-capitalism of the 1970s, which asserted that autonomy and delinking were the key to 'development', looks decidedly threadbare in the face of a counter-critique that they are as guilty of 'Eurocentric universalism' as those they criticize (1995: 19).

His statement is justified in that both Modernisation and Dependency theory offer a sweeping analysis of the world situation with little attention to detail or distinction. They are both grounded in Western economic theories and they both define (operationally) development as something like increasing Westernisation. They both offer general solutions to the 'problem' of development that are not informed by the specific situation that requires resolution. They fail to question the whole conception of development, basing their arguments around the *type* of economic growth – dependent or independent – without stepping back to question economic growth itself, a concept that is not universally accepted as an intrinsic good (Friedmann, 1992). The options are not tailored from country to

country or situation to situation and do not take into account many other factors of underdevelopment – such as access to resources and conceptions of development or ‘the good life’ that are other than economic (Gegeo, 1998). Subsequently, tourism writing in this era was much the same – tourism was seen as a force of good or evil (or development and underdevelopment) depending on which grand theory one subscribed to, but this was purely economic in analysis, not social or cultural. The deductive, generalistic nature of theorising in the Modern era rests solely on the ability of the theorist to predict and assess with no recognition of the subjectivity which is inevitably present.

This narrow framework is now challenged by the more eclectic framework of post-Modernism. Barnett (1988) sheds light on some of the problems of ‘Modern’ theorising, in that once the boundaries of a theoretical system are defined, then one must explain how it works. In defining it ‘all the parts of the whole must, by definition, contribute to the continuation of the system you began by defining’ (Barnett, 1988: 19). This deductive theorising is internal and circular, which is fine if it is seen for what it really is – an aid in understanding the world system. Obviously, the danger lies in that we start to forget the subjectivity of this theorisation, that it:

... is something we thought up at our own particular conjunction of biography and history. If we do forget that, we face the danger of moving from the use of a theoretical language which is more or less useful, to saying that the ‘system’ is a ‘true’ account, and worse, that it tells us what is right and wrong (Barnett, 1988: 49).

This is what seems to have happened with both Dependency theory and Modernisation theory. The conceptualisation, which was there to help us understand the truth, *becomes* the truth, fostering the creation of information that perpetuates the theory for the sake of the theory, even when it is no longer totally applicable.

However, this modern era is ending – ‘from their think-tanks and ivory towers, post modern thinkers are deconstructing the castle of modern certainties’ (Esteva and Prakesh, 1998). Post-Modernity has begun a ‘deconstruction’ of development theory and discourse, a process that involves the identification of the primary assumptions of a theory and looks at how these have been constructed socially (rather than objectively). The deconstruction of development interrogates the ‘intellectual and epistemological foundations’ of development

itself (Blaikie, 2000: 1033), and hence the very basis of the normative tourism theorisation of the era (Wood, 1993). The Modern era of development is deconstructed on four key fronts (Blaikie, 2000): challenging the right of the author to represent societies and people over their right to be heard and represent themselves; challenging all-embracing world views along with their underlying assumptions and the validity of their claims; challenging the way that 'expert' knowledge is constructed and promoted; and challenging the way that reality is constructed – in that the mind tells the eyes rather than the eyes telling the mind.

The concept of development has been deconstructed in this way through pinpointing the actual aim of development by operation (rather than rhetoric). Various aims of development have been suggested, such as the feeding of the development industry itself (Crush, 1995), the controlling and managing of other peoples and places (Escobar, 1995), the demonstration of the 'superiority and necessity of capitalist development' (Maiava, 2001: 217), the increasing integration of previously isolated communities into the global economy in order to obtain a minimum level of consumption (Illich, 1992: 99), or in the case of China as discussed in Chapter Four, the strengthening of the stability and unity of the nation-state. Such critiques try to reveal the mostly non-altruistic ideologies behind development ideas and practice, ideologies that are not primarily concerned with allowing the people who supposedly require development to articulate their own self-defined desires, needs, understandings and knowledges, or for trying to provide the conditions of freedom necessary for these to be realised (Sen, 1999). Modern development, as revealed by a post-Modern critique, appears to be more about the developers than the 'developees'.

2.2 The Post-Modern Era: A 3rd Paradigm

Like the Modern era, there are two broad generations of thinking within the post-Modern era of development – that which encompasses alternative development and the adaptancy platform of tourism thinking, and that which encompasses the post-development and people-led viewpoints and the knowledge-based platform of tourism thinking. Collectively, the two development viewpoints are known as 'the third paradigm' (Maiava, 2001), where a paradigm is:

... a set of basic ideas, thoughts or beliefs about the nature of reality. These beliefs serve as a lens through which we filter day-to-day perceptions of our world. While the old proverb tells us that seeing is believing, it might be more accurate to say that believing is seeing. Because of its influence on what we see the lens of our belief system is a powerful determinant of how we act (Korten, 1990: 35).

'The third paradigm' is a good description of the post-Modern development theories, as they in fact do recognise themselves as 'a lens through which to filter day-to-day perceptions'. Although the first two schools of thought in development are also paradigms, they did not necessarily recognise themselves as belief or value systems but portrayed themselves as the objective truth about reality. As will be seen in the following discussions of the alternative thinking within the third and fourth generations (refer back to Table 2-1), much has been gained through the rejection of oversimplification and universalism present in the first two generations of thinking.

2.2.1 The Third Generation: Alternatives and Adaptancy

The third generation, beginning in the 1980s heralded a confusing time for development theory, termed by some 'the impasse' (Booth, 1985; Schuurman, 1993). A stand-off had been reached between the two grand theories, which were seen as increasingly irrelevant (Edwards, 1989). However, many practitioners in the field quietly going about their business trying to make a better world simply ignored the dichotomous debates that raged on in academia and policy-making circles. Small-scale, people-centred, *alternative development*, along with its tourism counterpart in the *adaptancy platform*, emerged without a fanfare, and gradually gained acceptance as a practical alternative to the grand theories. Yet during the same time, the collapse of the Soviet model of development at the end of the cold war caused a pendulum swing in popularity for governments and multilateral organisations. Capitalism was seen to have 'won', and these organisations moved away from the liberal Modernisation model and back to a kind of classical economics. The new model was termed *neo-liberalism*;¹⁶ a now-mainstream development theory supporting laissez-faire based industrial development (Rapley, 1996). »17

¹⁶ 'Liberal' as in the liberty of capital, not people.

The mainstay of the *neo-liberal model* is the free market, with as little state intervention as possible. It has resulted in the large-scale privatisation of government functions. It is also the fundamental philosophy behind the Structural Adjustment Policies of the International Monetary Fund, which, despite being development strategies, are implemented more from an interest in the repayment of foreign debt than development as such (Scheyvens, 2002). Rather than having the poor at heart, neo-liberalism is 'based largely on a desire by multinational companies to secure markets for their products and to have unimpeded access to resources and investments around the world' (Scheyvens, 2002: 25). It can be seen that neo-liberalism is not fundamentally a theory of development, but rather an economic value system that informs the way people think about development. Consequently, neo-liberalism is unable to challenge the fundamental presuppositions of development as development is seen solely as an economic process, and is not primarily aimed at the poor.

Yet, although centred on the poor, alternative development strategies do not really constitute a theory of development either. Alternative development is more of a group of methods based on an agnostic viewpoint that doesn't reject or accept the fullness of either of the two grand theories, choosing rather to continue to 'do development' on a small-scale, where each project is evaluated according to its own context and criteria. Early writings of this type can be seen in Freire's people-centred work on educating the oppressed (Freire, 1972; Maiava, 2001) and Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (1973) ideas (Thomas, 1992). Likewise, writings from within the adaptancy platform of tourism sought to find 'alternative forms of touristic development and practice' to pure advocacy or cautionary positions (Jafari, 1989: 23).

In particular, the environmental awareness movement was an important step in challenging the status quo of development and progress, and led to the first key tenant of alternative development: sustainability. The environmental movement grew into a widespread cultural change in much of Western society challenging the rights of people to exploit the environment. Among many environmentalists, overpopulation was the key issue in environmental degradation (Ehrlich, 1968; Meadows *et al.*, 1972), with the finger of blame consequently being pointed at the high population growth rates in developing nations. Developing nations asserted an opposing view that saw environmental degradation as a

consequence of the Western way of life. Obviously, the two views aren't entirely mutually exclusive, coming together in the concept of sustainable development, subsequently explored in the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987). The key idea from the environmental movement is the challenge to the idea of unrestrained human progress (itself a Western construction) in the principle of 'sustainability'.

Although Dependency theory previously raised a challenge concerning the method and the distribution of progress, the economic conceptualisation of development had remained unquestioned. Alternative development thinking questions these values for the first time, considering aspects of life beyond economic growth. Although initially focussed on balancing people-focused 'development' with environment-focused 'sustainability' (Lele, 1991; Tisdell, 1988), sustainable development came to have a much broader usage that included economic sustainability, social sustainability and even political and cultural sustainability alongside its environmental ideals (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Overton, 1999). The concept of sustainability was the initial basis of the adaptancy platform of tourism writings, advocating the avoidance of economically, socially and environmentally unsustainable mass tourism in favour of small-scale and equitable alternative tourism. For example, ecotourism broadened from a focus merely on environmental sustainability and conservation (Ceballos-Lascurain cited in Boo, 1990: 2; Blamey, 1997; Buckley, 1994) into a more holistic understanding of sustainable tourism that included social, cultural and economic factors (Ayala, 1996a, 1996b and 1997; Cater and Lowman, 1994; Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999 and 2002; Weaver, 1998, 2001a and 2001b). Despite this deepening and broadening of understanding, sustainability remains a contested concept (Mowforth and Munt, 1998), indicating that an array of interest groups have voice, rather than merely being subjects of yet another grand, supposedly all-encompassing development concept.

Stemming from some kind of understanding of social sustainability and sustainable livelihoods (Chambers and Conway, 1992), the second key theme of alternative development is 'participation'. The promotion of participation is in this (the third) generation often fairly pragmatic, where a sense of 'ownership' of the project is increased by local participation, and sustainability is increased as it enables ongoing maintenance after

the development organisation pulls out. Recognition for the traditional systems of local communities around the world who had managed environmental resources for centuries strengthened the link between development and sustainability:

Questions of participation, including empowerment and local knowledge systems, must be addressed by any programme concerned with environmental issues in the context of development (Ghai and Vivian, 1992: 3).

Participation ensures that development is sustainable in the social context, as local support is necessary if development projects are to be implemented successfully. Significant leadership in the area of participation was provided through practitioner/academics such as Robert Chambers, and through the partnerships of NGOs with grassroots organisations (as outlined by Korten, 1990; de Senillosa, 1998). Tools such as the project cycle (Picciotto and Weaving, 1994) and stakeholder analysis (World Bank, 1998) were developed and endorsed in official circles, with a new focus on learning processes and adaptations rather than blueprints (Chambers, 1993; Cusworth and Franks, 1993; Rondinelli, 1993). The professional biases of development work are shown by Chambers (1983) to limit the effectiveness in reaching the poorest of the poor. These biases towards the roadside, large-scale, capital intensive and high-tech projects have been countered in a push by alternative development agents (mostly NGOs) for the remote, small-scale and local input development work. Within professional development agents (mostly governmental, bilateral, multilateral and consultancy organisations), rectification has been attempted through the implementation of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) or Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques that enhance sustainability and quell criticisms to an extent. However, Blaikie (2000: 1040) comments that the appropriation of people-centred development 'soundbites' into official documents merely decorate the neo-liberal agenda and do not in fact make any dent in the overall Modernistic goals.

The idea of participation subsequently broadened during the 1980s and 1990s to particularly encourage the participation of the excluded in society. A concern for marginalised groups such as indigenous peoples or women arose (Moser, 1989; Townsend, 1993) along with a valuing of the small-scale and traditional (and a suspicion of the large-scale and modernising) (Chambers, 1983, 1997), a preference for NGO-led over state-led initiatives (Friedmann,

1992; Korten, 1990), and emphasis on self-sustaining practices in addition to the original concern for environmental conservation (Kirkby *et al.*, 1995; Overton and Scheyvens, 1999).

The *adaptancy platform*, like other areas of alternative development, values small-scale tourism developments that are super-sensitive to the hosts needs for development rather than outside ideas of how tourism and/or development should be. Tourism alternatives proposed are mostly:

community centred, employ local resources, are relatively easy to manage, are not destructive, benefit hosts and guests alike, and even improve communication between them (Jafari 1989: 23).

The platform also values participation and community involvement in tourism (Krippendorf, 1987; Murphy, 1985). The possibilities for participation and community involvement in tourism were at this stage linked to the scale of tourism. The logic is that:

It seems more likely that communities will be able to be actively involved in alternative tourism ventures which are small-scale and based around local skills and resources (Scheyvens, 2002: 63).

Consequently, within the adaptancy platform there is something of a dichotomy between mass tourism and alternative tourism, one which is in many ways as universalist as the previous dichotomy created between the advocacy and cautionary platforms of tourism writing. The way that these dichotomies have emerged in tourism is representative of alternative development options in general, where there are contrasts between large- and small-scale, urban and rural, modern and traditional, the state and NGOs and the developed and developing nations that simply reverse the extremes of the Modern theories:

... the West is coded as inauthentic, urban, consumerist, monstrous, utilitarian and more and its men and women are pitied as lonely, anxious, greedy and shallow. In contrast, the ... Non-West is depicted as authentic, rural, productive, content, in tune with nature and so on (Corbridge, 1998: 144).

This fallacious approach has caused alternative development to 'reinvent a pre-colonial [or pre-developmental] Eden that never existed in fact' (Manzo, 1995: 238). Weaver (2000), and to a lesser extent France (1997), show that sustainability is not necessarily dependent on scale, but is linked to regulation and appropriateness, as discussed next in Chapter Three.

The simplistic analysis of development that creates these false dichotomies is merely a continuance of the irrelevant stereotyping of 'communities' and indigenous peoples, trying to fit them into what are still essentially western ideas of development. Although the smiling and colourful plates of the National Geographic offer an enchanting view of Third World cultures, they often do not portray the injustices and indignities suffered by many of those who have been marginalised for decades. This process of stereotyping is dangerous in that it can justify non-action on the part of the wealthy and the comforting belief that:

... deprivation is not so bad; that their [the outsider's] prosperity is not based on it; that the poorer people are used to it and like life their way; or that they are lazy and improvident and have brought it on themselves (Chambers, 1983: 4).

Despite this, we can see that the third generation made significant inroads into addressing some of the main problems in development practice and theory through attempts at sustainable and participatory development strategies. In some ways, the movement began to question some of the very foundations of development ideologies. As sustainability challenged the supremacy of the 'modern' culture, participation showed the value of 'traditional' cultures – a value that remains notwithstanding the attempts to over-glorify and stereotype it in the Edenic manner criticised by Manzo (1995).

2.2.2 The Fourth Generation: People-led and Knowledge-based

The fourth generation of development and tourism thinking builds on the third but does not replace it entirely (see back to Figure 2-1). This generation includes the *post-development* perspective and the milder *people-led* perspective on development. It also heralded the coming of the *knowledge-based* platform of tourism theory that values inductive over deductive tourism research in order to establish the relationship between tourism and development in each situation. The critique of official and alternative development practices in the third paradigm is based on two key components – the problems with *ideology* and the problems with *methodology*. Alternative development critiqued the methodology of development on the grounds of over-simplicity, environmental indifference and top-down control, yet barely scratched the surface in challenging ideology. The key challenge to the ideology of development has come from within post-development thinking.

Post-development

Post-development is basically a rejection of the concept of development, through a post-Modern deconstruction of the discourse associated with the idea, along with some influence from populism (Maiava, 2001). It is sometimes known as the 'development stinks' viewpoint (Esteva, 1992). There is a realisation within post-development and post-Modern analyses of development and tourism that 'power relations inform the construction of knowledge and the establishment of research agendas and development priorities' (Blaikie, 2000: 1045). An early example of this kind of thinking is found in Said's (1978) work *Orientalism* – showing how the Orient is constructed by the West as an 'imaginative geography' (May, 1996:57) in that it is not so much a real geographically defined place, but a region of the imagination. This imaginative geography carries over into the way we construct other peoples (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998), and hence in the way that social and international relations play out in real life. For example, some of the stereotypes produced as part of the Western imagining of the Orient and Africa served to justify imperial expansion during the nineteenth century (May, 1996). As seen in this example, the danger with these stereotypes and conceptions of 'the other' is that the conceptions of the powerful will take precedence in action over the contesting conceptions of the disempowered – the physical landscapes and cultures of the world are shaped accordingly. It becomes obvious that these kinds of stereotypes, in conjunction with a distortion of Darwinist-inspired social evolution, will lead to racism both acknowledged and unacknowledged. The concept of development, along with many aspects of tourism, has been shown through post-Modernist deconstruction to be based on this kind of racist creation of 'the exotic other' (Scheyvens, 2002: 36).

For example, under the post-development paradigm the concept of 'needs' is argued as being a Western invention. As Illich (1992) contends, poverty used to represent 'a kind of common floor: a condition from which progress starts' but with the advent of development moved to an 'abstract universal measure of underconsumption'. Development discourse then creates a level of consumption (of formal education, public health measures, transportation, housing...) below which we are 'sub-human' or 'frankly, viewed inhuman and indecent', creating a stigma of 'non-person' to anyone who does not reach it (Illich, 1992: 94, 96). This concept of needs is often used in alternative development strategies, yet

in some ways the construction of 'alternative' knowledge about development is identical to that used in Modernisation and Dependency theories. It assumes a higher platform from which to judge the progress of 'others' according to its own terms.

The solution can only be in recognising the impossibility of an outsider having an accurate or fair understanding of a culture or region, and offering the opportunity of self-definition on the part of the insiders. If official development is only 'concerned with the provision of professionally defined requirements for survival' (Illich, 1992: 99) – requirements constructed in accordance with images of 'the exotic other' and imaginative geographies – then a new kind of 'development' must be concerned with 'personal claims to freedom which would foster autonomous coping' (Illich, 1992: 99), personal claims that are defined by the claimants in accordance with their understanding of their own situation. Sen (1999) supports this with his conceptualisation of development as freedom; similarly, Matinussen sees development as the increased ability to make and implement decisions, where 'objectives cannot be formed by outsiders' (1997: 45). This basically leads some to the conclusion that development must always be 'immanent', people-led, arising naturally from within a society; rather than 'intentional', deliberately pursued and blueprinted by development professionals (to use Cowen and Shenton's terminology, 1995).

The End of this Research?

If this is true, that would mean that this research is effectively invalid. It would be an outsider's attempt to track and replicate a pattern of development through tourism as part of an invalid paradigm of intentional development activities. This study argues however that a complete rejection of the idea of intentional development is invalid, as it denies the opening up of the question of development for each to decide upon (Friedmann, 1992). Western post-development academics have no right to firstly, define development conclusively and secondly, to reject it completely. This, too, would be an ideologically-driven reaction, rather than one informed by those under discussion:

It seems ironic that contemporary scholarly debates should clamour for a 'post-development' era [that is, a rejection of development], just when voices from the margins – so celebrated in discourses of difference and alternative culture – are demanding their rights to greater access to a more generous idea of development (Rangan cited in Scheyvens, 2002: 7).

Rejecting the idea of development is to accept current 'unfreedoms' (to use Sen's terminology) and inequalities on behalf of those under discussion, and would deny the empowerment of 'those in the margins' who identify development as what they want. Martinussen (1997) emphasises the *internal* identification of objectives in empowerment as equally important to increasing the ability of people to carry out actions towards these self-identified objectives. If these objectives include development, they who can say they have no right to pursue it?

Friedmann struggles with this issue too, asking:

Shouldn't alternative development always be expressed in the plural form, as each culture, each people, each ethno-regional group lays out its own distinctive path to the future? (Friedmann, 1992: 12).

Yet concluding that:

... to bury alternative development in the language of cultural relativism and endogeneity (that all development must germinate from within a particular culture) would be to silence all development discourse while giving free rein to the existing hegemonic system, which is fuelled by Western ideas and ideals and is wholly untroubled by questions of cultural relativism (Friedmann, 1992: 12).

Without academic discourse and research into global systems there is nothing to challenge the present world structures that are already being forced on to communities without concern for indigenous understandings or desires. Empowerment is therefore proposed as an internationally applicable concept, a process that precedes development yet in some senses is also the purpose of development.

The Knowledge-based Platform

The fourth platform of tourism writing is known as the knowledge-based platform. Although the knowledge-based platform still uses the post-Modern process of deconstruction in critiquing the adaptancy platform in much the same way as post-development critiques alternative development, it does not go so far as to reject development or tourism completely. Writings from within the knowledge-based construct recognise the hypocrisy of rejecting dichotomies while simultaneously creating new ones.

The platform was an emerging one when Jafari outlined his framework of tourism literature in 1989, and is based more on a collective understanding of the positions of the first three platforms than a new standing as such. It differs from post-development thinking in that after looking in depth at the preceding platforms, writers from within the fourth platform concluded that more holistic research into the entire tourism system was required to mitigate against ideological over-generalisation. Jafari shows how the new platform positions itself on a 'scientific foundation while simultaneously maintaining bridges with other platforms' with its main goal being the 'formation of a scientific body of knowledge on tourism' (Jafari, 1989: 24, 25). It calls for research to be inductive but also placed firmly within its context in relation to the entire tourism system. This study attempts to contribute to this scientific body of knowledge on tourism through examining the case study of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve within its international, national and regional contexts.

2.3 Framework for Research

This chapter opened by questioning whether there were any redeeming qualities in the concepts and practice of tourism and development. It has shown that within the third paradigm of development and tourism thinking there are at least some redeemable principles that, rather than merely contributing to the development-as-Westernisation paradigm, have the potential to provide a framework within which 'development' can be pursued. The first of these is the provision of the needs of a community as defined and controlled by themselves and secondly, the consideration of the effects of this action on other communities' needs – socially, economically and environmentally. The first ethic is here termed *empowerment* and the second *sustainability*. The third paradigm has so far defied theorisation because the focus has been on the wrong thing. The third paradigm is not actually an attempt at a cohesive theory of development, but rather forms a cohesive ethic of empowerment and sustainability.

This research is justified on the basis of empowerment – that intentional development has a place basically because people want it. Even if the idea of 'development' can be seen as a socially-constructed idea, the very real inequalities in this world are not. Inductively

informed, people-centred research has a place in combating the dominant non-people-centred discourse of development. If research halts because Westerners think that 'development stinks', uninformed development will still continue. It seems mad not to at least try to counter-aerate the 'stink' of development.

Firstly, this research recognises the limitations to a self-definition and empowerment path of development. The main problem with basing development completely on freedom and empowerment is that conflicts are going to occur between different groups claiming power and freedom. This is seen already, in that the path of development that the 'empowered' West has chosen has repercussions for the rest of the world. Obviously, excessive use of claims to personal freedom can lead to conflict over resources through an inability to refer to any standard of behaviour. For the sake of societal organisation and the earth itself, there needs to be some kind of boundaries within which empowerment may be implemented.

The boundary that reasonably contains the fourth-generation concept of empowerment is, in fact, the third-generation concept of *sustainability* – in its fullest sense inclusive of the ecological, economic and societal perspectives. This balance of the two key ideas within the third paradigm cannot be prescribed and set out however, as the relationship between empowerment and sustainability is going to change according to the environmental, socio-cultural and economic conditions of a particular situation. The two principles of development must therefore be informed and balanced by some kind of knowledge of both local and international systems of cause and effect. This is where the fourth platform of tourism thinking comes into the research framework.

The third paradigm of development has 'a certain moral coherence' (Friedmann, 1992: 8). Ideas of people-centred and people-led development are led by the principles of sustainability and empowerment – a coherent *ethic* rather than theoretical construct. Hence the third paradigm's contribution to research methods is in the realm of values and ethics. Although different development methods and even ideologies may arise, they must hang on to both the principle of sustainability and that of empowerment. There is no formula for this exact balance, and it is not desirable to oversimplify all the issues involved

to try and establish one beyond advocating a knowledge-based investigation into each situation.

This means that there are no grounds for totally rejecting large-scale development in favour of small-scale development as much of alternative development rhetoric appears to do. There are also no grounds for rejecting mass tourism in favour of 'community-based tourism', or small-scale tourism within this framework. If we are to approach tourism from the knowledge-based platform, there is a need to investigate within each particular site whether tourism is leading to empowering and sustainable development. This thesis attempts to do just that – to make an inductive, knowledge-based attempt to explore sustainable and empowering development within the context of a site of mass tourism – Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, Sichuan, China.

3. MASS TOURISM AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The previous chapter showed how tourism thinking is ideologically influenced by development theory, and pointed out some of these ideological links using the concept of 'generations' of thinking. Yet as Telfer points out, despite this 'simultaneous evolution, there has been little interaction between the fields of development and tourism' (2002: 51). Tourism literature to date has mostly focussed on the impacts of tourism, and has had little theoretical depth (as discussed by Britton, 1991); and rarely has it explicitly explored the relationship between tourism and development (as discussed by Scheyvens, 2002; Sharpley, 2000). This has not prevented grandiose claims either advocating or condemning tourism as a development option from abounding (Wood, 1993). Each platform of tourism writings has made some kind of assumption about the nature of the relationship between tourism and development, yet systematic research into these claims is often not present. Except for a few examples, most current tourism research is from within the adaptancy platform. This has led to some excellent innovations in tourism thinking, especially from within the community tourism and development-focused approaches. Although these noteworthy conceptualisations of sustainable and empowering community tourism development have led to some excellent community tourism projects in developing countries involving local communities in a sustainable and participatory way (Hatton, 1999, outlines eighteen for example), they generally limit community tourism or ecotourism to the small-scale (Lück, 2002). Yet it is well-recognised that 'much of third world tourism today is not small-scale, ecologically oriented, or even broadly participatory' (Clancy cited in Scheyvens, 2003: 13).

Thus there is a definite need to explore the actual relationships between tourism and development in an explicit, realistic and informed way. This is especially the case with the relationship between *mass* tourism and *community* development. This chapter argues that the complexity of the tourism system does not allow any generalisation of the relationship between mass tourism and community development, but rather, an approach based on knowledge of the tourism system as experienced in specific contexts is appropriate.

3.1 Mass Tourism within 'The System'

As discussed above, the supposed costs and benefits of mass tourism in a development sense are often subject to conjecture. Mass tourism cannot be understood as a stand-alone sociological phenomenon, but must be interpreted in the light of the whole tourism system, including both tourism-generating and tourism-receiving systems. This section attempts to give a sense of the breadth of components involved in 'the tourism system' in order to show the complexity, and even impossibility, of any general analysis of the relationship between mass tourism and community development.

3.1.1 *Outline of the Tourism System*

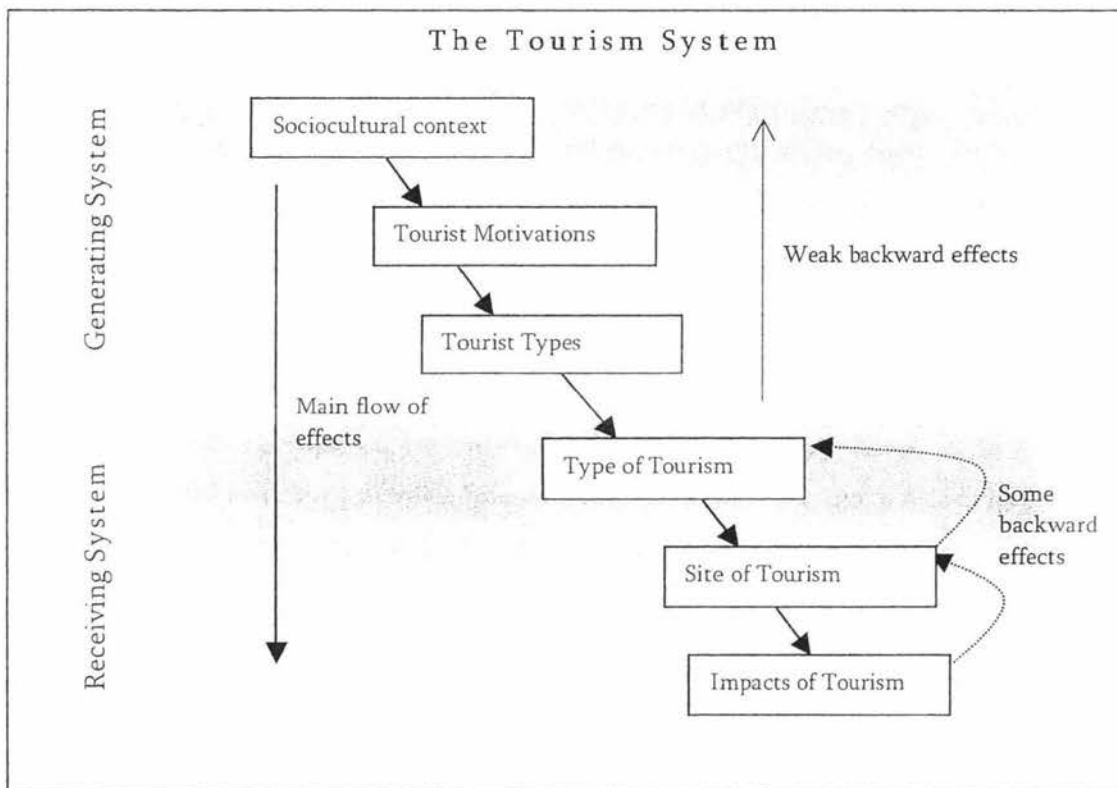
Weaver and Oppermann (2000: 23) define a system as 'a group of interrelated, interdependent and interacting elements that together form a single functional structure'. Although the term 'tourism system' has been used in most of the analyses in the first three platforms of tourism writings, this has been in a somewhat haphazard way, with the term seemingly referring just to the tourism industry rather than the interrelated, interdependent and interacting elements of the entire tourism system.

Models for aiding understanding of the tourism system are reviewed by both Jafari (1989) and France (1997), including models of tourist types (the tourist generating system or 'demand') and models of tourism sites (tourist receiving system or 'supply'). However, as France shows in a comparison of thirteen models that seek to understand the tourism system (or some part of), only a very small percentage are in any way comprehensive. Britton (1980) covers ten factors in his model, including dynamic/temporal and spatial factors, numbers, types, personality, behaviour/attitude of locals, linkages with local economic structures and level of development of local economy (France, 1997: 7). Other works, including Butler (1980), although not comprehensive in themselves, help to form a bigger picture of twelve factors in conjunction with each other (see models as summarised in France, 1997: 7).

Jafari (1989) attempts to pull together an even larger amount of tourism theory, combining a number of frameworks that seek to understand various aspects of tourism, resulting in an

outline of the possible factors involved in the tourism system as a whole. This gives the sense that there are a minimum number of parts or dimensions that must be considered in the interpretation of tourism data. Jafari covers a range of literature outlining different models of tourist typology and tourist motivation as part of the generating sub-system of the tourism system. He also explores the socio-cultural consequences of tourist typologies and travel motivation through looking at how various combinations of these lead to different impacts on the receiving sub-system of the tourism system as a whole. I portray this diagrammatically in Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1: Diagram of Flows of Cause and Effect in the Tourism System



Source: Author

Jafari goes on to argue that:

... each type of tourist, coming from a different ordinary compound, operating through a different motivational frame, creates a certain type of impact. The quality and quantity of the touristic benefits will depend on the degree of compatibility, harmony, or reciprocity between the ordinary world of the hosts and nonordinary world of their tourists (Jafari, 1989: 32).

Hence, it is true that different types of tourists, and hence different types of tourism (alternative or mass) have different impacts, both socio-culturally and in terms of development. Attempting to understand the way different models of different parts of the tourism system fit together coherently shows just how complex the relationship is between tourism and its impacts:

Thus understanding the factors involved in the tourism system does not necessarily mean that a general understanding of tourism, tourists and impacts can be gained. The variability of each factor – different tourist typologies, different tourist motivations and different socio-cultural situations and therefore impacts – requires that tourism research, too, needs to be inductive and informed by a specific situation (Sharpley, 2000).

Jafari calls for the contextualisation of tourism research, in that the socio-cultural ‘consequences cannot be understood in isolation’, and that the particular ‘system which generates tourists’ must be connected to the particular ‘system that receives and accommodates them’ (1989: 35). This involves firstly the study of the generating system that ‘breeds’ tourists, such as Krippendorf’s (1987) *The Holiday Makers* exploring the system that produces Western, in particular German, tourists. The generating system is concerned with the tourist typology and tourist motivation frameworks, and includes the *returning* aspect of tourism as well as the *going away* aspect (Jafari, 1989: 35).

The study of the receiving system (Figure 3-1) is the second part of the inductive understanding of a situation within the tourism system. Telfer (2002) considers two areas of study to be important to understanding the receiving system. Firstly, the scale and control of tourism development (the type of tourism); and secondly, the local community and environmental linkages of tourism development (the site and impacts of tourism). Jafari’s (1989) analysis is more specific, firstly making a distinction between the *nonordinary* needs of tourists and the *ordinary* needs of the community, and secondly advocating the study of host and guest cultures and needs, the culture of ‘tourists’ as a specific group and the tourism business culture.

All of these factors within the generating and receiving systems combine in different ways within each individual tourism destination, catering to 760 million international tourists in

2004 (WTO, 2005). Any generalisation about the value of tourism to different communities and receiving systems is not only extremely difficult, but not exactly beneficial. As Scheyvens rightly points out:

Clearly we need to move beyond using tourism as a scapegoat for environmental and social problems emerging in Third World countries and develop a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which tourism affects Third World states, people and their environments (Scheyvens, 2002: 7).

3.1.2 Mass Tourism and the Tourism System

A key step in moving towards a more nuanced understanding is looking at the reality of contemporary tourism, rather than prescribing ideal situations of tourism development. The reality is that mass tourism is the major component of world tourism today (Wheeller, 1995). However much the ideals of community tourism development are admired, the fact is that most tourism today, even in developed countries, is not participatory, small-scale or even concerned with local communities. In addition, it seems unlikely that the entirety of mass tourism can be reformed into alternative tourism due to 'the fact that many people seem to enjoy being a mass tourist' (Butler, 1990: 40). Tourist motivations vary significantly (Jafari, 1989): there are the kind of tourists merely wanting a '3S' sun, sea and sand location for escape from the daily grind (Britton, 1991); whereas the new post-Fordist consumer may be looking for more 'cultural capital' for the purposes of status (May, 1996: 59; see also Britton, 1991, Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Motivations of tourists from non-Western cultures remains largely under-researched, but in Asia at least, the mass tourist is the normal manifestation for both domestic and international travellers (this is discussed further in the Chinese context, Chapter Four). Many specific host communities have themselves identified mass tourism as an appropriate development strategy in their situation, sometimes more so than alternative tourism (Weaver and Oppermann, 2000), perhaps due to the lower level of invasiveness of a busload wanting to experience the climate rather than a few wanting to intimately experience the culture (Butler, 1990), and of course due to greater potential revenue. A realistic view of mass tourism needs to accept that:

... we cannot and should not want to obliterate mass tourism. Alternative tourism could not replace it, in economic terms, in personal preference terms or simply in logistical terms. (Butler, 1990: 44)

and:

Making simplistic and idealized comparisons between mass and alternative tourism, by saying that one is necessarily undesirable and the other close to perfection, is empirically inaccurate and grossly misleading (Brohman, 1996: 66).

Because of the extent of mass tourism, it seems then that 'the real challenge for the future is to provide sustainable tourism for the mass market' (Klemm, cited in Sharpley, 2000: 9), along with seeking to establish mass tourism as an empowering development force that is beneficial to local-level development as well as national and regional economic figures.

