Cultural Tourism the Chinese Way: Negotiations for Bai Ethnic Minority Livelihoods in Dali, Yunnan

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Abstract

Tourism, which the Chinese state advocates as a vehicle for modernization and poverty alleviation, has been established in Dali Prefecture, Yunnan Province, since the mid-1980s. Building upon scholarly literature on cultural tourism and sustainable livelihoods, this thesis examines the growth and structure of the cultural tourism sector in Dali and its impacts on Bai culture and livelihoods over three generations. I completed fieldwork during May–August 2014 in Dali City, the prefecture's main tourist destination, employing five qualitative research methods: participant observation, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, oral histories, and Photovoice. My results point to certain negative impacts of cultural tourism growth on the local economy, environment, and society. Concurrently, local Bai people respond to specific local tourism decisions with everyday forms of resistance. Furthermore, the staging and commoditization of certain aspects of Bai culture for tourism purposes have ended up warping what are considered traditional practices in several cases. By considering the influences of tourism growth on local Bai livelihoods through generational and individual lenses, this thesis unravels the complex interactions between cultural tourism, Bai culture, and Bai livelihoods, highlighting both the positive and negative outcomes of tourism growth on Bai culture and livelihoods.

Résumé

Le gouvernement chinois préconise le développement touristique comme un vecteur de modernisation sociale et un outil de lutte à la pauvreté dans la Préfecture de Dali depuis le milieu des années 1980. Ce mémoire vise à examiner la croissance du développement du tourisme culturel dans la Préfecture de Dali, et ses impacts sur la culture et les modes et moyens de subsistance locaux, tels que perçus par trois générations de populations Bai. La recherche met l'accent sur les littératures dédiées au tourisme culturel et aux modes et moyens de subsistance durables. Les études de terrain ont été effectuées dans la ville de Dali, principal pôle touristique de la préfecture du même nom, du début mai à la mi-aout 2014. Cinq méthodes qualitatives ont été utilisées, à savoir : l'observation participative, les entretiens non-directifs et semi-directifs, les histoires orales et la méthode *Photovoice*. Les données empiriques recueillies démontrent les effets sociaux néfastes du développement touristique, de même que ses impacts sur l'économie et l'environnement. Le mémoire documente les stratégies de résistance que les populations Bai déploient quotidiennement en réponse aux décisions des acteurs du secteur touristique local. La recherche examine aussi comment certains aspects de la culture Bai sont performés et commodifiés par et pour le secteur touristique, et les conséquences de ces processus sur la culture Bai. Le mémoire cerne les impacts nuancés du développement touristique sur les modes et moyens de subsistance des populations locales Bai, en préconisant l'examen intergénérationnel et les analyses de cas individuels. Se faisant, ce mémoire illumine les interactions complexes entre le tourisme culturel, la culture et les modes et moyens de subsistance Bai, et documente tant les retombées positives que négatives de l'essor touristique pour les populations locales Bai.

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Table of Content

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1 Introduction

Tourism, "one of the major social and economic phenomena of modern times," is growing worldwide (Sharpley, 2015, p. 11). The annual number of international tourist trips, which has increased from 25 million in 1950 to 1.087 billion in 2013, is expected to reach 1.8 billion by 2030 (UNWTO, 2014). If domestic tourism is also taken into account, between six and ten times more this number of trips will be taken (Sharpley, 2015). Such travel, along with other aspects of tourism such as revenue, products, and infrastructure and facilities, are the cause of significant changes in numerous tourist destinations around the world, in the Global North and South, and in rural and urban environs (e.g. Bramwell, 1998; Göymen, 2000; Wen & Tisdell, 2001). Debates are ongoing over the sustainability and benefits of increasing tourist arrivals, whether tourism increases incomes in host communities, the benefits and drawbacks of diversifying and/or changing tourism products, and who benefits from enhancing infrastructure and tourism facilities. The structure of the tourism industry, tourist typologies and motivational characteristics, and impacts and models of tourism growth are also all common foci as scholars try to gain a better handle on the processes that drive and shape tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 88). Drawing from such debates, this thesis in particular examines the impacts of tourism growth on local Bai culture and livelihoods in Dali Prefecture, Southwest China.

I was born and grew up in Dali Prefecture, an ethnic minority Bai-populated region in Yunnan province (Figure 1.1). The prefectural government has promoted tourism as a mainstay sector since the 1980s. Over the last two decades, I have seen an increasing number of foreign and domestic tourists swarm to Dali. However, besides having a general impression that rising numbers of tourists have increased incomes and garnered the area a number of tourism-related awards, before initiating this research I had only a limited understanding of the influences of tourism growth on this prefecture and its local population. I start this thesis presenting my research aim and questions, before briefly introducing Dali Prefecture and its Bai people.

1.1 Research Aim and Questions

Previous research on tourism and its impacts on local people and the environment in Dali Prefecture has noted a range of positive and negative effects. In this prefecture, tourism has created job opportunities in the retail, transportation, accommodation, catering and other sectors (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2005; Chow, 2005; Doorne, Ateljevic, & Bai, 2003; Notar, 2006a). It also provides local people an opportunity to experience Western culture and learn English (Dai and

Bao, 1996; Notar, 2006a). The Eryuan County[1] government efforts to preserve historic sites and reconstruct historic buildings for tourism are argued to help preserve local Bai culture at the same time (Bryson, 2013). Yet, along with such positive changes, tourism growth in Dali has also brought negative impacts, such as increasing environmental pollution (Ma, 2010) and social conflicts triggered by competing land uses and rising house prices (Xu, Wu, & Wall, 2012; Zhao, 2013). The overall impacts of tourism on Bai people and their livelihoods, however, remain unclear. I intend to contribute to this knowledge through this research. My research aim is **to investigate tourism growth in Dali Prefecture and a range of its impacts on Bai culture and livelihoods over three generations**. This aim is fulfilled by addressing three research questions:

1) How do everyday Bai people perceive local tourism impacts and how do they deal with the prefectural and municipal governments regarding tourism decisions? I explore how everyday Bai people (local residents who are not state employees) perceive the impacts of tourism on the local economy, environment, and society, and how they are involved in the making and implementation of tourism decisions, and how they express their dissent.

2) How have certain aspects of Bai culture been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption and how do Bai people perceive such processes? I examine what aspects of Bai culture have become staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption and how these cultural elements have been adapted during such processes. I also explore how local Bai people perceive the authenticity of staged and commoditized Bai culture, as well as their opinions of the processes of staging and commoditization.

3) What tourism-related livelihoods are Bai people involved with and how have a range of these livelihoods been shaped or transformed with the growth of the tourism sector? I explore what tourism-related livelihoods Bai people have been involved in and what corresponding strategies they have devised to sustain their livelihoods. Through generational and individual livelihood analyses, I foreground the degree to which Bai livelihoods have changed over three generations, what livelihood capitals constitute critical components of Bai people's tourism livelihoods, and what factors influence their livelihood choices in the tourism sector.

Throughout the thesis my focus is on the impacts of tourism on Bai culture and a range of local livelihoods rather than on the experiences of the tourists themselves. While I do investigate tourist perspectives briefly, this was not the main focus of my thesis.

[1] Eryuan County is a county in Dali Prefecture.
[2] In 1999, the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China (CNTA) established the premier

1.2 Where is Dali Prefecture?

The name 'Dali' originates from a Buddhist kingdom that once ruled over parts of Burma, Laos, Vietnam and most of present-day Yunnan Province (Notar, 2006a). In ancient times, Dali was the center of the Nanzhao Kingdom (752-902 AD) and the Dali Kingdom (938-1382 AD). Dali is the homeland of the ethnic minority Bai, and is where the majority of Bai people still live today (Bai, 2007). Nowadays, 'Dali' refers to Dali Bai Autonomous Prefecture, an administrative region established on November 22, 1956 in northwest Yunnan Province (Mackerras, 1988) (Figure 1.1). Dali Prefecture compromises Dali City and eleven counties, with a total land area of 29,459 square kilometers (Dali Prefectural Government, n.d.). In 2014, Dali Prefecture was home to approximately 3.59 million people, one third of whom were Bai people (*ibid.*).

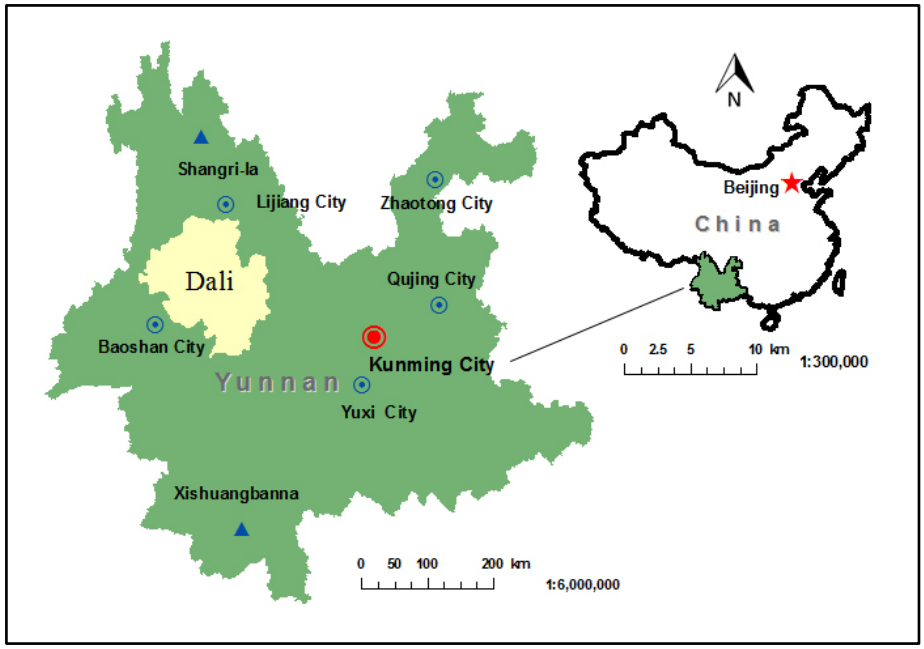

Figure 1.1 Location of Dali Prefecture
(Map credit: Mengyang Liu, 2013)

Dali Prefecture officially 'opened' for international tourism in 1984, and has since received millions of domestic and foreign tourists (Dai, Xu, Scott, Ding, & Laws, 2012; Gormsen, 1990). In 2011, it had one AAAAA tourist attraction, three AAAA tourist attractions, five AAA tourist attractions and eleven AA tourist attractions, a scale considered very important for Chinese tourists and tour operators (Figure 1.2).[2] The major tourist attractions around the

[2] In 1999, the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China (CNTA) established the premier evaluation standards of tourist attractions, which identified four categories: A, AA, AAA, and AAAA. It was extended in 2004 when the AAAAA category was introduced. Tourist attractions are rated according to the importance of the site, accessibility, and issues related to safety, cleanliness, and sanitation (Chris, Gu, & Fang, 2009).

prefecture include Cangshan Mountain, Erhai Lake, Dali Old Town[3], the Three Pagodas and other rated sites (Bai, 2007; Zi, 2007). Cangshan Mountain, with 19 peaks ranging from 3,074 meters to 4,122 meters, is renowned for its snow, clouds, marble, and springs. Erhai Lake, surrounded by Bai fishing communities, is known for its natural scenery and glimpses of ethnic minority culture and lifestyles. Dali Old Town, with Erhai Lake to the east and Cangshan Mountain to the west, dates back to 779AD. It is famous for its old city wall and traditional Bai houses. The main pagoda of the Three Pagodas was built during the Nanzhao Kingdom while the two pagodas on either side were built during the Dali Kingdom. More than 680 archival treasures and antiques were discovered in the Three Pagodas complex in 1978, including figures of Buddha and Buddhist texts (*ibid.*).