3.2 Mass Tourism and Sustainability

3.2.1 *Mass Generalisations*

The growth in the tourism industry over the last few decades has been nothing short of phenomenal. The total number of international tourist arrivals worldwide in 1980 was over 200 million, yet it trebled by the year 2000, with over 600 million (WTO, 2002). Many developing nations were opened up for tourism during this time, with the period 1985-1994 seeing an increase in tourism arrivals of 91 per cent to Central America and 142 per cent to East Asia and the Pacific (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Figures for domestic and regional travel are less readily available or reliable, yet from specific country data, it would seem that this trend of increased tourism is fairly pervasive. For example, in the four year period from 1992 to 1996, Brazil, India, China and Thailand experienced growth in domestic travel by 39.5 per cent, 38 per cent, 31 per cent, and 30 per cent respectively (Ghimire, 2001). Domestic tourism arrivals in China are in fact ten times greater than their international tourism arrivals (Wen and Tisdell, 2001) – a trend that shows that the extent of tourism is much greater than the figures available for international travel reveal. Most projections show a continuation of this growth trend (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; WTO, 2002), despite much concern over the (un)sustainability of this.

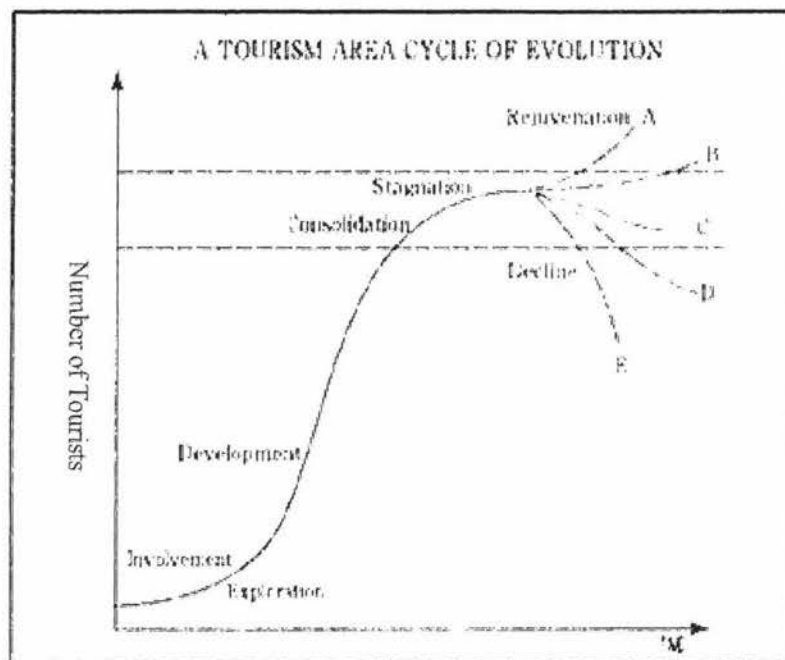
Attitudes towards the sustainability of the massive tourism system vary according to people's platform of thinking, and hence their underlying ideology of development. The tourism industry mostly appears to operate under the logic of the advocacy platform of tourism thinking, proposing that the benefits of tourism outweigh the costs, it boosts the economy, it helps development, it expands people's minds and should therefore continue to be promoted on a mass scale (although the real reason for continued promotion may be more profit-based). The opposite generalisation has been made in the cautionary platform where critics (often NGOs or academics) regard the whole tourism system as completely unsustainable, for example, Cater and Goodall suggest that 'staying at home appears to be the "greenest" way to holiday' (1997: 89), while in the same volume, Wheeler (1997) comments that there appears to be no solution to the problem of tourism numbers. Butler's (1980) resort cycle (see Figure 3-2) is often cited as proof of the inherent unsustainability of tourism development. Yet others, from within the adaptancy platform, insist that it is only mass tourism that is unsustainable, and it is possible to have low impact tourism that is sustainable. Of course, there is no doubt that there are often negative environmental, social and cultural impacts of tourism, and even the economic gains are often lost to communities through the high leakage factor of much long distance travel. Yet it does not seem valid to paint all tourism ventures one way or the other, purely on the basis of ideology. Since sustainability is such a key aspect of our conceptualisation of development, the whole issue needs to be re-addressed without mass generalisation beginning with the question: is it *possible* to have sustainable mass tourism?

3.2.2 The Possibility of Sustainable Mass Tourism

In order to answer the question 'is it possible to have sustainable mass tourism?' the knowledge-based, systems approach to research into tourism must be used, with an attitude of learning and researching rather than uninformed generalising. Some examples that critique popular anti-mass and pro-alternative tourism generalisations include Mowforth and Munt (2003) and Butler (1990) who both point out the negative effects of alternative tourism, and caution against generalisation in research. It could also be suggested that the hatred of mass tourism and the idolisation of alternative tourism is more in line with a Western cultural preference as we move into the post-Modern (and post-Fordist) world of

'niche' products and of valuing diversity and difference rather than any inherent features of mass tourism and alternative tourism themselves.

Figure 3-2: Butler's Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution



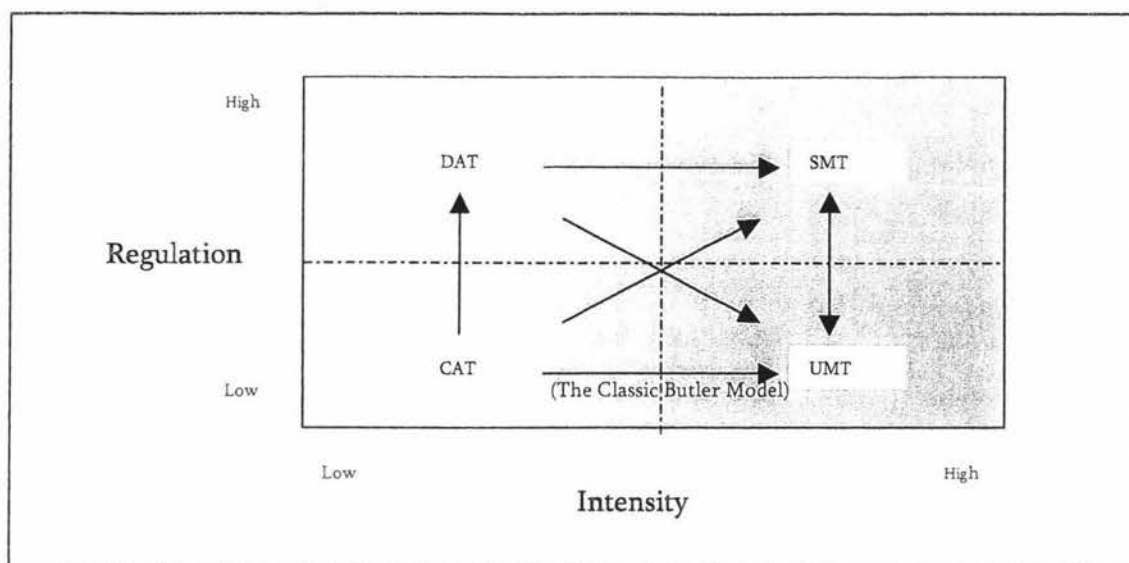
Source: Butler (1980)

Weaver (2000) tries to approach mass tourism from a more dispassionate viewpoint, dissociating human preference from actual sustainability in his proposal that sustainability is not related to size but to management. He consciously uses the knowledge-based platform to utilise 'the rhetoric of sustainability to argue that mass tourism could potentially be a benign option for destinations if appropriate techniques of scientific management are applied' (2000: 217). Weaver claims that the 'Butler Sequence' (the boom-and-bust sequence of resort tourism shown in Figure 3-2) actually:

... represents but one evolutionary scenario among a range of destination possibilities, and that the concept of carrying capacity, upon which much of the model is based, is far more malleable, subjective and complex than the sequence implies (Weaver, 2000: 217).

Weaver proposes the following framework (Figure 3-3) for considering tourism, where he distinguishes between circumstantial alternative tourism (CAT), deliberate alternative tourism (DAT), unsustainable mass tourism (UMT) and sustainable mass tourism (SMT).

Figure 3-3: Destination Development Scenarios



Source: Weaver 2000: 219

As shown in Figure 3-3, CAT can naturally degrade into UMT as intensity increases over time, as Butler (1980) described in Figure 3-2 (pg 42). This does appear to be the most common scenario of tourism destination development, however, Weaver shows that other scenarios are possible, noticeably, the possibility of sustainable mass tourism as the result of both high regulation and high intensity. Ayala (1996a, 1996b and 1997) supports this in her planning for highly regulated, sustainable, mass, resort ecotourism in Panama. Weaver (2000) does also note the difficulty in transition from UMT to SMT, preferring to focus on the more likely option of DAT to SMT in his conceptualisation of SMT.

Weaver's challenge to the narrowness of academic conceptualisations of sustainability is valid in that it attempts to understand the scale and control of tourism (as Telfer, 2002 recommends) by testing the assumption that sustainability is automatically limited to the small-scale. He introduces the idea that true sustainability is not in fact necessarily linked to scale, but intricately linked to regulation. Yet, it must be recognised that if sustainability is based on regulation, then the small-scale is in fact easier to regulate than the large-scale. For example, Sharpley claims that environmental sustainability is related to 'the global ecosystem's source and sink functions' which have 'a finite capacity to, respectively, supply the needs of production/consumption and absorb the wastes resulting from the production

consumption process' (2000: 6). This means that the variables involved in environmental sustainability must include:

- (a) the rate at which the stock of natural (non-renewable) resources is depleted relative to the development of substitute, renewable resources, (b) the rate at which waste is deposited back into the ecosystem relative to the assimilative capacity of the environment, and (c) global population levels and per capita levels of consumption (Sharpley, 2000: 6).

As the scale increases so too would the complexity involved in monitoring and regulating this equation. In addition, sustainability does not just involve environmental sustainability, but equally complex socio-cultural and economic considerations. When one combines these three complex spheres of sustainability with all the factors involved in the analysis of the tourism system as outlined in section 3.1.1, the scope for the regulation of tourism, especially mass tourism, is rather vast.

In answering the question 'can "mass" be sustainable?' we may then reply: 'yes, but...' Mass tourism can only be sustainable through high regulation, and the larger the scale, the more difficult it is to regulate (or even comprehend) all the factors involved. Following on from the argument of section 3.1.1, it is clear that the tourism system is a huge, interlinked megasystem, which defies both comprehension and regulation. Even after establishing that sustainable mass tourism is possible, it still seems an impossibility to implement due to the complexity of regulation.

3.2.3 Moving Towards Sustainable Mass Tourism

In Weaver's conceptualisation of tourism types, it appears that a destination either falls into the category of sustainable or unsustainable, without an actual measurement of sustainability being provided. This rigidity of classification is not overly realistic considering the range of destinations, types of tourism and tourists involved – how does one tell when 'sustainability' has been reached? Can a single tourism operation be labelled 'sustainable' if the tourism system as a whole is not?

Clarke (1997) tackles this by using the terminology 'movement' and 'convergence' to describe the action of becoming more sustainable, rather than attempting to define

sustainability rigidly. This compares favourably to Weaver's idea of 'transition' between an 'unsustainable' state and a 'sustainable' state, as it places sustainability as the ultimate goal that the entire tourism industry should be working towards, no matter what its current level of sustainability (that is, everything is in transition). She uses examples of environmental management systems (including literature from industry in addition to academic sources) that incorporate techniques such as environmental audits of products processes and issues, and environmental impact assessments, along with techniques for 'inducing shifts in tourist behaviour compatible with environmentally friendly travel' (Clarke, 1997: 230). The conceptualisation of sustainability as a process of increasing environmental safeguarding is a little narrow, but with incorporation of socio-cultural and economic aspects could be the basis for a realistic understanding of sustainability and tourism. In effect, this kind of understanding of sustainable tourism does not require a definitive classification of sustainability, preferring rather to 'focus on the implementation of current knowledge of sustainable tourism' in moving 'towards the ultimate goal of sustainability' (Clarke, 1997: 230).

The movement concept in sustainability is much more helpful than an 'is it or isn't it' style of analysis. It means that on conducting an Environmental Impact Assessment, one needs to decide not whether it has passed or failed necessarily, but how the impacts can be reduced overall. Similarly, in monitoring and evaluating the effects of tourism on local development the goal is to look for ways to positively impact the community, rather than just looking at whether it has harmed them or not. Hence sustainability in tourism happily does not require omniscience in one's knowledge of the tourism system and its interconnected parts, but more of a value system of increasing and implementing sustainability. Sustainability can be understood therefore as a continuum with no finite end, along which there must be a movement in human values. This move in human values can occur within the generating system (e.g. the change in demand for environmentally friendly tourism products by German tourists, Krippendorf, 1987) or the receiving system (as seen in Bhutan's restrictive tourism policy).

The problem with this kind of conceptualisation is that with no standard of sustainability (however overly-simplistic it may be), it is very easy for the industry and local governments

to become slack in pursuing sustainability. In addition, most concerns over the environment within the tourism industry are 'tourism-centric' and concerned with 'the destruction of the [particular] environment and thus the resource base upon which the industry depends' (Robinson, 1999: 379), hence there is a distinct danger of effects on non-tourism environments being overlooked or ignored, and the social and economic aspects of sustainability not taken into account. It is evident that:

Too many efforts at implementing environmentally sensitive tourism have focused on conservation of resources and failed to embrace the development imperative, thus neglecting the livelihood needs of local communities (Scheyvens, 2002: 54).

This is especially evident in the case of protected areas, where often the primary purpose is the preservation of unique environments; the secondary purpose is the facilitation of tourism to view these unique environments, while the livelihood needs of the local people who depend on these resources is barely considered. Often local people have been displaced from their land in order to 'protect' it.

Since there is obviously a reliance of many in developing countries on natural resources in the meeting of their basic needs (Scheyvens, 2002), Hunter is astute in suggesting that perhaps '... different interpretations of sustainable tourism [or development] may be appropriate under different circumstances' and 'sustainable tourism should not be regarded as a rigid framework, but rather as an adaptive paradigm which legitimizes a variety of approaches according to specific circumstances' (1997: 851). This allows for mass tourism in some areas, and not in others. It also allows for local people's economic development to be prioritised in some areas, and environmental conservation in others due to the 'specific circumstances' which moderate sustainability.

3 . 3 M a s s T o u r i s m a n d E m p o w e r m e n t

3.3.1 Imagining 'Community' and 'Ethnicity'

Often in sustainable development literature, as Agrawal and Gibson (1999) complain, the livelihood needs of resource users and the protection of natural resources have been set up in opposition to each other. In the case of Africa, especially, this led to the creation of

national parks that excluded local communities who had been living there for significant periods of time (Adams, 1990; Berger, 1996; Scheyvens, 2003). Local communities who had previously relied on these areas for sustenance now began to rely on poaching and other illegal harvesting to survive, leading to their vilification as the 'baddies' in the environmental protection effort. Later, in one of the typical paradigmatic reversals of Western thinking, indigenous communities came to be glorified as the saints of environmentalism (for example, Brown, 1998; Ghai and Vivian, 1992; Khan, 1997) who had had their ecologically-balanced lifestyles destroyed by Western-influenced park creation or tourism. Yet this, too, has been shown to be overly simplistic. Later recognitions challenged concepts such as 'the community' and 'traditional culture' and the supposed innate stewardship characteristics thereof (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Belsky, 1999; Butler, 1990; Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

It has been argued by Singh *et al.* (2003) that the term 'community' cannot really be defined accurately enough to be applied in the general sense, but rather should be used only in reference to specific case examples that refer to a well defined group. This research uses the term in this narrow sense, referring to specific communities, yet it does recognise that tourism to developing countries and areas seems to be based on a kind of collective (imaginary) visualisation of community, and specifically the relationship between non-Western communities and the environment, a relationship that tourists from Western generating systems feel to have lost:

The expansion of tourism as an ideology has been accompanied by a range of concomitant first world ideas including those which define and redefine environment/nature/culture relationships. The loss of closeness to nature and natural forms, the division of rurality from the urban, and the psychic narratives which we have developed to explain the environment in our 'developed' world culture, travel with us. Indeed, it is the search for glimpses of 'closeness' between nature and culture which is at the root of the expansion of alternative, eco and ethnic tourism; what we no longer have, or think we don't have, we seek elsewhere (Robinson, 1999: 381).

Tourism is often based on an imagined history (of community and environment) and an imagined conceptualisation of ethnicity and exoticism (van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984). In 'ethnic tourism' especially, the exoticism sought in the tourist experience which is always

'inherent in the ethnic boundary that separates the tourist from the native' (van den Berghe and Keyes, 1984: 345), is particularly sought out as valuable, with an associated desire to protect and preserve this source of exoticness.

The protectionist/preservationist approach to the environment has morphed into a protectionist/preservationist approach to 'ethnic communities', assigning them to an imagined (mostly homogeneous) way of living that must be protected from the Westernising homogenising influence of mass tourism. The idea of 'community' and the idea of 'the ethnic other' are enmeshed in tourism to such a degree that there has been a reification of the idea of 'community life'. In actual fact, an ethnic community or village is now not destroyed or absorbed by tourism, rather its function 'shifts from being the base of social relations in the local community to an interesting detail in the recreational experiences of a tourist from out of town' (MacCannell, 1984: 387). Cases such as the changing function of Torajan funerals (Adams, 1997) present interesting questions in regard to our concepts of authenticity, because who can decide what is authentic culture where traditions that are reified or partially preserved for tourists become authentic to those enacting them under 'the tourist gaze'?

It is clear then, that the preservationist attitude is somewhat patronising and illusory in that it falsely assumes that local communities or ethnic groups are homogeneous in their passive absorption of cultural change brought through mass tourism (MacCannell, 1984). In actual fact there is resistance and subversion of outside culture, with some communities harnessing tourism for their own benefits culturally as well as economically, as shown in the case of groups within China (Oakes, 1993), and the Cajuns of Louisiana (Esman, 1984), both who have seized the opportunity of mass tourism to strengthen the reconstruction of their ethnicity in the face of huge assimilation pressures. A more realistic way of looking at mass tourism and local communities is through the lens of empowerment – determining how far tourism contributes to or prevents specific communities' self-definition and self-determination, whether this involves cultural preservation or not is for the members of specific communities to argue out amongst themselves.

3.3.2 Empowering Destination Communities through Mass Tourism

The empowerment of a group should result in 'an increased ability to set and reach goals for its own ends' (Sofield, 2003: 86), which in the context of tourism would presumably mitigate against destination communities receiving minimal or zero benefits and significant costs from tourism. Scenarios such as this abound in the literature: the people living in Chiawa, Zambia, whose lands border the Lower Zambezi national park, where tourism benefits go to the government and tourist operators while impeding local residents from accessing resources (Scheyvens, 2003); or that of Nanshan Cultural Tourism Zone on Hainan Island, China, where local villagers were removed with economic compensation but severe social costs in the form of gambling and the break up of community life (Li, 2004). Scheyvens (1999, 2002) presents a framework for assessing the extent of empowerment of communities involved in tourism in places such as these, through looking at the benefits accruing (or not) to them in the social, psychological, economic and political spheres.

Although this framework is extremely useful as an overall indicator of the level of empowerment, it is possible that a community could achieve a significant level of benefits without actually having self-determination or empowerment. It is not enough to assess empowerment purely on the benefits that a community obtains, since empowerment (or freedom) is not just a means for accessing benefits (or development), but a goal in itself (Sen, 1999). Telfer (2002) argues that empowering tourism must involve a change in capacity or control, or correspondingly an increase in power and the ability to use power. Likewise, based on Matinussen (1997) one could argue that empowerment must involve firstly self-definition and internal identification of community goals or objectives, and secondly the increased ability (or power) to pursue them. Butler and Hinch (1996) also emphasise local control over tourism development, holding that in tourism development, 'whoever has control can generally determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development' (1996:9).

Most tourism industry representatives would see the need to compensate local residents for land, or see the benefits of putting something back into the community to ensure continued destination support for the tourism industry. But most would not see a need for increasing the control of local people over development. In some ways, this seems fair since it is the

investment of these companies and agencies that is funding the development, not the local people. Yet there is an issue separate from funding: the amount of control local people have over their own space, and whether they have the ability to decide whether to share it with tourists or not. Empowerment in tourism development, then, is not about receiving benefits – but about the ability of people to regulate how tourism development affects their own lives.

Outsiders are really only able to understand the costs and benefits to local groups in economic terms. For an analysis of the social and cultural costs and benefits to a community, and the tolerance levels regarding the costs in particular, one must really turn to the particular community themselves. Of importance then, in the process of locally-controlled regulation, is the drafting of a fully indigenous regulatory procedure *before* tourism developments begin (Johnston, 2003). This principle is what Johnston (2003) calls the right to ‘self-determination’, whereby:

In the context of tourism, self-determination means the right of a community to decide whether it wants to have a tourism economy, which parts of its culture will be shared and which will remain private, and what type of protocols will govern access to and use of cultural property (Johnston, 2003: 121)

Johnston raises an extra justification for community control – community control over tourism development as an aspect of indigenous rights, the central principle of which is self-determination (citing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 1999). It is clear here that empowerment is more than an indigenous demand for benefits from tourism developers (which may seem unfair), but allowance for local people’s regulation over the effects of tourism in their particular community (which seems reasonable). It also seems reasonable to assume that local people are going to be more favourable towards allowing a tourism development that benefits themselves and their community rather than one where economic profits accumulate to outsiders and negative environmental and socio-cultural effects accumulate to locals (Murphy, 1985).

Due to the amount of capital investment of large-scale tourism development, it is unlikely that a small community could have full control and management of a mass tourism venture. However, if they can retain control over their own lives and the way the mass tourism

venture affects them, this too, is empowerment. Partnerships and collaborative planning are probably necessary for empowerment, with control of the tourism environment remaining in the hands of the community affected, but with an interactive partnership of planning and participation involving the State and the tourism industry. For example, Timothy and Tosun (2003) describe the benefits to small undeveloped communities of pursuing incremental growth rather than rapid development of tourism, but indicate that this kind of control over tourism's growth can really only come about with cooperation between larger regulatory bodies and the community. Mowforth and Munt (1998), although adherents to the philosophy of community control, also concede:

...local communities may lack the base of resources, skills and finances required unless they have assistance from a higher tier authority such as provincial or central government. Hence, a partnership arrangement may often be more suitable than a community attempting to do everything entirely from within its own human, physical and financial resources (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 257)

There are two aspects of community-empowering development through mass tourism that need to be considered. The first of these is assessing the extent to which the specific community has access to public participation in decision-making, and the second is assessing the extent to which the specific community is involved in the benefits of mass tourism (after Telfer, 2002). It follows that the higher the participation of a local community in decision-making, the more likely it is that firstly benefits ensue for the community rather than being limited to outside investors, and secondly that communities could preclude any undesirable aspects of tourism to their area. But more importantly, this empowerment contributes to greater freedom and self-determination for the community involved.

3 . 4 S u s t a i n a b l e E m p o w e r i n g M a s s T o u r i s m

From this review of tourism, sustainability and empowerment literature, it would appear that it is possible for mass tourism to lead to sustainable and empowering development at the local level, provided there is a fairly high level of regulation. In terms of sustainability, regulation needs to be in place to manage the impacts of mass tourism, while in terms of empowerment, there needs to be some kind of framework within which a community may

retain self-determination in the face of mass tourism development. Both sustainability and empowerment need to be interpreted in a movement sense, where all tourism ventures, mass and small-scale, should be moving towards sustainability and empowerment as best they can, implementing what knowledge they have in regards to sustainability and empowerment. For local-level development through mass tourism to be empowering, development must be according to a locally-determined understanding rather than an outside-imposed imagining of community development. This seems rather unlikely, since most development work is funded and initiated by outsiders, especially in the case of mass tourism developments. Development, as discussed in Chapter Two, is rarely about the 'developees' and is more often than not about a national or regional goal to achieve the status of 'developed'. Is there any way that empowering development at the local level can be achieved when the goals of development work are so often outside of local control? Where development through tourism is permitted and encouraged because of national and regional development goals, can it also contribute to sustainable and empowering development at the local level? These questions are best addressed in a specific context rather than theoretically, since the answers are likely to depend on the circumstances and ideologies of those involved.

Local development in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve is set within the greater context of developing China, and thus exemplifies the conflicting forces in local-level development. Jiuzhaigou provides an opportunity to explore in detail the processes involved in attempting to reconcile the roles and goals of outsiders with that of insiders in issues of sustainability and empowerment in mass tourism development.

4. TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

Tourism in China has been deliberately stimulated for the purpose of development since the advent of the 'open door' policies under Deng Xiaoping¹⁷ in 1979, with huge growth in both domestic and international tourism markets. This is in direct contrast to the equally deliberate policies of the preceding decades under Mao, where tourism was strongly discouraged – also for purposes of development. Despite the change in strategies, the underlying ideology of development has remained basically the same. Since the government is the major player in development in China, it is important to explore the ideology of development it has adhered to. Current national development plans rely heavily on tourism, both as a revenue earner and for community development opportunities, especially in the relatively undeveloped western regions of China which are supposed to be subject to increased attention this century. The majority of the ethnic minority population in China is concentrated in these regions, where development is essential in order to quell separatist tendencies and criticisms of the policy favouring the eastern coast. Several county governments have opted to combine conservation, tourism and development of ethnic minority populations through the use of protected areas (or National Nature Reserves).

This chapter thus provides the national context for the case study set in Jiuzhaigou, western China (Chapter Five), looking at the wider tourism system (Section 4.1), the national ideologies of development (Section 4.2), the development goals with regards to ethnic minorities (Section 4.3) and the use of tourism within western China to achieve this (Section 4.4). The research context is thus established (Section 4.5) according to the knowledge-based platform of tourism research that encourages detailed exploration of the context within which a specific case study is situated.

¹⁷ Deng Xiaoping was general secretary of the CCP from 1956-1957, and Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the state and the party from 1978 until 1990 and 1989 respectively. His influence extended far beyond these official positions and is considered the *de facto* head of state from 1978 until the mid 1990s.

4.1 Overview of Tourism in China

4.1.1 Pre-1978 Tourism

Leisure travel can be traced back for more than three thousand years in China (Sofield and Li, 1997). The most common travellers were rich, artistic or religious – including Emperors and their officials, scholars, monks and artists (Zhang, 2003). Travellers from outside the realm of influence of ‘the middle kingdom’ (*zhongguo*) were varied, with Westerners beginning to travel to China from the thirteenth century and reaching a pre-Deng peak in numbers during the late nineteenth century (Wang Xiaolun, 2003). International and domestic tourism and travel to and within China was mostly halted during the turbulent years following the Opium Wars, the Boxer Rebellion and the warlordism¹⁸ that marked the turn of the century. Anti-foreign sentiment continued well into the twentieth century (Williams, 1997a) and the brief rise of the tourism industry under the Nationalist regime was put down along with Chiang Kai Shek and his forces following the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.

Under Chairman Mao, the *hukou* system of household registration was introduced, a system that effectively controlled rural to urban migration through the use of identification cards issued by work units or *danwei* (Wang, 2004). A permit was required for anyone to travel outside their local district (Guldin, 2001), and tourism ‘was not an approved reason for travel’ (Sofield and Li, 1997: 124) due to it being an activity ‘representative of a bourgeois capitalist lifestyle’ and ‘contrary to communist ethics’ (Zhang, 2003: 15). Other commentators hold that it was the lack of necessary economic and physical conditions that precluded tourism development, for various reasons preferring not to comment on the political conditions that more definitively restricted tourism (for example, authors such as Wen, 1998; Wen and Tisdell, 2001; Zhang, 1997). Travel during this time was mostly limited to officials, with some members of the ‘international brethren of socialists’ (Sofield

¹⁸ This was the period of time where Western nations tried to open up China for trade through the promotion of opium use (1840s), the subsequent anti-foreign sentiments that stirred up the Boxer Rebellion (1890s) that expelled and/or killed any foreigners or Chinese Christians, the fall of the weakened and irrelevant Qing Dynasty (1912) which led to an equally weak republic where the countryside was effectively controlled by a whole host of warlords (thought to be foreign-backed) until they were defeated by the nationalist/communist combined army in 1926 (Williams, 1997). For a quick overview of Chinese history from 1839, see <http://library.thinkquest.org/26469/history>.

and Li, 1998: 369) being permitted to survey the wonders of socialist achievement through the agency of the government-run China Travel Service.

4.1.2 Post-1978 Tourism and Economic Growth

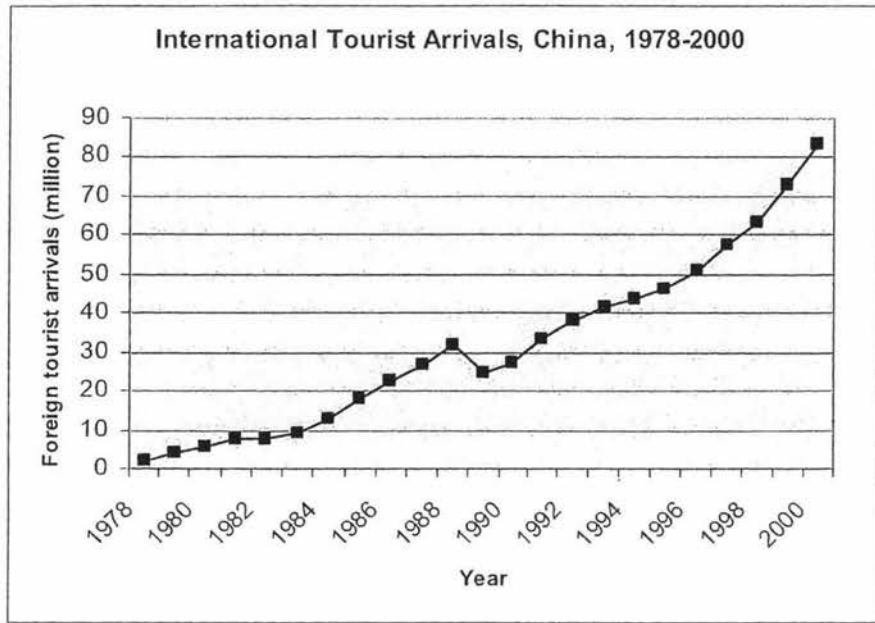
A new era of Chinese socialism began in 1978¹⁹ when Deng Xiaoping's government began 'opening the door' or 'drawing aside the bamboo curtain' behind which China had hidden for most of its recent history. Deng's 'Four modernisations' included the modernisation of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology, focussing first on developing the coastal regions. From an economic point of view, the policy was very successful, with the second highest GDP per capita annual growth rate in the world between 1975 and 2002, averaging 8.2 percent (UNDP, 2004b). Some 200 million people were lifted out of absolute poverty between 1978 and 1998 (Xu and Kruse, 2003).

During this time of opening up, tourism began to be seen in a more positive light by the Chinese authorities due to its ability to contribute to the economic growth necessary for modernisation. The xenophobia for which China had come to be characterised started to recede (Sofield and Li, 1997), and foreign tourists were directly targeted in order to earn hard currency (Wen and Tisdell, 2001; Zhang, 1997). Figure 4-1 shows the steady rise of international tourist arrivals from 1978 (based on China's NTA statistics which are sometimes double that of the WTO).²⁰

¹⁹ 1978 is the year that China's leadership rejected the politics of the Cultural Revolution at the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee and announced the goal of economic modernization with the adoption of the 'open-door' policy. However, 1979 is often cited as the year of opening the door since this is when policies began to be implemented (e.g. Zhang, 1997).

²⁰ NTA (National Tourism Administration of China) uses slightly different criteria from the WTO (World Tourism Organisation). NTA includes in its tourist arrivals all tourists from abroad, including foreigners, overseas Chinese who hold Chinese passports and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan – even after Hong Kong's return to China in 1997 it is still counted in this way in order to maintain consistent statistics. The WTO excludes visitors from Hong Kong and Macau, but includes those from Taiwan as international tourists. This makes most comparison in numerical terms difficult and sometimes meaningless, as there are quite huge discrepancies depending on which statistics are used.

Figure 4-1: International Tourist Arrivals in China, 1978-2000



Source: Data provided by NTA (2000), reproduced in Zhang (2003: 16)

After the internationally broadcast June 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, where Deng Xiaoping ordered the army to crush student democracy demonstrations, foreign and compatriot tourist arrivals experienced a serious downturn (Figure 4-1) with a growth rate of -20 percent (based on NTA statistics cited in Wen and Tisdell, 2001). However, China soon regained its international market share, with the growth rate of international tourism arrivals between 1990 and 2001 averaging 9.3 percent (according to WTO statistics, 2003a), and between 2001 and 2002 reaching an astounding 11 percent – double that of any other country in the top ten tourist destinations. According to the WTO, in 2002 China received 36.8 million international tourists (WTO, 2003a) and is ranked fifth in the world for both international tourist arrivals and international tourism receipts ²¹(as shown in Table 4-1 and 4-2). This has led to tourism receipts which in 2002 amounted to US \$20.4 billion, with 14 percent growth since 2001.

²¹ International Tourism Receipts are defined as 'the receipts earned by a destination country from inbound tourism and cover all tourism receipts resulting from expenditure made by visitors from abroad, on for instance lodging, food and drinks, fuel, transport in the country, entertainment, shopping, etc.' WTO, notes on methodology: <http://www.world-tourism.org/facts/metho.html>, last accessed 1 Oct 04.

Table 4-1: Ranked World Tourist Arrivals

International Tourist Arrivals (million)			
Rank	2002	Change (%) 2002/2001	Share (%)
World	703	2.7	100
1. France	77.0	2.4	11.0
2. Spain	51.7	3.3	7.4
3. United States	41.9	-6.7	6.0
4. Italy	39.8	0.6	5.7
5. China	36.8	11.0	5.2
6. United Kingdom	24.2	5.9	3.4
7. Canada	20.1	1.9	2.9
8. Mexico	19.7	-0.7	2.8
9. Austria	18.6	2.4	2.6
10. Germany	18.0	0.6	2.6

Source: WTO (2003b)

Table 4-2: Ranked World Tourism Receipts

International Tourism Receipts (US\$ billion)			
Rank	2002	Change (%) 2002/2001	Share (%)
World	474	3.2	100
1. United States	66.5	-7.4	14.0
2. Spain	33.6	2.2	7.1
3. France	32.3	7.8	6.8
4. Italy	26.9	4.3	5.7
5. China	20.4	14.6	4.3
6. Germany	19.2	4.0	4.0
7. United Kingdom	17.8	9.5	3.8
8. Austria	11.2	11.1	2.4
9. Hong Kong (PRC)	10.1	22.2	2.1
10. Greece	9.7	3.1	2.1

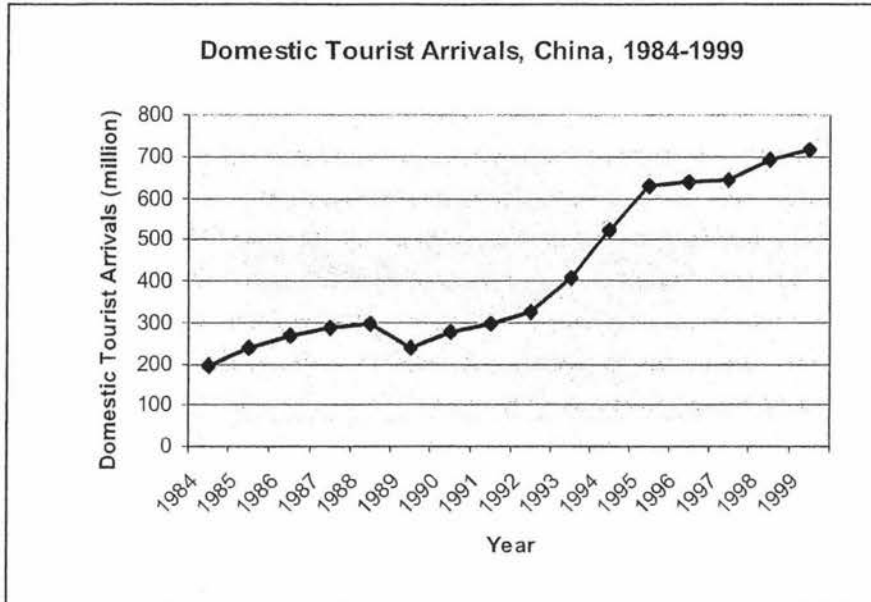
Source: WTO (2003b)

4.1.3 The Rise of Domestic Tourism

More recently, the government has recognised the role of domestic tourism in economic growth (Wen, 1998) and has since developed several policies to encourage it, with one official even declaring that 'domestic tourism should now be the foundation of China's tourism' (Zhang, 1997: 566; see also Aramberri and Xie, 2003; Zhang, 2003). Figure 4-2 shows the rapid growth of domestic tourism between 1984 (when domestic tourism statistics began to be collected) and 1999. In 1999, domestic tourist numbers reached 700 million in China, spending some ¥283 billion (Zhang, 2003), that is US \$35 billion. Zhang (1997) attributes this rapid growth mostly to government policy shifting from an overt favouritism of foreign tourists to a more balanced policy that favours simultaneous development of the domestic and foreign markets (see also Gormsen, 1995), a policy based on the fact that in every region of the world except the Caribbean, combined tourism expenditures of domestic tourists far outweigh those of foreign tourists (Aramberri and Xie, 2003). Oakes (1993) concludes in his literature review that in China, tourism is promoted mostly because 'it has become an important component of economic reforms designed to introduce market mechanisms and encourage regional specialization' in the overall aim of 'enacting...modernity' (Oakes, 1993: 50). Other authors argue that China's tourism attractions are really only comprehensible to domestic tourists, and the growth of domestic tourism will continue to exceed that of foreign tourism due to the distinct 'Chineseness' of its character (Petersen, 1995). Sofield and Li (1998) use Petersen's work to present a convincing explanation for the growth in domestic tourism, seeing it as a consequence of the unsuccessfully suppressed traditional values of heritage-pilgrimage tourism based on a

desire to experience in reality the scenes immortalised by centuries of poets, artists and calligraphers.