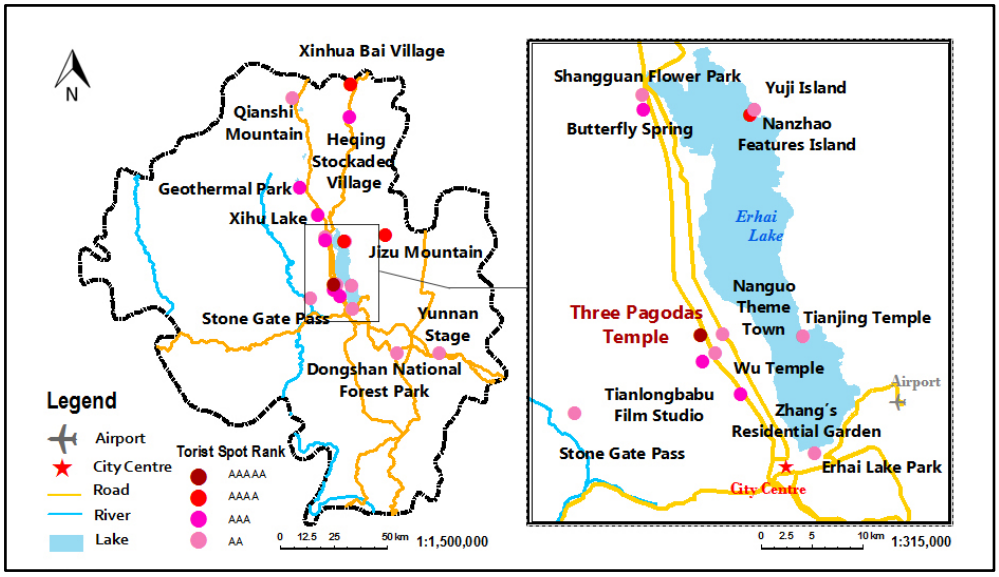

Figure 1.2 Geographical Distribution of A-rated Attractions in Dali Prefecture
(Map credit: Mengyang Liu, 2013)

1.3 Briefly Introducing the Bai People

The Bai, who I focus on in this research, constitute the largest concentrated ethnic minority group in southwest China (Olson, 1998), with a population of 1,933,510 in 2010 (National Bureau of Statistics of the PRC, 2012). In previous centuries, Bai people were scattered widely throughout Yunnan and Sichuan provinces, but today most live in Dali Prefecture (Olson, 1998). Researchers have not succeeded in classifying the Bai language so far, which possesses similarities with the Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer, Tai, Loloish and Chinese languages (Zhao &

[3] Dali Old Town is in distinct to the "new town" called Xiaguan. Dali Old Town is the cultural heart of Dali and has been the primary destination for numerous foreign tourists since the mid-1980s, while Xiaguan is the official administrative center of Dali (Notar, 2006a). Both Dali Old Town and Xiaguan belong to Dali City, which comprises eleven townships and covers an area of 1,815 square kilometers (Statistical Bureau of Dali, 2007).

Notar, 2009). Bai people do not have a traditional written script, so those who are literate read and write Chinese (Olson, 1998). Through my own observations, I note that a large number of Bai people speak both the Chinese dialect of Mandarin and the Bai language. Some older people living in villages only speak Bai language, while an increasing number of young adults, including myself, can only speak Mandarin.[4]

Bai people believe in different elements coming from a mix of religions, including Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism and local deities (*Benzhu*) (Zhao & Notar, 2009). Among these, the worship of *Benzhu*, which literally translates to 'local lords', is a unique Bai tradition. Other common religious practices include reciting scriptures (*nianjing*) and pay obeisance (*bai*) (Bryson, 2013). Local deities, who are either figures from Dali history or gods from other religions, vary from one village to another and govern the general welfare of people within a village. Bai villagers visit *Benzhu* temples, which are seldom visited by outsiders, to pray at the Lunar New Year, annual temple festivals and major events in their lives, at a much higher frequency than visiting temples of official religions like Buddhism or Daoism (*ibid.*).

Bai people primarily make a traditional living in the agricultural sector. At lower elevations, Bai farmers produce rice and wheat as staple crops, while at higher altitudes they plant maize and buckwheat (Olson, 1998). Bai villagers also produce cash crops, such as tea, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, peanuts and citrus, and raise livestock, such as pigs, chickens, horses, mules and sheep (*ibid.*). Some Bai villagers are skilled at producing wood and marble products for sale or for household use (Zhao & Notar, 2009). Bai people's diets are largely determined by locations and household incomes, consistent with what they produce. Those living in the plains mainly eat rice and wheat, while those in mountainous areas eat maize, potato and buckwheat (Wang & Zhang, 2004). Nowadays Bai people are increasingly involved in the tourism sector, and some of them have switched their livelihoods from agricultural production to tourism-related livelihoods. I will come back to this point in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.

1.4 Thesis Outline

I first construct my conceptual framework in Chapter 2. My research draws upon core concepts surrounding cultural tourism and sustainable livelihoods. The concepts surrounding cultural tourism guide me to examine the growth and structure of the cultural tourism sector in Dali Prefecture, while key concepts from sustainable livelihoods literature inspire me to investigate

[4] Older Bai generations living in rural villages have little contact with Han Chinese and cannot speak Mandarin. Youngsters of my generation attend schools where the teaching language is Mandarin. Young Bai from urban areas tend to speak Mandarin at school and home, having few chances to learn or speak the Bai language, while young Bai from rural areas speak Mandarin at school and speak Bai language at home.

the relationship between cultural tourism and Bai livelihoods. I focus on defining, reviewing and critiquing these two bodies of literature and explain how they inform my data collection and analysis. I then situate my research in a broader context in Chapter 3, illustrating tourism policies and the growth of the tourism sector at the national, provincial, and prefectural levels. This sets the scene for my contextualisation of tourism growth in Dali Prefecture. I also examine ethnic minority economies in Yunnan Province, providing an entry point to my analysis of Bai tourism-related livelihoods. In Chapter 4, I outline my research methods, including detailed introductions of my field sites, sampling and recruitment strategies, and qualitative and data analysis methods. I also critically reflect upon my positionality as both an insider and outsider in the field as well as the opportunities and challenges that I have encountered during fieldwork.

I present my results in Chapters 5−7. In Chapter 5, I analyze how locals in Dali perceive cultural tourism's impacts on the local economy, environment, and society. I also explore how these Bai individuals respond to tourism decisions that local officials make and implement. By doing so, I highlight how local people use either covert or overt resistance to express their dissatisfaction towards tourism decisions and provide answers to my first research question. In Chapter 6, I answer my second research question by examining four aspects of Bai culture, namely female clothes, tea-drinking practice, architecture, and handicrafts, that have been staged and/or commoditized in tourism. I then explore how this process has altered certain Bai cultural features. I also analyze local Bai people's views on the processes of staging and commoditizing their culture. In Chapter 7, I investigate primary livelihood approaches that local Bai people have engaged with in the tourism sector, emphasizing gendered divisions as well divides between entry and senior-level positions. I find that financial capital and social capital are the most important assets for Bai tourism livelihoods to be successful, and note that Bai tourism livelihoods are influenced by government regulations, market demand, networks of friends and family, and personal ambition. These analyses, through both generational and individual perspectives, answer my third research question.

In Chapter 8, I highlight three significant findings arising from my analysis and interpretation. I explore the dynamics of Bai tourism-related livelihoods and propose a 'Bai Tourism Livelihood Pathway' to demonstrate the dynamics between asset flows and influencing factors. Second, I analyze the issue of inequality caused by tourism growth, and explore why local Bai interviewees who are aware of the negative aspects of cultural tourism growth tend to blame 'local officials' rather than the tourism sector itself. Finally, I discuss the complexities of the cultural changes triggered by tourism, arguing that they are mostly outcomes of local Bai individuals' active adaptations.

Chapter 2 Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I build a conceptual framework (see Figure 2.1) based on two bodies of literature, namely cultural tourism and sustainable livelihoods, to help me to better answer my research questions. Section 2.1 explains concepts important to **cultural tourism**, including the definition of culture (Section 2.1.1), debates over authenticity (Section 2.1.2), the definition and effects of commoditization on local culture (Section 2.1.3), tourism-caused acculturation (Section 2.1.4), and possible negative effects of cultural tourism (Section 2.1.5). In Section 2.2, focusing on the **sustainable livelihoods** literature, I define livelihoods and related concepts such as assets, access, capabilities, and institutions, while critiquing three important livelihood frameworks (Section 2.2.1). I then examine capital analysis (Section 2.2.2), which I consider an indispensable tool for understanding livelihood systems. In Section 2.2.3, I discuss the determinants of livelihoods with a focus on gender and rural-urban status, and explain livelihood diversification. I also incorporate the concept of resistance (Section 2.2.4) and the conceptualization of a livelihood pathway, which I believe to be important ideas to better understanding tourism livelihoods in Dali (Section 2.2.5). Finally, in Section 2.3, I summarize the core concepts taken from the two bodies of literature that frame this thesis (also shown in Figure 2.1) and relate the conceptual framework to other parts of this thesis.

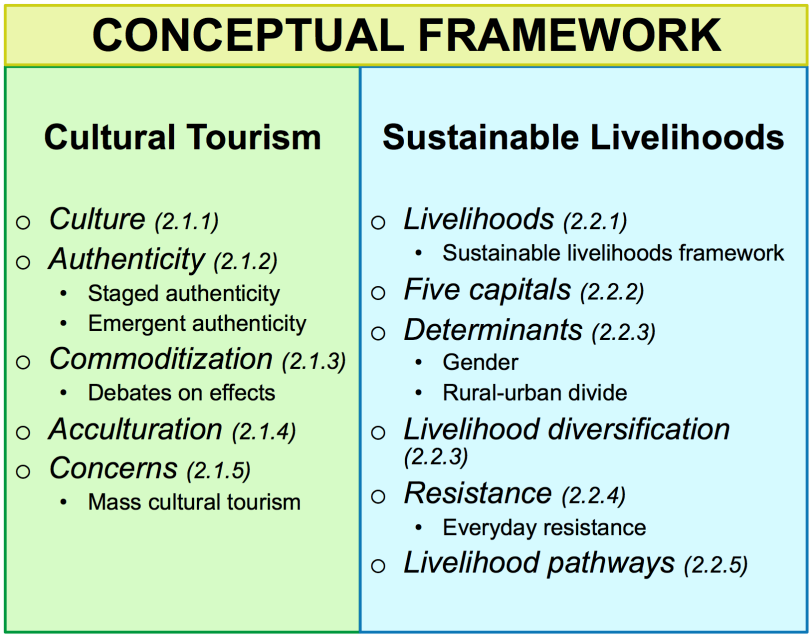

Figure 2.1 The Conceptual Framework for This Research (two directly relevant bodies of literature, and a number of core concepts that I draw upon)
(Source: Author, 2015)

2.1 Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism is one of the earliest forms of tourism, and continues to be a mainstay of the world's tourism sector (Richards & Munsters, 2010). In a broad sense, cultural tourism means that tourists aim to acquire new knowledge and experiences during their travels about the cultures of the peoples where they travel to (Tighe, 1985). To underscore the role of local culture and people, cultural tourism is defined as tourism that consumes culture (both past and contemporary) of a certain place and its people (Richards, 2001), or tourism by which tourists see or experience local people's way of life (Smith, 2003). Cultural tourism is also defined, based on tourists' travel motivations, as movements motivated by cultural reasons, including study tours, performing art tours, festival tours, and visiting sites and monuments (World Tourism Organization, 1985). Yet, given that tourists who are originally motivated by non-cultural reasons (e.g. business and health) might end up gaining cultural experiences in a tourist destination, in this thesis I take cultural tourism to mean tourism during which tourists experience local culture, regardless of their original travel motivations.

McKercher and du Cros (2002) divide cultural tourists into five types: the *purposeful* cultural tourist who is strongly interested in exotic cultures and seeks a deep cultural experience at a destination; the *sightseeing* cultural tourist who is attracted by exotic culture but seeks a shallow cultural experience; the *serendipitous* cultural tourist who is not primary motivated by exotic culture but finds a deep cultural experience accidentally; the *casual* cultural tourist who is interested, though not very strongly, in exotic culture and seeks a shallow cultural experience; and the *incidental* cultural tourist who visits cultural attractions but is not interested in exotic culture. I have observed that local culture constitutes a major component of most tourists' experiences in Dali Prefecture (see also Gormsen, 1990; Notar, 2006b), and argue here that they are certainly cultural tourists exhibiting varying degrees of interest and involvement in local culture. This thesis considers cultural tourism as a primary form of tourism in Dali Prefecture.

Generally speaking, cultural tourism is argued to be an "environmentally and culturally sensitive form of tourism" (Smith, 2003, p. 43). It can contribute to the preservation of local culture and traditions (Picard, 1990). For example, cultural tourism in Bali, Indonesia, has been promoted as a means to maintain tourism growth as well as preserve local culture and traditions (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, cultural tourism may cause irrevocable damage; when it brings too many tourists to places where local communities are traditional and close-knit, it can be intrusive and even divisive (Smith, 2003). When cultural tourism grows in tourism destinations, it often reveals tensions between tradition and modernity, and between uniqueness and universality (Nuryanti, 1996). I assert that cultural tourism reveals similar tensions in Dali Prefecture and has

certain impacts on Bai culture and people which this research investigates. In the following sections, I discuss the term of culture (Section 2.1.1), explain debates surrounding authenticity (Section 2.1.2), the concept and effects of cultural commoditization (Section 2.1.3), and tourism-caused acculturation (Section 2.1.4), all of which have informed my research on cultural tourism in Dali Prefecture, particularly the cultural dimension of cultural tourism. In addition, I analyze concerns over cultural tourism growth in Section 2.1.5, which have inspired me to explore the negative influences of cultural tourism on Dali Prefecture.

2.1.1 Discussing 'culture'

Culture, as a key component of cultural tourism, is a complicated and contested term, and there remains no clear agreement on its definition. For example, Matsumoto (1996) defines culture as a set of attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviours shared by a human group; Smith-Maddox (1998) claims that culture involves everyday practices as well as the way how people understand ideas and ascribe meanings to everyday life; and Birx (2006) argues that culture is a human-created system comprising spiritual items (e.g. opinion, value, and beliefs) and material items (e.g. fields, factories, and cities). Based on these definitions, I argue that culture includes both material elements such as art, clothing, house, food, and dance, and nonmaterial elements such as values, beliefs, norms, and languages (see also Jungersen, 1992; Little, 2014).

Little (2014) argues that culture is socially constructed, shared by individuals within a certain group, and can be transmitted from one generation to another through language or other cultural tools. Little's argument on the constructed nature of culture inspires me to explore how certain cultural elements have been constructed and shared by local Bai people in Dali Prefecture. For example, I will investigate what social norms my interviewees share across generations, and how they create and associate meanings with regards to certain material elements of tourist consumption (see also staged authenticity in Section 2.1.2 and commoditization in Section 2.1.3).

In this thesis, I use the term 'local Bai culture' to refer to the material and nonmaterial cultural elements shared by local Bai people in Dali Prefecture. I am aware, however, that some of these elements might not be created or shared exclusively by local Bai people, given that Bai people live alongside non-Bai people and may adopt non-Bai cultural elements. For example, my own experience as a local-born Bai person suggests that a number of local Bai people have adopted norms of Confucianism or believe in Buddhism, both of which are historically not part of Bai culture. I am also aware that culture is not static (see also Greenwood, 1989). I will therefore use concepts such as cultural homogenization and acculturation (see Section 2.1.4) to

examine the changes that take place regarding local Bai culture due to influences of tourism growth.

2.1.2 Debates surrounding authenticity

Authenticity is critically important in cultural tourism studies (Richards, 2007). The notion of authenticity originates from museums where it refers to the fact that objects of art are what they appear or are claimed to be, and thus considered worthy of admiration (Trilling, 1972). People often have different conceptions of authenticity. For a few researchers, the absence of commoditization is a crucial criterion of authenticity (e.g., Cornet, 1975; McLeod, 1976). Cohen (1988) argues that for curators and ethnographers, alienation from modern influences is the basic criterion of authenticity, whereas for tourists, the sole criterion is their own expectations. In cultural tourism studies, Schouten (2007) emphasizes that the 'host' (people at a destination) and the 'guest' (tourists) tend to perceive authenticity differently regarding the culture they observe in the tourism sector. In this thesis, I examine the authenticity of Bai culture being used in tourism from both the 'host' and the 'guest' perspectives with a particular focus on local Bai people's views (the 'host' perspective).

Assuming that tourists are attracted by the exotic experiences in less developed places, MacCannell (1973) coins the term staged authenticity, which is a strategy adopted by local people to attract tourists – local people intentionally make certain places appear rural or traditional in order to attract tourists who are willing to seek exotic experiences at these places. In reality, not only places, but local cultures can be arranged to attract tourists (Cohen, 1988). In a broad sense, any arrangement specially devised for tourists to gain exotic experiences, such as guides telling tales of traditions or farms involving tourists in the harvest, is considered as staged authenticity (MacCannell, 2011). MacCannell (2011) argues that staged authenticity implies there are intentional arrangements for tourists, so it is not real or actual authenticity. On the other hand, Cohen (1988) argues that staged authenticity should be evaluated by a continuum ranging from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falseness, rather than a dichotomy of authenticity and falseness.

Evaluating the authenticity of staged culture is more difficult than staged place, as culture itself is in flux (Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1989), and often contains elements of original culture as well as new alternations (Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003). Modern techniques of staging culture makes the evaluation of authenticity even more difficult, as techniques can make staged cultures as authentic as possible (Wang, 1999). For example, bird singing can be recorded and played in tape recorders repeatedly as desired, making it sound like real bird singing (*ibid.*). In

this case, it is difficult to judge whether the recorded bird singing is authentic or not, given that it contains authentic element (real bird singing) and inauthentic element (recorded bird singing). This thesis highlights the simultaneously authentic and inauthentic nature of certain staged Bai culture in tourism from local Bai people's perspectives so as to demonstrate how difficult and complex it could be to evaluate the authenticity of staged culture.

Considering the dynamics of local culture, Cohen (1988) suggests the concept emergent authenticity, which refers to the fact that some cultural elements judged as inauthentic at one point are likely to become recognized as authentic in the course of time. This concept implies that people's judgment of authenticity of certain cultural elements may change over time. This thesis investigates whether and how local Bai people's judgments of authenticity regarding certain aspects of staged Bai culture vary among three generations.

Moreover, this thesis explores how the act of staging has influenced Bai culture. Some researchers argue that staging restricts cultural change (e.g. MacCannell, 1984; Pitchford, 1995). They insist that culture, once staged, is changed or preserved out of economic and political needs (*ibid.*). For example, in Wales, musicians find it difficult to advance their music because it is confined to a traditional repertoire to satisfy tourists' demands (Pitchford, 1995). In some respects, such staging does not collapse, but preserves local culture. The renewal ceremonies like Discovery Day in Dawson City, Canada, for instance, reaffirm local people's commitment to local values and ethos when they are organized for tourism purposes (Jarvenpa, 1994). Another case in Indonesia indicates that funeral rituals of Torajans remain significant events even if they are rearranged and condensed to accommodate tourists (Adam, 1997). In certain cases, making original culture staged protects it from being completely destroyed by tourists and the staged action becomes a substitute rather than a threat to the original culture (Cohen, 1995). Regarding the changes taking place on the staged culture, Maruyama, Yen, and Stronza (2008) argue these cultural changes are strategic adaptations rather than losses of authentic culture. For example, Native American artists in Santa Fe, New Mexico, have succeeded in taking on board tourists' requests for new art designs while maintaining the traditional handmade process. By this means, artists not only maintain the authenticity of their craft culture, but also develop a sense of ownership over their cultural traditions (*ibid*.). In this thesis, I explore how local Bai people stage their culture for tourist consumption and whether they believe they have retained the 'authenticity' of staged culture.

2.1.3 Cultural commoditization

Commoditization, as defined by Cohen (1988, p. 380), "is a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services)". Local culture is commoditized by tourism, during which "local costumes and customs, rituals and feasts, and folk and ethnic arts become touristic services or commodities, as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption" (Cohen, 1988, p. 372). This phenomenon is common in the Global South – rituals, ceremonies, costumes, and folk art are all likely to become commodities for tourism (Cohen, 1988). Regarding cultural commoditization, researchers often concern about local people's interest (e.g. Cohen, 1988; Greenwood, 1977). Local culture can be commoditized by anyone, either insiders or outsiders, without the consent of local people. In such circumstances, local culture is subject to appropriation and local people are likely to be exploited (*ibid.*).

Researchers are also concerned about the cultural impacts of commoditization. Greenwood (1977) argued that commoditization alters or even destroys local culture. Local culture loses its intrinsic value and significance for local people in the process of commoditization. Local people, consequently, produce cultural products not for cultural meaning anymore, but for money (*ibid.*). Yet, a few years later, Greenwood (1989) changed his position, suggesting that in some cases, commoditization can be positive rather than destructive on local culture. He realized that "the evaluation of tourism cannot be accomplished by measuring the impact of tourism against a static background. Some of what we see as destruction is construction" (Greenwood, 1989, p. 182). Culture is representative, diverse and dynamic, and needs to be studied continuously (*ibid.*).

Other researchers agree that commoditization does not necessarily imply the destruction of local culture (e.g., Boynton, 1986; Cohen, 1988; Jarvenpa, 1994). Commoditization may add new meanings to local culture, compatible with original meanings, and help with the preservation of original meanings (Cohen, 1988). Commoditization can also help local people who are underclasses or minorities in stratified communities to reestablish self-esteem and commitment to their culture (Jarvenpa, 1994). In addition, commoditization functions as an effective way to maintain local culture and achieve economic gains in the case of Amish people in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Boynton, 1986). The Amish here design new quilting patterns for sale, but retain traditional quilting for home use. In this case, commoditization of quilting brings economic benefits to the Amish with little disruption to their culture. In the case of rural tourism in Guizhou Province, China, commoditization contributes to the ongoing construction of place-based identity (Oakes, 1997). In this thesis, I examine which approach

appears closest to my observation in Dali Prefecture and hence form my own opinion on debates over the effects of commoditization on local Bai culture.