Figure 4-2: Domestic Tourist Arrivals in China, 1984-1999



Source: From data provided by NTA (2000), reproduced in Zhang (2003: 19).

Whatever the real reason behind the rise in domestic tourism and the concomitant change in government policy, there is no doubt that it has been accompanied by equally rapid national economic growth. This allows domestic tourists to take advantage of better infrastructure and their higher disposable incomes as part of the rising middle class, hence stimulating domestic consumption and further speeding economic development (Aramberri and Xie, 2003; Zhang, 1997). Unfortunately, little hard evidence is known of the socio-cultural impacts of mass domestic tourism (and hence how relates to more holistic interpretations of development), mostly due to the fact that domestic tourism at the mass level does not have a long history in China (Aramberri and Xie, 2003).

4.1.4 Summary of Key Characteristics of Tourism in China

From this overview, it is clear that there are several important characteristics of China's tourism to take into account, in the areas of tourist type, tourism type, site of tourism and impacts of tourism (see Figure 3-1, pg 37). Firstly, the type of tourist is clearly domestic, since even though China is a major world destination, it is dominated by domestic tourism –

with even the majority of overseas tourists being from within the region and/or ethnically Chinese. Secondly, the type of tourism is without a doubt mass tourism. Thirdly, the site of tourism is mostly heritage sites. Fourthly, and most importantly for this thesis, the impact of tourism is thought to be development. It is pursued relentlessly by the government as a means to development (whether this is the actual effect is not the point here), despite this being a quite different strategy than has previously been acceptable under Chinese Communist Party (CCP) rule. The concepts of development and tourism are hence intertwined in a complex relationship as discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

4.2 Overview of Development in China

The way in which tourism has developed in China is inextricably linked to the role that tourism is expected to play in China's economic growth. It is not enough to explore the general characteristics of tourism in China in a purely descriptive way; the underlying ideologies driving the development of tourism must also be explored in order to understand why tourism has developed as it has and to predict in what ways it will develop in the future. This is important in understanding the wider system of which local-level tourism development is a part, including the socio-cultural and ideological context of development and the ultimate purpose and hence praxis of development in China.

From the point of view of the Government tourism in China is for the purposes of economic growth, the key component of the current version of the Chinese modernisation project. This complicated and by no means established ideology is known as 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and uses a 'socialist market economy' (Mackerras *et al.*, 1998). There are two key areas necessary for exploration here: firstly, the purpose of development in Chinese thinking, especially the thinking of decision-makers; and secondly, the actual process of development in China's recent history.

4.2.1 *The Purpose of Development*

As any Chinese schoolchild will not hesitate to inform you, China is a great nation with a history of 5000 years, with 56 nationalities that are harmoniously unified and developing together. Yet the history of China as a nation-state actually begins at the relatively recent

date of 1912, when it became a republic. Taiwan-based Miao²² academic Chih-yu Shih claims that previous to this, China was a great empire 'under heaven', with borders defined by the geographical range of the people subscribing to the 'celestial order' centred on the central plains of the middle kingdom. Shih claims that, contrary to the modern nationalistic Chinese schoolchild, 'neither pre-sovereign China nor the Chinese people had any sovereign borders, or for that matter nationalist pride' (2002: 2) and pre-republic leaders felt that giving China such borders would only deny their moral superiority, 'which crosses human-made boundaries of all kinds' (2002: 1). However, this lack of a clear territorial boundary caused China immense problems on coming into contact with the territory-hungry Western Imperialists in the 1800s, where the ruling Qing dynasty had to realise that 'the lack of a clear boundary ... no longer suggested universal benevolence but, rather, vulnerable indefensibility' (Shih, 2002: 2). Shih also notes that the specified goals of the early Republic of China were to strengthen and to unify the country, goals which were inhibited by the disintegrating power of the state in the period of warlordism, and the peripheral ethnic communities who did not necessarily appreciate the necessity of the formal unification. For both these goals, the Chinese Nationalist government and the subsequent Communist government saw that it was necessary to modernise and to secure citizens' loyalty to the state, above any other loyalties – to religion, ethnic group, community or family. This mission of nationalism is one that states have pursued ever since the concept of ethnically homogenous territory-bound nation-states replaced loyalty to a monarch or emperor as an assurance of protection and system of organisation (Nandy, 1992). Shih's research is of interest because, as will be shown later, one of the key motivations to development in China is the preservation and promotion of China as a sovereign state and world power, and one of the key means to this ends is the stability and unity of the state. Development in China is therefore normally addressed at the state-level.

After the revolution of 1949 where the Communist Party of China (CCP) came into power, the new government was immediately confronted with:

...conflicting tensions generated by their desire to introduce a more egalitarian society through socialism, their desire to modernise rapidly, and their need to rebuild China's sense of

²² The Miao are a minority group of China found throughout south-east Asia – otherwise known as

national identity. Paradoxically, the rigidity of socialist ideology was their greatest obstacle to modernisation, while traditional culture was the single greatest obstacle to socialism... yet that traditional culture forms the basis, of course, of the Chineseness necessary for national identity and unity (Sofield and Li, 1998: 367).

This paradox has been an enduring one, and can only really be explained in the context of the CCP's overarching goal of China being recognised as a modern world power, as befits a 5000-year-old superior civilisation. It seems that being Chinese is something of a psychological phenomenon (Tu, 1994), that despite huge transformations in its economic, political, social and cultural systems over both recent and not-so-recent history, there is still a resilient essence of 'Chineseness' that remains (Sofield and Li, 1998).

If this is true, the ideology of modernisation, as with the creation of China as a state, is merely one more ideology that has been adopted and adapted in order for China to take its place as a prominent protagonist 'that commands respect on the world stage' (Guldin, 2001: 277; see also Knight, 2003; Luard, 2004; Shih, 2002; Wang, 1998).²³ Stability is considered necessary for this economic development; stability which the CCP believes only it can provide (Sofield and Li, 1998; Wang, 1998). National unity is considered essential in keeping stability in such an ethnically, geographically and economically diverse nation-state as China (Shih, 2002); and in legalising the middle kingdom's historical influence over the geographical area that is now the hotly-debated national territory of the People's Republic of China. It is clear that these underlying values inherent in China's modernisation discourse are different from the individualising, globalising and de-nationalising characteristics of current Western, neo-liberal modernisation thinking. China has different ideas of progress and human needs that are more complex than a mere transition from rural to urban or agrarian to industrial society (Wang, 1998)

The CCP's method of modernisation has not been primarily aimed at transforming the nation economically or technologically, but rather it has consistently sought to transform and control the nation ideologically. China's drive for modernisation and development is

the Hmong.

²³ A statement supported by Callahan (2004), who claims that the 'cleansing of national humiliation is an official part of Chinese foreign policy.

value-based rather than economic, and has deeper ends in sight than the mere means of raising living standards or the Gross National Product. It is linked indivisibly to the values of stability and unity within the state, and is deeply fearful of 'splitters' that threaten this (Shih, 2002) in the form of Imperialist invasion, internal discontent, ethnic divisions or global homogenisation. Although it uses methods developed through Western ideologies of progress, development in China has not so much been an ideology of progress but a method of control or pacification domestically, and a way to achieve power and hence security and respect internationally.

4.2.2 The 'Open Door' Policy

After the defeat of the Kuomintang (the Nationalists) and the ascension of the CCP as the ruling party of China in 1949, development in China was enacted along the lines of Marxist-Leninist industrialisation, with an emphasis on building self-reliance. This led to isolation from world development trends in general, and allowed for the reinforcement of the uniquely Chinese understanding of development as outlined above. Yet the current praxis of modernisation in China is considerably more open to the outside world than those of the Maoist era. This opening up can be traced back to 1976 when the CCP actively began to pursue the 'Four Modernisations', the resultant plan for rapid economic development involving a basically capitalist process of development (Wang, 1998) known as the 'Open Door Policy' in the West and *duiwai kaifang* ('opening to the outside') in China. The Open Door Policy began by setting up several 'special economic zones' where foreign investment was permitted along with heavy government investment, which were gradually expanded to key cities on the eastern coast and finally to the rest of the country. This was all within the context of the decollectivisation of rural communes (the 'household responsibility system') and the selling off of many state enterprises (mostly to government officials). Development thought in China, despite significant privatisation, still envisions development as a process enacted at the national or state level.

Deng Xiaoping insisted from this time 'that the worth of all policies be judged entirely by their economic results' (Meisner, 1996: 478), leading to such changes as the 'smashing of the iron rice bowl' (that is, the dismantling of the system of lifelong tenure for government jobs)

and hence the creation of the wage labour conditions necessary for capitalist development. This change in policy, from the Maoist principles of socialism to something that looked suspiciously like the ideas of capitalism and imperialism rejected for the previous thirty years, had to be adequately justified as 'a valid extension of ... [the CCP's] ideological heritage' (Knight, 2003: 320) if the State was to retain its legitimacy as a people's dictatorship put in place by a socialist revolution. This has mostly been achieved through redefining socialism either *as* economic development or as a state of affairs achieved only after economic development of the nation-state. The CCP's current reinterpretation of socialism, and its attendant reinterpretation of recent history, is summarised by Knight (2003) as follows:

A socialist state's primary consideration is thus to initiate and manage the most rapid development of its forces of production, for only this will facilitate the eventual achievement of a fully consolidated socialist society. The mistake made by Mao and his supporters, his successors claim, was to attempt ... to achieve an excessively rapid transition to socialism, one without the requisite material basis. Mao's unwillingness to open the Chinese economy fully to foreign trade, investment and technology transfer ... was thus a major cause of China's economic backwardness (Knight, 2003: 328).

Thus, modernisation through a socialist market economy became the mainstay of government policy in post-Mao China. Economic development is officially intended to precede a final state of socialism, yet this final state of socialism is not expected to arrive for at least another century (President Jiang Zemin²⁴, as cited in Knight, 2003).

Most would agree with Knight that despite the rhetoric of the Chinese government, China will eventually be transformed into a fully-integrated global capitalist economy as per the observed historical process of (Western) modernisation. Yet it would also be unwise to make the mistake of many Western analysts who assume that modernisation in China merely required greater openness to the rest of the globe. In fact, the installation of a market economy has required immense effort on the part of the CCP (again, at the national level), where they have had to manipulate even people's values in such a way that the

²⁴ President from 1993-2003, Party General Secretary 1989-2002 (replacing Zhao Ziyang who was considered too partial to the students in the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests), head of the state Central Military Commission from 1990 and of the party Central Military Commission from 1989.

essential prerequisites of a market economy are met. Hence the paradox is that although the market economy is meant merely to contribute to economic growth and hence the stability of socialism and the unity and distinctiveness of Chinese identity, there has had to be a manipulation of the people's socialist and traditional Chinese values in order to actually achieve this modernisation.

There is no doubt that Deng Xiaoping set about 'promoting values conducive to the creation of a market economy' (Meisner, 1996: 508). He did this through many of the simple yet powerful slogans he is famous for: 'To get rich is glorious', effectively removing the socialist morality of austerity; 'Let some get rich first', justifying the blatant priority put on investment in the already-wealthier east coast; and 'It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice', rationalising the use of capitalist means of economic development in the overall pursuit of the newly redefined socialist goal of economic prosperity (BBC, 2004; BBC News Special Report, 2004; BBC, 22 August 2004; Guldin, 2001; Knight, 2003; Meisner, 1996). In fact, most Chinese rural-dwellers now 'have accepted the idea of income inequality as a natural outcome of the change to a market economy' (Guldin, 2001: 268), meaning that socialist values such as egalitarianism (now labelled as ultra-leftist by the CCP) have in fact been replaced with ideas more conducive to capitalist national modernisation. Sofield and Li (1998: 364) point out in defence of this somewhat disconcerting manipulation of people's values that 'states everywhere may try to define or redefine culture to serve national ends', yet they also concede that 'few other countries have found the need to assume such comprehensive controls of cultural values as China'. However much this is justified by the raising of people's living standards and thereby contributing to economic empowerment, it can definitely be claimed in the Chinese case that this has not led to other supposed characteristics of modernity, such as democracy and political empowerment. These characteristics are not necessarily state-building, and hence do not fit into the overall development ideology of China. Building up individuals and communities encourages potential 'splitters' which are seen to threaten collective national unity and stability.

Once a socialist market economy had been decided upon as the means to China's development, not only did the old socialist values of the people have to be transformed into

those suitable for consumers in a market economy, but 'a class of capitalist entrepreneurs *had to be created* to permit a market economy to function' (Meisner, 1996: 337, his emphasis). This was because the Chinese Communist state had eradicated or absorbed the Chinese bourgeoisie as a social group (Williams, 1997b). The new bourgeoisie are in fact the State cadres and officials and their relatives and friends (Guldin, 2001), who were well-positioned at decollectivisation to buy state-owned enterprises at ridiculously cheap prices and to then use their network of connections to access scarce resources for production.

4.2.3 Power Relations under the 'Open Door'

Success in business in China requires a network of connections, within which one continually exchanges favours. This is often described through using the term *guanxi*²⁵. Because of the fact that most business entrepreneurs are in fact also state employees (or their relatives and friends), it is increasingly difficult to distinguish a line between *guanxi* and corruption. The problem of corruption is acknowledged by the CCP yet the focus is definitely on individual responsibility (as seen in high profile executions), with little recognition of the connections between corruption, *guanxi* and the existence of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie (Meisner, 1996). In addition, corruption cases that are given public attention are often cases where a lower-level official is made a scapegoat for his/her part in corruption in order for higher-level officials to save face (Li, 2004).

All this suggests that the bureaucratic capitalist class are in fact a protected group of people, considered necessary for the economic development of the country. This economic development is aimed at lifting standards of economic well-being throughout the country through a kind of 'trickle down' effect, but is not meant to increase economic empowerment of the average citizen as such. By this I refer to the fact that economic empowerment is a

²⁵ *Guanxi* in fact means 'relationship' and can be used in the ordinary sense of the word. To 'have *guanxi*' means to have sufficient relationships or favours owed you by various connections – normally obtained through having a powerful job (ability to give out permissions or licenses), or a lot of money (ability to give gifts, set up people in business and so forth), or being related to people who have these qualities. People such as journalists can also build up good *guanxi* by supporting people in the press: these people then owe a favour, which can be requested to be repaid even years later, of course never so blatantly. Favours are even 'traded', whereby I can ask a friend who owes me a favour to do a favour for another friend who I owe, thus tightening the net of connections. In China, it is basically an additional form of currency.

relative thing, irrespective of the level of absolute poverty or wealth – hence although the living standards of a Chinese peasant may have improved substantially over the last twenty years, their position in society and the amount of say they have over their own future is likely to have not.²⁶ *Guanxi* is in fact an effective social means for ensuring that the status quo power relations are not challenged, since business success or political success is only possible through a good deal of *guanxi* – a currency shared only by the powerful.

Because of China's particular history there is no balancing and regulating tri-partite relationship between the State, the Private Sector and Civil Society, as sustainable development literature often advocates (Scheyvens, 2002). The business elite are in fact the State, and civil society organisations must be associated with the communist party, and hence part of the State also. Although China has made some progress towards addressing the environmental sustainability of its development, issues of political, cultural and economic sustainability have only really been addressed from within the concept of stability – in that for China to continue her development and take her place on the world stage she must at least keep the nation stable with as little internal conflict as possible. This involves providing a minimum level of development for the propitiation and placation of the general populace, but does not allow for empowerment in any real way.

Despite the fact that neither empowerment nor more holistic sustainability concerns have been addressed by the Government, it is sometimes thought that the freeing up of the economy will naturally lead to general empowerment. Yet as Meisner comments:

The bureaucratic and dependent character of the new urban and rural entrepreneurial classes does not augur well for political democracy in China. While for many it no doubt is comforting to assume that a capitalist market economy will eventually yield political democracy, there is in fact little twentieth-century historical evidence to support this habitual belief (Meisner, 1996: 338).

²⁶ The fact that the Maoist valuing of the worker and the peasant have been replaced with the Dengist valuing of the businessman and entrepreneur means that the worker and peasant actually have a lower position in society than before.

Hence the increase in free capitalist relations due to the new Chinese ideologies of modernisation will not necessarily lead to political empowerment.²⁷ Despite the fact that in the countryside 'living standards have indeed been raised for most' (Guldin, 2001: 277), it cannot even be argued that economic empowerment has increased through this. This is because those who were previously politically powerful have transformed their political connections into even greater economic power, further entrenching inequalities. For example:

In business ventures, rural officials... enjoyed the advantage over ordinary peasants... First, by virtue of their political influence, they were more likely to secure contracts and licenses and to do so on more favourable terms. Second, once their enterprises were established, cadre-run farming and business operations were more likely to flourish since the bureaucratic connections of their owners gave them favoured access to scarce materials, markets, and bank loans (Meisner, 1996: 313).

The control of the elite business and statesmen through the system of *guanxi* means that to have truly empowering community development in China it must contribute to one of two things: an increase in *guanxi* or one's ability to obtain *guanxi*, or a decrease in the importance of the system of *guanxi*. The latter would involve a decrease in the importance of the 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie' to the national economy, a fairly unlikely state of affairs.

At the national and international scales, China's development goals are in fact being realised without raising any necessity to address issues of empowerment for the general population. The spectacular economic growth of the last twenty years in China has indeed achieved the country's goal of recognition in the international arena (Mackerras, 2003). This political rise enables China to secure her own interests at the international level, which has been seen time and again as China consistently blocks any United Nations motions that would impinge on the rights of a state over its citizens – especially in the form of economic sanctions over human rights issues. Empowering development will not naturally come about through participation in the global economy then, as China's prominence as a potential market, production site and even a 'global superpower' (Luard, 2004) with a ranking of sixth as a

²⁷ Using Scheyvens (1999) framework, where empowerment is divided into political, economic, cultural and psychological spheres.

world economic power (Zhao, 2004), means that nations scramble over each other to keep her happy. As Bullard (2004) comments, China is 'now so integrated into the global economy that its economic health is a matter for global concern'. Transnational corporations are in China to make a profit (not contribute to emancipation), and most will play along with any CCP guidelines in order to secure a 'stable environment for capital accumulation' (Zhao, 2004: 21).

This overview of China's development praxis raises a very important question. If China has achieved her long-desired goal of 'international legitimacy' (Bullard, 2004: 15) by concentrating development only in a few key areas of the country, through a few key players, is there in fact any call for her to spread the somewhat dubious benefits of development into the Western regions of the country, or to the poorest workers sweating in the new factories, or for any kind of empowerment of the poor to be a meaningful part of her development programme? China has taken her place on the world stage economically and politically, yet this success is largely the cause of the huge inequalities that define the lives of many of the working class. This question can be explored through looking at China's development programme in the western regions, especially in the context of the ethnic minorities who are mostly situated there.

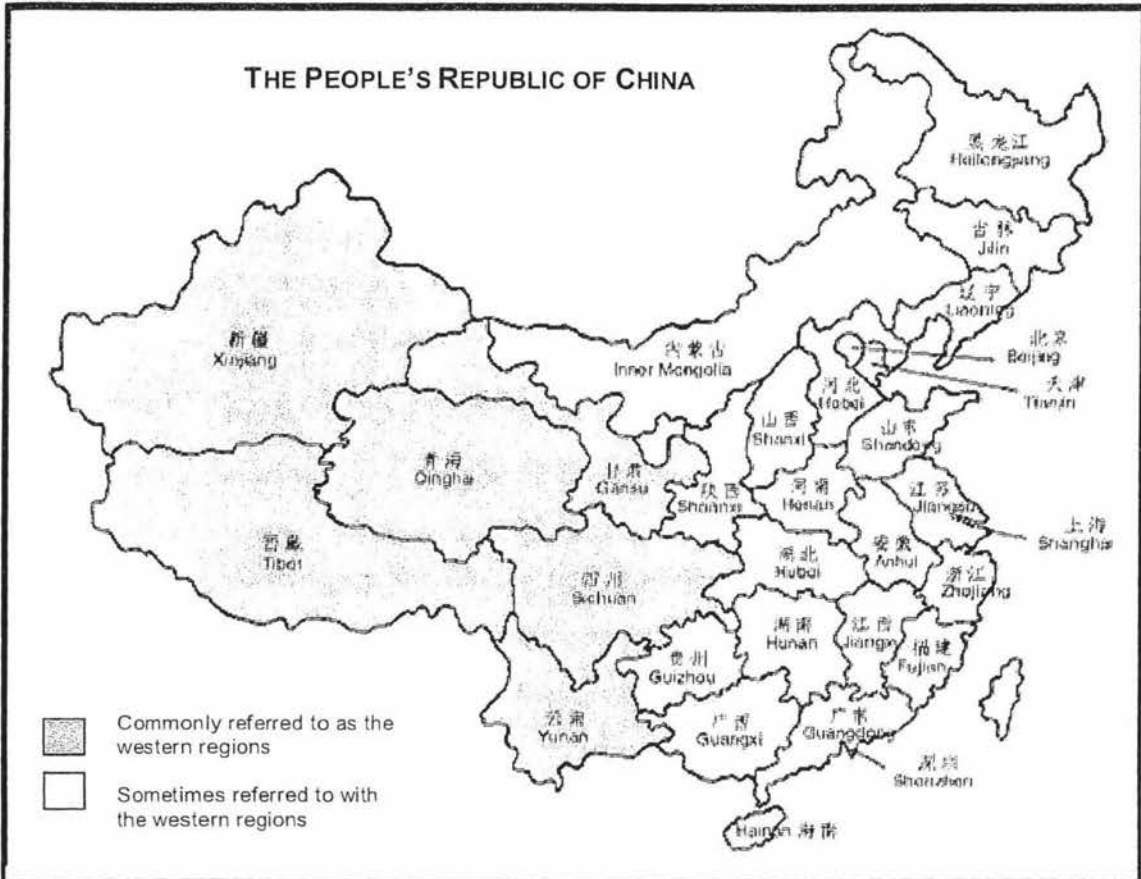
4.3 Ethnic Minorities and Development

The ethnic minorities of China are primarily situated in the western regions of the country, living along much of its border areas (Figure 4-3). These areas include the poorest and most 'economically backward' of China's provinces (Eng, 1998). The east-west divide in development is also therefore reflected in a minority-majority ethnic divide in terms of income (Gustafsson and Li, 2003). The geographical and socio-economic segregation of China is well-documented amongst both Western and Chinese commentators. Four of these provinces are special ethnic autonomous regions: Guangxi (Zhuang people) Inner Mongolia (Mongolian), Tibet (Tibetan), Xinjiang (Uighur people).²⁸ This section will review the

²⁸ Some of China's provinces are ethnic Autonomous Regions and are allowed greater self-governance through the 1984 Law on Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities, where authorities responsible for development are required to respect minority communities' decisions with regards to development (Sofield, 2003).

development situation of the western regions with special attention to the place of ethnic minorities in policy and practice.

Figure 4-3: Map of China Showing Location of 'Western Regions'



Source: modified from <http://www.china-labour.org.hk>

4.3.1 Ethnic Minorities in China

The People's Republic of China recognises 56 official nationalities, with the Han people being by far the majority at approximately 91 percent. Minority nationalities make up then around nine percent, or more than 100 million people (Gustafsson and Li, 2003). Significantly, as seen in Figure 4-3, the areas where they reside amount to about 60 percent of the total territory of the People's Republic of China (Mackerras, 2003). In many of the western regions they outnumber Han people, such as in the more ethnically homogenous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang, and the ethnically diverse Yunnan Province where 25 different minority nationalities reside (Gustafsson and Li, 2003). They are referred to as

shaoshu minzu, meaning minority nationalities, and have been identified according to CCP's Stalinist ethnographic identification procedure.²⁹

From its inception, the CCP has summed up its policy on minorities with the words 'unity and equality'. Minorities were protected in the interim constitution set up in 1949. It stated that:

All nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal. They shall establish unity and mutual aid among themselves and shall oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and cooperative family composed of all its nationalities (cited in Mackerras, 2003: 19).

Hence the minorities were to be protected as equals, but have also expected to conform to socialist thinking.

Pre-socialism, the minority nationalities all kept disparate social systems, such as the Tibetan monastic system, the Yi slave system (Olson, 1998) and the matrilineal system of the Mosuo (Walsh, 2001). Many of them used some form of feudalism, often with 'landowning aristocracies ... and clergies with very great power among the people' (Mackerras, 2003: 20), or were subsistence-dwelling swiddeners (in the south). They were ruled under the Chinese empire through their own social systems, with their chiefs or heads paying tribute to the Emperor but managing their people in their own way (Olson, 1998). Ethnicity was never a barrier to being 'Chinese', the Chinese focussing more on a moral stance that judged people's 'cultural accomplishments and obedience to social norms' (Iredale *et al.*, 2001) that was exemplified by 'the centre' or '*zhongguo*' (Central Kingdom). The Chinese empire was initially unified sometime between 221 and 207 BC under the Qin people, who were later replaced as rulers by the Han. Other ethnic groups had much more complicated relationships with the Chinese empire. For example, the long relationship between Tibet and China was more of a religious relationship than political suzerainty (The Dalai Lama, 1962; Shakya, 1999; Wei, 1992).

²⁹ Which is based on Stalin's definition of 'a historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture' (as cited in Mackerras, 2003: 2).

Whatever the previous system, after the revolution of 1949 all peoples within the CCP-defined territorial borders of China were expected to conform to the new Chinese identity. As a result, the concept of 'Chineseness' has changed dramatically:

...the 'Chineseness' of the Chinese people ... has relinquished its fluidity and spontaneity... Since the opposition to imperialism gave rise to sovereign China, patriotism became an inherent element of 'Chineseness'. Therefore, nobody inside sovereign China retains the freedom to choose their nationality (Shih, 2002: 4).

What Shih has in effect stated is that what was previously a voluntary and fluid interchange between nationalities within an empire became a rigidly defined territory of which the inhabitants were automatically 'Chinese', a concept measured by loyalty to the State. It was only after the creation of the nation-state of China that these groups became a minority within a Han majority, based on the Western idea of a nation-state being ethnically homogenous or racially pure (Ire *et al.*, 2001). This also heralded the creation of a minority identity³⁰, where diverse groups previously unrelated to each other were suddenly all joined under the unifying term *shaoshu minzu*. For example, Deng Xiaoping's speech of July 21 1950, entitled 'The Question of Minority Nationalities in the Southwest', links all minority nationalities together in their backwardness and poverty, and places the CCP reforms as the only solution to minorities' 'narrow nationalism' which is seen to be the cause of their backwardness (see Deng, 1992 [1950]). It also quite specifically positions Han in contrast with minorities as more revolutionary and developed, although kind and paternally lenient.

To the average Han Chinese, minority groups are known mostly by their dress (especially that of the women), their music and dancing, and possibly their traditional housing, with most minority groups being considered *luohou*, backward and primitive (Blum, 2001), and simultaneously 'Chinese' and 'the other' (Schein, 1997). Han people position themselves as modern, socialist, intelligent and so on as opposed to the backward but (mostly) good natured minority person (Fong and Spickard, 1994). Government publications about minority groups concentrate on the external aspects – colourful clothing, traditional festivals and the like, and research has mostly concentrated on classifying different groups

³⁰ It also heralded the creation of the Han identity, the term 'Han' only really being used in contrast to minority groups and having little meaning outside of defining the majority of Chinese that do not belong to an official minority group (Blum, 2001).

into the various branches of the officially recognised minority nationalities. These somewhat subjective categories have led to a degree of 'self-othering' (if that is possible), with minority people regarding themselves as they see themselves represented and defined by the State or the wider society. For example, inaccurate outside interpretations of Mosuo identity have reshaped the way the Mosuo ethnic group see themselves, reinforcing the original inaccurate interpretations (Walsh, 2001). The way that the State, the Han and the minority groups themselves view nationality is key to understanding how development, cultural sustainability and empowerment have played out through tourism development.

4.3.2 Developing Ethnic Minorities

The discourse of development and modernisation surrounding ethnic minorities situates ethnic minorities somewhere along a linear path to civilisation. This is based on a Marxist economic determinist view of national identity, where ethnic identification is a result of economic inequalities which, once removed, would cause 'a natural withering of ethnic differences' (Shakya, 1999). The official attitude towards ethnic minorities was at one time exemplified by Jiang Qing's³¹ question 'Why do we need national minorities anyway?' and her dismissive answer 'national identity should be done away with!' (as cited in Mackerras 2003: 24). Minority groups, if not strictly *needed*, are in fact politically significant to China and are handled carefully by the Government. Firstly, they are politically significant due to their position along the border, as Deng Xiaoping emphasises in his 1950 speech to minority CCP leaders in southwest China:

The south-western boundary line is several thousand kilometres long, extending from Tibet to Yunnan and Guangxi, along which the overwhelming majority of inhabitants are minority nationalities. So, if the issue of minority nationalities is not handled well, the matter of national defence cannot be handled well. Therefore, in view of the importance of the southwest to national defence alone, we should give high priority to our work among the minority nationalities (Deng, [1950] 1992: 162).

³¹ Mao's third wife and leader of the radical faction known as the 'gang of four', considered responsible for the devastation of the cultural revolution (1966-1976) 'where all historical analogies fail' (Meisner, 1986:311), and 'the four olds' (old habits, old ideas, old customs and old beliefs) were meant to be destroyed. Of course, the 'backward' ideas of the somewhat reluctantly socialist minority nationalities were a prime target.

As potential 'splitters' of national unity (Deng, [1950] 1992; Shih, 2002), considered essential in keeping the stability of the People's Republic of China and hence its position as a major world power, the minority populations must be made to consider being part of China more attractive than secession. Economic development for minority nationalities is important in this sense, and is best achieved by encouraging the cultural identity differences that enable marketing for tourism.

Despite the importance accorded to developing minority groups in China, there are still huge inequalities between minority groups and the majority Han in terms of income and standard of living. Some, such as Gustafsson and Li (2003) put this down to the spatial distributions of minority populations, with most minorities living in the western regions with slower economic growth, although the same authors also admit that very little research has been done in regards to the economic situation of the ethnic minorities. Government officials report that under a socialist system, human and financial resources should be assigned to areas that need them, with richer areas helping the poorer areas develop (Ze Ren Zhu, pers. comm. June 2004). However, the channelling of centrally controlled funds into the development of key cities in the eastern region is seen by some to be funding the development of the east by exploiting the workers of the western regions (Meisner, 1996). The whole policy of developing the east first indicates that the central government has given low priority for ethnic minorities and their regions in central resource allocation (Xu *et al.*, cited in Lai, 2002). Whatever the reason, it is clear that 'there is considerable overlap between the areas with the lowest standards of living and those that are home to minorities' (Mackerras, 2003: 67). Of the total population of people in China suffering from absolute poverty (CCP measurements), 36.5 percent belong to minority groups (Mackerras, 2003). This is significant if one considers that the minority population is only 9 percent of the total population of China.

Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin (Holbig, 2004; Lai, 2002) both promised to begin developing the Western regions by the end of their century – Jiang Zemin even promised to wipe out rural poverty by the year 2000. Lai makes the point that 'acting on Deng's promise to develop the interior provinces around the turn of the century would also sustain the loyalty of the interior regions' (2002: 436), especially since the promises of boosting interior

development funding between 1994 and 1996 went unfulfilled, with increasing regional inequalities and rising discontent. Concerns with the inequalities between the eastern and western regions have increasingly been raised (UNDP, 2004a; Wang and Bai, 1991). In order for the government to show its commitment to developing ethnic minorities, there needs to be a definite focus on development projects in the western regions. So far, preferential government policies in minority development and education have not significantly altered the income gap between the eastern and western regions (Gustafsson and Li, 2003), and with the environmental issues involved with traditional resource-extracting industries (Holbig, 2004) there is a place for developing and funding alternative methods of assisting minority groups. One of the most popular alternative methods in recent years is the promotion of tourism.

4.4 Tourism in Western China

Tourism is definitely seen as the way forward for the western regions, which cannot compete in terms of trade with the eastern seaboard. Xu and Kruse claim that most of the poor counties targeted in China's national poverty alleviation plan 'have announced their intention to develop tourism as a window of opportunity' (2003: 95). In fact, in 2003, tourism revenue for the western region of China reached ¥166 billion (US \$20 billion), one third of the tourism revenue of the entire nation (Xinhua English, 2004). This tourism is based on two key attributes that the western regions have over the eastern: beautiful untouched natural scenery (at least compared to areas of higher population density), and ethnic minorities. These two key attractions have often been combined in the tourism strategy of national nature and scenic reserves, as discussed in the next section.

4.4.1 Characteristics of Tourism in Western China

Tourism in western China reflects the mass tour group trend of the rest of the country yet it is more nature-based than in the east. International tourists are often interested in minority cultures more than scenery,³² especially those from areas of the world with many of their own beautiful national parks. For the vast majority of Chinese tourists, however, the main

³² For example, see the Lonely Planet Guide for Southwest China, Mayhew and Huhti, 1998.

attraction is the scenery, except possibly for Yunnan Province which is well-known for its ethnic diversity. The key provinces involved are Yunnan, Sichuan, Gansu, Guizhou, Qinghai and Xinjiang. Tibet is different again from these areas, since it attracts mostly foreign tourists travelling for cultural or spiritual tourism, many of them entering through Nepal or India rather than China (QNPWC/CICETE/UNDP, n.d.).

There are significant environmental concerns with regards to tourism in these areas, with large numbers of luxury hotels being constructed in some fairly fragile environments (Wen, 1998). Local governments theoretically have the power to impose limits on construction, but rarely do since the increase of tourism revenue directly benefits their own businesses, as well as the economic development of the area – or their powers may be overridden by important people with connections. As Wen and Tisdell (2001) comment, the decentralisation of some of China's administration has led to issues with enforcing environmental law. Although tourism is promoted as a 'smokeless' industry, this labelling 'ignores the environmental impacts of items like energy, transportation and water required for tourists as well as waste products, such as sewage, produced by tourists' (Wen and Tisdell, 2001: 42). In the case of nature-based tourism in the protected areas of western China, this waste can be made invisible through shifting it into other non-tourism areas in neighbouring counties, as is the case in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture.

Yet nature-based tourism is seen as a way to support the conservation and biodiversity of the western regions too. Similar to the Kenyan modern adage of 'wildlife pays so wildlife stays', for real conservation to take place in China's west it must pay its own way, normally through tourism. Although there are some tensions between sustainability and economic development, there is still a place for sustainability considerations in western China's development due to the tourism-based incentive. In fact, development in many regions of western China has the potential to move the area towards a more sustainable future – especially in providing the economic conditions necessary for reforesting the many highly-eroded areas, and providing the incentive through tourism to officially protect areas that are still in good condition.