2.1.4 Tourism-caused acculturation

Acculturation is a common phenomenon that accompanies tourism growth, referring to permanent changes caused by tourism on local culture that will be passed from one generation to another (Mathieson & Wall, 1992). With the expansion of tourism, tourists often act as agents of acculturation, who diffuse their cultures to host communities and sometimes change political power, land-use patterns, value systems and distribution systems in the destinations (Nunez, 1963). Tourism growth may result in cultural conflicts or the homogenization of culture in tourist destinations when local people try to copy tourists' cultures (Smith, 2003). For example, cultural conflicts may be triggered in non-Western destinations when a few local people learn Western ideas and lifestyles from Western tourists while other local people do no (*ibid.*). Besides, cultural homogenization is likely to arise when local people develop a preference for Western culture while losing their own culture (Smith, 2009).

Yet, as noted earlier, though creating conflicts and causing acculturation, tourism growth in some cases preserves local culture and reinforces local identities (Esman, 1984). For example, tourism helps the Cajun community in the United States, which underwent extensive acculturation before tourism was introduced, to recognize their cultural differences, and provides them an opportunity to revive their traditional cultures and reinforce their ethnic identity (*ibid.*). In this thesis, I examine how local Bai culture has been acculturated to non-Bai culture if any.

2.1.5 Concerns over cultural tourism

Apart from possible influences on local culture (such as loss of authenticity and cultural homogenization, discussed in Sections 2.1.1–2.1.3), Jamieson (1994) argues that cultural tourism may increase public service costs, result in congestion and overuse of community facilities, arouse hostility from local residents, and reinforce social discrepancies. Bachleitner and Zins (1999) also find that cultural tourism may negatively influence the local environment, causing problems such as overcrowding, pollution, and discrimination against locals by tourists.

Smith (2009) expresses her concerns over rapidly growing cultural tourism. When small numbers of well-educated, wealthy tourists are attracted, niche cultural tourism poses fewer threats to locals. However, increasing demand for cultural activities has resulted in the emergence of mass cultural tourism, in which a large number of tourists are engaged in

experiences that are no longer "small scale, high spend, and low impact" (Richards, 2013). This term accurately describes the many annual tourists in Dali Prefecture (see Figure 3.1).

Jelincic and Zuvela (2012) consider mass cultural tourism as a combination of mass tourism and cultural tourism. Russo (2002) uses Venice, Italy as an example of how rising tourist demand can overrun the carrying capacity of heritage sites and cause problems such as congestion, declining quality of tourism products, and conflicts between tourism stakeholders and the rest of the host population. van den Bosch (2005) worries that mass cultural tourism may destroy works of art and sites of cultural heritage if they are not well managed and preserved. I anticipate that as Dali experiences this type of mass tourism, the local environment may suffer (cf. Romeril, 1985) and local culture maybe substituted by global culture (Russo & Sans, 2007). This thesis explores the impacts cultural tourism has had on Dali Prefecture from a local Bai perspective.

Smith (2009) argues that given its intrusive and often divisive nature, locals should be allowed to decide the pace of cultural tourism development and limits should be placed on the size and nature of cultural tourism. I investigate in this thesis to what extent local Bai people are involved in decision-making and implementation of tourism projects.

2.1.6 A summary of concepts

In this section, I have identified cultural tourism as a key body of literature and conceptual focus for this thesis, and have also introduced three core concepts that are closely related to cultural tourism, namely culture, authenticity, commoditization, and acculturation. These concepts will guide me in examining how Bai culture has been adapted, staged, and commoditized for tourist consumption, how it has been influenced by such staging and commoditization, and whether and how Bai culture has been acculturated to non-Bai culture. In examining core debates surrounding these concepts, I have noted both the positive and negative cultural effects that researchers have found to stem from cultural tourism.

2.2 Sustainable Livelihoods

The literature on sustainable livelihoods is the second body of literature that underpins this thesis. In Section 2.2.1, I define 'livelihood' and relevant concepts such as assets, access, capability and institution. I describe the Department for International Development (DfID) sustainable livelihoods framework (DfID, 1999) – the focus of this thesis, during which the other two frameworks – the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) sustainable rural livelihoods framework (Scoones, 1998) and Ellis' (2000) framework for micro policy analysis of rural

livelihoods are also introduced. I then move on to capital analysis (Section 2.2.2), which I consider as an indispensable tool to understand livelihood systems. In the next section (Section 2.2.3), I discuss determinants of livelihood with a focus on gender and the rural-urban status, and explain livelihood diversification. I incorporate the concept of resistance, which is often overlooked in livelihood literature, in Section 2.2.4, and discuss the literature on livelihood pathway in Section 2.2.5.

2.2.1 Livelihood and sustainable livelihoods framework

Modern livelihood studies can be traced back to Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway's 1991 paper 'Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century' (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005). They define a livelihood as "a means of gaining a living", which comprises people, their capabilities, activities, assets, and gains (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 5). Capability refers to a person being able to achieve a certain functioning (Sen, 1993). It is both an end and means of a livelihood: capacity is formed with support from a livelihood; meanwhile, it enables a livelihood to be realized (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Assets can be either tangible (resources and stores) or intangible (claims and access) (*ibid.*). Access, which "refers to the ability to participate in, and derive benefits from, social and public services provided by the state such as education, health services, roads, water supplies and so on", is an important attribute of Chambers and Conway's definition (Ellis, 2000, p. 9). Ellis (2000) adds that institutions – "the rules of the game in society" (North, 1990, p. 5), or "regularized patterns of behaviour" that emerge from underlying structures or rules in use (Leach, Mearns, & Scoones, 1997) – are also important in defining a livelihood, as they mediate an individual's or a household's capabilities and access.

A livelihood is considered sustainable when it "can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation" (Chambers & Conway, 1991, p. 6). Chamber and Conway's idea of sustainable livelihoods has been widely adopted by the DfID and other development agencies (Murray, 2001). For example, the IDS provides a framework as a means of analyzing sustainable livelihoods, which shows that any sustainable livelihood is located in a particular context with livelihood resources, is mediated by institutions and organizations, follows certain livelihood strategies, and results in sustainable livelihood outcomes (see Scoones, 1998). Ellis (2000) also devises a framework, a linear one similar to the IDS framework, for rural livelihoods analysis. Ellis's framework starts with assets, access to which can be modified by various forces, such as "social relations", "institutions" and "organization" (Ellis, 2000, p. 30).

This framework demonstrates that in the context of "trends" and "shocks", differences in asset accessibility will result in different livelihood strategies, either composed of natural resource-based activities or non-natural resource-based activities, and finally have effects on livelihood security and environmental sustainability (*ibid.*). Different from the IDS's and Ellis's linear frameworks, the DfID's (1999) sustainable livelihoods framework (SL framework) (see Figure 2.2) that is more interactive than the other two better reflects the complexity and dynamics of livelihood systems. I therefore focus on this framework when analyzing the impacts of tourism growth local Bai people's livelihoods.

The DfID SL framework places livelihoods in a vulnerable context, with people affected by critical trends (in population, resource, national/international economics, governance and technology), shocks (in human health, the natural environment, the economy, conflicts and crop/livestock health), and seasonality (of prices, production, health and employment opportunities). All of these are considered external factors over which people have limited or no control (*ibid.*). Although the DfID SL framework, like any other framework, is a simplification of reality rather than representing the full reality, it provides a way of thinking about livelihoods, particularly livelihoods of the poor (DfID, 1999). It also makes us aware of potential sources of livelihood transformation and diversification. I argue that the most fundamental component of the SL framework is the "asset pentagon" (DfID, 1999, p. 17), which incorporates five capitals: human, social, natural, physical, and financial. The shape of this pentagon varies according to changes in availability and accessibility of assets. Livelihood assets interact with transforming structures and processes, such as governance and culture, to shape livelihood strategies in order to achieve certain outcomes, which in turn – in a circular fashion – increase or decrease assets. In the next section, I examine each capital in more details, followed by explanations of several concepts that are key to the DfID SL framework and relevant to my research.

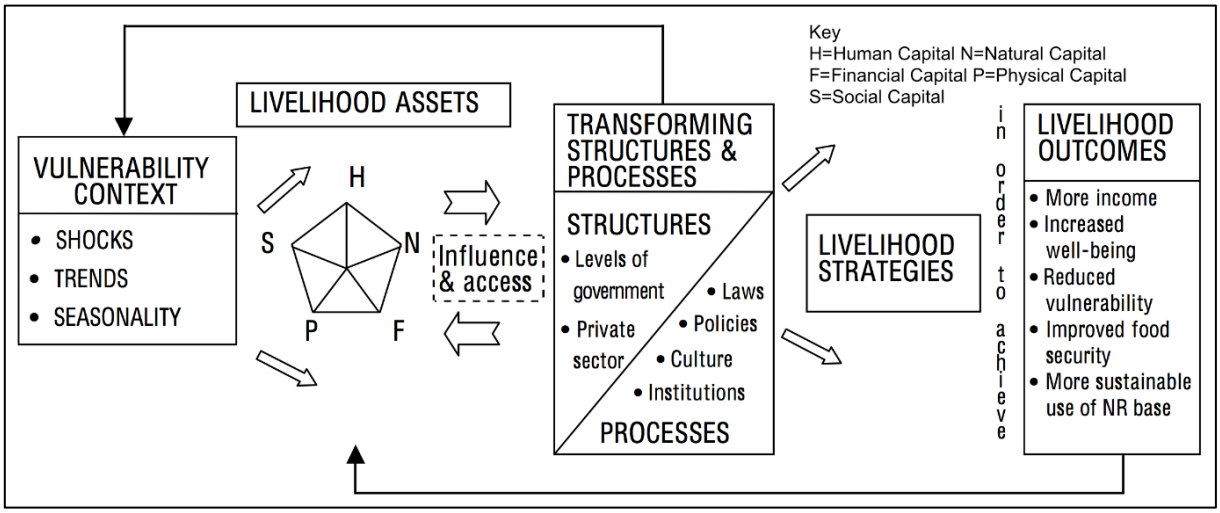

Figure 2.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
(Source: DfID, 1999, p. 13)

2.2.2 Capital analysis

The five capitals mentioned above are commonly identified as important parts of livelihood systems (DfID, 1999; Ellis, 2000; Rakodi, 1999). Capital analysis provides me with an entry point to explore the impacts of tourism on Bai livelihoods by looking at how tourism growth has changed the availability of and access to different capitals for local Bai people. Human capital refers to labour resources, education, skills, and health available to households (Carney, 1998; DfID, 1999). An individual's human capital can be increased through receiving education and training, undertaking activities that help him or her gain relevant skills, and improving his or her health status (Ellis, 2000). At a household level, human capital is not only a matter of how many labourers are available in this household, but also the skill sets of the household members (DfID, 1999; Rakodi, 1999). Labourers with low levels of education and/or skills are disadvantaged in gaining employment. For example, the poor, in general, are often excluded from well-paid jobs or profitable employment opportunities in nonfarm sectors due to their low levels of education and skills (Rakodi, 1999). In Chapter 7, I analyze how certain types of human capital allow certain Bai individuals to engage in tourism-related livelihoods and examine how their involvement in the tourism sector has improved or reduced their human capital.

Social Capital is defined as "the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives" (DfID, 1999, p. 21), and encompasses social networks built on interpersonal relationships as well as the trust and expectations flowing within these networks (Swift, 1998). It is also defined as "the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enable its

members to achieve their individual and community objectives" (Narayan, 1997, p. 50). Social capital has been divided into primary and secondary levels: primary social capital is associated with family, peers and other informal institutions, while secondary social capital is related to formal institutions, like workplace and support groups (Alfred & Nanton, 2009). The concepts of bonding, bridging, and linking are also used to classify social capital (Gezinski, 2014). Bonding social capital refers to relations among people who share similar social identity, bridging social capital describes networks among those who are unlike in social identity (Meng & Chen, 2014), and linking social capital comprises ties between individuals of different socioeconomic statuses (Woolcock, 2001). Social capital is a broad concept, and its measurement often varies from one context to another. In Chapter 7, I look specifically into how Bai people make use of different types of social capital to gain access to and maintain their tourism-related livelihoods, and how their social capital is changed by these livelihoods.

Natural capital "comprises the land, water and biological resources that are utilized by people to generate means of survival" (Ellis, 2000, p. 32). Direct access to and use of natural capital is less significant to urban residents than rural people, since urban residents often use natural resources indirectly by consuming food, energy and water produced by nature (Rakodi, 1999). The natural resources on which the rural poor depend are often common pool resources such as lakes and pastures (*ibid.*); therefore, the rural poor face great peril from the common pool dilemma (Hardin, 1968)[5] and will have a much harder time sustaining their livelihoods. In this thesis, I investigate whether and how natural capital plays a role in Bai people's tourism-related livelihoods.

Physical capital, namely "basic infrastructure and production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods" (Rakodi, 1999, p. 316-217), refers to many concrete entities, such as buildings, irrigation canals, roads, tools, machines, and so on (Ellis, 2000). In theory, physical capital can cumulatively substitute for natural capital over time with the long-term process of technological change, industrialization, and urbanization (*ibid.*). For example, greenhouses mitigate the impacts of poor light levels on food production and drip irrigation systems reduce water consumption. Physical capital can accumulate with tourism growth – infrastructure constructed to improve a destination's attractiveness, such as roads and railways, make up physical capital for local people (Hernandez & Leon, 2007). In this thesis, I study whether and how tourism growth changes access to physical capital and *vice versa* for Bai individuals and consequently affects their livelihoods.

[5] The rural poor heavily rely on common pool resources, which can be depleted if individuals use the resources for their self-interests with no regard for others. Based on Hardin's (1968) theory, such a tragedy of the commons is likely to happen because individuals act independently and rationally.

Financial capital includes "stocks of money to which the household has access" (Ellis, 2000, p. 34). In most cases, it is money either in the form of cash or savings and credit accessible through financial institutions. This capital is not restricted to these forms however, especially in places where financial markets are absent or financial institutions are unreliable. For example, financial capital can also be represented by livestock, gold, jewellery, and food stock (Ellis, 2000; Swift, 1989). It is the most versatile of the five capitals: it can be converted into other capitals, it can be consumed to achieve livelihood outcomes directly, and it might influence access to other capitals by transforming into political power (DfID, 1999). In Chapter 7, I examine the role of financial capital in Bai people's tourism-related livelihoods and evaluate whether and how it has been accumulated by Bai individuals when undertaking tourism-related livelihoods.

Apart from these five capitals, researchers have considered other capitals, such as political capital (e.g., Baumann, 2000; Baumann, & Sinha, 2001), information capital (e.g., Odero, 2006) and cultural capital (e.g., Bebbington, 1999; Daskon & McGregor, 2012). I argue that the five capitals discussed above already cover these first two proposed capitals in direct or indirect ways. For example, information capital, which emphasizes the value of information in livelihood systems, can be subsumed either under social capital when information flows are based upon social networks and social rules, or under financial capital when people pay for information directly or indirectly by purchasing appliances, such as TVs and computers. Similarly, political capital can be regarded as a subgroup of social capital, because political authority, where political capital arises, is part of social structures (Weber, 1978). Although these capitals might not necessarily be added to the five-capital model, they add nuance by reminding us to analyze detailed aspects of the five capitals. In my case study, cultural capital, which sustains class divides and is difficult to accumulate and access (S. Kim & H. Kim, 2009), is another angle. Cultural capital exists in embodied forms (such as inherited values and ideas) or objectified material forms (such as crafts, monuments and paintings) (Bourdieu, 1986; Daskon & McGregor, 2012). In this thesis, I analyze whether, and how, Bai people make use of their cultural capital, either in embodied or objectified forms, to enter or sustain livelihoods in the tourism sector.

2.2.3 Determinants and livelihood diversification

Numerous initial factors predetermine livelihoods, such as birth and gender (Chambers & Conway, 1991). For example, Hindu people's livelihoods are often strongly determined by their caste (Elder, 2006). In a very different way – due to politics not religion – people's lives and

livelihoods in China are determined by the *hukou* (household registration) system – they are registered to one place with either agricultural or non-agricultural status from birth and they are not able to move to another place or change status with ease (Chan & Zhang, 1999). In view of the local cultural and political context in Dali, I examine the effects of two major determinants, gender (linked to cultural understandings of inheritance, suitable paid employment, and behaviour) and rural-urban status (access to certain employment opportunities and livelihood capitals), when taking other livelihood determinants into account.

Gender roles and relations are particularly important in forming livelihood strategies (Gorman, 2006). Gender relations are "the social construction of roles and relationships between women and men", which are "usually unequal in terms of power, decision-making, control over events, freedom of action, ownership of resources and so on" (Ellis, 2000, p. 139). Livelihood studies differentiate women's livelihoods from men's, and it is usually assumed that women are disadvantaged in access to resources and income-generating activities within livelihood systems (*ibid.*). For example, in Nanjiang, east China, women workers are more likely to experience redundancy and lose jobs than men (Liu, 2007). In Dali Prefecture, it is noted that Bai women tend to dominate the local tourist marketplace (e.g., Hsu, 1948; Notar, 2006a). It is uncertain what factors contribute to this phenomenon. I assume that Bai women have no choice but to sell products to tourists, as other jobs in the tourism sector are taken by Bai men. But based on this gender divide I will further explore gender roles and relations in Bai society, and how they are influenced by tourism growth in this thesis.

Researchers working in the Global South often perceive the rural-urban divide as a dualism of "traditionality – modernity", "non-capitalistic – capitalistic" and "poor – rich" (Lohnert & Steinbrink, 2005, p. 95-96). Simply speaking, rural livelihoods are often considered as primarily natural resource-based, while urban livelihoods rely more on non-natural resources and financial capital. No matter how different, rural and urban lives are often closely interlinked in the places where people can easily commute between rural and urban areas (Bhattacharjee, 2010). In the Global South, rural natural resource-based livelihoods are in transition under the pressure of urban expansion, for example when urban expansion causes rural people to lose or sell land. Rural people, especially those living in peri-urban regions, are increasingly immersed in urban activities and experience continuous shifts from rural to urban livelihoods (Gregory & Mattingly, 2009). Considering the blurred boundary between rural and urban areas, a translocal perspective is an alternative approach to analyze rural and urban lives and livelihoods (Lohnert & Steinbrink, 2005). In addition to investigating how tourism growth has influenced rural and urban people separately, I use this 'translocal' approach to identify how tourism growth affects

social, cultural and emotional bonds, relations of exchange and cooperation, and flows of money, goods, information and labourers between rural and urban Bai people.

In fact, many livelihoods are fluid and are often undergoing diversification (Ellis, 2000; Scoones, 1998). Livelihood diversification is one of three main livelihood change strategies (the other two being agricultural intensification/extensification, and migration) (Scoones, 1998). Livelihood diversification refers to "attempts by individuals and households to find new ways to raise incomes and reduce environmental risk, which differ sharply by the degree of freedom of choice (to diversity or not), and the reversibility of the outcome" (Hussein & Nelson, 1998, p. 3). Livelihood diversification can be achieved through various approaches. It takes place when, for example, farmers change the composition of agricultural products they produce, or when rural people start pursuing non-agricultural activities (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). In general, people with strong asset portfolios have a wider choice of diversification than those with weak ones (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Many livelihood diversification strategies are gender-specific (Hussein & Nelson, 1998). Although employment opportunities are generally in favour of men, certain types of jobs, like prostitution, are more available to women (*ibid.*). Livelihood diversification is often regarded either as a thriving strategy that improves standards of living or a coping strategy that addresses distress (Bouahom, Douangsavanh, & Rigg, 2004; Start & Johnson, 2004). Turner (2007, p. 399) suggests a third perspective – "selective diversification" – that views livelihood diversification as also possibly arising due to opportunities and social and cultural imperatives. These three perspectives have helped me understand the motivations behind Bai livelihood diversification when it emerges in the course of my investigation.

2.2.4 Resistance

Resistance, especially in covert and everyday forms, has not been thoroughly studied through a livelihood lens (Turner, 2012). I incorporate this concept in my conceptual framework to understand how tourism decisions may at times contradict Bai livelihoods, and how Bai people may resist tourism decisions in order to defend their livelihoods in the context of tourism growth. Resistance is often more intricate than it is made out to be and less obvious than commonly understood (Pile & Keith, 1997). Researchers have researched resistance mainly through case studies (e.g., Franz, 2012; Kerkvliet, 1986; Li & O'Brien, 1996; Malseed, 2008; Schneider & Niederle, 2010; Turner, 2012). Given the fact that all cases are located in specific contexts with distinctive features, resistance is highly context-dependent and is hard to define. Generally speaking, resistance takes places where there is disparity in power; for example, resistance among lower class farmers takes place either when members of that class intend to mitigate or

deny claims (e.g. taxes and rents) made on them by superordinate classes, or when they want to advance their own claims over land, respect or something else (Scott, 1986). In this sense, resistance can take the form of individual action or collective action.

Resistance can be overt or covert, both of which have advantages and disadvantages as a strategy (Malseed, 2008). Overt resistance, which is often structured and systematic, is more likely to be coalesced into a named and identifiable movement; covert resistance, however, can proceed in a much safer way because it lacks formal organization and is difficult to target and repress (*ibid.*). No matter what form it takes, the aim of resistance is to be an effective measure to exercise power in order to counter someone else's power (e.g., Franz, 2012; Turner, 2012). For example, in Chinese rural societies, villagers are often mobilized to form collective power in order to resist governing power that deprives their land. In this thesis, I investigate what form of resistance local Bai people have adopted to counter tourism decisions, and what outcomes their resisting activities have generated.

I will also draw on the concept of everyday resistance to determine how Bai people respond to local tourism policies and tourism growth. Everyday resistance "refers to what people do short of organized confrontation that reveals disgust, anger, indignation, or opposition to what they regard as unjust or unfair actions by others more wealthy or powerful than they" (Kerkvliet, 1986, p. 108). This definition emphasizes the power disparities between the resisting and resisted. In addition, everyday resistance is undertaken by individuals and small groups with little leadership rather than in large numbers of people with a few leaders (*ibid.*). It often targets specific individuals, institutions, or general conditions, while keeping these targets unaware of what has been done at their expense (Kerkvliet, 1986, 2009). In the case of ethnic minority Hmong in highland Vietnam, they are able to defend their cardamom livelihoods through various forms of evasion. The old-growth forest in the national park is good for cardamom, so Hmong cultivators plant crops in the park, though it is illegal, away from well-known routes that park authorities use. In the national park, harvesting forest products and timber felling (necessary for Hmong cultivators to prepare onsite fires to dry harvested cardamom) is not allowed. Hmong cultivators, therefore, light fires as discretely and secretly as possible to avoid being detected (Turner, 2012). This Hmong case has inspired me to delve into whether Bai people apply everyday resistance, and in what forms, to evade policies or regulations and benefit from tourism-related informal livelihoods.