4.4.2 *Characteristics of Protected Areas in the Western Regions*

Protected areas are an important way of protecting tourism resources and biodiversity in western China. Protected areas in western China are also, like those all around the country, mainly seen as a method for local and community tourism development. Most protected areas in China fall under the category of 'biosphere reserves'. Biosphere reserves, as opposed to the national park or strict nature reserve form that many international protected areas take, are:

...zoned, multiple-function areas that attempt to integrate conservation with economic development and human integration with the environment. This is achieved through the integration of a number of central roles including protection, research, monitoring, and sustainable economic development.' (Lindberg *et al.*, 2003: 111).

As Lindberg *et al.* go on to note, this style of protected area is an extremely realistic way to deal with countries with high population densities and low per-capita income. Jim and Xu (2002) report that in 2002, China had 1,146 reserves with some 60 million people living within them. Of these, 24 are listed with UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB, <http://www.unesco.org/mab/brlistAsia.htm>), and four on UNESCO's World Heritage List (UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org>). There are both nature reserves and scenic reserves within China's protected area system, where a nature reserve is normally a biologically important area, and a scenic reserve is an unusual place of beautiful scenery that people want to preserve for viewing. Most of China's nature reserves are located in the south and southwest of China (Jim and Xu, 2003).

The nature reserves in the western regions of China were established and reinforced for three key reasons. Firstly, many nature reserves, especially those of World Heritage status, were established primarily with the understanding that they would encourage tourism: generating foreign exchange, stimulating domestic consumption, and assisting development in poverty stricken rural areas (Wei *et al.*, 2003). Secondly, the flooding along the Yangtze river that was particularly destructive during the 1990s caused logging to be banned in 1999 (Crevoshay, 2002), hence many catchment areas turned into forest reserves in Yunnan and Sichuan. In 2001, these areas began to be reforested in a food-for-work scheme with local farmers with rice and flour to be provided for eight years. Tourism employment in these areas is crucial in establishing farmers with alternative livelihoods for when the replanting

and food handouts cease in 2009. Thirdly, nature reserves are established to protect and conserve China's natural resources and biodiversity, according to the conservation targets set by the State Environmental Protection Administration.

Despite the good intentions of the reserves, Jim and Xu (2003) outline six 'chronic deficiencies' in China's protected area system, which mostly apply to reserves in the western regions as well. Reserves are generally too small to serve their intended functions, short of funding, have people-park conflicts, are de-facto 'paper parks' – that is, a reserve on paper but not in practice, are managed centrally rather than locally, and have a general lack of internationally experienced staff. These deficiencies mean that reserves tend towards management styles that prioritise revenue generation and tourism rather than environmental protection or local participation.

Within the western provinces of China, reserves can be under the authority of different national level authorities, depending on the natural attributes of the reserve. Recently, the State Environmental Protection Administration has been given permission to harmonise the somewhat disparate policies that have evolved among various protected area authorities, although this has not been especially successful in implementation (Jim and Xu, 2003). World Heritage sites are generally national reserves, managed by a specific administration commissioned by the prefecture government, or sometimes even the provincial government.³³ Some nature reserves such as Jiuzhaigou and Xishuangbanna were originally under the management of Forestry Bureaus (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003; Nepal, 2002). The nature reserves are normally divided into two zones: core and experimental (Lindberg *et al.*, 2003; Nepal, 2002). The core zone is the key natural protection area meant for the protection of wildlife and is not supposed to have any human activities within its bounds. The experimental areas are often where local residents and their agricultural activities are

³³ The highest Chinese government level is the Central government (national), followed by the provincial or municipality governments (Sichuan Province or Guangdong Province are examples of the former, Shanghai or Chongqing are examples of the latter – cities managed directly under the central government). Provinces are divided into prefectures, and prefectures into counties. Counties are divided into towns which manage administrative villages. An administrative village may include several actual villages. Villages may include several *danwei* or work units, or will manage on the basis of households (as listed on people's *hukou* documents).

located. Some reserves have a third zone for tourists, which can have built infrastructure such as hotels, restaurants, roads and toilet facilities. The Yunnan Great Rivers National Parks system, for example, has four zones: preservation, economic, scenic/recreation, and cultural – some of which overlap (Cater, 2000).

Tourists, of course, are an inevitable presence in nature reserves in the west of China. They are welcomed with open arms by local administrations as a solution to their funding problems. The Chinese anthropocentric view of nature means that there is thought to be little point in preserving nature if it cannot be viewed in some way. In addition, the Chinese view of nature as imperfect, and humans as having a responsibility to improve on it means that nature reserves are often ‘prepared’ for tourists, through the construction of grand entrances, pathways and monuments (Sofield and Li, 2003)³⁴. Yet this tourism is not necessarily intrusive on the majority of the core protection areas of the nature reserves, as Sofield and Li point out:

For Chinese, it may be sufficient simply to visit a forest resort and, surrounded by the forests, enjoy playing cards, mahjong or karaoke in the air-conditioned comfort of built facilities (Sofield and Li, 2003: 150).

They go on to mention many such resorts in western China, including three within Caiyanghe Nature Reserve in Yunnan, and those outside of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in Sichuan. The bonus of this system is that tourists can be concentrated into a small, prepared and regulated area without too much intrusion on the core reserve areas.

Lastly, the presence of resident ethnic minorities is a distinguishing characteristic of the nature reserves in the western regions. Protected areas cannot therefore be managed in the Western style formulated for reserves that have low or no resident populations (UNEP-WCMC, 2004). It also means that nature reserves have a double attraction for tourists: for both ethnic and nature-based tourism (Litzinger, 2004). The reserves in Yunnan have used this to their advantage, with Yunnan being promoted across China and around the world as

³⁴ Although, as Sofield and Li (2003) detail, often the expert-plans written for these nature reserves invoke a Western biocentric understanding of wilderness and conservation. China’s MAB programme and the State Environmental Protection Administration are peopled with many Chinese environmentalists who promote the biocentric approach.

the place to go to experience the different ethnicities of Southwest China (Litzinger, 2004). Although conflict between reserve administrations and residents are somewhat common across all China's reserves (Jim and Xu, 2004), in areas of national minorities it has the potential to be misconstrued as ethnic conflict if not handled carefully.

In sum, the key characteristics of nature reserves in western regions are that they are focussed towards poverty alleviation and tourism development, have ethnic minority populations, are under-funded and hence often are focussed on revenue generation, and are sites of conflict and negotiation due to unclear regulations and diverse groups. The distinguishing factor of protected areas in China, and in particular the western regions of China, is that they are generally sites of mass tourism.

4.4.3 Protected Areas Tourism and Ethnic Minorities

Tourism to protected areas in the western regions has had a range of effects on ethnic minorities, the most widely discussed being that of social and economic development, at both the local and regional levels. Issues of cultural empowerment are complicated, as different factors simultaneously encourage cultural revitalisation and control and also assimilation into mainstream Han Chinese culture.

Social and Economic Development

Tourism to protected areas is largely considered to contribute to the social and economic development of minorities in two ways. Firstly, it contributes to region-wide development through the increase in provincial and local government revenue – in turn contributing to better education and healthcare for minority populations, along with better opportunities for business due to the increased ability for the government to attract investment to the region. Secondly, it is seen to contribute to development at the community level, where local people have increased access to a market for their goods and services, and increased

access to paid employment.³⁵ Yet Li and Han's survey in 1997 revealed that only 10.7 percent of the 82 reserves surveyed (from all over China) could show that tourism development benefited more than half of the local people economically, and 22.7 percent never bring economic benefits to local communities. This does not augur well for the economic development benefits of the nature reserves in the western regions. The only example discovered in the literature that recorded economic benefits as a *direct* result of nature-reserve creation were not tourism-based – local people in a protected area in Yunnan were paid by the reserve management to monitor forests and report illegal harvesting of forest products (Lai, 2003). Yet it is a firm belief in western China that due to the special nature of ethnic minorities as both local residents and tourist attractions there is more likely to be direct economic benefits to the local population.

Fang (2002) gives the example of Western Sichuan, where prior to the central government forest conservation strategy being implemented, 78 percent of the region's total revenue was through the forest industry. The compulsory establishment of pseudo-nature reserves has meant that local governments have turned to the Jiuzhaigou and Huanglong World Heritage reserves for guidance and inspiration, resulting in the planning of Aba County's *Da Jiuzhai* (Grand Jiuzhai) project, where the whole county will be promoted as a round-trip tourist destination. Fang claims that this is due to the success of Jiuzhaigou and Huanglong in offering models of 'protection of natural resources and prosperity in minority nationalities' (Fang, 2002: 113), an apparent success that he hopes will be replicated all around the area due to western Sichuan's rich cultural resources in the form of the traditions of the Tibetan, Yi and Qiang peoples.

Frustratingly, even with seemingly positive examples such as that above, actual hard evidence of ethnic minorities benefiting economically and socially is not forthcoming. Xue indicates that some reserves in China:

³⁵ It could be argued that this is merely transferring populations from a sustainable forest-based economy to an unsustainable cash economy, although those arguments ignore the fact that forests have been owned and exploited by the State for half a century and have not actually been in the control of local communities for most of this time. The formation of protected areas serves to protect forests from the State, probably leading to greater long-term sustainability.

take local government, communities and farmers into account in resource development. They use the revenue to invest in construction of public facilities for local communities, or help people by introducing advanced techniques to develop resources in a sustainable way (cited in Lindberg *et al.*, 2003: 112).

But does not indicate which reserves, where in China, how much the local people benefit, whether the local people believe they are benefiting, and so on. Likewise, Crevoshay (2002) writes that tourism to Bitahai Nature Reserve (a part of the Yunnan Great Rivers Project) has brought some economic development to the local population. She claims that the local people have ‘capitalised’ on the tourist trade, and around 10,000 people in Zhongdian County have work in the tourism industry. Again, this is a very brief and under-researched piece of work that raises more questions than it answers. A cursory search on the internet reveals that Zhongdian has a population of more than 300,000,³⁶ and the total protected area of which Bitahai is a part has a resident reserve population of 278,329,³⁷ 36,000 of whom have been relocated into other vulnerable (but unprotected) ecosystems, with a further 19,500 to be relocated in the near future. Although one can claim that 10,000 people (who may not even be reserve residents, *shaoshu minzu* or even locals for that matter) have benefited economically from tourism and the nature reserve, the fact that a further 55,000 have been displaced indicates that the matter may not be as simplistically positive as it first appears.

As shown in the somewhat superficial dissection of the above examples, the issue of social and economic development resulting from tourism to ethnic minority-populated nature reserves is one that is riddled with assumptions and shallow anecdotal evidence. It appears to be common sense that it benefits ethnic minorities – they can capitalise on their culture, make money and benefit from increased access to infrastructure and health facilities. Yet there is very little evidence that definitively shows this happening. This is possibly because it is clear to local observers that it *is* happening and therefore requires no research. Alternatively, it could indicate a widespread false assumption that has yet to be tested. I am more inclined to agree with Sofield and Li’s warning that ‘any generalisations about China’s

³⁶ <http://www.echinaromance.com/destinations/zhongdian.htm>

³⁷ http://www.unep-wcmc.org/sites/wh/Three_Parallel.html

involvement of its ethnic minorities in tourism must be approached with caution' (1998: 376).

Cultural Empowerment

Tourism to protected areas is thought to revitalise culture through the revaluing of things traditional and ethnic that were previously discarded during the Cultural Revolution. Cultural empowerment in this sense refers not to preservation, but to the ability of a group of people to preside over their own culture – taking the view that culture is always changing, but empowering cultural change would mean that people had the power to determine the direction of this change to some extent. In the past, cultural empowerment levels have been low for most ethnic minorities in China, despite them being protected groups in the 1949 constitution. Protected areas tourism has had the effect of being both a promulgator of and a mitigator against cultural change amongst minority groups.

Schein theorises that during the Anti Rightist campaign of 1957-1958 and the Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976 the previous CCP 'policy of protecting heterogeneity was dramatically reversed with a call instead for cultural homogenization and the smashing of old ways (*po sijiu*)' (Schein, 1997: [e]) and this, along with the modern-day drive for modernisation, has left many Chinese with a powerful yearning to preserve what tradition is still left, in any ethnic group. Unfortunately, due to a lot of 'thought re-education' what seems to be left are only the visible relics of both history and culture – for minorities, colourful costumes, romanticised primitive housing and a limited number of songs and dances. In terms of tourism to protected areas with minority populations, this means that the Chinese (both Han and non-Han) search for the untouched 'other' is a significant drive for tourist interaction with local groups. Schein notes the 'consumption' of ethnic peoples by the tourist gaze, where

...an internal Other (or Others), in the form of the non-Han peoples positioned at the geographic/cognitive periphery of the Chinese state, came to represent the hope for recovery of a self weakened and threatened at the center by the vicissitudes of the foregoing decades of radical change. In what appears to be a contradiction, minorities were represented by way of contrast at the same time that their customs were (selectively) appropriated and valorized as elements of Chinese culture (Schein, 1997: [e]).

The drive to consume minority culture has been both a result and a cause of tourism to protected areas. Protection is reinforced by the idea that minority cultures (not just nature) need to be preserved, and this is reinforced in turn by visits to these protected areas. For example, in an incident related by Oakes (1993), tourists not realising that Miao tradition had only recently been reintroduced to the area *because* of tourism, urged the minority Miao people to keep to their traditional lifestyle and not change it 'for the sake of tourism'.³⁸ Being an ethnic minority is then admirable and interesting, and has become somewhat profitable too, since the desire to consume ethnicity leads to the purchase of handicrafts and paying to view performances, take photos or dress in local clothing. The perceived profitability of being an ethnic minority has led to some impostors: Han Chinese dressing as ethnic minorities in order to sell goods (sometimes fake) and run businesses.³⁹

In this complex web of interactions, it is difficult to ascertain whether ethnic 'othering' has been a result of protected areas tourism and the act of 'protecting culture', or is in fact a cause of this tourism. It is clear, however, that tourism to protected areas has reinforced stereotypes of 'the other', while at the same time, reifying and reinforcing previously discouraged traditions in a way that is seen as authentic by local groups (Oakes, 1993). Yet this process is always mediated by the State in China, which officially protects national minority groups while also promoting their assimilation (Swain, 1990). Although subverted by local groups, ethnic tourism is intended by the State as a vehicle for economic development alone, not ethnic group reinforcement. It is unclear whether tourism to protected areas degrades or reinforces ethnic cultural development, since it will obviously depend on the particular interactions of the groups involved.

A positive example of ethnic groups cultural empowerment through protected areas tourism is that of the mountaineering ban on the sacred Tibetan mountain Kawagebo (or Meili Snow

³⁸ Interestingly, the reintroduced culture was not considered by the locals to be less authentic despite its purely tourism-based incentive.

³⁹ As illustrated by two incidents related by Li Jing (2003) – the first where Han Chinese dressed as Dai to sell fake silver goods, destroying (temporarily) the Dai's good reputation as honest people, and the second where a Han man returned to a Dai village to find a girl he had fallen in love with on a previous trip, discovering that she was in fact a Han girl hired to dress as a Dai and entertain guests such as himself.

Mountain), a key site of protection in the Yunnan Great Rivers Project.⁴⁰ This resulted after negotiations between the State and a group of local Tibetans, local officials, religious experts and international conservation groups (Litzinger, 2004) who argued that:

The protection of biodiversity in the region... should not only be about protecting one of the great heritage sites of all of the Tibetan and Chinese people, nor should the terms of protection only be stated in the scientific language of ecology. The protection of nature [has] to make way for the religious beliefs and practices of the Tibetan people, and this [means] first and foremost, keeping outsiders off the mountain (Litzinger, 2004: 500).

Their request was heard by the State, and since this time, locals have the authority to forbid mountaineering expeditions on Kawagebo. In this case, with the help of outside groups, the beliefs of the local Tibetans about nature have been put into reserve policy, which shows a level of cultural empowerment in protected area tourism that recognises more than just outward forms and traditions.

4 . 5 R e s e a r c h C o n t e x t

Tourism and development in China's western regions are, like tourism and development elsewhere, inextricably interlinked. The demand for tourism in areas such as the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve is preceded by the development of a national Han urban middle class and the desire to experience nature and the otherness of ethnic minorities. Development in turn has been pursued in these areas through the intentional promotion of tourism as a development strategy.

In general, research surrounding issues of protected areas tourism and ethnic minorities is management-focussed and sometimes shallow, meaning that there is a gap in understanding how tourism in (and even the creation of) these protected areas benefits (or harms) the minority groups that reside there. This English-language literature review has brought to light no examples indicating any residential communities' opinions on the matter except for the case of Li (2004) who briefly indicates that local people in Nanshan Cultural Tourism

⁴⁰ The Yunnan Great Rivers Project is a collaborative conservation and development project between the Yunnan provincial Government and The Nature Conservancy, an American environmental group (Litzinger, 2004; see also Cater, 2000).

Zone⁴¹ on Hainan Island thought that the negative social impacts of tourism and developer compensation far outweighed the actual benefits. For those pieces of research that have ventured an opinion that local-level economic development or empowerment in the western regions of China results from tourism, there has been no analysis of the factors that have contributed to this, or any analysis of whether the resultant development is moving towards sustainability or local empowerment. It has been evident throughout that there is widespread recognition that local people's development *should* be a feature in the sustainable running of nature reserves and tourism ventures, what is missing is any concrete example of how this could (or has) come about.

It is therefore intended that the case study of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve will provide a detailed example of local ethnic minority development through mass tourism in a protected area, from the point of view of the local people themselves. The number of different factors that can contribute to the success or failure of community development under tourism are magnified in the case of China, where a unique history and development ideology combines with issues of ethnicity, environmental understandings and empowerment to create a tourism system far more complicated than Jafari (1989) probably envisaged in his call to contextualise research within a deep understanding of the interrelated elements of that system. This chapter has firmly placed Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in its national and regional context as a site of both intensified development and tourism.

⁴¹ Note this is not a nature reserve, is not in the western regions, and does not have an ethnic minority population.

5. TOURISM AND WELL-BEING IN JIUZHAIGOU

'After you have visited Huangshan, you will never want to see another mountain, and after you have visited Jiuzhaigou, you will never want to see any other water.'

– Chinese Proverb.

Well known throughout China for its clear blue lakes and amazing waterfalls, the Chinese generally believe that no other water will ever attract you after you have viewed that of Jiuzhaigou. The whole tone of visiting Jiuzhaigou is one of a 'once in a lifetime experience', and the desire of more than one million people a year to have this experience means that opportunities for tourism development abound. The local people of Jiuzhaigou and the administrative bureau of the reserve have attempted to gain benefits for the locals and the region, and to ensure that damage to the environment is prevented or at least minimised. Being a protected area, management and consultancy normally focuses on environmental and sustainability concerns, although the economic benefits of tourism (so-called 'development') at the regional level are openly sought after in line with the advocacy platform of tourism thinking. In contrast, this study explores development in a more holistic way at the community level, in order to examine the prospects of mass tourism for sustainable and empowering local-level development.

This chapter outlines the case study site (Section 5.1), including a description of the area, the people and the reserve. Within the protected area, much of the in-depth interviewing was limited to one community, Panyazhai, with whom rapport was established over several weeks. Section 5.2 explores the boundaries of this community in order to fully understand what 'community development' refers to in this situation. Section 5.3 explores the community's conceptualisation of well-being in detail, while Section 5.4 tracks the changes in well-being over time, focussing on the period since mass tourism began to the valley. Each section individually outlines the methodology concerned. A summary of the perceived effects of mass tourism on community development concludes the chapter, with reference to the local people's understanding of this matter.

5.1 Site of Research

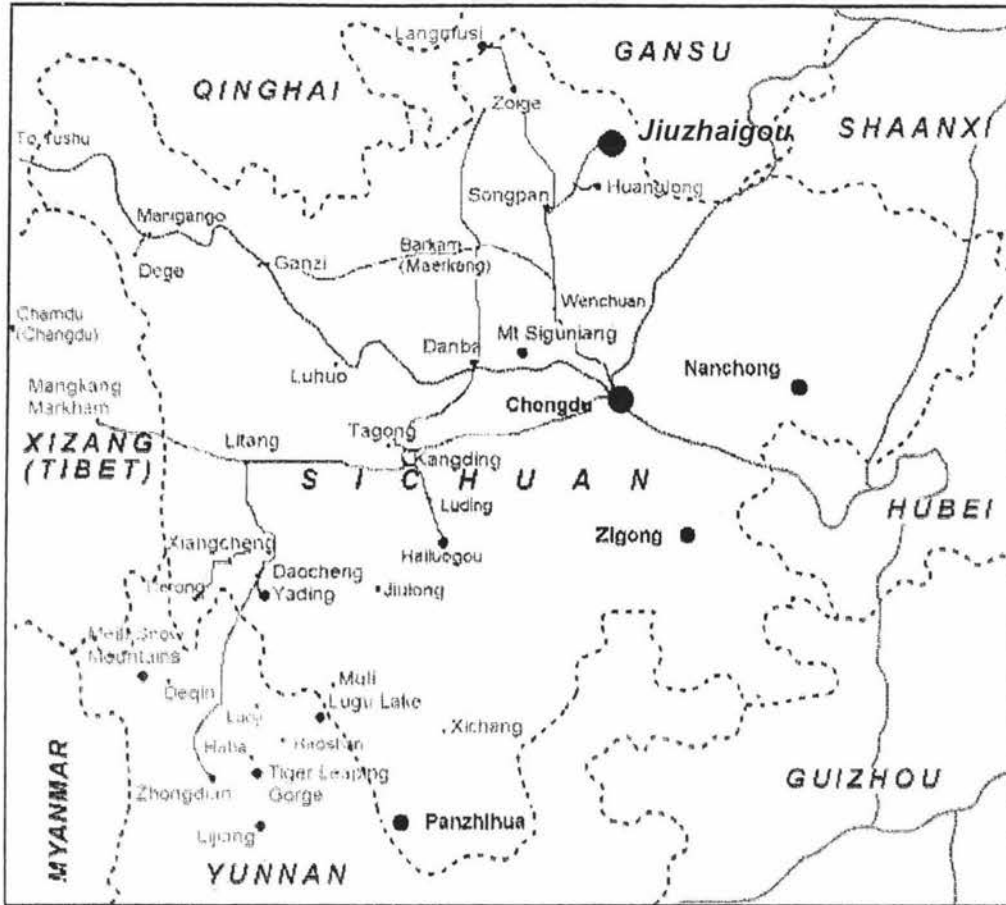
The site of research is the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, situated in Sichuan, Western China. The research is limited to the actual reserve due to time constraints and issues with gaining the correct permissions for research with the appropriate government body. Clearly, it is not ideal to look only at the way mass tourism has assisted those within the reserve and not at issues going on directly outside; this is an area for further research. The site was selected after initial observations as a tourist in July 2002 (see Chapter One), as an example of mass tourism and community development. This section describes the surrounding area, the peoples and the reserve itself, where information was gained mostly through interviews with members of Shuzheng Village and triangulating with several members of the reserve administration. Administrative and tourism publications were also used.

5.1.1 Description of Area

Jiuzhaigou 'Nine-Village Gully' is situated in the mountainous Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in the north of Sichuan Province, China (Figure 5-1: Location of Jiuzhaigou). The gully boasts over 100 beautiful lakes along with many waterfalls, springs and unusual karst limestone formations. Located in the transitional zone between the Tibetan Plateau and the Sichuan plains, in the southern Minshan Ranges, the valley of Jiuzhaigou ranges in elevation from approximately 2000 to 4500 metres above sea level (WCMC, 1997). It has an annual average temperature of 7.8 degrees Celsius with an annual rainfall of 522.9 millimetres (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). The valley is located 330km from the provincial capital of Chengdu (see Figure 5-1), from where the majority of tourists access Jiuzhaigou by a high-maintenance road cut out of the bare mountains, or by a mixture of air and bus travel due to the newly-built Jiulong Airport, two hours drive from the valley.

The Jiuzhaigou valley hosts a protected area of the same name, classified under the Chinese system as a National Nature Reserve (encompassing 651.35 square kilometres) and a National Scenic Reserve (encompassing 734 square kilometres), which is managed by a government administrative bureau. Jiuzhaigou has also been designated a World Heritage site and a World Biosphere Reserve due to its unique geography and scenic beauty.

Figure 5-1: Location of Jiuzhaigou and Other Tourist Spots



Source: modified from www.chinabackpacker.com

The year 2003 saw an astounding 1.2 million tourists come through the park, and the figure for 2004 was expected to be 1.5 million. The last few years had seen a rapid increase due to the opening of the airport in 2003, which allowed easier access for those who could afford to pay the cost of airfares (approximately ¥800 (US \$100) during the peak season). With a standard entrance fee of ¥200 per person (US \$25)⁴², income from tourists could be up to ¥300 million (US \$37.5 million) per year.⁴³ The large majority of tourists derive from Asia, with mainland Chinese, Hong Kong Chinese, Taiwanese, Koreans, Malaysians, Singaporeans and Japanese; all mostly travelling in groups rather than individually. Other foreign tourists include many overseas Chinese, large tour groups from California, USA and individual

⁴² It is unlikely that large tour groups would pay this price, however group bookings through travel agencies are normally much cheaper at all tourist sites in China.

⁴³ The annual turnover (and any other information included in the administration's financial reports) is considered confidential (Vice Director Keke, pers. comm., 2004).

travellers from Western Europe, North America and Israel. Chinese tourists often travel with groups of workmates, rather than family groups, and there were very few child tourists even during school holidays. Most tourists would fall into a broad definition of nature-based tourists, coming to experience and learn about the natural wonders of Jiuzhaigou.

The reserve itself contains six villages which are home to more than 1000 people of mostly Tibetan ethnicity.⁴⁴ Five kilometres outside the park entrance is the township of Zhangzha, which manages 13 villages with a total population of 6,064 in 1999. Those villages which are just outside the reserve entrance are hardly distinguishable as such due to the large number of hotels that have been built along the road in the last 20 years, obscuring the original distinctiveness of the villages. There are some 24,000 hotel beds available in the area (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003).

5.1.2 The People

The ethnicity of people in Jiuzhaigou is mostly Tibetan. The residents within the park itself are almost all Tibetan, with the exception of some long-standing Han migrants and Qiang people who have married into Tibetan families, as well as some Dai silversmiths. In terms of the surrounding region, Aba Tibetan (Zang) and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture⁴⁵ has a majority population of Tibetans, at 52.3 percent, along with 17.7 percent Qiang people (Xinhua News, 27 September 2003). This is very different from the nationwide figure, where Han Chinese people are the majority as 91 percent of the Chinese population, with Tibetans making up a mere 0.44 percent.⁴⁶ Jiuzhaigou (Nanping) County, unlike the other counties in Aba, has a majority of Han (65.5 percent) and only 29 percent Tibetans (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). Despite the fact that Jiuzhaigou County is situated in an

⁴⁴ See Photopage 1 at the end of this chapter.

⁴⁵ The Chinese system of government has many levels. The central government in Beijing is above the provincial government (in this case Sichuan). The province is divided into prefectures, of which Sichuan has three. Aba Prefecture is an autonomous prefecture, which is meant to be governed by the ethnic minority concerned, in this case Tibetans and Qiang. The government of Aba Prefecture, situated in the prefecture capital (Maerkang) manages the county governments. Jiuzhaigou County (previously Nanping County) is a town 40km from the Jiuzhaigou valley and hosts the local government for the whole county. The administration of Jiuzhaigou nature/scenic reserve is on the same level as the County government due to its regional importance.

autonomous prefecture ruled by Tibetans, it was not actually claimed by the Tibetan government in 1914 following the expulsion of Chinese representatives from Lhasa and the subsequent negotiations with India and the Nationalist government of China (see the maps reproduced in Shakya, 1999).

More than 4000 Tibetans inhabit the town of Zhangzha, which has a population of just over 6000, and minority nationalities (*shaoshu minzu*) actually make up around seventy five percent of the total population (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). Many of those currently residing in Zhangzha have immigrated from other regions in Sichuan, Gansu or Yunnan in order to open businesses or work as hotel staff, tour guides, waitresses or dancers. There are many opportunities for work in Zhangzha, especially for minority nationalities, who even in waitressing and tour guide jobs are subject to the appreciative gaze of the tourist, their Tibetan dress and non-Han features becoming just another aspect of the tourism experience.

Until recently the majority of the population within the park, and within the region, were farmers. In 1999, 65% of the population of Zhangzha town were employed in agriculture (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). People within the park have supplemented their farming with tourism businesses over the last two decades, until ceasing all farming in 2001 as outlined below. Now, in both Zhangzha and within the park, people rely mostly on tourism activities for their income, or employment within the park administration. JNNRA/JNSRA (the Administration) employs some 1000 people in total, although only 379 are employed directly and on permanent contracts. In 2003, 252 of the 379 permanent people were Han Chinese, 100 Tibetan and the rest were other minority nationalities. Most of these people reside in Zhangzha with only 20 to 30 from within the park. People originally from Nanping (the county capital) fill most of the high level government administration positions, both Tibetans and Han. The director of the Administration is a Tibetan from Nanping. People employed in low-skilled jobs are likely to be on temporary contracts, whereas those with office jobs are likely to be on permanent contracts.

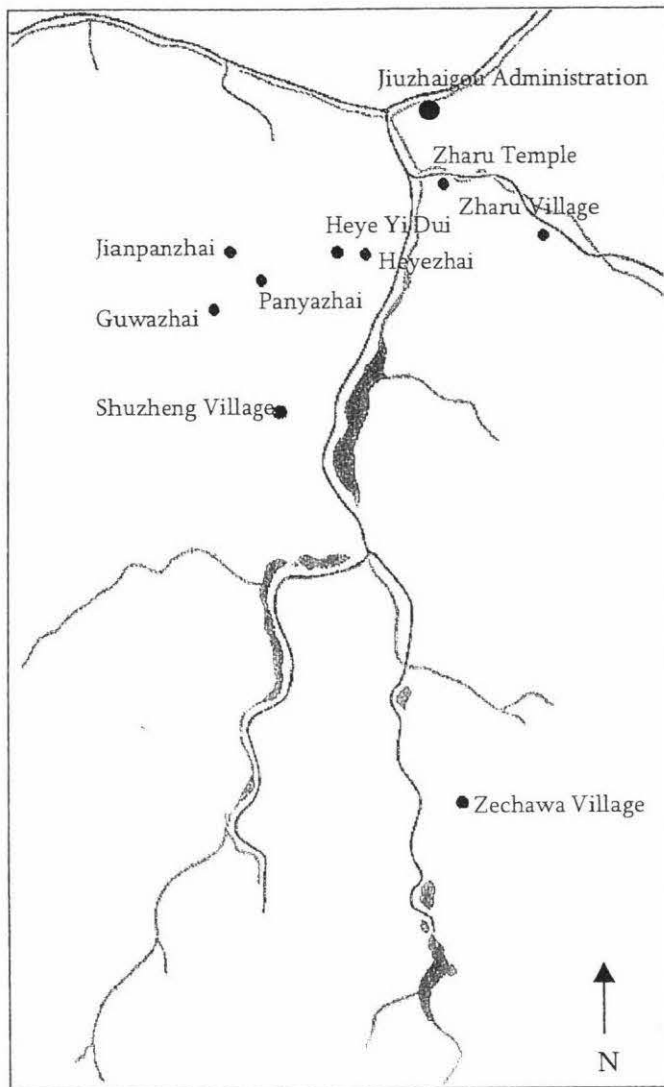
⁴⁶ This means that Aba prefecture has a higher percentage of Tibetans than Lhasa – which is reported to have a population that is sixty percent Han Chinese (Khosla, 1999).

5.1.3 The Reserve

Jiuzhaigou was relatively isolated until 1966 when the government agency Bailongjiang Forest Bureau began to log the valley floor and the southernmost heights of the valley (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). This was aided by the building of a 'Y' shaped road along the gully floors, beginning in 1967 and taking 3 years to complete (see Figure 5-2). The State assigned the villages particular areas of the forest for their own use, while other areas were claimed as government property. A few sightseers began to appear in the area from 1974 due to word spreading of the beauty of the valley, with a scientific survey team arriving in 1975 from the Conservation Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. As a result of this survey, part of the area was set aside as the Nanping Jiuzhaigou Nature Reserve in 1978 (WCMC, 1997), although logging continued in the area until 1979. Despite the fact that the area was at this time officially a reserve, and construction of administrative buildings had begun, local people were not informed of this and were not aware of the status of their land as a protected area.

The whole area of the Jiuzhaigou valley became a national scenic reserve and a national nature reserve in 1984 following the creation of a reserve management master plan by a team of experts from the provincial capital Chengdu (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). At this time it officially opened to visitors, and locals consider this as the time that tourism really began to start in the area. During the 1980s, many residents built large Tibetan-style houses as guesthouses for tourists. Villages began small businesses where during peak tourist seasons they would hire out Tibetan clothing to tourists or take tourists on yak or horse rides for a fee, carried out alongside traditional farming activities. In 1992, the World Heritage Committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) listed Jiuzhaigou on the World Heritage List and in 1998 accepted it into the World Biosphere Reserve Network under the Man and Biosphere Programme. Also in 1998, the Jiuzhaigou administration was promoted to the same level as the Jiuzhaigou (Nanping) County People's Government, and became directly responsible to the Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture People's Government. The village committees within the park (Heye, Shuzheng and Zharu committees) were put under the jurisdiction of the reserve administration.

Figure 5-2: Sketch Map of Jiuzhaigou Showing Localities of Villages



Source: Author, modified from sketch map

The developments of the 1980s and 1990s were part of a broader protected areas movement in China. Commentators outline the developments with little comment regarding the social context of this movement, simply stating that it was in line with ‘similar trends internationally’ (Zhu, 2002: 54). Writers focusing on Jiuzhaigou offer no particular analysis for Jiuzhaigou’s situation either (see JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003; WCMC, 1997; Yang and Johnson, 2001, Yang, 2003), and it was the same with park Administration staff themselves. Personal communication with Paul Dingwall, a New Zealand based consultant for the IUCN (World Commission on Protected Areas), brought up several issues in the process that led to Jiuzhaigou’s registration as a World Heritage site. Dingwall visited Jiuzhaigou in 1996 as an

expert attending a workshop on the effective management of protected areas (Hamilton, 1997), where conversations led him to understand that some Chinese officials were told in the early 1990s that registering nature reserves as World Heritage sites would increase tourism to these areas phenomenally, due to the large number of Western tourists who (apparently) systematically visited every World Heritage site. The revenue earning benefits from tourism may, therefore, have been a strong motivating influence for several of China's World Heritage site nominations. (Dingwall, pers. comm., February 2004). Although several luxury hotels were built outside the Jiuzhaigou reserve entrance to accommodate the expected influx of foreign tourists, the lack of adequate transport infrastructure and overseas marketing meant that tourism was mostly limited to domestic visitors. Domestic tourists did not bring in the amount of money per head that was expected of rich foreign tourists, yet the sheer amount of domestic tourists to the area rapidly developed the tourism industry there. Total tourist numbers in 1997 reached 200,000 (Thorsell and Sigaty, 1999), 580,000 in 1999 (Lindberg *et al.*, 2003) and continued to increase rapidly. For both investors and local communities, tourism became the focus of almost all economic activities in the area.

In 2001, significant changes in the lives of the locals began after Jiuzhaigou became a pilot area for Prime Minister Zhu Rongji's 'Converting Farmland to Forest Project', where all catchment areas of the Yangtze River were to be converted to forest following extensive flooding in the year 2000 (Cai, pers. comm. May 2004 and Ze Ren Zhu, pers. comm. June 2004⁴⁷). At this time local people began to receive rice and flour in exchange for not farming, and began to rely on their tourism businesses to support themselves. However, also at this time, the administration tightened its environmental policies and closed all guesthouses within the park, permitting only day visits to the reserve and disallowing horse and yak renting activities within the reserve.⁴⁸ Residents each received financial compensation regardless of their age or involvement in the guesthouse or animal-renting business. The Administration puts aside ¥8 million RMB each year for this purpose. The

⁴⁷ Mr Cai is the employed in the Science and Research Department, JNNRA/JNSRA, while Ze Ren Zhu is the manager of the department of residents' administration.