2.2.5 Livelihood trajectories and pathways

Some researchers have worked on individuals' livelihood trajectories or pathways as an approach to reveal the dynamics of livelihoods (e.g. Baulch & Davis, 2008; Ha, van Dijk, Bosma, & Xuan, 2013; Rigg, Hguyen, & Luong, 2014; van Dijk, 2011; West, 2013). The concepts of livelihood trajectories and pathways are similar in that both concepts describe how an individual's livelihoods move upward or downward. 'Downward' movement refers to improving livelihood status (e.g. from poor to near poor), while 'downward' movement describes the decline in livelihood status (e.g. from near poor to poor). For example, Baulch and Davis's (2008) examination of rural people's livelihood trajectories in Bangladesh illustrates how these people move into and out of poverty, while Rigg *et al*.'s (2014) analysis of rural migrants' livelihood pathways in Hanoi, Vietnam, demonstrates how this group of people realize 'upward' or 'downward' livelihood movements. 'Upward' movement refers to improved livelihood status (e.g. from poor to near poor), while 'downward' movement describes the decline in livelihood status (e.g. from near poor to poor) (*ibid.*). In addition to situating the respondents' livelihood histories into four livelihood movements, Rigg *et al.* (2014) also place these people's livelihoods in a broader political and economic context and analyze how their livelihoods are influenced by individual, state, society, and economy. In this thesis, I use the concept of livelihood pathways to examine my Bai interviewees' livelihood histories. I investigate whether and how their livelihoods histories can be explained by a generalized livelihood pathway. I also explore what external factors have driven these interviewees to move their livelihoods along certain pathways.

2.2.6 A summary of concepts

Livelihoods, defined as a means to a living, are complex and composed of many elements, including capabilities, access, assets and institutions. In this section I focus on DfID's (1999) sustainable livelihoods framework, while taking the other two livelihood frameworks into consideration, to illustrate how livelihoods are formed and transformed. These frameworks will guide me to analyze how the expanding tourism sector influences Bai livelihoods. I considered five capitals (human, social, natural, physical and financial), identified by DfID SL framework, as the keys to analyze livelihood systems. By explaining these capitals one by one, I was able to relate each of them to my research. As well as the five capitals, I discussed gender roles and relations in determining livelihoods as well as the importance of recognizing disparities between rural and urban livelihoods. These two livelihood determinants will help me investigate how tourism growth reshapes the gender and rural-urban divides in certain livelihoods. I then introduced livelihood diversification, a primary livelihood change strategy that could be used to

explain Bai livelihood changes in the tourism sector. I also briefly reviewed the strategy of resistance, especially everyday resistance, which is not well recognized in livelihood studies, but which I consider as possible element that Bai individuals engage with as part of their livelihood portfolios. At the end of this section, I explained the concept of livelihood pathway, which I will draw upon to analyze Bai individuals' livelihood changes in this thesis.

2.3 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have constructed a conceptual framework to guide my research by extracting key concepts from two bodies of literature, namely, cultural tourism and sustainable livelihoods. At the beginning of Section 2.1, I examined the concepts of cultural tourism and cultural tourists, and identified cultural tourism, a dominant form of tourism in Dali Prefecture, as my research focus. I discussed the term of culture (Section 2.1.1), after which I explained authenticity, a key concept in cultural tourism studies, and analyzed debates surrounding authenticity, including staged authenticity and emergent authenticity (Section 2.1.2). These debates will inspire me to explore how local Bai people perceive the authenticity of certain Bai features staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption. Then I explained the concept of commoditization and its effects on local culture (Section 2.1.3), as well as the phenomena of acculturation that is likely to take place in Dali Prefecture with regards to cultural tourism strategies and outcomes (Section 2.1.4). In Section 2.1.5, I examined researchers' concerns over cultural tourism, with a particular focus on the trend of mass cultural tourism. These concerns provide me an entry point to examine the negative impacts of cultural tourism on the local economy, society, and environment in Dali Prefecture.

In reviewing literature on sustainable livelihoods, I defined 'livelihood' and related concepts, and analyzed DfID (1999) Sustainable Livelihoods (SL) Framework (Section 2.2.1). I will use DfID SL framework and five capitals (human, social, natural, physical, and financial) (Section 2.2.2) to investigate how local Bai people gain access to and maintain their tourism-related livelihoods. I further analyzed the determinants of livelihoods focusing on gender, rural-urban contexts, and livelihood diversification (Section 2.2.3), before introducing everyday resistance as a possible factor of Bai livelihoods (Section 2.2.4). I also explained the conceptualization of livelihood pathway (Section 2.2.5), which will guide to examine Bai individuals' livelihood histories in the tourism sector. All these concepts from the two bodies of literature will guide my research design in Chapter 4 and help me address my research aim and questions.

Chapter 3 Context: Situating My Research

The Chinese government has promoted tourism as both an economic strategy for poverty alleviation and a tool to recognize and bring people such as the ethnic minority Bai into a harmonious relationship with the state (Ryan & Gu, 2009). The state's policies to stimulate domestic tourism growth among an increasingly mobile Chinese population, have contributed to the expansion of China's tourism sector (*ibid.*). In this chapter, I contextualize tourism growth and Bai livelihoods in Dali Prefecture, starting with the state's tourism policies and China's expanding tourism sector (Section 3.1). I analyze tourism growth at the provincial level in Section 3.2 and the prefectural level in Section 3.3. In Section 3.4, I explain how ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province are officially recognized and describe ethnic minority livelihoods in this province. I further examine Bai livelihoods in Section 3.4.1 and summarize the existing literature on the effects of tourism growth on Bai livelihoods in Section 3.4.2. As a whole, this chapter sets the stage for my results chapters.

3.1 China's Tourism Growth

Tourism has a long history in China. In ancient times, emperors, scholars, monks and other religious people, who had power, intellectual interests, or free time, frequently traveled around the country (Zhang, 2003). Elite classes and their entourages travelled for leisure, merchants traveled for business, while general people moved around to escape diseases and natural disasters (Sofield & Li, 1998). After the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, tourism began to be used as a diplomatic tool, serving the political purpose of promoting the achievements of socialist China, in order to expand China's political influence at the global scale and to build international friendship through receiving invited guests and tourists (Airey & Chong, 2011; Zhang, Chong, & Ap, 1999).

In the mid-1970s, the Bureau for Travel and Tourism (BTT), under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Ministry, was established to manage the tourism sector (Zhang, 2003). In 1978, Deng Xiaoping initiated 'Four Modernization' policy (*Sige Xiandaihua*), identifying four areas that shall be modernized: industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense (Lew, Yu, Ap, & Zhang, 2003). In 1981, the National Tourism Administration of the People's Republic of China (CNTA) was established to replace BTT, directly responsible to the country's State Council and independent from the Foreign Ministry. Since its establishment, the CNTA has managed the tourism sector at the macro-level by making long-term, medium-term and yearly plan for nationwide tourism. The CNTA formulates rules and regulations governing tourism, and

also provides promotion, education and training services (Zhang, 2003). From 1978 to 1986, the number of foreign tourists[6] to China rose from approximately 1.8 million to 22.8 million, among which non-Chinese foreign tourists rose from 0.2 million to nearly 1.5 million. Non-Chinese foreign tourists concentrated their visits in large cities, the top ten of which were, in order of decreasing popularity, Guangzhou, Beijing, Shanghai, Guilin, Hangzhou, Xi'an, Suzhou, Nanjing, Xiamen and Kunming (Zhang, 1989). Contrarily, domestic tourism was undeveloped in this period due to the stringent household registration system (Wu, Zhu, & Xu, 2000) (see introduction of this system also in Section 2.2.3).[7]

In 1986, the central government declared that tourism was an economic activity with the direct purpose of earning foreign exchange for China's modernization (Zhang, 2003). In the same year, tourism was first included in the national plan – the seventh five-year plan (1986-1990) (Andreu, Claver, & Quer, 2010). In the late 1980s, domestic tourism started to develop, as the household registration system was loosened and household incomes increased (Wu *et al.*, 2000). Since then, the central government has issued several statements and policies to promote domestic tourism. In 1989, Liu Yi, the ex-director of CNTA, said that domestic tourism should be the foundation of China's tourism, at the Conference of Directors of the Local Tourism Bureaus (Zhang, 1997).[8] In 1999, the Golden Week holiday system for the Spring Festival, Labour Day and National Day was established, aimed at encouraging citizens to travel within the country. This system provided three one-week long holidays[9] for workers. The number of domestic tourists rose from 240 million in 1985, to 640 million in 1996 and to 1,610 million in 2007 (Zhang, 1997; CNTA, 2008).

3.1.1 Expanding tourism sector

In 1998, for the first time, the tourism sector was highlighted as a new growth sector for the national economy. At this time, CNTA started decentralization by gradually casting off its older, monolithic ways of administration and tourism operations gained the right to become privatized (Zhang, 2003). CNTA (2013, June 4) stipulates that a private tour operator can be established provided that it has a business site, the necessary business facilities, registered capital, the

[6] Foreign tourists include non-Chinese and Chinese tourists from other nations, and compatriots from Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan.
[7] The central government established a household registration (*Hukou*) system in 1955 that classified the national population into two categories: rural and urban. This system was designed to restrict rural-to-urban migration. Almost everyone was registered and it was extremely difficult to convert one's status from rural to urban. Since reforms in the 1970s, informal migration (a change of residence without a change in status) has become somewhat easier (Wu & Treiman, 2004).
[8] In China, senior officials' statements at formal conference are considered to represent governments' decisions.
[9] In 2007, the Labor Day holiday was discontinued.

necessary management staff and tour guides, meets other requirements set by laws and administrative regulations, obtains approval from the tourism authority, and completes industrial and commercial registration. In 1999, there were over 7,000 tour operators scattered all over the country (Zhang, 2003). In 2008, the number had risen to 20,110. That year witnessed 130 million foreign tourist arrivals, 1.7 billion domestic tourists and a total income of RMB1.1 trillion (USD162 billion), amounting to 3.84 percent of GDP (Airey & Chong, 2011).

In November 2009, China's State Council approved new 'Guidelines to Accelerate the Development of the Tourism sector' in order to foster the expansion of tourism. The guidelines once again recognized the tourism sector as a strategic pillar sector for China's economy (World Travel & Tourism Council, 2010). In the same year, the central government set goals that the tourism sector should provide services for 3.3 billion domestic tourists, while tourism income should reach 4.5 percent of GDP by 2015 (The Central Government of China, 2009).