⁴⁸ Although it is also known that many high-ranking government officials own luxury hotels outside the park, I think the volume of tourists through the area would mean it is unlikely that local guesthouses were shut down merely to ensure increased custom outside the park.

Administration also introduced the green bus system, using CNG-run buses only within the park and disallowing the use of private tour buses and vehicles.

In 2002, Jiuzhaigou became the first reserve in China to achieve a Green Globe 21 standard, which involves rigorous testing of all aspects of an ecotourism enterprise – from environmental standards and education through to cultural respect (Green Globe 21 International Ecotourism Standard, 2002). This is a significant achievement on the part of the reserve Administration, as the Green Globe 21 standard ensures a high quality ecotourism operation, and reassures consumers of the environmental and cultural integrity of their experience.

In 2004, Jiuzhaigou receives an average of 6000 tourists per day, on some days up to 12,000 (the maximum allowed into the park in one day), and is expecting some 1.5 million tourists to pass through in total. From 2004, the Administration has concentrated on hiring young university graduates from marketing and English majors in order to promote itself further internationally. The reserve fund the 'Great Jiu Zhai' project, which is a tourism plan attempting to integrate the whole prefecture into a tourism circuit destination emphasising Tibetan and Qiang cultures and historic, mountain and grassland scenery.

5.2 The Case Study Community

The research was conducted mostly with one group of people within Jiuzhaigou, the somewhat spatially segregated community of Panya. Initially, my main aim was to live within one village and understand how they saw themselves, before deciding the bounds of the case study community. I followed the basic migration of the people of Panya in my fieldwork, beginning by living as part of a family in the Panya village and listening to local explanations of history, geography, social structures and culture. However, I discovered that there was very little time to talk to the women due to the long hours they kept at their places of work, hence after four days I began to follow my host mother and sister to work each day. After a week, I moved into Heye village when the extended family suggested it would be more convenient, and continued working each day with the women and each night with families in Heye for a further two weeks. I used participatory observation to try

and understand how the community saw themselves, involving myself in local activities and asking questions as they came up. Two social maps (one with young people and one with adults) and a historical transect exercise (with elderly people in Panya Village)⁴⁹ showed that although the village itself only had 21 permanent residents, the community considered the population as 350 persons.

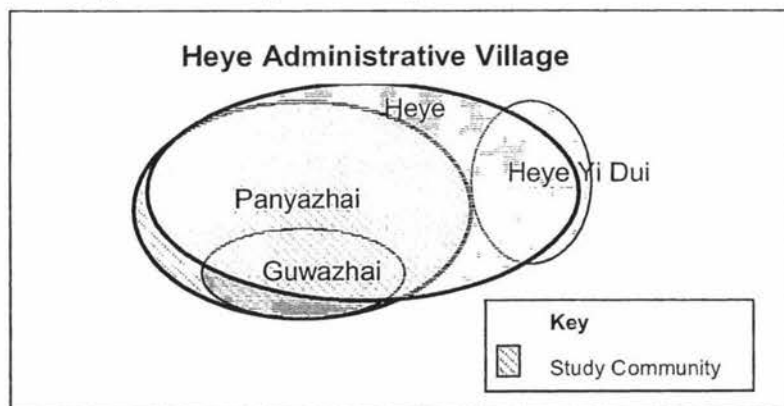
After much discussion and observation, I found that the community of Panya basically consists of three groups of people. Firstly, the day-to-day residents of Panyazhai (Panya village or stockade), numbering 21 persons when the children are away at school. Secondly, those who reside for most of the year (or all of the year) in Heye Village, eight kilometres down the mountain, in order to be closer to their place of work, numbering around 350 persons. The third group are those who reside outside the park for most of the year because they or their family must do so for reasons of work or study; this includes several women who have married men from outside the valley and now reside in Zhangzha, commuting to work inside the park each day.

Of course the membership of the community is not stagnant, and also not clearly delineated. The community is one of several loosely interconnected communities mostly referred to as 'the residents' – meaning the permanent residents of the reserve. There is a significant gap between reserve residents and residents of the original villages making up neighbouring Zhangzha, apparently caused by socioeconomic differences that have led Zhangzha inhabitants to envy and begrudge the government compensation given to reserve residents. Yet within the reserve, the communities overlap with each other significantly because of their shared situation under the management of the park Administration. Residents refer to those who live in the town as 'outside the gate' (*goukou waimiande*), and separate themselves distinctly from those who are from the area and those who have moved here to service the tourists.

⁴⁹ I have not reproduced the maps or transect, since the exercises were mostly useful for the conversation they generated, rather than the actual output.

The community of Panya is especially complex because of the geographical history of the village. Members of Panya and Guwazhai, originally separate communities, have been living in one village since around 1967. Members of this combined community began to migrate to the new village of Heye around 1986. This village had been started possibly by road workers and loggers, but was expanded in 1984 when residents from Heye Yi Dui began to build guesthouses there. Heye now consists of almost all Heye Yi Dui's residents, and much of Panya/Guwazhai's residents. Of the 430 residents of Heye, around 350 'belong' to Panya. All members of Guwazhai therefore 'belong' to Panya, but do identify with being from Guwazhai.⁵⁰ Although those from Heye Yi Dui and those from Panya both reside in Heye for most of the year, their distinctiveness is still kept in the work groups that locals have formed. The three villages Heye Yi Dui, Panyazhai and Guwazhai have been managed as a single village under one *cun zhang* (elected village leader) under the communist system since the 1970s⁵¹. Thus an initially artificial community was created for the purposes of Administration that excluded nearby Jianpanzhai which 'belongs' to the rather distant Zharu village, due to its residents having emigrated from there at some point. The relationships between the groups of the Heye administrative village are expressed diagrammatically in Figure 5-3.

Figure 5-3: Study Community and Related Communities



In addition to distinctions between local groups, the community of Panya identify themselves in accordance with their ethnicity and their nationality. Members identified

⁵⁰ Based on discussions with focus groups in May, 2004.

⁵¹ Heye Yi Dui (Heye First Village) is the administrative name for Wo Zuo (not commonly used now); similarly the administrative name for Panya is in fact Heye Er Dui (Heye Second Village).

themselves as Tibetan, but did not appear to be clear (or be concerned about) which branch of Tibetans they belonged to (whether Khamba, Amdo, White Horse and so on)⁵². The members of Panyazhai also identified with being a minority group of China, and were very interested in other minority peoples who visited as tourists (identifiable by dress or physical features). Although separating themselves as different from Han Chinese, they did identify themselves as Chinese people in the sense of the nation state.

However, the community saw themselves as very distinct from Chinese tourists, and contact with tourists probably served to strengthen local identity over national identity. This was aggravated by the fact that many Han Chinese tourists carried a somewhat superior air that was obvious even to an outsider such as myself. Invitations to share food or drink were often rejected by tourists, sometimes with blatant comments regarding the doubtful cleanliness of anything of Tibetan origin. This served only to unite the Jiuzhaigou Tibetans against the tourists (and the Han Chinese), most commonly expressed through ridiculing tourists. The locals would make up various ridiculous stories about the food's content and origin – telling tourists their tea was actually beer or wine, their pork was actually yak meat and boiled water was butter tea. Their favourite veiled insult to Han Chinese intelligence while I was there was convincing tourists that I was actually a Tibetan, despite my blonde hair, 'high' nose, blue eyes and white skin. Interestingly, this meant that for local Tibetans, identification with a foreigner such as myself (on the grounds that I had 'insider' knowledge of minority groups in China, I was accustomed to a Tibetan lifestyle, I had experience with farm life, I came from a small 'village' and so on) was sometimes stronger than identification with Han Chinese tourists from the Eastern seaboard.

In summary, a member of Panya identifies as firstly a member of the Panyazhai community, and then in varying contexts, as a resident of Jiuzhaigou or one of its administrative villages,

⁵² Linguist Jackson Sun (of Taiwan) informed me in a personal communication (September, 2004) that the people of Jiuzhaigou County were Black River Tibetans, Baima (White Horse) Tibetans and "Jiuzhaigou" Tibetans. The residents within the park are different from other Tibetans in Jiuzhaigou County and it is possible that their language is Qiangic rather than Tibetan in origin (http://www.infomekong.com/p_group_Tibetan_2.htm), the people practice the Bon religion (as do Baima) yet with a lot more influence from Tibetan Buddhism. Classification is highly complex, and as Professor Sun commented, it is probably not appreciated by Tibetans themselves when outsiders attempt to fragment them into hundreds of little groups.

as a Tibetan, as a member of the minority groups of China and as a Chinese National. Identification is according to birth and shared knowledge or lifestyle.

5.3 Well-being and 'The Good Life'

The community of Panyazhai have had almost every part of their lives touched by tourism during the last two decades. Their particular development history has had several influencing factors, but most would agree that tourism is the most significant of these by far. Yet tourism is not something initiated or controlled by themselves and is hence a product of outside ideologies and processes. It cannot be assumed that tourism has necessarily contributed to local development, until it is clear what local people actually value, and how tourism has affected these things that they value. Hence this research does two things. Firstly it allows for the people of Panya to conceptualise well-being in their own way, not related to any particular development ideology. Secondly, it chronicles the change in their development situation as per their own conceptualisation of well-being. The first section of 'data' here therefore relates the local conceptualisation of well-being as I was able to understand it. The remaining sections used this conceptualisation to judge the change in 'the development situation' of Jiuzhaigou since tourism began to the area. This effectively confines discussion to the effects of tourism on the self-defined well-being of the people of Panyazhai.

The concept of well-being, first discussed with a family group, was a little difficult for group members to grasp, even when translated into their dialect. Consequently, a ranking method was later used, where several possible factors that could contribute to well-being were given to people to rank in importance. The list used for ranking was obtained through discussion with individuals and observation, and included: education, health, family, job, environment, religion, *guanxi* (relationships), and good attitude. Participants were asked to rank them in accordance with what made a good life, or contributed to well-being. Interviews were conducted on a one-to-one or group basis (see list of interviews in Appendix One), using a basic highly flexible guideline prepared earlier (see Appendix Two). Pseudonyms are used when referring to participants in order to preserve confidentiality, except where indicated as a personal communication.

5.3.1 Terminology

When using the concept of well-being, it was translated into Mandarin as *xingfu* – the direct dictionary translation that also has the meaning of happiness. This was explained further by using the simple definition ‘what makes a good life’ (see Gegeo, 1998). The word ‘development’ (*fazhan*) was avoided, mostly because of the connotations associated with it after decades of use under communist China. It is indirectly a ‘government word’, hence often inspires ‘government answers’ – that is, politically correct answers that may not reflect the users’ true ideas. The word *xingfu* also brings the discussion down to the personal level, which was more comfortable for women in particular, who avoided any conversation with me that required them to theorise on a level higher than their day-to-day lives.

5.3.2 Health and Livelihoods

When local people were asked to rank several well-being factors, the most important was normally considered to be health. Health was first included in the list of well-being factors because of a focus group interview in which participants had trouble conceptualising well-being as anything but health. Health was considered important mostly because it enabled one to support oneself, to earn a livelihood:

Health is important. If you have good health you can work, you can have a good life (Truck driver, 35 years old).

Hence, the focus for most of the group was in the realm of physical health, and mental health was considered mostly secondary to this. This reflects the livelihood options of this particular generation of participants which mostly required strength and physical wellness: farming, driving, selling/hiring out things, forestry and rubbish collection.

Almost all respondents answered that health was important because it enables one to earn a livelihood, with the exception of one 18 year old girl, who considered health important because she had been without it so often in her life. Health was invariably understood in terms of physical well-being and strength, rather than absence of sickness or disease. Historically, Tibetan communities have been relatively free of disease (Patterson, 1954); they themselves consider most diseases to have come upon them through contact with the Chinese (hence their annoyance at being labelled dirty and unhygienic). This is probably

why they see health as something to do more with physical abilities, strength and youth rather than mere absence of disease or presence of sanitation. They saw health as something you either had or you didn't, as compared to the Han Chinese who place emphasis on eating certain foods and drinking certain teas in order to ensure one's health. People mostly believed that those who had good health were able to earn a livelihood and hence were more likely to have 'a good life'.

Starting from 2001 however, local people actually have access to a livelihood regardless of their health, through the provision of a cash income from the park Administration. Locals showed a considerable amount of insecurity over this income, and still insisted on the importance of relying on one's self for a livelihood, whether in business or farming. One elderly man explains his attitude towards the administration-supplied income:

I can't really complain. If this money continues, that is great. But if it stops, I will go back to farming. Farming is more secure than money. Business is more reliable [than government money]. But it is very hard work. Business is better, although the administration giving money is good. In old times you could never retire, now you can retire and the administration pays you money. You can have leisure time now (Retiree, approximately 70 years old).

In fact, elderly people were the only people who totally relied on the government for their incomes; every other village member had a job or small business in addition to this, even if it was not a job that they wanted. The reasons for continuing to rely on oneself for a livelihood in addition to the money provided by the government could be combinations of the following. Firstly, some local people have become accustomed to a higher material standard of living as provided by their incomes, and do not see the government provision as adequate. Secondly, many local people simply do not trust the government to continue to provide for their needs in the future:

I have no complaints about the money, except that they [the administration] can change their policies at any time, depending on who is in charge. I worry about this (Retiree, approximately 70 years old).

Thirdly, households have increased expenditure due to having to educate their children out of town. Fourthly, local people may also see working as necessary or important in itself. Finally, it is simply too soon to judge the effect that the compensation will have on their valuing of health as the ability to gain a livelihood, since it has only been three years since

the compensation money began to be paid out. As can be seen in this discussion, much of what the people discussed in relation to livelihoods was relative to a concept of sustainability or security.

5.3.3 Education

The one topic that came up again and again, no matter where questioning was directed, was the importance of education to the community members of Panya. This was possibly due to some frustration over the education of their children, as in 2004 the local high school was closed down and all the students shifted to Jiuzhaigou (Nanping) County, 40 kilometres away on an almost impossible road. This highlighted the importance of education to the residents, who were then required to pay large amounts of money for board and protection⁵³ at the new school. People frequently emphasised how fortunate the children were to be receiving this education, and how little education the older generation had received.

Education was considered important because it gave the next generation choice. Parents wanted their children to have a high enough education that they would be able to choose what kind of life or job they would have. Older people, especially those hiring out clothes, emphasised that they had a good job 'for someone with no education' – meaning that their children could do much better than this. Parents were exceedingly proud of their children's education; a large percentage of their income went towards their children's board and fees for education, with Jiuzhaigou children having a reputation for receiving generous allowances from their parents while they were away studying. The emphasis placed on educating one's children was not merely for security in old age through children's increased incomes, but a genuine desire to give them a greater range of opportunities, especially in terms of learning Mandarin or Tibetan. For most people spoken to in Jiuzhaigou, education served the purpose of increasing the options for young people's futures, as learning a second language was the only way to gain employment in the administration or outside the reserve.

⁵³ Protection money was paid to gangs of Nanping locals, who promised to beat up students who did not pay the required sum.

For younger people, education was viewed much like health: it enabled one to earn a livelihood. One young woman from Nanping held the view that education was an investment in yourself, a reflection likely to be shared by Jiuzhaigou young people:

Some people invest a lot of money in stock markets these days, then the shares go down and they lose a lot of money... I think it's good to invest the money into your education. A stock market can crash, but if you have invested in yourself you can still find a job (26 years old, salesperson).

For the young people, investing in education was necessary for them to secure their futures. This was underlaid with a value on mobility and freedom to choose different jobs in different places, at least for a while:

It's better to work outside of the valley if possible. But if you can't find a job, here is good (18 year old high school student).

Although local people professed to place such a high value on the necessity of study in success, in comparison with Han Chinese parents, parents in Jiuzhaigou are very relaxed about study in general. Young people are allowed a lot more freedom to roam the relative safety of the park, and are not given times of study that must be rigorously adhered to, unlike their Han Chinese classmates. Parents have little comprehension of academic matters, and children are expected to look after their own study habits. This is possibly because the parents' reason for valuing education is that it leads to choice, hence education itself should be a choice. One father stated that his children could choose to go to university or not, and study whatever they felt was best, because he wanted them to have choice in their career. Other mothers declared that their children were free to pursue what career they thought best, and what education (money providing) they desired, although they preferred their children to return to the park Administration to work. There was little of the pressure observed in Han Chinese families where parents map out their child's career path from a young age.⁵⁴ Some Han Chinese and 'Hanified' Tibetans confirmed this observation by informing me that Tibetans do not work their children hard enough, and that is why they are not as 'developed' as the Han people.

⁵⁴ This has been observed over 4 years of contact with Han Chinese students living in New Zealand, along with experience in teaching in Chinese schools in 2002 and 2004.

It can be concluded here that 'choice' is considered an important factor in well-being, since the main reason given for selecting education as a well-being factor is that it increases options for the future. The choice that education offers means that the next generation can increase their lifestyle options and choose their employment and their place of residence, unlike the generation before them who were tied to their farms or work groups. The term 'choice' is used rather than empowerment because discussions did not focus on having control over the future, but rather on having choices in the future. The two are, however, closely related.

5.3.4 Family

A third aspect of well-being that was considered important by locals was 'family'. This was thought important by several people because the family is the network of people that cares for your needs. This is especially obvious in Chinese and Tibetan culture where the parent invests everything in the child in return for the child caring for the parent in old age. People in the village who were old and had no children were considered the least wealthy, and had to have special pensions provided them by the park Administration and their burial and funeral expenses covered. Despite the extra pensions,⁵⁵ they were not considered wealthier than their counterparts, as they had no one to care for their day-to-day household needs.

Apart from the material benefits of a having a family, families were considered to be a source of love and belonging. Young people in general were not as eager to escape the bounds of family tradition as one might expect in a rapidly developing community, but rather embraced aspects of tradition and modernity simultaneously. Although some young people wanted to seek work outside of the province, most wanted to return to have their families and marry within the area. There was a strong sense of belonging, not just to the family but also to the community (which was almost an extended family network). In general, the concept of 'family' as an aspect of well-being can also be looked at as valuing

⁵⁵ Social security in China is actually normally only entitled to eligible citizens with an urban residency permit (Jim and Xu, 2002), and is very rarely seen in rural areas.

security and belonging. Families are seen as providers of material and social security, and as units of social and cultural belonging.

5.3.5 *Other Aspects*

Other aspects of 'the good life' came up in the course of the research, including income or job, environment, religion, *guanxi* and good attitude. Many people considered that their well-being had improved through increased income and better jobs, yet only some people considered having a good job as well-being itself. One older lady hiring out clothes was extremely grateful for her job (she was the organiser of all the other clothes-renters) and considered herself to 'have a good life' because of it. It seemed that she was saying that her good life *was* this job, not just a *result* of this job. Most Chinese people would not accept this kind of job as a 'good job' because it was not an 'iron rice bowl' – meaning it was not guaranteed to be lifelong and did not provide a pension⁵⁶, however this can only be concluded when one looks at a job merely as a means to a livelihood rather than as something which contributed to one's sense of well-being.

Environmental aspects were only recently considered important in the Western sense to the community, and the local person in charge of communicating environmental values seemed to have done a thorough job. All people asked about this informed me that if the environment was healthy, the people could be healthy, and there would be a good relationship between humans and animals.⁵⁷ Formerly this understanding was a religious one, whereby guardian spirits or gods had to be appeased if one harvested/used environmental resources such as timber, water or animals. If the anger of the gods was appeased following a community member's 'transgression'⁵⁸ against them, there would be no

⁵⁶ An 'iron rice bowl' is a term used to describe jobs with lifelong tenure and fringe benefits under the government 'jobs for life' pledge which has been abandoned since 2003 (BBC, 7 January 2003, 'China scraps job security'). Other types of jobs are 'mud bowl' and 'gold bowl'; the former being a small business (anything from shoe shining to restaurant) and the latter being a post where one owns a large company with many employees (Danielle Zedan Zhuoma, pers. comm., 2004). Of course there were few of the former and none of the latter during Mao's time.

⁵⁷ Although wild pigs were considered to be causing a problem since hunting had been banned – they ripped up the roots of young trees, but locals considered this the Administrations problem now.

⁵⁸ For lack of a more accurate word – meaning a trespass against the property or person of the gods, who presided over or resided in nature.

natural disasters sent to hurt the community. One man gave several examples of times where disasters had followed inappropriate use of natural resources (transect walk with local man).

For older people, religion was still an important part of having a good life, although with the total reliance of the local people on business and the government for income and hence livelihood, this was changing for the younger generation.⁵⁹ The local religious festivals (a mixture of the Bon religion and Tibetan Buddhism) have become increasingly meaningless for local people, as there is no need to request the blessings of the gods over the harvest when farming is no longer practiced. A festival previously attended by all residents within the national park (1000 people or more) in order to ensure food for the following year, was this year attended by less than 200 – it simply made more sense to continue one’s business or work which was going to provide food. People never expressed the sentiment that religion was important for well-being, although it was still practiced by most people. Although it is clear that in the past religion was considered important for physical well-being such as food and freedom from disaster, it did not seem to be necessary for *xingfu* or ‘the good life’ in the sense of spiritual well-being or inward happiness, as people seemed to regard it as something you did (outwardly), rather than something you believed (inwardly).

Another important aspect of having a ‘good life’ was *guanxi*. As discussed in Chapter Four, *guanxi* is an important part of Chinese culture, and is necessary for many things in daily life, such as getting employment, getting things processed and getting good prices for various things. An example of this was my need for someone to introduce me to a park director in order to get permission to conduct research in the park. For the local people of Jiuzhaigou, however, the practice of *guanxi* is a fairly recent entrant into their daily life. They see it as a Han Chinese cultural norm:

RONG DI (46 year old clothes renter): The practice of *guanxi* comes from Han culture. If a Tibetan becomes a big boss, he just looks after himself!

⁵⁹ My understanding of local people’s views on religion is likely to be limited, due to the fact that it is known that one should not talk to foreigners about religion, and a policewoman had warned my translator against letting me get too deep into religious or political discussions with local people.

TRANSLATOR: But don't you think it's part of our Tibetan culture to always take care of each other too?

RONG DI: Right, Tibetans take care of each other, but if you get to be a big boss maybe not. *Guanxi* is just something we have to do now.

The practice is something that affects both Tibetans in the park, and Tibetans involved in Administration, since it is a department of the Han dominated government. Unfortunately, it means that the local people must become skilled in creating and maintaining *guanxi* with important people in the management if they or their children want to find good employment. This is a little foreign to the older generation, who have a lot of bitter words regarding the practice of *guanxi* as they attempt to find work for their working age children. An example of this is the case of one young man of 24, who left the valley to go and study forest protection at a polytechnic after noting the lack of knowledge available in the park Administration with regards to tree-planting and care of trees. After obtaining his diploma he and his family expected him to get work in the Administration, due to the obvious need for supervision over tree-planting programmes (in some areas many of the trees are yellowed and wilting due to incorrect transplanting procedures)⁶⁰. However, as he and his mother advised me, the lack of *guanxi* on the part of their family made it impossible for him to be considered for a job until someone important enough requested the Administration to look at his papers.

This example (and many others) shows how local people see *guanxi* as being important for well-being in the sense of obtaining work, yet also shows how *guanxi* is considered to be an outsider's practice. In this sense, we can see that *guanxi* is effectively a new cultural addition to the concept of well-being. It is not in fact *guanxi* itself that is a factor of 'the good life' in the eyes of the local people, but rather, the ability to access benefits for one's family.

⁶⁰ This was observed by myself, and confirmed by the young man himself and several Administration members.

5.3.6 'The Good Life' – Summary

All in all, well-being and 'the good life' for the people of Panyazhai consists of several key concepts. The first of these is livelihood, reflected in the emphasis on personal health in order to be able to gain a living. The second concept is choice, reflected in the desire for education in order to expand future choices. The third concept is that of belonging and security, as reflected in the valuing of family. Other concepts include access to benefits or employment, which relates to the concepts of livelihoods and of choice, and is reflected in the valuing of *guanxi* as a means of access.

5.4 Changes in Well-being

Tracking changes in well-being over time was a difficult aspect of the research due to several factors. One was the professed inability of many older Panyazhai members to remember the past, before tourism. It is unclear whether this is due to cultural norms of thinking, where the past, or the remembrance of the past, is not considered important, or whether it is not something talked about with outsiders, or whether it is not something that people want to remember or relive due to possibly painful memories during times of cultural upheaval⁶¹. Whatever the reason, people did not respond well to general questions regarding the past, but did respond to questions regarding specific facts such as incomes, jobs, daily routines or education and how these had changed over time. Generally I tried to steer the conversation around to the topic I wanted to discuss, then ask casually how things in this area compared to five, ten, or twenty years ago. I generally wrote up interviews immediately afterwards, since most people did not feel comfortable with me writing down their comments. Information was mostly triangulated by asking similar questions to different groups of people, and relating my general findings to several people both within the village and in the administration to get their comments and opinion.

⁶¹ There was one situation where a man approached me to talk about the past, which was very unusual. He told me that his father had been killed when he was 11 years old (1967 – when Guwazhai village was destroyed) because he was wealthy in comparison with others in the area. If this situation was similar to others in China, it may not have been outsiders who were responsible for such violence, but local people, in response to Mao's renewed call for revolutionary spirit (see Chapter 3). It may be incidents such as these that people have attempted to wipe out of their memories by forgetting all the past, or simply do not want to reveal to outsiders.

5.4.1 *Livelihood Aspects*

Ze Ren Zhu, manager of the Local Residents' Administration office stated that 'before 1984, all the residents in the reserve area were poor farmers' (pers. comm., June 2004). This was confirmed many times over by individual community members, through description of their previous living conditions and livelihood strategies. A 41 year old father of four, and his brother, a 35 year old father of two, both laughed at the meagre pay of their first few jobs as teenagers, which included collecting firewood for ¥5 per day (about US \$0.63) and collecting rare wild mushrooms and vegetables for sale to the Han Chinese in Sichuan. The livelihoods of these men and their families at that time solely depended on producing enough food through farming, with very little if any food produced for sale. Sale of wild mushrooms and vegetables, firewood or wild game was used to pay for school fees and other items requiring cash. However, although the residents consider that they were poor at this time, it must also be noted that Panya has traditionally been a fertile place to live, and compared to the other 13 counties in Aba, Jiuzhaigou has always been fairly good in terms of providing a livelihood through farming (*cun zhang* of Heye village, May 2004).

A more thorough study of the changes in livelihood over time was conducted through a historical transect exercise with a group of elderly and middle-aged full-time residents of Panyazhai. This group estimated the change in area of land under farming as dropping from 5000 mu⁶² (333 hectares) in the 1950s to nil as shown in Figure 5-4 (next page), even with a population increase of approximately 65%. This shows an increasing then total reliance on outside food sources, indicating an increasing need for cash income.

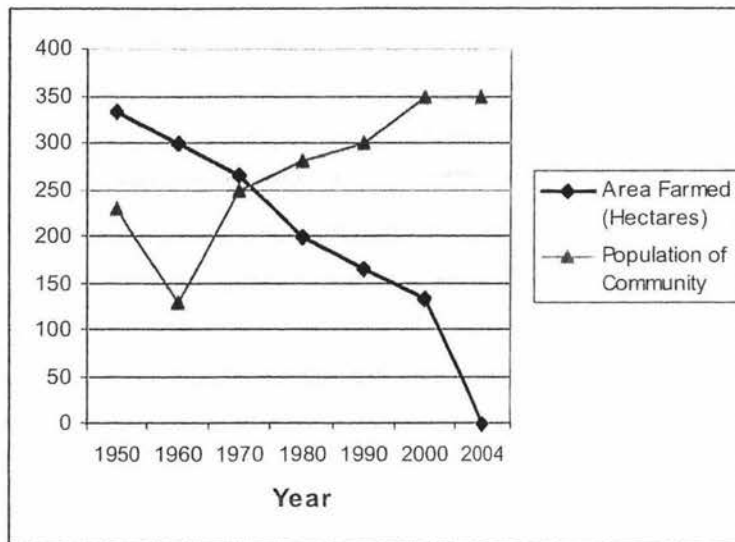
The decrease in area farmed is due to two reasons. The first decrease from the 1950s to the 1970s was due to the initial area being farmed in the 1950s exceeding the capabilities of the village to manage it. The famine of 1959-1961 reduced the population of Panyazhai from 230 to 130 people, a number incapable of sustaining the area of land previously farmed.⁶³ The 1970s saw the return of land to household or communal ownership and management

⁶² Chinese measurement of area equalling around 0.066 hectares. Hence 5000 mu is about 333 hectares (3.33 square kilometres) or 822 acres.

⁶³ Like many famines, the great famine in China (1959-1961) was not caused by a shortage of food, but by people not having 'entitlement' to that food. Heavy taxes and competing officials increasing harvest figures meant that most of what was grown around China was taken as tax during these years.

(‘the household responsibility system’). From the 1970s to 2001, the area farmed by the community continued to decline as residents began to rely more and more on tourism related activities for their livelihoods, and spending more and more time residing in the valley rather than up in Panyazhai where their fields are situated. Finally, in April 2001, the call for farming to totally cease was made according to the ‘Convert Farmland to Forest Project’⁶⁴.

Figure 5-4: Changes in Population and Area Farmed by Panyazhai



Source: Historical Transect Exercise

Panya respondents revealed that mixed livelihood strategies had been used since the 1980s, using the busier tourist times to make money in various enterprises such as renting yaks and horses, renting clothes and (more recently) running small souvenir shops. Other valley residents began to rely on work from the fledgling reserve Administration⁶⁵ to support their families, including one elderly man who spent several years during the 1980s replanting logged areas of the valley and who was later a fire and safety warden for the village

⁶⁴ However, farming was still practiced in July 2002 as observed by myself and others. Locals confirmed that farming did not actually discontinue totally until 2003, because people wanted to make sure the government really was going to compensate them before giving up all farming activities.

⁶⁵ Interestingly, the Administration also counts those residents engaged in what is effectively private business as being employees. The Administration statistics include clothes-renters and souvenir shop ‘managers’ (who are actually owner-operators) as employees despite the fact that these businesses are totally privately financed, and some sites are required to pay rent.

(although this man also confirmed that people gained no livelihood benefits from the logging operations previously in place before the valley was made a reserve).

As tourism began to increase, people began to open guesthouses for the tourists who visited the valley. To explore all major scenic sites in the valley by foot would take two to three days, so the business of hosting tourists for the night became fairly lucrative as the number increased. The contribution that running guesthouses made to the community's livelihoods was cut short in 2001 when tourists were banned from staying overnight in the park, along with the shutting down of the yak and horse renting businesses. This was duly compensated by the Administration as discussed in Section 5.1.3. The first year, residents each received ¥3,000; the second year ¥5,000, and in 2003 each received ¥7,000. Community members from Panya were not unhappy about this, as some families had only made ¥20,000 per year from their guesthouses, and combined family takings from the new compensation could put their yearly guaranteed income up to ¥49,000 (seven-member family – three children, parents and grandparents). In addition to this, due to the implementation of the 2001 'Converting Farmland to Forest Project' the government provides guaranteed supplies of flour and rice until 2009.

Community members now have three basic incomes that contribute to their livelihoods: government compensation, business or paid employment, and shares in the restaurant that serves the tourist groups. Local people were relatively insecure about the reliability of the income that came through compensation, worrying that a change in the Administration or the local government would halt these funds and they would have to rely totally on businesses. People consider farming to be more secure as it rests on one's own abilities (and the weather) rather than the benevolence of the government or the fluctuating demands of tourists. However, the Administration said that compensation money is to continue indefinitely. The second source of income is one's business or job, the pay rates of which are shown in Table 5-1. This is reliant on one's physical or mental capability to do the job, and one's *guanxi* which aids in obtaining the job. The third source of income is the local people's shares in the newly built restaurant and business centre,⁶⁶ each household in the

⁶⁶ See Photopage 2 at the end of this chapter for pictures.

park is entitled to purchase ¥20,000 of shares. The first year only returned ¥1000 per ¥20,000 investment, (expected to be ¥8,000) but it is thought by Panya residents that the growth in tourism to the park was not as high as predicted due to the 2003 SARS epidemic. These three sources of income are the main contributors to local peoples' livelihoods. An example of two families' current incomes is shown in Table 5-2.

Table 5-1: Incomes for Main Jobs of Residents of the Jiuzhaigou Valley

Job	Approximate pay per month
Administration staff (office job)	¥3000
Business stall	¥2000
Renting Clothes	¥1800
Restaurant Staff	¥600
Protect Environment ⁶⁷	¥650-800
Green Company tour guide	¥500-1800 (currently no park residents)
Driver of truck, bus or admin car	¥1000-3000

Table 5-2: Examples of Two Families' Total Income 2003

Income Source	Family #1	Family #2
	(7 members, 3 working)	(5 members, 2 working)
Compensation	¥49,000	¥35,000
Business	¥24,000 (Mother)	n/a
Renting Clothes	¥18,000 (eldest daughter)	¥36,000 (parents)
Restaurant Shares	¥2,000	Unknown
Protecting Environment	¥9,600 (Father)	n/a
Total	¥102,600	¥71,000

Note: Restaurant shares are the first return after a ¥20,000 investment, so cannot be considered true profit.

It is also necessary to look at what kind of livelihood opportunities the community of Panya does *not* take up. Local people do not take up are jobs requiring hard physical labour for low pay such as construction or road works. These jobs must use migrant labourers from poorer areas of western China, who live in the valley for a short period (up to nine months) in order to complete a specific project. Yet locals also shun the relatively high-status and well-paid job (in Han Chinese terms) of the bus-bound tour guide, who must relate the history and facts of each scenic site on the bus route. The Administration employs 274 tour guides, of which currently only around 10 are Tibetans (Tour guide interviews, June 2004) and none are valley residents. An interview with an ex-tour guide in Panya revealed that:

⁶⁷ 'Protect Environment' is something of a euphemism for picking up rubbish or managing toilet facilities.

[Being a tour guide] is a good job for locals... but the hours are too long, and you have to stand up for six to eight hours each day in the off-season. In the peak season, possibly 12 hours with no breaks. The pay is quite low too...business is more interesting and makes more money (Small business owner, late twenties).

The language requirements are difficult for some people to meet, since they must pass a test in their second language, Mandarin. This requires at least a high school education, but even many university graduates in Sichuan still speak Mandarin with a heavy accent. The respondent herself had a diploma in tourism studies, and had remained in the job for five years before going on to run a souvenir stall, preferable due to its increased profitability and better work conditions. During my time in Jiuzhaigou, being a tour guide became even less desirable as all tour guides without university qualifications had their salary cut in half, at the same time the Administration hired university graduates at a higher rate. Protests were underway by tour guides when I left.

All in all, the ability to earn a good livelihood has been increasing steadily since tourism began in the area, and the community of Panyazhai agreed that poverty is no longer an issue for the village. In fact, as can be seen above in Table 5-2: Examples of Two Families' Total Income, a family with four or five children which would have previously struggled to send all children to school with only two incomes, now actually has an advantage over smaller families since compensation payments are made according to the number of persons in the family. Even a little baby can contribute financially to the family, hence there is almost an incentive to exceed the two-child limit of minority families. It is also significant that community members have a choice in livelihood strategies; they have the means to consider job opportunities and take only those that they consider worthwhile.

5.4.2 Choice and Opportunities

The people of Panyazhai considered that giving increased opportunities to the next generation was extremely important. The adult generation saw themselves as having had little choice in their lives due to their low education (or lack of), and sought to remedy this in their children's lives through providing them with the best education possible. The

people of Panyazhai saw education as an important aspect of well-being as it is directly linked to increased choice and opportunities.