Zhong, Deng, Song, and Ding (2011) argue that the emphasis on the tourism sector's economic role underestimates or ignores the concomitant environmental problems in China, such as noise pollution, air pollution, water pollution, and biodiversity loss. They also suggest that while the central government focuses on the economic gains of tourism, it neglects the cultural and historical values of tourist attractions. For example, the central government's decision to devolve the responsibility of heritage conservation to local governments resulted in an implementation gap. Zhang *et al*. (1999) add that local governments are keen on drawing up lists of heritage sites to attract tourists, but reluctant to spend on heritage conservation, especially when local finances are not strong. The central government also overlooks the voices of local people. Zeng and Ryan (2012) state that when the state integrates tourism into the national strategy of poverty alleviation, it provides limited access for the poor to participate. Thus there is a top-down bias in tourism planning that neglects certain populations.

3.2 Yunnan's Tourism Growth

Foreign tourists could not travel to Yunnan until 1978.[10] Then, international tourism in Yunnan developed first in the capital city, Kunming, where access was relatively easier than other areas. By the mid-1980s, tourism in Xishuangbanna, south Yunnan, started to boom, thanks to an airline connection with Kunming[11] and improved road system.

[10] In 1978, Chinese government implemented the 'Open Door' policy that allowed exchange of people, information, money, and other materials between China and foreign countries.

[11] The Banna airport (the province's second largest, after Kunming) was completed in 1990 (Eng, 1998). In the same year, the first air route connecting Xishuangbanna and Kunming was created. So far, the airport has connected Xishuangbanna with 23 destinations (domestic and international) (Yunnan Airport Group, n.d.)

In 1999, the Western Development Program (*Xibu da kaifa*)[12], incorporating eleven provinces including Yunnan, was initiated by the central government to redress the imbalances between coastal and inland areas, with tourism being one of three economic development strategies (Wu, Xu, & Eaglen, 2011). The rapidly growing tourism sector, combined with this priority of tourism in the Western Development Program raised the interest of Yunnan Provincial Government. The provincial government decided to develop tourism as one of five mainstay industries for the province, along with tobacco, mining, hydropower and biology (Zhu, 2011). In accordance with the Master Plan (2001-2020) for Tourism Development in Yunnan and provisions in Yunnan's tenth five-year plan (2001-2006), a model was built which focused on one tourist center – Kunming, and five major tourist areas – northwest Yunnan (including Dali Prefecture), west Yunnan, southwest Yunnan, southeast Yunnan and northeast Yunnan (Hellmann, 1998). The Yunnan government also claims to provide quality and characteristic tourism products by making full use of Yunnan's abundant biological, natural, cultural and ethnic resources. For example, it considers the number of highly rated tourist attractions strategic, thus strives to get attractions on the AAAAA list. At present, 171 tourist attractions in Yunnan are rated, including five AAAAA tourist attractions (Ye & Chen, 2013).

In the past three decades, the provincial government has spent a lot of funds to improve the tourism sector, especially regarding infrastructure. For instance, from 1990 to 1995, RMB5 billion (USD0.6 billion) was spent on roads (Wen & Tisdell, 2001). In 1998, the Yunnan government invested RMB3.1 billion (USD360 million) to improve highway conditions (Chow, 2005). Yunnan's tourism plans not only focus on connections between major cities within the province (Hellmann, 1998), but also on establishing transportation and communication links with neighbouring provinces (such as Sichuan and Guizhou) and countries (such as Vietnam and Thailand). In 2004, the provincial government signed the Pan-Pearl River Delta Regional Cooperation Framework Agreement, with the governments of eight other provinces and two special administrative regions[13], to enhance cooperation and develop regional tourism (Yunnan Tourism Administration Website, 2009).

[12] In March 1999, Jiang Zemin, the then general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, proposed the Western Development Program to counter regional inequality (the gap between China's coastal region and interior region) during the Ninth National People's Congress. Western China comprises Gansu, Guizhou, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Tibet, Xinjiang and Chongqing. The Western Development Project involves many projects focusing on developing a reliable infrastructure, a favorable environment for investment and a qualified labor force, as well as seeking to conserve the ecological environmental of the region (Lai, 2002).

[13] Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangxi, Hunan, Guangxi, Hainan, Sichuan, Guizhou, Hong Kong, and Macau Special Administrative Regions.

At the international scale, in 2009, the Yunnan government planned to construct the "eight-route-in and four-route-out railway network" as part of the Greater Mekong Subregion Framework.[14] The railway network will be an international channel from Yunnan to South and Southeast Asia, connecting Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Burma, India, and Bengal. Among many of its goals, this project will further develop Yunnan's tourism infrastructure (Dong & Zhang, 2010; Krongkaew, 2004). In 2012, the Yunnan government also signed the Kunming Announcement with India's West Bengal state, to expand cooperation on business and trade, tourism, and cultural exchanges (Li & Guo, 2012). In line with provincial government's efforts on fostering tourism growth, Dali Prefectural Government also actively engage in tourism promotion.

3.3 Tourism Growth in Dali and Its Influences

Dali Prefecture was officially opened for international tourism in February 1984. Since this time thousands of foreign tourists have flowed into the prefecture, in search of authentic ethnic culture and attractions (Gormsen, 1990; Ateljevic & Bai, 2003). In the early 1980s, it took three days to travel the 400 kilometers from Kunming to Dali, which was shortened to ten to twelve hours by bus after road improvements in 1986 (Gormsen, 1990). Over 3000 foreign tourists arrived in 1984, rapidly rising to 13,000 just four years later in 1988 (Wen & Tisdell, 2001). Foreign tourists are usually interested in buying antiques and locally produced souvenirs with ethnic minority Bai designs and features (Notar, 2006a). Some tourists rent bikes to ride out to rural villages to see the 'real Bai', as village women usually wear Bai clothes while women in urban areas do not (Notar, 2006b). Foreign tourists come to Dali Prefecture either with tour groups or independently. Tour groups often stay in Dali region for two days for organized activities, while individual tourists tend to stay at least three to five days (Dai & Bao, 1996). Backpackers from North and South America, Australia, Europe, Japan, and Israel like visiting Dali Old Town and congregating in Foreigner Street[15] in the old town. Today, the street is full of cafes, guesthouses, and traders catering to this tourist market (Notar, 2006a).

The prefectural government has long recognized the economic potential of the tourism sector, and set up the Office for Dali Prefecture's Tourism in 1992 with the purpose of facilitating tourism growth and regulating hygiene and other issues pertaining to tourism. The

[14] The Greater Mekong Subregion consists of six countries – China, Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand, and Cambodia. In 1992, these countries initiated the Greater Mekong Subregion Framework with the aim of fostering economic cooperation among countries (Turner, 2013). The priority areas include: transport, energy, telecommunications, environment, human resource development, tourism, trade, private sector investment, and agriculture (Asian Development Bank, 2011). For railway construction, China will pay for the sections built within China's boundaries; two new lines are under way – one to the Vietnam border and the other to the Burma border; and a line to Laos is under consideration (Asian Development Bank, 2010).

[15] The street is named because of the large number of foreign tourists.

prefectural government invested in infrastructure, with the assistance of the provincial government (Wen & Tisdell, 2001).[16] In 1995, Dali airport opened. In 1998, the railway from Guangdong province to Dali was built, along with an expressway from Chuxiong (between Kunming and Dali) to Dali and a standard highway from Dali to Lijiang, another tourist center in northwest Yunnan. A road network around Erhai Lake was completed in 1999. These projects improved the accessibility of Dali Prefecture and its connectivity with surrounding places (Doorne, Ateljevic, & Bai, 2003), facilitating tourist travel to and from this prefecture.

Dali Prefectural Government intends to strengthen the competiveness of Dali's tourism sector and maintain tourism as Dali's mainstay sector (Xu, Wu, & Wall, 2012). In September 26, 2002, the Dali Travel Group was established as a division of the prefectural government to work specifically on tourism promotion, marketing, and management. In 2003, Dali Municipal Government, under the guidance of the prefectural government, invited the Xiong Daxun Organization, a tourism planning institute in China, to make a plan for Dali City's tourism sector. The slogan "the hometown of Wind, Flower, Snow and Moon"[17] was proposed, and later used to shape current tourism sector promotions for Dali Prefecture (The Xiong Daxun Organization, 2010, para. 1). The prefectural government has since continued to carry out other projects, whose ultimate goal is to diversify the variety of tourism from sightseeing tourism to leisure, health and business tourisms (Xu, 2008).[18] The Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils Film City (also known as Heavenly Dragons Film Studio), an artificial Chinese ancient city near Dali Old Town, was built to accommodate the shooting of the television series Demi-Gods and Semi-Devils as well as to attract tourists (Yunnan Provincial Government, 2003). Dali golf club was constructed to satisfy tourists' rising demands for quality golf activities (Yunnan Provincial Government, 2004). Meanwhile, the prefectural government tries to cooperate with neighbouring cities and regions; it signed a cooperation agreement with Lijiang Municipal Government, which guarantees cooperation on the Dali-Lijiang tour route (Yang, 2011, March 28).

When summarizing tourism data in figures, I noticed that the year 2003 was the start of the rapid development of tourism in Dali Prefecture. The number of domestic tourists almost tripled from 2003 to 2011 (Figure 3.1), while the total tourism revenue in 2011 was more than four times of that in 2003 (Figure 3.2). Among domestic tourists, over 25 percent of them travel in groups (Figure 3.3), while the other 75 percent travel on their own (P84, 11/8/2104). Tourist

[16] From 1991 to 1995, the provincial government allocated USD22 million to infrastructure construction for Dali Prefecture's tourism sector (Wen & Tisdell, 2001).
[17] These are four natural scenery in Dali City.
[18] Bai culture is incorporated in any type of tourism, constituting a critical attraction to tourists; therefore, these types of tourism together can be considered as different forms of cultural tourism.

groups pay tour operators so that they will be assigned tour guides who work for tour operators. Tourist groups' tour routes in Dali Prefecture are determined by tour operators and approved by the prefectural government (*ibid.*). At the end of 2010, there were 102 star-rated hotels[19] and 33 tour operators in Dali Prefecture (Dali Travel Official Website, 2011a). In 2011, there were 20 tourist attractions rated AA or above. According to the data published on the Dali Travel Official Website (2011a), during the 2006-2010 period, Dali Prefecture received 50 million domestic tourists and 1.5 million foreign tourists; the tourism sector generated USD4 billion in foreign exchange and RMB36.3 billion (USD5.3 billion) in total revenue. In the 12th Five-Year Plan, the prefectural government set several ambitious goals – to have at least 10 high-end hotels (five-star) and 25 A-rated tourist attractions by the year 2015 (Dali Travel Official Website, 2011a). Currently, nine high-end hotels owned by investors are under construction, including a Hilton Hotel, a Banyan Tree Resort and a Shangri-La Hotel (Dali Travel Official Website, 2011b). All these facts explaining tourist arrivals, tourism revenues, tourism products, and infrastructure and tourism facilities manifest that Dali Prefecture is undergoing rapid tourism growth.