Changes in Access to Education

Changes in education were initially brought up through the historical transect session with a group of elderly people still residing in Panyazhai itself. These older men and women proudly revealed that they had three years education during the 1960s – political education night classes that involved study of Marxist theory and Maoist thought. It seems that they did not in fact learn to read or write at this time, or learn Mandarin. Some older Tibetans in Shuzheng village could actually read and write formal Tibetan, but this kind of education was attained prior to communism, at which time education was primarily through the religious system. Seen as feudalistic and inequitable by the post-revolutionary Chinese government, this was replaced with universal education. The Chinese schooling system did not actually appear to have reached Jiuzhaigou until the 1970s, where primary school age children had half days of study and half days of farming. There were at least three primary schools in the valley at various times, with several local teachers.

High school education became accessible in the 1980s with the opening of a high school in Zhangzha, meaning that children could have up to 12 years of education, starting at seven years old. Later, after the local schools closed in the village, the children began to be sent to Zhangzha for both primary and secondary school. The parents of all children were bothered by this immensely, because it required that many of the children board in Zhangzha due to long school hours and lack of access to transport.⁶⁸ This can cost parents up to ¥500 per month in board, and requires that the children now leave home at seven years old, spending the majority of their childhood at school and away from their parents.

Early in 2004, the high school in Zhangzha was closed and combined with a school in neighbouring Nanping, the new school absorbing both students and teachers and renaming itself the Union School. Both students and parents seem confused about the reasoning

⁶⁸ Getting to Panya village requires an eight-kilometre, one-hour uphill walk from Heye, which itself is more than twenty kilometres from Zhangzha as shown previously in Figure 5-2.

behind this move, and are extremely annoyed about the whole procedure.⁶⁹ Nanping is forty kilometres away from the entrance to the park, accessed by a road where the high frequency of slips renders it virtually impassable at times. The students and parents protested to the local government, who provided some compensation in agreeing to pay for taxi fares for students to return home every ten days. The students therefore study ten days and then return to the Jiuzhaigou valley for a four day holiday. Parents feel this separation of their families strongly, and although the practice of sending children to boarding school is not uncommon in Han Chinese areas, it is considered incredibly unfair by the community of Panya. This is the sacrifice they see that they must make for their children's futures. The students, too, see this as far from ideal, one student said that Jiuzhaigou students are often involved in fights with locals from Nanping. The same student believed that although the quality of education is supposed to be better in Nanping, it was better to be educated in Jiuzhaigou since it is more peaceful. Yet in spite of some quite significant difficulties, it is the income earned from tourism-related employment that has enabled families to continue to educate their children, since they can actually afford to send them away.

As with many members of minority nationality groups in China, often living in remote rural areas, people from Jiuzhaigou have suffered poor access to education facilities. Although this has been remedied to a degree over the last decade, they still face something of a disadvantage in that they are working in a language very different from their own first language. For Han Chinese, Mandarin is closely related to their native dialect; but the language of Jiuzhaigou is quite different from both Mandarin and Tibetan. This puts them at a disadvantage early on in their education, as nationwide exams are held even at primary school level, and mastering Mandarin early is essential for success. Some people in their twenties had been educated in Tibetan language high schools, but this was considered not particularly practical since none of the standard Tibetan dialects are used in the immediate area, and they had to learn Mandarin in order to get a job. It is more common these days to

⁶⁹ One man said that the government wanted the school buildings as a warehouse since the original warehouse (for storing rice supplies given to communities) was sold to a restaurant but this was not confirmed. It is true, however, that due to the mountainous terrain of Zhangzha, flat land for buildings is scarce. As of June 2004, I observed that the old school buildings were being taken over by the post office.

learn a little Tibetan as an elective subject, but with the majority of study conducted in Mandarin.

An example of schooling difficulties can be seen in the case of Qie Jiu:

How old do people start school in New Zealand? ...we are supposed to start at seven years old. But I didn't start school until I was nine... I think that's because it was too far away, I'm not sure.⁷⁰ And my teacher didn't teach in Mandarin, so I didn't learn Mandarin. I couldn't pass the test. Then I left primary school and went to help my father rent horses to the tourists... so I learnt Mandarin from the tourists. After that I went back to school. I was quite old.

Now, at age 18, Qie Jiu has only just completed junior high school (normally completed at 15). From this example, it is obvious why those that can afford to would have sent their children away to better schools than those that were previously available, which some of the wealthier people did do. Yet the parents of Panyazhai would much prefer to see a good quality school started within the park, which would enable their primary school age children at least to live at home. One mother believed this was the biggest well-being issue for the residents at the moment:

The main thing we want is a good school that is close, for our children... we won't have to pay protection money for our kids, or board. And the school could be for just five days at one time instead of ten. We know that a good teacher won't want to live in the country, but we could pay them more, to get a good teacher (Clothes renter, mid-thirties, mother of three).

Hence, although education has improved immensely over the last twenty years, it still has a lot of room for improvement in the eyes of the local people of Panyazhai.

Changes in Choice and Opportunity

Although the reasons given for valuing education were all to do with increasing choice, it is clear that in terms of the education itself in Jiuzhaigou there is little choice. However, the people of Panya have mostly responded positively, seeking to find ways to improve the opportunities they and their children have in this area. The young people have a good understanding of the competitive Chinese schooling system, and seek to position themselves

⁷⁰ Possibly due to a general downturn in rural school attendance during the late 1980s due to decollectivisation and the consequent hardship faced by many families in terms of running a private farm.

in the best possible light with the help of their parents. Parents have little understanding of the schooling system themselves, but within reason attempted to support their children in their educational choices. Students such as Cuo Mei, 18, relay information to their parents with regards to their goals in education, explaining how they must go to a certain school because of its ranking in the Chinese system, in order to have a chance to go to a certain university. Parents respect the knowledge of their children in this area, and are willing to invest a lot of money based on the words of their children. Parents are consistent in their desire to provide their children with increased opportunities, allowing the children themselves to make decisions in regards to their future. This way of relating within the family will be discussed further in Section 5.4.3.

Young people still see their education and future career paths as somewhat limited, but are confident in their own abilities to overcome these limitations. Cuo Mei, 18, makes careful plans to attend the best university in the province, despite her supposedly second-rate education; Qie Xiao, 19, who didn't finish senior school due to a death in the family, relates his future plans of job-hunting in Shanghai; Qie Jiu, 18, who has only finished junior school excitedly plans his future career path through polytechnic and teacher's college; Lang Mu and Zhuo Ma, 17, who both never finished junior school, take pride in their abilities as clothes renters and contributors to family income; twelve year-old Mei Duo and her ten year-old brother, study side by side every night, hoping to improve their marks; Yang Zong, 12, listens carefully in class, bright-eyed and eager to learn, taking every opportunity to practice her English despite the lack of enthusiasm on the part of her teachers and classmates.

It seems that the future of Panya lies not just in increased access to education and income; but the people of Panya themselves – the hopes of the children, and the willingness of the parents to assist them in carrying them out. Just as the generation who first became involved in tourism had a huge increase in opportunities, as the original single livelihood option of farming expanded into many different tourism-related employment opportunities; so too does the next generation visualise a huge expansion in opportunities, from the tourism related employment in their immediate area to a huge range of opportunities that their education and increased income affords them.

5.4.3 Cultural and Social Aspects

Concepts of belonging and security were central in the valuation of family as a component of well-being. The concept of a family as an extended social network that cares for its members was inherent in discussions concerning community well-being, and community understandings of belonging and security arose from this. A sense of social, cultural and psychological belonging was obtained through identification with the traditions and customs of the extended family community of Panya, and security is here used in the sense of social security – a safety network of provision in old age, injury or bad times.

Security

Security has been touched upon briefly in the section on Livelihoods (5.3.2), where elderly men especially felt insecure in relying on government handouts as provision for their livelihoods. The sentiment is similar here, in that older women especially felt a little insecure over their futures as their traditions and culture were shaken by the fact that, as one respondent stated, ‘all the children have become like Han’. This perceived change in the children was not directly related to contact with tourists, as the children spent most of their time at school, but was indirectly related to tourism in that families could now afford to, and were required to, send their children away for schooling (as discussed in 5.4.2). Some of the older people feel some insecurity in relation to the values exhibited by their children. They worry not only for that fact that their children are possibly losing their Tibetan distinctiveness – something that makes them belong; but their desire for a Han Chinese lifestyle may ultimately lead them away from the village and render them unable or unwilling to care for their parents in old age. This is similar to ideas of cultural and social security in the sustainability literature.

An example of intergenerational cultural conflict can be seen in the relationship between Ru Mei and her elderly mother-in-law. Ru Mei is 28 years old, and has been married for around 10 years, has two school-age children (boarding) and runs a souvenir stall at the business centre. Although her husband is the head of the house (because he built it), his mother and father reside in the house also and have a significant say over the way it is run. Ru Mei is fairly fashion conscious, and although she often wears semi-traditional dress, she has fitted jeans and high heels underneath and dyes her long hair red. Her mother-in-law

confided to me that she considers her not as good as her other daughter-in-law who is much older, dresses more conservatively and prepares traditional labour intensive food for all. Ru Mei's modern appearance and unwillingness to prepare traditional food is a source of insecurity for her mother-in-law, as the way that things have been done for generations have been altered with Ru Mei's work schedule.

Ru Mei's mild alteration of family custom does not cause as much concern as the possible alternatives that many other mothers fear. Before tourism in Jiuzhaigou led to improved infrastructure, there were not many opportunities for people to live outside the valley. People from Panya therefore tended to marry within the Jiuzhaigou region – the nine villages within the park, and the other villages where Zhangzha is now situated. There were instances where wives had come from as far away as Songpan or Pingwu (see back to Figure 5-1, pg 89, for locations), although it was uncommon. It is local custom for the woman to move into the husband's home and become part of his family. This is why a family such as Ge Ya's would have been considered rich (see footnote 61, page 108); since there were four sons, each of whom would marry, increasing the labour pool of the household – meaning the ratio of able-bodied workers to the elderly would be much more favourable. A family such as Rong Di's would have been considered fairly poor, since they had three girls – each would leave home to marry into another's family, meaning that at best their parents in their old age may be guests in their son-in-law's family home. There was something of a safety net if the daughters married within the village, as contact and care could be easily maintained, and the in-laws are likely to be friends (or relatives) of the family too.

Hence parents expressed a desire for their children to continue the custom of marrying in the area, saying that they felt more comfortable if their children married into families they knew. It would also have the secondary effect of continuing the culture and traditions of this small area, rather than them being abandoned for or mixed with another. Younger people such as Cuo Mei and her friends told me that they recognised and respected the reasoning behind their parents' desires, *yet also* recognised that in modern times it may not always work this way. Cuo Mei expressed a strong desire to return to the village after her university education, to marry and live in the area, both for reasons of cultural familiarity

and family contact. Although there was a young man in the village who was often observed joking about marriage with her, she thought it likely that she would meet someone at university. Her friend had also experienced this, and was married to a young Tibetan man from Maerkang (the Prefecture capital) who she met at polytechnic college. Fortunately, she was able to get his *hukou* changed to live in the valley – which went against both traditional custom and the official *hukou* system where the wife commonly joins the husband's family. Several local people told me this was becoming more and more common in the area, since the comparative wealth of job opportunities made it a desirable place to settle. In fact, women were very unlikely to want to move outside the area on marriage, since the income-earning opportunities are in fact greater for women than for men in Jiuzhaigou.

Although traditional allocation of responsibility in caring for parents in their old age may not be followed exactly, families have devised other ways to ensure their security in the changing environment. It seems that insecurity has not led to parents forbidding children to make their own marriage choices, although tradition is that the parents must at least approve,⁷¹ probably because of the high value the community puts on choice and opportunity. However, the change in culture over the last twenty years is still somewhat stressful and leads to increased feelings of insecurity, and the government-provided safety net pension is not considered to be as secure as family provision.

Belonging

It was clear from observation that increased wealth had led to an increased expression of Tibetan culture in Panyazhai and in Heyezhai in the form of Tibetan architecture and religious practice. Many families had literally spent tens of thousands of yuan on painting and carving their houses, inside and outside, in traditional Tibetan style.⁷² Almost all houses had in fact undertaken this. In addition, prayer flags were hoisted in accordance with the instructions of the lamas on special days and when people passed away. The villages in

⁷¹ For instance, the proposal must still be made by the young man's relatives to the young woman's parents – through the presentation and acceptance of a large amount of wine. It is also said to be unlikely that parents will approve marriage to a Han Chinese, although this is not completely unknown.

⁷² See Photopage 3 for examples of changes in architecture and dress.

Jiuzhaigou, both on and off the tourist route, were proudly displaying forests of prayer flags in every available space. This is in stark contrast to the relatively bare airspace around many of the poorer villages that dotted the road out to Jiuzhaigou from Chengdu. Attendance at a traditional festival displayed the renovated temple grounds around Zharu temple, and an amazing display of traditional Tibetan clothing, including robes trimmed with leopard or beaver skin worth upwards of ¥15,000 (US \$1,900), along with silver headdresses and belts. Most village women wore semi-traditional clothing everyday, normally owning three to four summer robes and several winter ones as well⁷³, always worn with a heavy silver belt and matching silver bracelets and rings of traditional design. Rong Di expressed pride in the fact that tourists thought their clothes interesting enough to want to rent them for photos, and that tourists had an interest in their food⁷⁴ and lifestyle when they visited.

However, when asked what was the biggest change she had seen since tourism had begun in the area, one woman said:

The biggest change since when we were young is that all the Tibetans have become Han. They no longer wear Tibetan clothing or act very Tibetan. They're values are different (mother of two grown up children).

This was a sentiment shared by Rong Di:

This generation is very different, very Han. Their lifestyle and their thinking are different... The children have a Han education. They have become more and more Han (46 year old, mother of four).

In investigating this accusation levelled at the youth of Panya as being 'like Han Chinese', it was noted to be true that the young people do not often wear traditional dress, are obsessed

⁷³ This in itself shows how Tibetan women have adapted their culture to modern times – traditionally a village Tibetan would have only one robe, or possibly an extra one to wear over top in the winter. Farming meant that appearance was not as important as practicality and warmth, however with business and customer service jobs, women prefer to have clean and flattering clothing. Hence they have designed a summer style of dress along traditional lines that allows more frequent washing than the traditional sheepskin or lined robes.

⁷⁴ Unfortunately since farming ceased in the park, locals have changed to a more rice-based diet (since rice is provided free by the government). Butter and tsampa (*zhanba*) have to be purchased outside of the park.

with Chinese and Korean movie and pop stars, and can speak Mandarin Chinese. However, from the young people's point of view, they still have a sense of belonging and commitment to the community of Panya, and their families. Ce Mo, a 26 year old city-dwelling Tibetan who grew up in neighbouring Nanping compares her childhood with what she has observed of Panya youth in her short stay in Jiuzhaigou:

[When I was young] I thought that Han people looked down on Tibetans. We thought the Chinese language was better than Tibetan, that the Chinese customs are better [than ours]... my mother used to say 'the Chinese are so clever, they put out a good sheet on the bed during the day, but take it off and sleep on an old sheet at night so it doesn't get worn out. We thought that was so clever and tried to copy it... now I think it is silly... I remember I told my mother that I wished that I was a Han Chinese, that I didn't want to be a Tibetan...

Ce Mo remembers that growing up, the Jiuzhaigou teenagers had more money and self-esteem than those from Nanping. In her opinion it seemed evident that the youth of Panya have a stronger sense of self-esteem and commitment to their community (rather than a desire to escape) through the respect accorded to them because of their wealth and beautiful place of residence. They do still feel a strong sense of belonging and responsibility to their community that is unrelated to the toting of cell-phones and label clothing. In fact, in terms of outward expression, the young people choose to wear traditional clothing when it suits them, choose to keep their mother tongue and choose to buy Tibetan pop music in addition to their Chinese music. This can be contrasted with youth in other areas who are unable to wear traditional clothing as it is so much more expensive than factory-made Chinese clothing, who must speak Tibetan because they cannot speak Chinese (and hence cannot find much employment), and cannot listen to any Tibetan music, traditional or otherwise. This is not to mention the fact that youth in these other areas always feel that things Tibetan are inferior to things Chinese, whether in the area of language, culture, daily habits and the like. In the case of Ce Mo, as soon as she had the opportunity to leave home, she took it, preferring to be considered Han in the city and thus quickly losing her native language.

Hence although the worry that parents have over the 'Hanification' of their youth is valid, it is possibly far less serious than the Hanification of other, less well-off Tibetans and minority peoples. The fact that they have been able to give their children choice in the expression of

their Tibetan identity may in fact be more culturally sustainable, as comparison with Nanping teenagers shows. In analysing the role of education in increasing choices for minority groups:

It is important to realise that when members of a minority group adopt education as a mobility strategy, they are not necessarily validating the educational project of making them into compliant and subordinate citizens (Harrell and Ma, 1999: 217).

Lee (2001), in exploring the opportunities for minority empowerment through education within the Han Chinese system concludes likewise that minority students can subvert the education system to benefit their own culture, arguing that the empowerment of the students she interviewed in Kunming, Yunnan, was rooted in their commitment to helping their communities and their ethnic groups. The young people of Panya certainly showed this potential, especially with their desire to use their education to assist the conservation and development of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve. However it is unclear how this will change over time, especially with the younger children spending longer periods of time away from the village – whether the Hanification of the village youth will go deeper than outward consumption and change their attitudes towards their culture and tradition; or whether tourism will continue to benefit them economically, psychologically and socially, leading to pride in their traditional culture and beautiful environment.

5.4.4 Access to Benefits

Although access to benefits was not considered a particularly major component of well-being by the local people, a considerable amount of discussion centred on the ability of some people to access benefits that others could not, through the Chinese custom of *guanxi*. The people of Panya made it known that no one was poor these days, yet were equally clear that there was a discrepancy in wealth based on access to benefits. The richest people in Heye village were those that were there first, from Heye Yi Dui. These people were the first to build hotels, and hence made a lot of money from that while others were still farming. It was believed that their ability to build hotels first was because they or their relatives had jobs with the Nanping County government at that time, and hence had the contacts to do business, get permissions and loans.

It is clear that contacts are important in gaining access to benefits, and access to benefits leads to further access to benefits. The people of Panya rank themselves within the lowest grouping of villages in the valley, and park officials told me Panyazhai itself is probably one of the poorest villages in the park. A wealth ranking exercise done with residents of Panya placed Shuzheng as the wealthiest village. Shuzheng village is considered to have become rich because the buses stop there, with tourists frequenting local businesses. It also attracts the walking tourists as it has a sign indicating that it is an official 'minority village', open to tourists. Of course, the other villages are mostly open to tourists too, but the signage around Shuzheng makes it seem more official.

The second wealthiest according to the wealth ranking exercise was Zechawa village, also on the tourist route, but not so obviously developed towards tourism as Shuzheng. It was wealthier than the others because of its proximity to the only restaurant, where jobs and business opportunities were available. The third grouping included Zharu village and Heye village, with their residents drawn from associated Jianpanzhai (belonging to Zharu) and Panyazhai, Guwazhai and Heye Yi Dui (belonging to Heye). Zharu village was traditionally wealthy due to hosting Zharu temple, some of the richer members of the valley hence used to have houses in Zharu as well as their home village in order to have somewhere close to stay during festivals. Heye has developed considerably despite it being a relatively new village,⁷⁵ but is still considered a long way behind Shuzheng and Zechawa's status.

It is also clear that access to benefits does depend a little on geography, such as which village is on the typical route of visiting tour groups (see the road marked in on Figure 5-2, pg 93, sketch map of Jiuzhaigou). This is determined by geographical factors such as proximity to scenic areas, but in some cases this geography is determined more politically. For example, although Heye was on the tourist route road, and had a bus stop outside the village, it was still not much better off in comparison to Zharu, which was kilometres away from the road. This was because other factors subject to human decision (and hence also subject to *guanxi*)

⁷⁵ Heye is around twenty years old, and is peopled with Guwazhai, Panyazhai and Heye Yi Dui residents. Although there are more families who want to move to Heye, no more permissions are being granted to build houses there. There is an unconfirmed rumour that Heye may be demolished in fifteen years, and residents must return to their home villages.

actually influenced the number of tourists that could be accessed by Heye residents. The decision of an administration member from Shuzheng village to build a gateway declaring Shuzheng an official minority village may have cost little money and may not have seemed a large problem at the time to other villages, but this decision has formed tourist flows and hence financial flows for years after. Other decisions will therefore be based on this, such as which village is prioritised in roading projects, which villages are more important in preservation and so on. Therefore, over time, access to benefits has become less fluid, as decisions are cemented in old relationships. It was noted in Chapter Four that in order for a group to be empowered in China, they must either have increased access to *guanxi* and the ability to use *guanxi*, or the system of *guanxi* must become less important in accessing benefits. In the case of Panya, since 2001 there has been a decrease in the importance of *guanxi* in obtaining benefits since compensation has been provided regardless of *guanxi* and status. Yet in terms of future employment and access to benefits, for the people of Panya the role of *guanxi* is still unclear.

5.4.5 Summary of Changes in Well-being

It was made manifestly clear by the people of Panyazhai that overall their well-being had increased dramatically. Their access to the factors which contribute to 'the good life' has shown to be improved in almost all areas. The range of livelihood strategies available for each family and individual within the park has increased, with this diversification giving a measure of security and sustainability – families are no longer reliant on one livelihood strategy. The community of Panya has a range of livelihood strategies including government support, investment and personal wages. The average income of a park resident is ¥18,000 per year, as compared to an average of ¥1,200 per year for the rest of the prefecture (whose living standards are comparable to what Jiuzhaigou would have been like twenty years ago). Compared to other areas and past times, the community have overall better living standards, and are able to more fully express their identity through being able to afford traditional houses, traditional decorations and religious items.

In terms of choice and education, community members are better educated than they were twenty years ago, with the average number of years increasing from three years of part-time

education up to 12 years of fulltime education. Choices in career options appear to be increasing for young people, who train in such varied areas as tourism management, sports coordination, teaching, forestry and performing arts. Although comparative to urban areas the people of Panya have relatively less opportunities in education and employment, they have more opportunities in comparison to others in the prefecture, other minority groups in the northwest, and the previous generations in Jiuzhaigou. Young people in particular see that they have increased choice and opportunities, but are somewhat restricted by the schooling system and the expectations of their parents.

Family relationships have changed over time, with parents having the means to give their children more choice in deciding their own futures. Because it is no longer possible for children to follow their parents in farming, children are encouraged to investigate and make their own choices in education, career and even marriage. Although parents encourage and respect their children's decision-making, they feel some insecurity in regards to their own futures if their children leave the valley. However, young people in general seem committed to the community of Panya, and have been inventive in balancing modern lifestyles with traditional values and customs.

Guanxi, although not ranked highly in factors to do with 'having a good life', did lead to considerable variances in people's access to benefits. In general the people of Panya are all fairly equal in their wealth status, but have some concerns about other villages that have better access to tourism dollars and facilities due to better *guanxi*. Panya is generally known as one of the least wealthy communities (not just through their own eyes), and they see this as related to the Han custom of accessing benefits through *guanxi*. *Guanxi* has in fact shaped the geography of the valley, and this in turn affects the ability of communities in different geographical locations to secure benefits from tourism.

In general, the community of Panya has had improvement in all factors of well-being since tourism began in the area, although there is still a considerable amount of worry and confusion over future security – both in terms of livelihoods and care through family members. The people of Panya report that they are incomparably wealthier than the generation before, and have access to a previously implausible amount of opportunities.

There is a tension between a desire on the part of the community to have choice and self-determination and a desire to be provided for by the local Administration. Provision through the local Administration is considered satisfactory, yet is traded off with having to follow rules set out by outsiders over their own lives.

5.5 Case Study Conclusions

There are three general observations of the people of Panya that are relevant in understanding the way tourism has affected their well-being. The first is the observation of the *cun zhang* of Heye and Panya villages:

This place is very good, even before 1949. Plants grow very well. We were never hungry because the harvest was always good. Better than all the other thirteen counties in Aba.

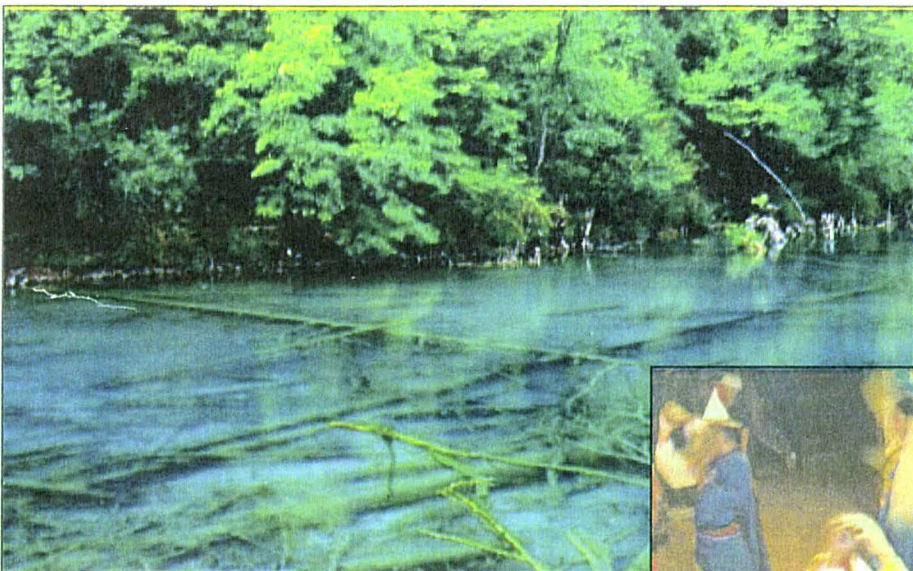
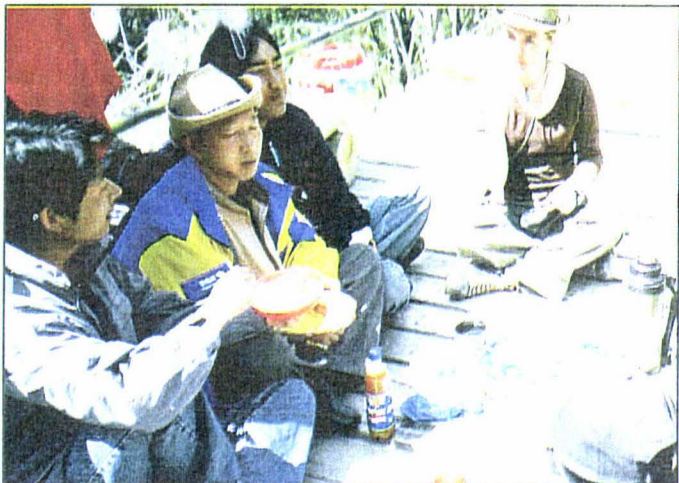
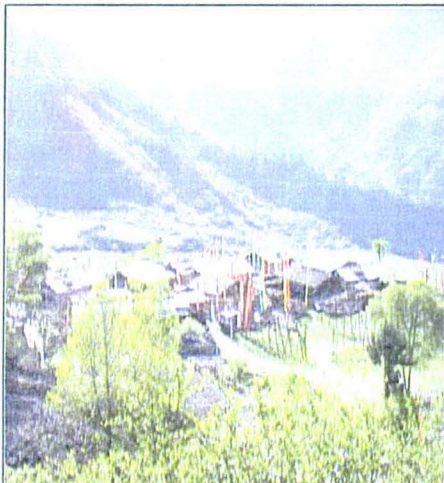
Secondly, I asked several people if they had the choice, whether they would go back to farming. The answer was definitively no. The hours, the income, and the lifestyle of their current employment are much preferable to the hard physical work of farming. Thirdly, the observation of Suo Lang sums up the general feeling amongst the people:

We could not have all the benefits we have now if it were not for the Administration... the Administration has helped us develop, but there are so many rules now (part-time monk and seller of Polaroid photos, mid-sixties).

Taken together, these three observations can tell us a lot about the situation in Panya and in Jiuzhaigou as a whole. The first is that they did not consider themselves poor prior to 1949. Indicators show that poverty did indeed creep in under the Mao years, such as the fact that more than a third of Panya village died during the great famine. Yet although farming has historically been good in Jiuzhaigou, and their lives are currently much more highly regulated by the Administration's rules, the people still prefer their tourism-based economy. This relates back to their view of well-being, which is fairly pragmatic. Choice is indeed an important value, but choice is not just limited to choosing what one can and can not do within a protected area. The people have a view of choice that embraces the increase in opportunity provided through economic and social development. Their lives have increased regulation imposed by an outside force, but the regulations involve minor things in comparison with the increased choice afforded through increased employment and education opportunities.

In the view of the people of Panya, tourism has assisted in achieving well-being. It has been shown in this chapter how tourism has done this through each of the locally-defined factors of well-being. Increased access to an increased range of opportunities is a highly valued consequence of tourism to Jiuzhaigou. This case study has shown that it is possible to have local-level development through the means of mass tourism.

Photo Page 1: Local Views, Tourist Views



Village sights (clockwise): Satellites in Panyazhai; Festival dress; picnic lunch at work; Panyazhai - far from the tourist gaze.

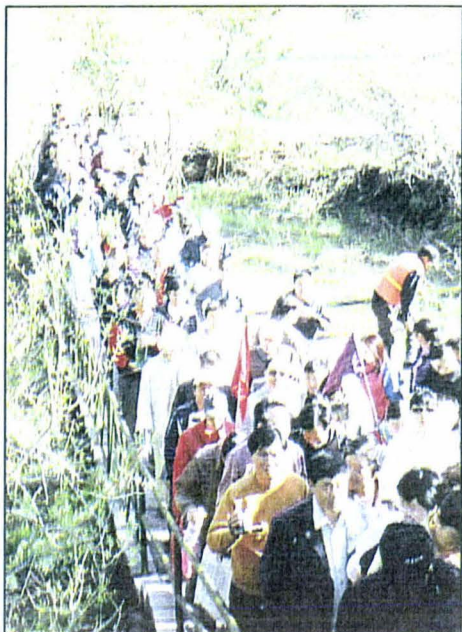
Tourist sights in Jiuzhaigou: Five-colour Lake; dancers in motion, Zhangzha.



Photo Page 2: Interactions between Tourists and Locals



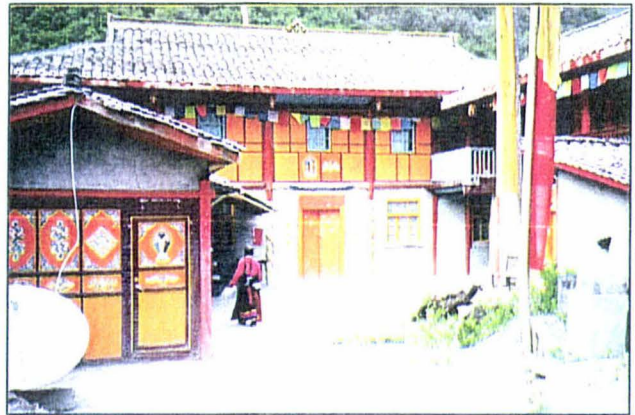
Mass tourism in Jiuzhaigou (clockwise):
tour group dressed in 'Tibetan' clothing;
peak traffic in the far reaches of the park;
lunch time for an organised group.



Employment in Jiuzhaigou
(clockwise): Nuorilang
Restaurant and Business
Centre; stalls at the indoor
marketplace of the business
centre; clothes renting at Five-
Colour Lake.



Photo Page 3: Outward Changes



Changes in housing (clockwise): Panyazhai old house; Heyezhai ordinary ex-guest house; Heyezhai wealthy person's house.



Changes in local dress (clockwise from bottom left): Elderly women, Panyazhai in traditional robes; middle-aged women, Heyezhai, in semi-traditional dress; young boys from Panyazhai.

6. MASS TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN

JIUZHAIGOU

How can sustainable and empowering development at the local level be achieved through the means of mass tourism? This thesis has argued that examples of sustainable and empowering development need to be studied individually, but within the context of the overall tourism system – a system that includes the socio-cultural context of current tourism practice (as outlined in Chapters One, Two and Three). Chapter Five detailed the increase in the well-being of a community in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, presenting the changes in development as per their own understanding of their community. This chapter will discuss the findings of Chapter Five with relation to the research framework and context outlined in the first three chapters, firstly analysing whether this tourism-led development moves Jiuzhaigou towards greater sustainability and empowerment (Section 6.1); and secondly analysing the specific mechanisms that have allowed or limited this comparative success (Section 6.2).

6.1 Sustainable Empowering Development?

The fact that the people of Panya have indicated that according to their own measurements mass tourism to Jiuzhaigou has increased their well-being is a very positive finding. However, there is little to rejoice over if this increase in well-being now is unsustainable and results in a situation where the people are worse off in twenty years time than they were before tourism development, due to factors beyond their control. Hence the key question of this thesis is: how can mass tourism facilitate *sustainable* and *empowering* local-level development? It has been established that mass tourism has undeniably contributed to *local-level* development – it is now left to establish whether this is sustainable and empowering development. As discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, people-led, bottom-up, empowering development is the only way to combat the ethnocentric imposition of narrowly-defined economic development on the less powerful; however, in the interests of sustainability, it was concluded that there also needs to be some kind of regulation of development in order to ensure that the demands of one empowered group

does not disempower others. This section seeks to establish whether the rise of tourism in the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, and the resultant development for the residents, is leading towards greater sustainability and empowerment as defined in Chapters Two and Three.

6.1.1 Movement Towards Sustainability

As argued in Chapter Two, the complexity of the relationship between different elements in the environment, the tourism system and human activities, economies and societies means that any labelling of a certain activity as definitively 'sustainable' is overly simplistic. After Clarke (1997: 229), this thesis conceptualises sustainable tourism as 'a goal that all tourism, regardless of scale, must strive to achieve', and as a concept that is 'still evolving' where 'the absence of a precise goal definition is less important than general movement in the correct direction'. Clarke points out two important aspects that should be part of this view of sustainability: firstly, that implementation of current knowledge is undertaken; and secondly, that further research into sustainable practices and improvements continues (in social, environmental and economic fields).

Current knowledge in terms of mass tourism and sustainability lies within the knowledge-based platform of tourism research, where 'the issue of scale is more objective and less emotive' (Clarke, 1997: 227), and where sustainability is seen to increase with regulation, regardless of scale (Weaver, 2001a). Weaver in fact also argues that mass tourism may be more conducive to sustainability than 'the harder, small-scale versions' (Weaver, 2001a: 109), tracing a relationship between higher visitor figures, greater revenue and more effective management of tourist flows. Sustainability is not just an environmental issue, but one of economic and socio-cultural dimensions as well – each aspect requires a level of regulation for sustainability. In China, as in many parts of the world, the body that regulates for sustainability is generally the State. In Jiuzhaigou, the State is represented by the Administration, which puts into place rules that regulate for environmental, economic and socio-cultural sustainability⁷⁶ within the receiving system of the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere

⁷⁶ The fieldwork did not establish particular non-state regulations for sustainability that were in place prior to, or in conjunction with those of the Administration, as these were mostly in the realm of

Reserve. The Administration of Jiuzhaigou is an interesting case, because it combines Chinese, Modern and post-Modern ideologies of sustainable development – it seeks to be a great example and show the glories of China to the world, it seeks to be progressive and modern and developed, yet it seeks to value traditional culture and to protect the environment. The various local, national and international influences on regulating for sustainable development has ensured that a fairly holistic view of sustainable development has been used at most times, including environmental, socio-cultural and economic.

Environmental Dimensions of Sustainability in Jiuzhaigou

In the case of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, it can be seen that regulation for sustainability has increased over the years over all three areas of the receiving system of tourism – type, site, and impacts of tourism. It cannot be argued that Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve is necessarily sustainable environmentally, as it is a small protected area within a greater area of intense environmental degradation, within a country with huge industrial and population pressures on its environment. Yet it can be shown that Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve has moved towards increasing sustainability through the implementation of current knowledge and continued research into further ways to increase sustainability within the receiving system.

In terms of the *type of tourism*, tourism in Jiuzhaigou is limited to day-only mass tourist visits that concentrate on scenic viewing. This is enforced through regulation at the *site of tourism* through various restrictions on tourists' visiting times, numbers, habits and transport. The *impacts of tourism* on the reserve have been regulated through introducing various measures to limit the impacts of the tourists including the prohibition of smoking, water-free toilet facilities with sewerage disposal outside the reserve,⁷⁷ hydro-electric power usage (from races not dams), landslide control and monitoring of water levels and tourist effects for future regulations. Other regulations help to regulate the environmental sustainability of the reserve as a whole, including the prohibition of farming, tree-felling,

religious beliefs (an off-limits topic). In addition, the low population and isolation meant that sustainability was likely to have been circumstantial (and therefore not needing to be regulated) prior to tourism.

⁷⁷ The obvious problem with this being that the waste has to be transported elsewhere – reportedly to the neighbouring valley where an industrial waste-processing plant has been set up.

hunting and gathering; the conversion of farmland to forest, the conversion from fuel-based cooking and heating to electric-based, and severely limiting immigration.

Regulations have mostly been instigated under the management master plan researched and produced by the Sichuan branch of the Central Construction Department's government research institute. It focuses mostly on regulating the *site of tourism*, although educational facilities at the reserve also help to affect *tourist types* and future *motivation for tourists* (see the Diagram of the Tourism System Figure 3-1, pg 37). In addition, the plan provides for additional scientific research into improvements on the park. The key one during my time there was the recalculation of the daily carrying capacity of the park. The Administration is committed to continued research and development into reserve protection. The main research projects listed are in the areas of water resources, natural ecosystems, mountain disasters, the scenic landscape, history and status of the local culture, local and tourist population dynamics, general scenic area management, marketing to ensure sustainable tourism, along with continued participation in international research and cooperation ventures (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003). Except for the last two, I have personally seen research papers and displays dealing with each of these (as published in JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003; Liu and Li, 2001; Yang, 2003).

Research is carried out in cooperation with Sichuan University in Chengdu and other research institutions, as well as by members of the Administration Science department. Although much of the research is descriptive in style, particular research that has affected park management includes a detailed piece of work into the impacts of different types of walking trails on the environment, including visitor perceptions (Ge Ning, 2002 (reprinted in JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003); Liu and Li, 2001). This research resulted in dirt trails and flagstone paths throughout the park being replaced with raised wooden walking platforms that discouraged tourists from wandering, and protected tree roots. Research into water resources resulted in the removal of flush toilets for tourists in most areas, these were replaced with the aforementioned water-free toilets and mobile toilet buses. Hence it can be seen that the management of Jiuzhaigou not only implements its current knowledge of sustainability, at least within the park, it also researches for further sustainability improvements.

Social Dimensions of Sustainability in Jiuzhaigou

The Administration's *White Paper on Conservation and Development in Jiuzhaigou* (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003) lists cultural preservation and conservation as important goals for the reserve in the name of sustainability, insisting that:

Scientific research should be guided by the management concept of harmonious relations between humans and nature, so as to ensure a balance between the integrated development of Jiuzhaigou and the needs of the people. Only if the existing harmonious relationship is maintained, shall the management of Jiuzhaigou rise up to world standards (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003: 42).

The Administration aims to do this through researching and compiling information on the traditional culture, historical legends and stories of Jiuzhaigou, evaluating and cataloguing folk music and dance of Jiuzhaigou, evaluating and cataloguing Jiuzhaigou's folklore collections, researching the evolution, succession and conservation of the local architecture style, researching the influence of outside culture in the local context, researching the development of local folk customs and its influence in promoting the tourism industry and establishing the development and management of Jiuzhaigou's native tourist products. This has been pursued by some research into local culture, carried out by a relative of a local Jiuzhaigou Tibetan (Yang, 2003), although this is more in the way of documenting local stories and traditions, with a conclusion critiquing local culture from a Marxist economic view that is basically reproduced government propaganda. Yang (2003) contends that preservation of local culture is necessary for tourism development, but only in its outward forms; local people should be using Marxism and science to critique traditional thinking.

The tension between preservation of culture for tourism economic development (and hence 'stability') and the desire to 'educate' the people in the doctrines of the nation (and hence 'unity') are ever present in Jiuzhaigou, reflecting the tensions in China more generally as discussed in Chapter Four. Because the purpose of sustaining culture is not for the sake of the people but mostly for economic reasons and the sake of the country, a quite narrow view of culture has been employed that does not allow local people's cultural self-definition. However, there is a tension between national and local views on the importance of Marxism as opposed to culture. Obviously, Yang's published work on Tibetan culture must toe the government line, but the situation on the ground is actually much more accepting and

supportive of local initiatives. The fact that the Administration has a fairly good relationship with the local communities – through several elected *cun zhang*, the members of the Administration that are from the park (including one vice director), and the local residents' administration office – means that there is a fairly realistic view of local people's needs at the ground level.

The only concern in regards to the socio-cultural aspects of sustainability voiced was that of the older folk complaining that all their children have become like Han since tourism. Yet this is mostly due to the nature of the education system in China, which does not allow much regional variation, rather than actual interaction with tourists (as discussed in Chapter Five). The schools fall under the jurisdiction of the Jiuzhaigou (Nanping) County Government (not the Jiuzhaigou National Nature/Scenic Reserve Administration) since they are outside the park; hence Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve people have little influence over schooling policy. In any case, the education system is dictated from Beijing, and it is well-documented by others that there are a lot of problems with the bilingual education system that is supposed to be implemented in autonomous regions (Kormondy, 1995; Sautman, 1999; Stites, 1999; Upton, 1999; Wang Su, 2003; Yang, 2003). It is hoped that the continued education of minority peoples, including those in Jiuzhaigou, will empower them to challenge, change and subvert the education system themselves, as Upton (1999) records as evident in the Tibetan community of nearby Songpan, and as Lee (2001) suggests is possible with various minority groups in Kunming.

Economic Dimensions of Sustainability in Jiuzhaigou

In terms of economics, it has been discussed in Chapter Five that the people of Panya did not see the compensation provided by the Administration as particularly sustainable, since the leadership could change at any time. Although the Administration currently budgets for compensation and plans for sustaining the tourism market well into the future, the people are in fact correct in their thinking – there is no guarantee that they will continue to benefit except for the word of the Administration. This in turn relates to empowerment as well – if the Administration (which acts effectively as a local government body) were elected, the people could ensure that the economic benefits of tourism continued to be shared with them in the future. However, this is no less of a problem elsewhere in China,

and the fact that the Administration includes many local people in its staff and several in its management may be a mitigating factor against sudden change in this area.

This brief analysis of Jiuzhaigou's movement towards sustainability has focused on how tourism has been regulated by the reserve in order to ensure sustainability. What has not yet been mentioned is how the *reserve has been regulated by tourism* to ensure sustainability: without the economic benefits of tourism, it is likely that Jiuzhaigou would look like the barren wastelands on its north-eastern side – eroding, treeless, dusty mountainsides that provide little fertility for the nourishment of the people that live there. Jiuzhaigou was, it must be remembered, a site of logging. It was only because tourists wanted to see its beautiful waters that the State dropped logging for the more lucrative business of tourism. Today, this continues to regulate the behaviour associated with reserve; everyone from the highest Administration official to the average high school student realises how much their economic livelihood depends on the sustainability of this protected area. It is therefore important that the economic benefits of tourism are sustainable, since other types of sustainability are dependent upon them – livelihoods, education and socio-cultural sustainability. The Administration seeks to ensure this by market research and advertising, as well as considering new products for different sectors of the tourism market. Currently, they are considering redesigning several trails for more Western-style tramping and Buddhist-style mountain circumambulation to appeal to the Western, Japanese and Hong Kong markets

Comparative and Increasing Sustainability in Jiuzhaigou

There is considerable value in comparing Jiuzhaigou's situation with other similar contexts in order to see comparatively how well sustainability is being pursued. Out of the six chronic deficiencies listed by Jim and Xu (2003) as being present in China's nature reserves, possibly only one is applicable to Jiuzhaigou.⁷⁸ Most significantly, the reserve is definitely not suffering from the 'paper park' syndrome outlined by Jim and Xu (2004) due to its ability to provide financially both for its own running costs, for the local people's compensation

⁷⁸ These six 'chronic deficiencies' are as follows: protected areas too small to serve intended functions; shortage of funding; people-park conflicts; 'paper parks'; too many different state agencies involved in management; lack of international experience.

and also to contribute to the prefecture government's coffers. The park has also benefited from its international ties to UNESCO and to various Australian organisations including Green Globe 21, The University of Tasmania and a sister park in Tasmania (Wang Qiang, March 2004). Not only has the park moved towards increasing sustainability since its logging days, it also compares very favourably to the way sustainability is being pursued (or not) elsewhere in China. Its international relations means that it has a balance of different ideologies feeding its understanding of sustainability, that fortunately includes development and cultural considerations.

In general, it seems that Jiuzhaigou as a whole has moved towards increased sustainability, in both implementation and increased research. So far, the reserve has been implementing recommendations from its own current research, and is well on the way to the stated goal of implementing a 'sustainable development philosophy, which harmonises man and nature...[and aims] at building Jiuzhaigou as a world-class international tourist and recreation destination' (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003: 32). This attitude of increasing sustainability is not restricted financially as long as tourism to Jiuzhaigou continues to provide revenue, jobs and incentive for protection.

The situation directly outside the park entrance is likely to be far more complicated, and may be moving away from sustainability and empowerment as high-rise hotels increase, big businesses move in, and old villages are swamped or destroyed as the new town of Zhangzha expands. The Administration is directly under the prefecture government, and hence equal to and separate from the County Government that manages the area directly outside of the park bounds. This means that although the County Government does have some sustainability measures being introduced such as restricted building permits and laws regarding building styles (according to a Nanping Government official, April 2004), sustainability is not pursued in a joint, holistic manner and is seen mostly as something for the protected area only. The thesis has therefore made no attempt to propose definitively that sustainability has been reached in Jiuzhaigou since the complexity of the regional environmental linkages are beyond the scope of a small research thesis. It has attempted however to show how the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve has worked to move towards increasing sustainability – environmentally, economically and socially.

6.1.2 Movement Towards Empowerment

Although the Jiuzhaigou administration has a stated policy towards sustainable development, as of yet there is no mention of empowerment as a goal in reserve management. This is not overly surprising, since empowerment is not a common goal of local governments, who are more apt to be involved in regulation and control. Yet there has been some hint of empowerment thinking, in that the manager of the Local Residents' Management Department saw the key purpose of his job as encouraging the local people to have ownership over the reserve. Despite there being no official intentional move towards empowerment, there is still evidence of increasing empowerment amongst the communities of Jiuzhaigou through both nationwide changes and local changes.

Signs of Empowerment in Jiuzhaigou

Firstly, a general idea of the level of empowerment brought about through tourism can be gained through using Scheyvens' framework (See Table 6-1). Most of the 'signs of empowerment' she lists in her framework can be seen in Jiuzhaigou, with some caveats, as shown in Table 6-2. Although it is quite impressive to see how well Jiuzhaigou scores against this framework, it does show up some limitations. Jiuzhaigou scores well in the areas of economic, psychological and social empowerment, but does not do well at all in political empowerment.

The fact that benefits accumulate to local people (rather than just management and outside investors) has been key in empowering them further, to take control over their lives in terms of employment, education and lifestyle. The psychological empowerment through the status accorded to them both as relatively wealthy Tibetans and as vessels of an economically and socially valuable culture has undoubtedly been noted by the community. Surprisingly, it appears that the issues of 'othering' so prevalent in other sites of protected areas tourism where indigenous groups are present are mostly not an issue for the park residents of Jiuzhaigou.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ This is not to say that 'othering' discourses are not present. The tourist gaze in this area is mostly focused upon outsiders dressed in traditional Tibetan clothing in service roles, many of whom are Han Chinese or other ethnic groups. The park residents continue in their roles as entrepreneurs dressing themselves as they please, refusing to allow their photographs taken, making fun of (and economically taking advantage of) the tourists for their ignorance of true Tibetan culture.

Social empowerment has come about through the fact that both the previously 'poor' and the previously 'rich' within the community participate equitably in the employment and compensation opportunities afforded them. The way that the community of Panya in particular has worked together to ensure equal access to tourists for their guesthouse and clothes-renting businesses (as discussed later in 6.2.2) has meant for social empowerment of young and old, able-bodied and able-minded and the less able (see Table 6-2). Most significantly, people have been empowered to pursue the cultural value of 'choice' through access to employment and education.

In terms of political empowerment, the communities of Jiuzhaigou have elected representatives who communicate with the Administration, although it is clear that in reality the people have little political power over the decisions made concerning their lives. One may be tempted to say that three out of four types of empowerment is not bad, and shows that the community of Panya is mostly empowered – but this would ignore the fact that one of the key aspects of empowerment is control. Unless the community has legitimate control (gained through political empowerment) over the economic, psychological and social benefits of tourism, they could all disappear with a change in management. This is exactly what the people of Panya have argued.

As discussed in Chapter Five, although the local people are grateful and for the most part happy with the benefits they have received through tourism, they are also insecure about these benefits in that a change in Administration leadership could effectively remove all benefits. This is because the benefits are entirely reliant on the benevolence of the Administration. Because the local people have no legal control over the park or the Administration, there is no recourse to appeal if all these benefits are taken away.

Table 6-1: Scheyvens' Tourism Empowerment Framework

	<i>Signs of Empowerment</i>	<i>Signs of Disempowerment</i>
<i>Economic empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism brings lasting economic gains to a local community. • Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. • There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned (e.g. houses are made of more permanent materials; more children are able to attend school). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism merely results in small, spasmodic cash gains for a local community. • Most profits go to local elites, outside operators, government agencies, etc. • Only a few individuals or families gain direct financial benefits from tourism, while others cannot find a way to share in these economic benefits because they lack capital, experience and/or appropriate skills.
<i>Psychological empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, their natural resources and their traditional knowledge. • Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society, e.g. the poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior. • Many people do not share in the benefits of tourism are thus confused, frustrated, uninterested or disillusioned with the initiative.
<i>Social empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism maintains or enhances the local communities equilibrium. • Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. • Some funds are used for community development purposes, e.g. to build schools or improve water supplies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disharmony and social decay. • Many in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for their elders. • Disadvantaged groups (e.g. women) bear the brunt of problems associated with the tourism initiative and fail to share equitably in its benefits. • Rather than cooperating, families/ethnic or socio-economic groups compete with each other for the perceived benefits of tourism. • Resentment and jealousy are commonplace.
<i>Political empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community's political structure fairly represents the needs and interests of all community groups. • Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture seek out the opinions of a variety of community groups (including special interest groups and socially disadvantaged groups) and provide opportunities for them to be represented on decision-making bodies, e.g. the Wildlife Park Board. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The community has an autocratic and/or self-interested leadership. • Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture fail to involve the local community in decision-making so the majority of community members feel they have little or no say over whether the tourism initiative operates or the way in which it operates.

Source: Scheyvens, 2002: 60

Table 6-2: Signs of Empowerment and Disempowerment in Jiuzhaigou

	<i>Signs of empowerment(+) or disempowerment(-) present in Jiuzhaigou</i>	<i>Specific illustrations from the Jiuzhaigou case study</i>
<i>Economic empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Tourism brings lasting economic gains to the community. + Cash earned is shared between many households in the community. + There are visible signs of improvements from the cash that is earned. - Most profits go to government agencies and private elite or outsider owned hotels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Tourism brings jobs, compensation and shares. + Many businesses run on a communal basis, all households have business opportunities and entitlement to shares and compensation. + Improvements include renovations and house-building, education and health. - Although a lot of money goes to locals, the majority of profits still go to government agencies and outside-owned hotels and tour operators.
<i>Psychological empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Self-esteem of many community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of the uniqueness and value of their culture, their natural resources and their traditional knowledge. + Access to employment and cash leads to an increase in status for traditionally low-status sectors of society, e.g. the poor. - Those who interact with tourists are left feeling that their culture and way of life are inferior. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + People felt encouraged that tourists were interested in their clothing and customs, their legends and their lakes. Higher self-esteem than neighbouring areas. Also the interest that Westerners and Japanese have in Tibetan culture and the Bon religion raises self esteem. + Minority and rural people are sometimes looked down upon in China, yet the people in Jiuzhaigou have access to higher education and income and are considered of higher status due to that. - Some tourists still treat locals with contempt, leaving locals feeling bitter and annoyed with Han Chinese, therefore increasing social gaps and cultural confusion.
<i>Social empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Tourism maintains or enhances the local community's equilibrium. + Community cohesion is improved as individuals and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. + Some funds are used for community development purposes, e.g. to build schools or improve water supplies. - <i>Some</i> in the community take on outside values and lose respect for traditional culture and for their elders. - Resentment and jealousy are present among those villages <i>not in the reserve</i>. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Fairly equal access to all business and social opportunities. + Community cohesion prioritised over individual gain, as seen in the decision to pool profits in clothes renting. + Community development includes infrastructural improvements including sanitation services, transport, roading and communications (some provided through Administration). - <i>Some</i> youth become 'Hanified', although still have respect for elders and value Tibetan culture. - <i>Some</i> resentment and jealousy from villages outside the reserve since they are not entitled to compensation and business benefits as much as those inside the reserve.
<i>Political empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The community's political structure has room for improvement. - Agencies initiating or implementing the tourism venture consider the effects on community groups, although they are not really represented in most decision-making. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The community has elected representatives (<i>cun zhang</i>), but these have little actual power. - The residents' management office is responsible more for implementation and explanation of policies rather than representing community needs. There is opportunity for complaint, but no guarantee it will be noted.

There are two extremely important points that can be more widely applied from this finding. Firstly, political empowerment actually outweighs all the other three types of empowerment in Scheyvens' framework – since the other types of empowerment all effectively depend on political empowerment for continuity. This observation is supported by Telfer's (2002) method of assessing empowering tourism development, which places participation in decision-making as something separate from involvement in the benefits of tourism (whether they be social, economic and psychological), and the conclusions made in Chapter Three in regards to the importance of benefits *and* control in empowerment. Secondly, political empowerment is then a factor in sustainability, if one is to take the view of sustainability that includes social and economic as well as environmental factors. Social and economic sustainability cannot be present in Jiuzhaigou if political empowerment is not also present, since it is only through having a degree of control over the policies affecting their lives that they could institutionalise the social and economic benefits of tourism.

Political Empowerment in Jiuzhaigou

Political empowerment as a factor in general sustainability and the sustainability of other types of empowerment is not the only reason that it outweighs the other types of empowerment on Scheyvens' framework. One of the key aspects of empowerment is in fact self-determination. If empowerment is seen as the internal identification of objectives and the increased ability to carry out actions towards these objectives, involving a change in capacity or control (as discussed in Chapter Two), then there needs to be some kind of platform for local people to determine for themselves how and in what areas they would be empowered.

As can be seen in Table 6-2, although the people of Jiuzhaigou have been empowered in many ways socially, economically and psychologically, the type and the degree of empowerment has not been determined by themselves, but is almost some kind of happy coincidental circumstance. The happy coincidental circumstance can only be empowering when it is the will of (and in the control of) the people. It does seem clear that the way things have turned out are in accordance the will of the people – yet it would be too much to argue that it was *because* of the will of the people. The control very definitely lies in the hands of the Administration and the State. Hence although the situation in Jiuzhaigou has

moved *towards* empowerment, it is not a *result* of empowerment but of state benevolence. One cannot go too far with this argument however, since it creates a kind of false division between 'the community' and 'the State'. In the case of Jiuzhaigou, the division is actually quite 'fuzzy' as there are people from within the park who are also members of the Administration. It cannot be argued that the beneficial situation is *entirely* due to the kindly benevolence of 'the State' since members of 'the community' are in fact interspersed within the local representation of 'the State', presumably working partly for the benefit of themselves, and hopefully their community.

What kind of form could political empowerment and increased self-determination in Jiuzhaigou take? In Chapter Four, it was proposed that for an individual to be empowered in China, one of two things must happen: they must increase their *guanxi* or the importance of the system of *guanxi* must decrease. The growing importance of educational qualifications in government employment in China probably reflects a movement towards the latter, although *guanxi* can still be used to get education or educational qualifications and this has not reduced the importance of having a bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In the case of Jiuzhaigou, education is still thought to be less important than *guanxi* in gaining employment with the Administration, as discussed by the people of Panya in Chapter Five. Yet my discussion of the matter with the Manager of the Resident's Administration Department (Ze Ren Zhu, pers. comm., 2004) and other Chinese confirmed that in China, it is not the skills of education that are important so much as the status of the educational qualification. People with polytechnic certificates or diplomas are not considered educated enough for government or company positions; they must have a bachelor degree. Hence for reserve residents to gain administration positions, and hence increased self-determination, they must gain bachelor degrees, or at least university level qualifications.

Hence for political empowerment to take place in Jiuzhaigou, two things must happen. Firstly, there is a need for participation of local people in their government, whether they are educated or not, in the form of increased power for the elected *cun zhang* or a board of trustees, or some other way that the people see as appropriate. Secondly, as discussed above, it is vital that residents have access to university education, in order to participate in the management of the park. At this stage, minority groups nationwide are privilege to lower

cost and lower entry requirements at universities, although National Minority Universities are lower status qualifications than ordinary universities. There is not much that can be done at this stage in regards to *guanxi*, but the young people can at least put themselves in the best possible position for employment in the Administration by gaining the appropriate qualifications.

Comparative and Increasing Empowerment in Jiuzhaigou

Like all situations of empowerment and control, the situation in Jiuzhaigou is not clear cut. There has been a move towards increasing empowerment, this much is clear. But what is not clear is whether this empowerment is in fact sustainable, since it appears to be dependent on 'the State' (a somewhat fuzzily delineated group). To put this in context, however: in what country is empowerment not ultimately dependent on the permissive will of the State? And what State can be clearly delineated from 'the people'? Since the State is not some kind of amorphous monster or machine, but an organisation of people who are to different degrees working for different interests, not all of which coincide with the stated and unstated aims of 'the State'. In order for the empowerment of the people of Jiuzhaigou to continue (where empowerment is viewed as a process, not a final state), it is clear that it must be more formally entrenched and not so dependent on the nebulous munificence of the current Administration – a group of State employees who do not have lifelong tenure of their jobs and may in fact change at any time.

6.1.3 Movement Towards 'Development'

In sum, the increased well-being of the people of Jiuzhaigou and in particular of the community of Panya has been gladly received and is worthy of praise. There has been a clear and conscious movement towards implementing sustainable development practices, and further research continues into this area. The sheer amount of profit from running the reserve as a mass tourism destination has enabled implementation of sustainable practices such as environmental protection measures, redistribution of benefits and increased expression of culture amongst the residents of the park. This has indirectly led to increased empowerment for the residents, especially in the socio-cultural, psychological and economic areas. There is some influence of residents over the direction of the park: through local people employed in government positions (who are not selected by the community

themselves); also through the various elected *cun zhang*, who are meant to serve as a communication link between the Administration and the local people. The main issue is in the area of political empowerment, as residents' empowerment and the sustainability of the park are both at this stage almost entirely dependent on the benevolence of the Administration.

This compares favourably with the examples given in Chapter Three concerning the effects of protected areas on ethnic minorities' development in Western China. Firstly, this research has provided a specific and detailed analysis of how tourism in a protected area has contributed to social and economic development and cultural empowerment in western China. The assumption that tourism to protected areas benefits ethnic minorities has in fact held for this example, and as the sociologist Robert Merton once wrote:

More is learned from the single success than from multiple failures. A single success proves it can be done. Thereafter it is necessary only to learn what made it work (Merton, 1968, cited in Lee, 2001: 20).

The factors that have made Jiuzhaigou 'work', although fairly unique, can still help us understand the prospects for sustainable and empowering local-level development through mass tourism.

6.2 Factors in Comparative Success

It has been established that there has been a movement towards sustainable and empowering development at the local level in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, through mass tourism. What remains to be established is how and why this comparatively successful movement has occurred in Jiuzhaigou, and whether in fact this has any relevance to mass tourism elsewhere in the world. This section seeks to outline *how* sustainable and empowering development at the local level has come about in Jiuzhaigou. The fact that local development within the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve has been so successful comparative to other protected areas is due to three basic factors present in the circumstances of the park: firstly, the characteristics of tourism to the area (specifically, mass tourism); secondly, the attitudes of the local people; and thirdly, the role of the Administration.

6.2.1 Characteristics of Tourism in the Area

It is important to detail the characteristics of mass tourism in Jiuzhaigou that enabled local-level development to be sustainable and empowering. As discussed previously, sustainability is increased through regulation. It has also become clear in this chapter that it is necessary for empowerment to be formally entrenched in some kind of local regulation too. Each of the characteristics of tourism in the area are beneficial in that they enable tourism development in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve to be regulated, thus predisposing Jiuzhaigou to effective regulation for sustainable and empowering local-level development.

The first key characteristic of mass tourism in Jiuzhaigou is that it is within the context of a protected area. The protected area is defined and delineated, and it is clear who is in control. The Administration alone has the authority to make rules and regulations over the protected area since it acts as both local government and protected area management within its bounds. This compares with mass tourism to Hawaii, for example, where local governments, tourism industry representatives, businesses and local residents all vie for power within the same area – each with different goals and purposes that have to be recognised in any regulatory frameworks that emerge (van Fossen and Lafferty, 2001). A protected area has sustainability high on its priority list, so there need be no petitioning from concerned environmental groups or residents in order for environmental and socio-cultural sustainability measures to be put in place. In Chapter Three, it was proposed that due to the complexity of the tourism system, regulating for development through mass tourism would be extremely difficult. In the case of Jiuzhaigou, the fact that it is a protected area reduces complexity, since it enables convenient and authoritative control over tourist flows, including charging an entrance fee from which all of its funding is gained, restricting tourists to prepared areas and requiring tourists to purchase green bus tickets and eat in the one locally-owned restaurant. A protected area can restrict businesses to locals only, including controlling the numbers and types of businesses (and hence control competition) for the benefit of the local population. The protected area can also limit or forbid entry and immigration, further protecting local residents' interests.

Secondly, the fact that Jiuzhaigou is immensely popular as a mass tourism destination means that there are no financial limitations to implementing sound sustainability and

empowering practices. The Administration, the government and all the bureaucrats can make money and there is still enough to compensate and bestow on local residents. It is unclear whether the situation would be anything like it is today if the amount of tourists willing to pay the ¥200 gate fee were not as prolific as they currently are, as seen in examples of failing tourism theme parks in China, many of which have lower gate fees than Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve (Ap, 2003). The Administration has been able to increase the amount of money set aside for locals each year as the amount of tourists have increased. In addition, the amount of money enables the Administration to ensure that sustainability measures are put in place and monitored, employing fairly large environmental and scientific departments for this purpose. Roads have been maintained (including slip control), trees have been replanted and sewerage and water usage controlled all through this income. The Administration regularly uses international and regional consultants in their sustainability planning, who are presumably paid fairly well, and are definitely lavishly provided for on arrival.

Thirdly, as one local person informed me, the fact that Jiuzhaigou is home to indigenous peoples has meant that the government treats them more generously. In many tourism areas in China, local farmers are merely moved off the land, with a small amount of compensation and a new house elsewhere with no consultation. For example, the residents of Duck Pond Village in the Nanshan cultural tourism zone in Hainan, China who were moved out of their village in this manner (Li, 2004). Yet the fact that the people of Jiuzhaigou are Tibetan is in fact an added tourism attraction, and also means the government has to be wary of criticism from international groups. In addition, there are requirements in autonomous areas (under the 1984 Law on Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities) that:

authorities responsible for development [must] accept *and respect* the right of the community to make a decision for or against its involvement and the use of its resources in tourism development; and then to have the power to carry out that decision (Sofield, 2003: 90, his emphasis).

Hence the situation in Jiuzhaigou is quite different to what it would have been if the local residents of the site of tourism were Han Chinese, or were not in an autonomous prefecture.

Fourthly, although indigenous peoples are present, the focus of tourism in Jiuzhaigou is mostly on the beautiful scenery. This means that tourism has not been too intrusive for local people and has meant that serious issues with authenticity, cultural property, 'othering' and the like have not arisen to the extent that they have in many other sites of purely cultural tourism, such as the Folk Culture Villages theme park in Shenzhen, where various young people from each ethnic minority live out a few years of their lives under the gaze of interested tourists (Sofield and Li, 1998). This is due to the fact that Jiuzhaigou was fairly isolated until the 1970s, meaning that their landscape has been relatively untouched by industry and farming, unlike other areas in China. Most sites of 'ethnic' tourism in Jiuzhaigou are outside the park, where Tibetans and Qiang from other villages, counties and provinces are subject to the tourist gaze.

Fifth, because of its unique natural and cultural features Jiuzhaigou is signed up to several international agreements which help regulate the way that it is managed in favour of sustainability and local people's empowering development. The regulations of the World Heritage Programme, the Man and Biosphere Programme, and the Green Globe 21 Programme mean that fairly stringent environmental standards and community development issues must be taken into account. For example, the Green Globe 21 Company Standard requires companies to consult with stakeholders including the local community about the effects of tourism in the area, and to educate tourists on how best to assist the local economy and environment (Green Globe 21 Company Standard, 2003). This also means that international cooperation between Jiuzhaigou and other protected areas keeps the Administration up to date with international research and knowledge with regards to sustainability and development issues.

Sixth, Jiuzhaigou is a site of domestic tourism. This is significant in that there is little need to cater for Western-style individualistic off-the-beaten-track walks and accommodation. Tourists are accustomed to being managed by tour guides and prefer to pursue a kind of 'snapshot tourism' where they pose beside the pre-planned scenic stop-sites of the park, meaning that regulations concerning tourists are easily implemented through guide education and the planning of walkways. In addition, domestic tourists require little marketing or education in regards to the significance of Jiuzhaigou, they come of their own

volition possibly as a result of the famous saying 'Once you have been to Huang Shan, you'll never enjoy another mountain; once you have been to Jiuzhaigou, you'll never enjoy any other water'. Tourism in Jiuzhaigou features short trip-length and low repeat, hence high turnover for the park with little investment into customer service. This compares to the situation in the Cook Islands for example, where high return visitation means that local people feel bound to please and pander to tourists in order to ensure their future livelihoods (Berger, 2004).

All these factors – Jiuzhaigou as a protected area, site of mass tourism, home of indigenous peoples, site of beautiful scenery, list-member of international tourism and environment programmes and site of domestic tourism – combine to make the development situation in Jiuzhaigou so successful. But the movement towards sustainable and empowering local development is not entirely a serendipitous culmination of history, environment and politics, it is also due to the quite conscious decisions made by both the local people and the Administration.

6.2.2 Attitudes and Skills of Local Entrepreneurs

There are two attributes of the residents of Jiuzhaigou that have enabled sustainable and empowering development to be enhanced. Firstly, the residents are quite accepting of the need for regulation, both within their communities and of the area surrounding, as illustrated in the examples below. Secondly, the residents are active in seeking opportunities to benefit from tourism in the area.

The residents of the valley of Jiuzhaigou have managed to access increased well-being through mass tourism mostly by way of small businesses. Even when later government support was introduced, its purpose was to compensate for the loss of community income when the Administration was required to close down various businesses under the auspices of environmental protection. As discussed in Chapter Five, the people of Panyazhai have applied themselves to various forms of small business enterprises over the years since tourism began in the valley. For the community of Panya in particular, there has been an

especial effort to ensure, through internal and external regulation, that there is equitable access to opportunities afforded through tourism.

Pema, a Panya woman in her late thirties, claims to have had the idea of renting clothes to tourists as early as 1979. She heard from a visiting teacher that minority groups in Yunnan often made money by renting traditional outfits to tourists in order for them to pose for photos. The exquisite backdrop of the lakes and mountains of Jiuzhaigou made this an extremely viable enterprise. In 1982 locals began to rent their ordinary clothing to tourists with limited success due to the perceived 'boringness' of their everyday dark coloured clothing. People began to base their outfits for renting on the clothing of the increasing number of Tibetan dance troupes in the area, sewing outfits of such unlikely material as sequinned mesh or bright pink and yellow velvet with white feather trims, initially renting out a set of clothing for ¥0.5. The park Administration saw this as both an excellent service to tourists and an excellent opportunity for local people's development and proceeded to give them official sites to conduct business, telling them to increase the fee to ¥10 per set (all of which goes to the community, tax-free). This regulation was welcomed by the people since it restricted business opportunities to locals, and provided official sanction and protection for their activities.⁸⁰ Although initially, the community members each sewed their own clothing and went into business individually, this was soon abandoned after relationships became strained over competing businesses. Eventually it was decided to share out the day's profits amongst all the workers from Panya, although records are kept of each person's contribution as a kind of pressure to ensure each person contributes a relatively equal amount. This decision apparently led to some people receiving less than before and others more; however, the subsequent improvement in work atmosphere meant that everyone agreed this was the best way for them to rent out clothing. This pattern is similar to the development of horse and yak renting rides which were popular until disallowed in 2001.

The other major example of local entrepreneurial skills was the construction of guesthouses, using local labour and materials. In Heye village the guesthouses were limited to 40 beds

⁸⁰ In many tourist areas of China, hawking is illegal as it bothers tourists. In Jiuzhaigou, 'hawkers' are permitted within defined areas and with defined products.

each, an agreement made on the suggestion of a local leader. The communities of Panya and Heye Yi Dui agreed to this in order to ensure that everyone was able to access the tourist market if desired. The organisation of the local people in this regard is admirable, and reflects the close relationships of the various members of the community. The closing of the guesthouses in 2001 was responded to fairly well by the community since the compensation provided in most cases exceeded the amount of money earned by the community in the actual running of the guesthouses.

The people of Jiuzhaigou also took advantage of the opportunities afforded them through increased access to education, using education as a tool to increasing their choices and empowerment. They are aware of the dangers of 'Hanification' through education, but attempt to take an investment risk through educating their children for increased choice, in order that they may have more control over the management of the park. As discussed in Chapter Five, using the education system as a mobility strategy does not mean that minority groups are necessarily validating the State educational project of assimilation.

These three examples show two things about the communities of Jiuzhaigou, and Panya in particular: firstly, their ability to take advantage of the opportunities tourism afforded them in terms of income, and secondly, the relative importance people accorded to community relationships in comparison with individual income in potentially inequitable or conflict-causing situations. It is these two factors which have enabled community well-being to be enhanced – well-being that balances a desire for the ability to earn a livelihood with the importance of, and security in, regulating good community relationships.

6.2.3 Policies of Local Government

In Jiuzhaigou, not only are the characteristics of tourism and the local population partial to regulation, but there is a body that has the skills and authority to regulate. In the past, the government department initially in charge of the administration of the Jiuzhaigou valley was not particularly active in promoting local well-being, as its key responsibility in the 1960s and 1970s was in the area of logging and land reform. However, subsequent Administrations have made considerable effort in ensuring the well-being of the local

population – in the form of job provision, compensation, building of local facilities, instigation of profit schemes and even gifts for all the local families on international Children's Day. The relationship between the local communities and the Administration is mediated by the Residents' Administration Department.

Ze Ren Zhu, the manager of the Residents' Administration Department, himself born in Guwazhai and hence a member of the Panya community, sees it as the responsibility of the park Administration to ensure that each valley member has a livelihood (pers. comm., July 2004), and to encourage the local people to see the park as their own. The official responsibilities of his department include: communication between the Administration and the local residents, education in regards to implementation of regulations (especially environmental), distribution of compensation monies each year and managing complaints from the residents. This probably indicates that the Administration sees the Residents' Administration Department's official duty more in the direction of persuading residents of the benefits of tourism rather than empowering them to choose for themselves, a fairly typical stand taken by local governments worldwide (as discussed by Sofield, 2003). Although Ze Ren Zhu considers participation of valley residents as fairly important to the overall Administration, he revealed that valley residents filled only twenty to thirty of the 300 administration jobs⁸¹. In his department, five out of twenty are valley residents, which he sees as a good proportion (mostly because he is concerned that they may come under some pressure to give special favours to relatives and may not represent the whole valley fairly). Participation in the management of the park by valley residents, although stated in official documents as being extremely important to the Administration, in practice has not reached very high proportions, mostly due to residents not having the university-level education required to get jobs (as discussed earlier in 6.1.2), and there being little direct representation.

⁸¹ Official figures state that out of 300 office personnel, 205 are local residents; however, it also states that out of 300 office personal, 252 are Han Chinese (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003:62). Since all reserve residents and original residents of the villages around Zhangzha are Tibetan, this means the statistics are probably including Han immigrants to the area as 'local residents', or the statistics are incorrect.

However, although gaining access to management employment has only been possible for those with university education, such as Vice Director Keke (of Zharu Village) and Manager Ze Ren Zhu (of Heye/Panya Village), the Administration definitely seeks to ensure the well-being of each member in the valley as best as they can understand. This would fall under what the literature terms 'resident-responsive tourism', where the needs of residents are considered important, but empowerment is not necessarily a goal (Sofield, 2003). The Administration therefore provides adequate livelihoods for each member of the valley, providing an additional allowance for old people without families and ensuring that those who require work can find it. No one of working age in the Panya community seems to be unemployed – if they do not have their own small business, they apply to the Administration for a job and are generally given one in environmental protection. The Administration also ensures that certain families do not dominate all business activities, insisting that only one family member may set up a business in the market centre in Nuorilang. The clothes renting jobs are now protected by the Administration too, meaning that anyone renting clothes to tourists is supposed to have a permit registered with the Administration; their *hukou* must also belong to the valley, even if they now reside outside. This ensures that the sites do not become overcrowded with workers thus reducing the daily income of the regular clothes-renters.

The Administration also plays a mediating role in any disputes amongst the locals, as observed during my time there. For example, a young girl was excluded from the renting out clothes workgroup due to her perceived low intelligence and hence assumed low productivity. A member of the Residents' Administration Office heard complaints from the girl's parents who claimed she earned an almost equal amount to the other group members yet was not permitted to join the group, causing her shame and embarrassment. He discussed this situation with the assigned group leader and requested them to let the girl join the workgroup, a request to which they (somewhat grudgingly) obliged.

In addition to the Administration's role in encouraging and regulating local employment, they are also the ones responsible for ensuring the sustainability of the whole enterprise environmentally, through the implementation of certain environmental regulations. The Administration educates the valley residents on the reasoning behind the laws they

introduce, and the people of Panya competently explained the protection of wildlife, the importance of reducing erosion and deforestation and the necessity of conserving water – not just for the purpose of preserving the tourist dollar, but the importance of these issues in relation to overall environmental issues facing the country and the globe. The laws are implemented in village areas through the employment of forest and safety wardens, and in tourist areas by rangers and people employed in environmental protection. I witnessed several Panya residents who were employed in the relatively low-status job of environmental protection confidently requesting that tourists pick up their rubbish and insisting that they keep to the correct paths in order to protect the forest from trampling. This shows that Manager Ze Ren Zhu's hope that the locals would begin to see Jiuzhaigou as their own, a resource to protect and benefit from, is beginning to be realised.

The Administration not only attempts to ensure the environmental sustainability of the park, but also takes a much broader view of sustainability that takes into account the importance of local development in conservation and protection of the environment. The Administration is 'determined to build Jiuzhaigou as a world example for balancing ecological, economic and social benefits' (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003: 82), but definitely sees conservation as the priority, and community development as a means to ensuring conservation. However, this valuing of community 'development to reinforce conservation' (JNNRA/JNSRA, 2003: 82) has been responsible for the administrative goals aiming to do the following:

- place a priority in employing local people to support community development;
- lay a priority on purchasing local products and services that will provide a minimum environmental impact and;
- provide no accommodation within the Reserve other than to indigenous people.

This means that local concerns are at least registered as important in official documentation, and lends credence to the local belief that it is the responsibility of the Administration to ensure they have jobs.

Although community development is listed as a priority in the conservation of the resources contained within the reserve, the fact that community development is not a goal in itself means that development will only occur in a way that assists the overall good of

environmental protection. This is why many people within the park, although appreciative of the development that they have experienced over the last twenty years, are also aware of the lack of freedom they have in regards to controlling their surrounding environment.

In general, the Administration has made a definite effort to increase local people's well-being within the park; effectively paying the way for environmental protection and tourism development by ensuring local communities benefit. From their activities, it is clear that community development is a secondary aspect of the Administration's role in the reserve, which is a concern only in that the Administration is also the local government representative for the villages in the reserve. At this stage, the community of Panya have been more than happy with the benefits received through the Administration's benevolence; yet the decrease in local control, the lack of representation on what is effectively a local government body, and the conflicting priorities in the dual role of the Administration as an income-earning government arm and the supposed representative of the local people may lead to problems in the future.

6.2.4 Limitations to Development in Jiuzhaigou

Sustainability and empowerment are both means to development and goals of development. In Jiuzhaigou, sustainability is obviously a high priority. However the utilitarian philosophy of the Administration, whereby they attempt to increase satisfaction rather than empowerment, means that local people have not really had a chance to truly participate in decision-making as a group (although some individuals have). It is clear that both sustainability and empowerment are reliant on the benevolence of the administration. This can be managed by more local people being employed in administration, but it is uncertain whether higher authorities would permit the percentage of locals to outweigh the percentage of outsiders due to political and environmental considerations on the national scale. The benevolence of the administration at this stage has been fairly evenly distributed, but it is a factor open to corruption and *guanxi* manipulation if it is not firmly entrenched in real political empowerment for the local people. A workable model of political empowerment is needed to ensure the long term sustainability of community development in the reserve. It is a difficult conflict of interests for the Administration, which is

effectively the local government for the reserve residents as well as a protected area management hugely dependent upon tourism development.

6.3 Development in Jiuzhaigou

In sum, Jiuzhaigou has moved towards sustainable and empowering development at the local level, mostly due to Administration and local-level regulation of sustainability and empowerment factors. The key factors in Jiuzhaigou's move towards sustainable and empowering community development lie in the balance between regulation for sustainability and choice for empowerment. The characteristics of tourism to the area mostly allow easy regulation of the effects of tourism on the park, as well as providing the revenue for both local people's livelihoods and reserve management. The attitudes of the local people, especially in Panya, has allowed for equitable development that prioritises community relationships over personal gain. Their entrepreneurial endeavours put them in good stead for receiving compensation and continued employment. The Administration has made a special effort to ensure local people's well-being, with social and economic empowerment increasing as a result. Community level development is considered a factor of sustainability by the Administration, and has thus been pursued. Resident satisfaction in development is considered more important by the Administration than resident empowerment for development. This may mitigate against the long-term sustainability of local-level empowerment since benefits received by the community are not controlled by themselves, rather they are bestowed on them by the only partially representative Administration. It should not be overlooked however that comparatively, Jiuzhaigou's movement towards empowering and sustainable development is quite spectacular, both within its regional context and comparative to the situation of local people prior to tourism development.

7. CONCLUSION

Through working with the community of Panyazhai in Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, this research has examined the potential of mass, large-scale tourism for facilitating local-level development that is both sustainable and empowering. From both the local people's perspective and that of an outsider, local-level development (in the form of increased well-being for the communities residing within the park) has indeed been an impact of mass tourism in the protected area. The focus of the case study has been on attempting to understand how this local-level development has come about, and what implications this has for the way we conceptualise the relationship between mass tourism and local-level development.

This chapter begins with a reflection on the fieldwork methodology, followed by a brief overview of the thesis tracing the key themes that have emerged throughout the research. The chapter moves on to outline the main conclusions of the thesis in the areas of mass tourism and local-level development, the balance of sustainability and empowerment through regulation, and the role of partnerships for sustainable and empowering regulation.

7.1 Reflections on Methodology

Using a qualitative approach was clearly the best option for exploring a relatively un-researched topic, since it left the research open to ways that mass tourism could facilitate community development not yet covered in the literature. It also proved appropriate culturally, since the people in Jiuzhaigou preferred casual, relationship-based discussions over formal settings in all cases. Despite the seeming informality of the conversations, I still worked through a detailed question guide (see Appendix Two), steering casual conversation where appropriate. This is a skill that I and my translator had to develop.

Originally, I just informed my first translator of what I wanted her to immediately translate, but after several days I realised I needed to brief her on the day's target information at least. Eventually I understood that she needed to know exactly what my research was about and the approach I was taking in order to assist me to her fullest capabilities. Therefore I

provided her with a definite guideline of what we were meant to be covering, and an idea of the conversational methods I wanted to use to carry this out. In particular, I needed to be clear that chatting conversationally was in fact a prelude to research, and needed to be done without hurry. Interestingly, this skill proved more important in research translation (with the Panyazhai community) than the comparative level of English. In addition to the translator's language interpretation skills, they also had to act as a social and cultural interpreter. Teaching me where I should wash myself and my clothing in a village situation, or how to thank my host correctly, how to refuse things politely and how to financially compensate families I lived with were important parts of the translator's job too. In these things, I found it was best to have a translator familiar with the situation concerned; a city-born Han Chinese would have been just as lost as myself, perhaps more.

Conducting the research in the second language of the research participants was far from ideal. I had in fact insisted on spending several weeks (to no avail) finding an appropriate translator, having foreseen some of the difficulties with locals working in a second language. Generally the translation was not direct sentence-for-sentence, rather I would pose a question, which several young people would discuss with the older people for several minutes in Tibetan before making a statement in Mandarin, which was then translated back to me. Hence voices were obviously lost, because I could not follow the discussion and conflict resolution process. I compensated for this as much as possible by discussing things with individuals later, and tried to use group consensus more as a form of triangulation.

The problems with the use of participatory methods were discussed in earlier sections (Section 1.2, and Chapter 5), where I outlined why much of my original research methodology had to be dropped in favour of semi-structured interviews. In hindsight, the stress this caused was unnecessary, since it is actually the ethics and mindset of participatory methods that are important, not necessarily the exact methods themselves. Having an appropriate attitude of learning, understanding and discussion is more important than the output of diagrams or charts. The exercises used were more helpful in the discussion they generated than the information they gave. If the discussion can be generated in other ways more acceptable to participants, there should be enough flexibility to change the

methodology to suit. Therefore although a detailed plan of the aims of research and the questions to be answered is of the utmost importance in the field, it also proved to be important that I had flexibility in the methods used. The flexibility possible with a qualitative research methodology ensured that appropriate information could still be gathered despite changes in specific methods.

7.2 Summary of Thesis

This study began with an introduction outlining the research aim: to examine the potential of mass tourism in the facilitation of sustainable and empowering local-level development, placing this aim within the context of the researcher and the case study of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve. The research approach and general methodology were introduced, emphasising qualitative and inductive learning based on understanding the historical context and ideologies of development practice internationally and within China.

Chapter Two showed that all development and tourism practice stems from some kind of ideological underpinning through tracing the ideologies of development and tourism throughout four theoretical generations. Revealing these ideologies was essential in understanding how tourism has been conceptualised in relation to development, and how ideology has led to widespread generalisations especially in regards to 'mass tourism' and 'community tourism'. The chapter shows the emergence of firstly the development ethics of sustainability and empowerment, where empowerment of groups must be balanced by sustainability considerations, and secondly the knowledge-based platform of tourism research that advocates inductive research informed by the knowledge of the wider tourism system rather than by deductive assumptions. The research is positioned within this ethical and research framework.

Chapter Three explored the concepts of mass tourism and community development further, concluding that when aiming for sustainable and empowering local-level development, the scale of tourism is not as important as its regulation. Because of the complexity of the tourism system, sustainability was conceptualised as a continuous goal of movement towards 'more sustainable' rather than a continuum from 'unsustainable' to 'sustainable'. Likewise,

empowerment was conceptualised as increasing freedom, where self-determination is just as important as more tangible tourism benefits. However, local-level benefits and development were identified as being subject to national and regional concerns in much tourism development due to prevailing power structures.

Chapter Four began by exploring the ideologies of development and tourism within the Chinese context of the Jiuzhaigou case study, looking at how the State in China sees Western-style economic development as a tool for increasing the unity, stability and status of the country. Tourism is increasingly used by the State as a tool for economic development in the less developed western ethnic minority regions of China. The chapter then looks at how mass tourism to protected areas is meant to play a role in the sustainable development of ethnic minority communities in western China.

Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve is introduced in Chapter Five as a site of protected area mass tourism with a resident community of Tibetans. The local understanding of well-being and development is used to analyse the changes brought about by tourism development, concluding that local people see that tourism has increased their well-being over time in the three key areas of livelihoods, choice and social and cultural belonging.

Chapter Six showed that this increase in well-being in Jiuzhaigou is moving towards sustainability and empowerment, and outlined the key factors that enabled this: the characteristics of tourism to Jiuzhaigou, the attitudes of the local people, and the policies of the Administration of the reserve. It also showed the importance of political empowerment in sustainable development, hence showing the need to regulate for empowerment in sustainability.

7.3 C o n c l u s i o n s o f R e s e a r c h

There are three main conclusions drawn from this research in answer to the question 'how can sustainable and empowering development at the local level be achieved through mass tourism?' Firstly, mass tourism has potential for sustainable and empowering local-level development if it is regulated. Secondly, it must be recognised that empowerment is closely

inter-related with sustainability, where the sustainability of empowerment depends on the level of self-determination and control, and empowerment must be balanced by broader considerations of sustainability. Thirdly, regulation for empowerment and sustainability in local-level development is best undertaken within the context of good inter-sector partnerships.

7.3.1 Regulation and Mass Tourism Development

Mass tourism in Jiuzhaigou has led to increased opportunities for sustainable and empowering development because it is conducive to regulation. As discussed in Chapter Six, the nature of tourism in Jiuzhaigou is highly suited to regulation for sustainability and empowerment because of its status as an economically and environmentally successful protected area. In addition, the nature of mass tourism in Jiuzhaigou (and in China generally) means that tourists actually expect a high level of control over their activities, more so than individual travellers and ecotourists in fact. Like Weaver (2001a) argues, small-scale tourism is often only circumstantially sustainable because of its scale, and can easily become unsustainable as the numbers of tourists rise. In the case of places like Jiuzhaigou however, the high numbers of tourists mean that sustainability regulation takes a high priority and can be implemented easily due to the highly organised nature of group tours. Mass tourism can facilitate for development where tourists are able to be regulated.

In terms of regulation for ensuring that local people receive benefits from tourism, this is aided by the fact that the Administration is also the government agency responsible for the welfare of the local people, and also by the fact that tourism to Jiuzhaigou generates a lot of revenue for the government Administration, not just outside-owned private business. Hence the Administration has both the incentive and the means to assist in local people's development. This differs from situations where all the economic power is with the tourism industry, which has no obligation to work for the empowerment and development of the local community. Outside the reserve under the Nanping (Jiuzhaigou County) Government it is likely that the tourism industry has more power, and local people must access benefits through pitting their small businesses against large businesses with outside investment, or competing with outsiders for employment. Further research into the situation of the

indigenous residents of Zhangzha may unearth comparatively how much regulation has assisted in empowering development for the reserve residents. Unfortunately, the kind of regulation possible and acceptable in a small, defined and protected area may not be feasible in an ordinary semi-urban setting. In order for the success of Jiuzhaigou to be replicated in the same style elsewhere, circumstances would have to be amenable to similarly high levels of regulation, and the body responsible for regulation would probably need a motivation to regulate for empowerment and sustainability.

7.3.2 The Importance and Inter-relatedness of Sustainability and Empowerment

This thesis has not taken a static view of sustainability and empowerment, rather it has analysed changes in local well-being in Jiuzhaigou in terms of how it is moving towards these two interrelated goals. Although an increase in well-being is always good in the view of the people concerned, it does not really constitute development unless it is sustainable in the long term. Hence this thesis investigated how the increase in well-being reported by the people of Panyazhai was also moving towards sustainability and empowerment, with the view that although well-being may have increased in the last twenty years, if this is not sustainable and does not allow them any self-determination, they may end up being worse off in twenty years to come than they were before tourism.

In analysing empowerment and sustainability in Jiuzhaigou, it was discussed in Chapter Six that political empowerment may actually outweigh other types of empowerment due to its importance in sustainability concerns. In the case of Jiuzhaigou, although social, psychological and economic empowerment had occurred, the fact that the people had little control over their own situation through political empowerment meant that all these benefits were not necessarily sustainable, since they could be lost with a change in Administration. Hence empowerment in the sense of self-determination is intricately linked to sustainability, and sustainability in its broader sense is dependent on some kind of entrenched empowerment. This supports Sofield's (2003) proposal that without empowerment, tourism development at the community level is unlikely to achieve sustainability.

To apply this more broadly, empowerment requires an increase in each type of empowerment listed by Scheyvens (1999), but self-determination requires political empowerment (whatever that might look like). This does not mean that host communities must have total control over a tourism development in their area, but they must at least have the power to negotiate in issues that concern their well-being. Formal or political empowerment does not just have to refer to a process of democratic voting, but empowerment in any way necessary for people to have increased self-determination. As Sen comments, freedom (and hence development) is 'concerned with the *processes of decision-making* as well as *opportunities to achieve valued outcomes*' (1999: 291). In terms of tourism, this means that for sustainable and empowering development at the local level, there should not just be a focus on receiving benefits or increasing opportunities to achieve valued outcomes, but there should be equal emphasis on the processes of decision making. To quote Sen again:

The relevant freedoms include the liberty of acting as citizens who matter and whose voices count, rather than living as well-fed, well-clothed and well-entertained vassals (Sen, 1999: 288).

Unfortunately, Sen's views are significantly different from that of the Chinese State, which has a more utilitarian view of development, where development is meant to keep stability and unity rather than increase freedom and opportunity.

Despite this, it should not be overlooked that within the wider Chinese context the Administration of Jiuzhaigou is an excellent example of a local government seeking community-level development that is at least moving towards increased sustainability and empowerment. The next step in moving towards sustainable and empowering development is to increase the formal representation of the residents in Administration decision-making; Jiuzhaigou can hardly be lauded as an example of integrated sustainable development if in twenty years time all residents are dispersed, displaced and/or disempowered. A further step would be to include members of the villages outside of the park in consultation too, and begin to research the effects of the park on the villages outside the park who receive no special benefits or compensation despite the fact that this too is their homeland; Jiuzhaigou can hardly be lauded as an example of empowering and sustainable development if it is found that immediately outside its gates chaos reigns.

7.3.3 Partnerships for Sustainable and Empowering Tourism Development

It seems then that in the context of Jiuzhaigou and most likely many other developing country locales, true empowerment and sustainability require considerable planning and coordination beyond the community level, both to ensure that there actually is an increasing net benefit (including environmental, economic, socio-cultural, political and psychological aspects) to the people living there, and that the preconditions for self-determination are met in each community. Due to the extra-community nature of this planning, it requires partnerships between the local communities, the local governments, the county governments and tourism industry representatives. The success of Jiuzhaigou so far has been in the relationships formed between the communities and the Administration, where the Administration takes a much more local view of development than the Government rhetoric concerning the building up of China as a great nation, and the eventual socialist aim of wiping out all ethnic differences through economic and educational development.

The importance of partnerships in tourism development has been emphasised by many tourism writers and researchers (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Reed, 1997; Johnston, 2003; Telfer, 2003). Some have systematically described different kinds of partnerships in tourism. Timothy and Tosun (2003: 191) identify five types of collaboration: that between government agencies, between private and public sectors, between different levels of administration, across borders between same-level polities and between private sector services. Scheyvens (2002) discusses roles for governments, the private sector and the civil sector in separate chapters of her book, covering various partnership arrangements in detail, while Hall (2000) outlines planning partnerships at the international, supranational, national and sub-national levels. These kinds of approaches are helpful in delineating areas of cooperation; however, they often skim over problems that can occur between conflicts of interest between various groups involved in tourism.

Although the public and private sectors of a destination are part of the receiving system of the total tourism system, due to their greater political and economic power they have a greater influence over both the type of tourism, the area/site of tourism and hence the impacts of tourism. Yet the work put into establishing empowerment and even

sustainability benefits civil society more visibly than the public and private sectors. This reveals some mitigating factors against partnership. Issues of control, especially, have a tendency to polarise opinions – the desire of the tourism industry to continue in self-regulation versus the desire of indigenous communities to protect their traditional resource rights (Johnston, 1993); hence partnership and cooperation are not an easy path to follow. Although most governments and tourism industry representatives would recognise the need for partnership in environmental care and sustainability, what kind of incentive is present for governments and the private sector to contribute to empowering planning at the community level? As governing bodies begin to realise the importance of empowerment in sustainability, there may eventually be more explicit requirements for local authorities to work towards community-level empowerment. In Chapter Three, the question was proposed ‘Is there any way that empowering development at the local level can be achieved when the goals of development work are so often outside of local control?’ Jiuzhaigou offers some guidance here in another way forward, where personal relationships bring a depth and a responsibility to informal partnerships that may be more effective than legal ‘paper partnership’ requirements.

7.3.4 Partnerships as Relationships

We were sitting on the ground, my Panya friends and I, sharing a Pepsi bottle of barley wine around with our picnic lunch of chilli-fried wild-fern fronds, ‘momo’ bread, luncheon sausage, and raw spring onions wrapped in something like tortillas. We make sure everyone has a cowboy-style felt hat to protect their neck and ears and face against the harsh midday sunlight, under the large eaves of our hats we sit like a ring of brown mushrooms set into the ground. The women are gossiping about someone in the village, I can’t understand their Tibetan dialect, but I can tell from the look in their eyes and the way they glance around that a full-blown scandal is in the re-tell. The young people and I tease Qie Xiao about one of the young girls, laughing and joking that he should marry her before she goes to university because then she’ll realise how much better her prospects could be. A group of tourists gather around us unnoticed, whispering and pointing at our food, before suddenly noticing me.

“She’s a foreigner!” They say to one of the women, in Mandarin Chinese.

"No, she's not!" Rong Di replies, quick as a flash.

"You're a foreigner aren't you?" One asks me. I play along, acting surprised.

"Me? Of course not!" I exclaim.

"Yes, you are!" They clamour together, pointing out my 'yellow' hair and large nose to the Tibetans.

"We Tibetans sometimes have yellow hair and big noses." Intones the elderly leader of our group, nodding sagely.

"That is so" I offer solemnly, in Tibetan-accented Mandarin. Everyone laughs. The tourists are annoyed now, confused, wondering if they are being had. "Do you want to rent some Tibetan clothing?" I ask, in my best hawking manner, "We have men's, and women's. We have knives and hats too." They whisper among themselves.

"Will you take a photo with me?" One of the middle-aged men steps forward and asks. My friends choke back their laughs, they know what comes next.

"If you rent some clothes, I will." I smile sweetly.

Fortunately, this group aren't bothered by the economic aspect of our agreement. I wrap them in Tibetan gowns, with the help of my colleagues, and dutifully pose next to each middle-aged man beside the lake. By this time they have realised I am not in fact Tibetan. Some people get angry with this arrangement, and feel shamed at having been tricked by our good-natured joking. It seems ridiculous that a foreigner works as a hawker, but the Tibetans see it as none of the tourists' business – I am 'their' foreigner.

As time goes on, the story becomes more elaborate, and more hilarious. I am married to that young man over there. This is my mother-in-law. I come from Xinjiang, a province with some Caucasian minority groups. I have a disease that whitened my skin. I fell in love with a Tibetan and could never return to Europe. I live on top of that mountain over there. My Tibetan name is Kailee (which is Tibetan for 'chopping board', unknown to the tourists). Throughout it all I play along, feeling somehow pleased about my inclusion in a community joke. My various husbands, sisters and mother-in-laws protect me from the tourist gaze as best they know how, relieving me of the constant questions and staring in a way that cheers and uplifts me. It almost becomes true to us in the end, after constant repetition. The women mother me; the younger ones ask if they can call me 'Elder sister'. My research went much better after these relationships were cemented. I had known that I needed these

relationships for my research, in order to get inside village life, in order to get people to talk to me. Making friends was an enjoyable and essential part of my research.

But what I hadn't really thought of was that making friends made me part of the community too, and being part of the community gave me responsibilities. Each community member is expected to use their particular skills and position to contribute to the well-being of the community; I was a researcher, therefore my research should be of benefit to the community. These expectations constituted a revelation in my understanding of how the situation in Jiuzhaigou worked, for the importance of relationships in local development became more and more apparent. The success of Jiuzhaigou has been in regulation, that is true. But the appropriateness of the regulation has been due to relationships. The theories of sustainable development were brought in by outside experts, but the relationships that made it work have come from within the community. Administration officials that grew up here. Office girls that still live here. Science department officers who meet the local transport controller at a bar for a drink. The bus drivers and tour guides who date the girls from the English translation department. The girl in the marketing department who moved here from the city to trace her Tibetan roots. The Director, whose sister has friends among the village leaders. The vice-director whose father is a Lama in the local temple, whose driver is still living in Shuzheng village, whose fiancée is related to the Director. Some may see these relationships as lacking objectivity, as being avenues for corruption – which may be true. But my experience as a community member taught me that the relationships are actually what keeps everything realistic. The 'community' is not an abstract concept meant to be benefited by the equally abstract concept of 'empowerment'. They are a group of real people, individuals, who have relationships within the village, with the Administration, with the workers in the hotels, dance groups, businesses and park-related jobs. The fact that who is the 'Administration' and who is 'the community' is not clearly delineated actually reflects the success of Jiuzhaigou in some ways. Partnership between government, civil society and industry is at the least formal participation. At its best, Jiuzhaigou shows, it is interpersonal relationships between equals.

In the end, the Administration of Jiuzhaigou is not actually required to work towards people's empowerment, or even socially and economically sustainable development for the

local people. The fact that it has contributed to both sustainability and empowerment does not reflect government policy as such, but the decisions of individuals within the management. Empowerment is a process over time, and Jiuzhaigou has some way to go in ensuring more sustainable empowerment for the local people. Yet Jiuzhaigou also shows the way for other tourism destinations in terms of government benevolence and in terms of interpersonal relationships.

7.4 Recommendations and Relevance

7.4.1 Recommendations for the Administration and Residents of Jiuzhaigou

The Administration and people of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve have shown their commitment to sustainable and empowering local-level development. The following comments intend only to assist in this journey, gathered from my own vantage point as an outsider privileged to a short time on the inside.

Firstly, it is clear that the sustainability of the reserve is severely limited by the lack of coordination between the strict environmental and business regulations inside the park bounds, and the fairly lenient ones directly outside. There is a need for increased research into the environmental, social, economic and cultural situation outside the park, since this thesis was limited to the reserve area only. There is also a need for greater dialogue and partnership between the reserve Administration and the Nanping (Jiuzhaigou) County Government, probably through the mediation of the Prefecture government.

Secondly, if Jiuzhaigou wants to move towards more sustainable community development, there is a need for greater representation of local people in Administration decisions. A board of trustees, for example, would go a long way towards ensuring that local people's needs are considered in Administration decision-making. If the Administration insists that educational levels are not sufficient for actual positions in Administration management, a scholarship fund could be set up that encourages tertiary education for park residents. This could be based on competitive entry, and could even be limited to areas relevant to Administration governance such as tourism studies, development studies, environmental

studies and so on. The scholarships could include an internship within the Administration that may or may not lead to fulltime employment on graduation.

Thirdly, according to the local residents in Jiuzhaigou, the whole schooling system needs to be carefully re-evaluated. Concerns pre-eminent in the minds of Jiuzhaigou parents are associated with the distance between the park and the schools, such as the economic and social cost of sending children away for their education. Some parents have suggested privately supplementing a teacher's pay in order to establish good quality education closer to home, at least for the primary level. Jiuzhaigou parents and the Administration could work together with the county government to address this issue.

Lastly, it would be good to see an even greater concern for local development be incorporated into the Administration culture, which currently focuses on tourism, marketing, environmental protection, and entertaining important guests. As a government agency solely responsible for a populated area, there should be a high priority placed on local people's welfare comparative to tourists' welfare, prioritising the 'ordinary' needs of locals over the 'non-ordinary' needs of tourists (Jafari, 1989).

7.4.2 Relevance to the Wider Fields of Tourism and Development Studies

This thesis has used the example of Jiuzhaigou to show how mass tourism can facilitate sustainable and empowering development at the local level. It has emphasised, however, that mass tourism requires a high level of regulation in order to move towards sustainable and empowering development at the local level, and that regulation is best achieved through formal yet personal partnerships that go beyond the community level. In terms of relevance to the wider literature on the subject of tourism and development, this thesis has shown that generalisations about mass tourism and local-level development should be approached with caution, if approached at all, since it is clear in the case of Jiuzhaigou that mass tourism has in fact assisted rather than hindered the development of the villages within the Biosphere Reserve. It may be that culturally and socially China is more accepting than other areas of the high level of regulation needed to have local development through mass tourism. Nevertheless it is time that we move beyond using mass tourism as a

scapegoat for all the problems of tourism and begin to develop multiple, informed understandings of the ways in which mass tourism affects different communities. This thesis is a starting point in doing just that, using a knowledge-based platform of research which attempts to understand the complexities involved at the local, national and international levels through which tourism and development permeate. The question that sent me halfway around the world on this thesis-writing journey was 'How could the supposed evil of mass tourism be harnessed for local-level development?' This question was aptly answered by the people of Jiuzhaigou: through appropriate regulation, and through partnerships between empowered community members and sensitive, forward thinking stakeholders.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: List of Interviews

April 2004

Administration (Ticketing Department)/
Shuzheng resident
Shuzheng Village Elder
Shuzheng Businesswoman
Vice Director Keke
Shuzheng cun zhang (Social Mapping exercise)
Shuzheng Elderly people

May 2004

Nanping County Government representative
Nanping residents
Panyazhai Fire Warden (personal history)
Panyazhai family with four children
Panyazhai permanent residents (Social Mapping exercise)
Jianpanzhai elderly people
Jianpanzhai travelling carpenters
Panyazhai cun zhang
Panyazhai young people
Panyazhai elderly people (Historical Transect exercise)
Panyazhai Fire Warden (Transect Walk exercise)
Heye Demolition Contractor
Panyazhai family with four older children
Panyazhai Clothes renting gang Leader
Heyezhai woman
Panyazhai clothes renting gang (Social Mapping Exercise)
Parent protestors
Panyazhai/Heyezhai unemployed graduate
Panyazhai middle-aged couple (Job ranking exercise)
Vice Director Keke
Various Administration staff
Mr Cai (Science Department)
Lhasa Tibetan immigrant
Zhangzha Primary School teachers and students
Illegal hawker groups outside park

Park security guards
Monks at Zharu temple
Bus drivers (Zhangzha-based)
Heyezhai family
Heye-based Truck driver (personal history)
Panyazhai/Heyezhai women's workgroup #1
Nanping Tibetan (personal history)
Panyazhai/Heyezhai women's workgroup #2
Panyazhai clothes renting gang (Wealth ranking exercise)
Heyezhai store owner (Han)
Heyezhai young mother
Guwazhai elderly men
Heyezhai young woman married to outsider
Heyezhai high school students (Union School, Nanping Senior School)
Heyezhai elderly man
Heyezhai middle-aged woman
Migrant road workers (Heyezhai)
Migrant construction workers (Heyezhai)

June 2004

Zharu temple festival-goers
Administration workers (marketing department)
Administration workers (translation department)
Dancers (Zhangzha)
Administration workers (construction department)
Administration workers (residents' administration department)
Panya/Heyezhai parents of school-age children
Panya/Heyezhai family (personal history) #1
Panya/Heyezhai family (personal histories) #2
Guwazhai elderly monk
Zharu village businesswoman (personal history)
Manager Ze Ren Zhu (residents' administration department)
Panya/Heyezhai middle-aged man.

List of Personal Communications

Mr Cai (10 May 2004) Science department of the Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration.

Dingwall, Paul (26 February 2004) IUCN Consultant and Department of Conservation New Zealand.

Keke (many occasions, April, May and June 2004) Junior Vice Director, Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration. Originally from Zharu Village.

Sofield, Prof. Trevor and Sarah Mei Fung Li (April, 2004) University of Tasmania. Consultants for Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration.

Wang Qiang (several occasions, February, March, April and May 2004) Engineer, Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration. Postgraduate Student, University of Tasmania. Tibetan Nationality.

Ze Ren Zhu (9 June 2004) Manager of the Local Residents' Affairs Office, Jiuzhaigou National Nature Reserve/Jiuzhaigou National Scenic Reserve Administration. Originally from Heye/Guwazhai.

Appendix Two: Interview Guidelines

Fieldwork Questions and Methods: Residents

Guiding Question	Methods
<i>Who/what is the community? [Panyazhai]</i>	
Who isn't? What do people identify with – Tibetan, Chinese, Jiuzhaigou, Minority etc? What different groups are there locally?	Social Mapping. Interviews. Focus Group Discussions. Observation.
<i>What is the community understanding of development/well-being?</i>	
How do they describe well-being? What makes a good life? What relationship does this have to aid/income? What factors affect well-being?	Focus group discussions Wealth/well-being ranking Personal histories and interviews
<i>How has well-being changed since tourism? (developed from answers to above questions)</i>	
How has health changed? What were people's livelihood strategies? What are they now? How have women's daily schedules changed? If you could go back to farming, would you?	Personal histories. Historical transect. Interviews. Focus groups [various ages], daily scheduling.
How has access to education changed? Quality of education? Necessity of education? Content of education? How have people's choices changed? What choices did they use to have? What do they have now? How do different groups value choice? How have women's choices changed? If you could change one thing about the village, what would it be?	Personal histories. Historical transect. Interviews. Focus groups [various ages, schools, parents, students].
How have family relationships changed? How is this generation different from the one before? And before that? How has cultural expression changed? What is Jiuzhaigou culture? Has it changed? How have people changed inwardly? Is this good/bad? How has security changed? What makes people secure? What is the biggest cultural change you have seen since tourism?	Personal histories/case studies. Interviews. Focus groups. Secondary sources. Observation.
How has people's access to power changed? How have people's access to benefits changed? Where does guanxi come from? How does it affect wellbeing these days? And before? What discrepancies are there between different groups/individuals? Why? What do you think about guanxi?	Personal histories/case studies. Interviews. Focus groups. Wealth ranking.
General community and park history	Interviews, personal histories (elderly), historical transect.

Questions for Administration

1. What is the role of park administration? [Environmental protection, tourist satisfaction, development of region, development of communities, development of nation, protection of animals, economic gain from tourists, provide work, protection of culture, protection of heritage buildings. Any others?]
2. Who is the park administration responsible to?
3. What is the structure of the park administration? (Mapping Diagram)
4. What relationships does the park administration have with other institutions? How formal are these relationships?
 - a. In the area of management?
 - b. In the area of environmental protection? E.g. UNESCO, Aba government etc
 - c. In the area of regulation enforcement?
 - d. In the area of tourism?
 - e. In the area of scientific research?
 - f. Others?
5. How does the protection of the environment within the park relate to environmental protection within the region? How is this coordinated? For example, park policy can affect environmental quality in the region – pursuing more tourists means more traffic, means more road pollution, sewage, electricity etc. Is the park responsible to anyone in its policies? How is it monitored?
6. Is there a carrying capacity of the park? How is this calculated? (i.e. with relation to the park itself, or including the surrounding area?) How is it enforced?
7. How does the park coordinate tourist accommodation? Or is this simple supply and demand? (Find out about permits for new hotels.. government)
8. Decision-making – what is the decision-making process for new park policies (environmental or otherwise)? e.g. changing policy to have no tourists stay in park – who decided and how? Building a new road or path?
9. What kind of relationship does park administration have with local community leaders (whether official or not)? What kind of responsibility do the communities have to the park admin, and the park admin to the communities? Overall, how would you say this relationship is?
10. Park admin: employment records –
 - a. how many employees local? How many employees regional, how many Tibetan? How many minority? How many Han?
 - b. How are the employees divided? E.g. tourism, environment, office, ranger etc.

Personal:

Hometown/ ethnicity.

What are your responsibilities?

Who are you responsible to?

How important is this department to the overall running of the Administration?

What is the most difficult thing about your job?

Work history/ education.

Park History.

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⁸² **Note on Style:** Chinese names have been written in full and listed in the Chinese style, with family names preceding given names with no comma (for example, Zhang Wen (1997) rather than Zhang, W. (1997)). This makes it easier to distinguish between authors due to the limited number of Chinese family names, and minimises confusion where authors have been listed differently in different databases. This excludes writers who have used English given names (or have co-authored with someone using an English given name).

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