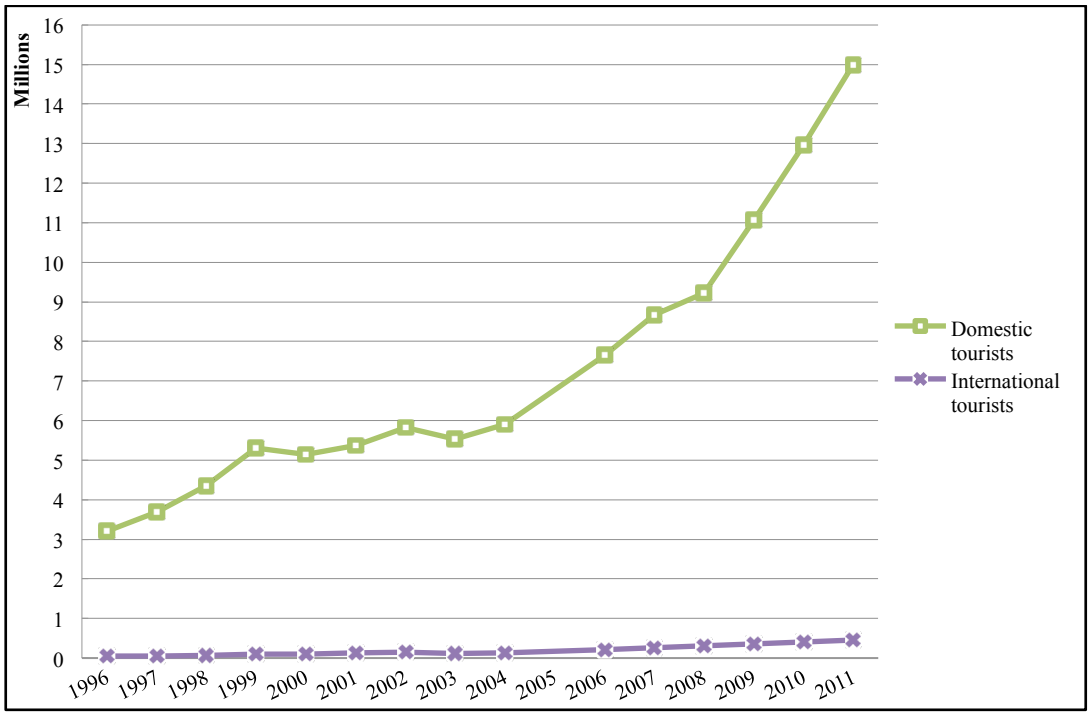

Figure 3.1 Numbers of Tourist Arrivals in Dali Prefecture During 1996 to 2011
(Source: adapted from Yearbooks of Dali Prefecture 1997-2012)

[19] In 1990, CNTA established a formal hotel star rating system. Ratings of one to five stars are given according to the quality of physical conditions and services of government-endorsed hotels that receive foreign tourists. The rating standards include six categories: required facilities and range of services, quality of facilities and equipment, maintenance, cleanliness, quality of service, and guest satisfaction (Z. Liu & J. Liu, 1993).

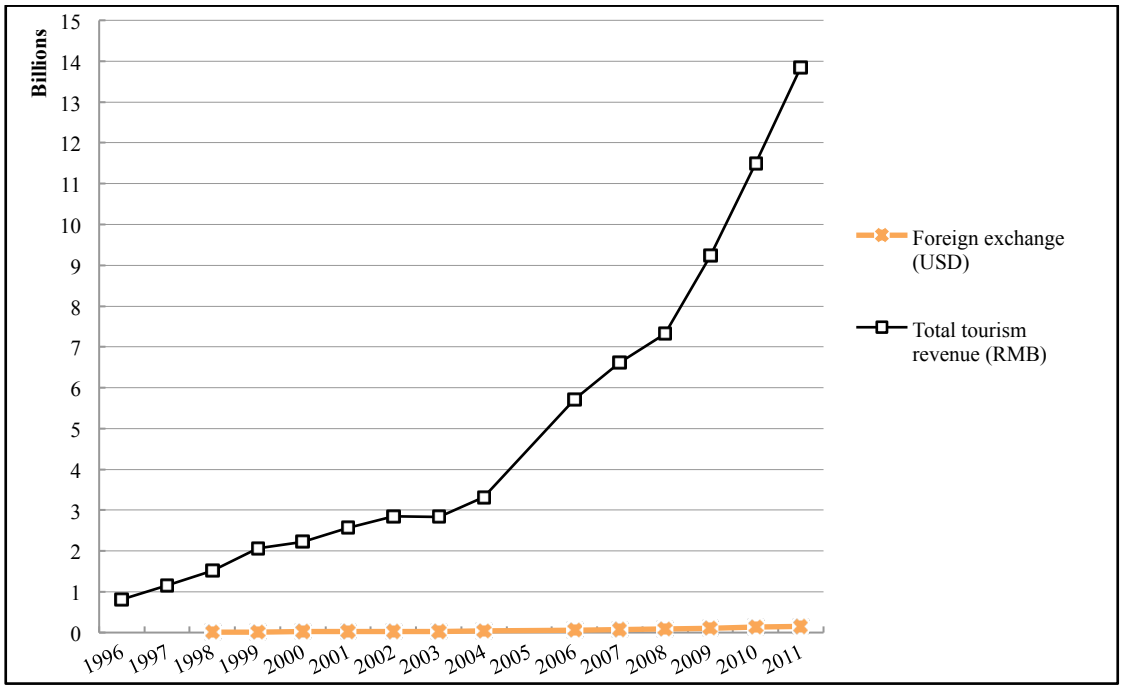

Figure 3.2 Dali Prefecture's Tourism Revenues During 1996 to 2011
(Source: adapted from Yearbooks of Dali Prefecture 1997-2012)

Figure 3.3 A Tourist Group with a Tour Guide
(Source: Author, 2014)

3.3.1 Contemporary tourism management

In July 2012, the prefecture tourism bureau was restructured into ten divisions and renamed the Dali Prefecture Tourism Management Committee (P86, 12/8/2014[20]). These ten divisions are: 1) the *General Office*, in charge of administration and documentation; 2) the *Tourism Planning*

[20] I arrange my interviewees in chronological order, and code them with a combination of a letter 'P' (first letter of 'participant') and a number.

Division, working specifically on Dali Prefecture's tourism plans; 3) the *Policies, Laws, and Regulations Division*, providing legal support for tourism management; 4) the *Industry Promotion Division*, responsible for large tourism projects; 5) the *Industry Management Division*, supervising tourism-related business such as tour operators and hotels; 6) the *Innovation Division*, developing new tourism products; 7) the *Information and Communication Division*, cooperating with local and non-local media to promote the prefecture and attract tourists; 8) the *Relations Division*, maintaining relations with neighbouring places; 9) the *Statistics Division*, collecting tourism data periodically and providing this data to other divisions; and 10) the *Education Division*, providing tourism-related training and education. In January 2014, the city tourism bureau was itself renamed Dali City Tourism Management Committee and restructured into six divisions: the General Office, the Tourism Planning Division, the Industry Management Division, the Policies, Laws, and Regulations Division, the Marketing Division, and the Information and Statistics Division (P86, 12/8/2014). The director of the city committee works as a deputy director of the prefecture committee, facilitating decision flows between the two levels (*ibid.*).

3.3.2 Resources-dependent tourism growth

The prefectural and municipal governments have utilized four types of local resources to develop Dali's tourism (five interviews, 25/5/2014–12/8/2014). Firstly, the prefecture's natural landscapes have been used for tourism purposes. In and around Erhai Lake, 'the Mother Lake' (*muqinhu*) for local people, local governments[21] have created numerous tourist attractions and activities organized in collaboration with private companies (P4, 5/5/2014; P86, 12/8/2014). On Cangshan Mountain, the local government installed a third cableway in 2011 at a cost of USD60 million; the two initial cableways, also for tourism purposes, were completed in 2000 (Chen, 2011; P37, 9/6/2014). Such cableways transport tourists to the upper parts of the mountain for various activities, including trekking, climbing, and sightseeing (P70, 28/7/2014).

[21] By "Local governments", I mean governments at the prefectural and municipal levels. During fieldwork, more than 90 percent of my interviewees used the Chinese term "*zhengfu*" to refer to local governments; this does not distinguish which particular level of government they mean. I use "local governments" in this thesis occasionally when interviewees used this term.

Figure 3.4 The Three Pagodas in front of Cangshan Mountain
(Source: adapted from Baikaishui, 2013: online)

Historic sites in Dali Prefecture have also been marketed for tourist consumption (six interviews with tourism officials, 10/5/2014–12/8/2014). For instance, Dali Old Town, which was built in the Ming Dynasty, has become the best-known tourist attraction in Dali Prefecture (Figure 3.5) (P13, 10/5/2014; P20, 18/5/2014). Dali Travel Group requests all local tour operators to include Dali Old Town in their Dali One-Day Tours designed for domestic group tourists (P36, 9/6/2014). This strategy means that through increased exposure, domestic tourists now consider the Old Town a 'must-go' attraction in Dali Prefecture (*ibid.*). In 2004, the Dali Municipal Government established a bureau that specifically works on the preservation and management of the Old Town, where many residential buildings, especially along the main roads (e.g. Renmin Road, Fuxing Road, and Foreigner Street), have been converted into souvenir shops, restaurants, bars, cafes, and guesthouses (participant observation, 9/5/2014–10/8/2014).

Figure 3.5 Mass Cultural Tourism on Fuxing Road, Dali Old Town
(Source: Author, 2014)

Another tourism resource is religious sites (P12, 9/5/2014). Dali Prefecture was called *Foguo* (literally 'the nation of Buddhism') in the Tang Dynasty because of the many Buddhist sites and Buddhists in the region (P27, 25/5/2014). Nowadays, local governments are preserving and advertising a number of Buddhist sites to attract domestic tourists, foreign Buddhist visitors from East and Southeast Asia, and non-Buddhist overseas travellers interested in these sites (*ibid.*). The prefectural and municipal governments have worked together to turn Three Pagodas, a national religious heritage site, into a Buddhist park by preserving the pagodas and rebuilding Chongsheng Temple (Figure 3.4) (P45, 16/6/2014). This new Chongsheng Temple–Three Pagodas Park became a AAAA tourist attraction in 2011 and attracts over 1 million tourists – especially Buddhists – each year (*ibid.*).

Bai culture is the most widely used resource for tourism growth. As the only Bai autonomous prefecture in China, the prefectural government has long recognized the potential of Bai culture for expanding Dali's tourism (P27, 25/5/2014); for example, they encourage salespeople in Dali Old Town to wear *Jinhua Fu*[22] in order to make the town appear to be a Bai enclave (P84, 11/8/2014). One shop owner disclosed that this idea, proposed by the prefectural government in 2008, is being enforced by the municipal government (P14, 10/5/2014). Other aspects of Bai culture such as architecture, handicrafts, and cuisine have been utilized for tourism purposes. I will explain how these are staged and/or commoditized in Chapter 6.

[22] *Jinhua Fu* (Golden Flower Attire) is a clothing style worn nowadays by young Bai women as everyday clothes. See more details in Section 6.1.

3.3.3 Influences of tourism growth

It has been argued that as a tool to alleviate poverty, tourism generates revenues[23] that can support social welfare and infrastructure construction (Andreu, Claver, & Quer, 2010). Most obviously, the tourism sector creates employment opportunities – hypothetically at least for local residents, such as positions in tour operators, entertainment facilities, hotels and restaurants. When conducting research in Dali, Lijiang and other popular destinations in Yunnan, Chow (2005) noted that a large number of ethnic minority people are employed as tour guides, stage performers, transport workers, restaurant waiters and cooks, or in gift shops specializing in cultural artefacts and souvenirs. Nyaupane, Morais and Dowler (2006) found that tourism improves people's quality of life in Northwest Yunnan (comprising Dali, Lijaing, Nujiang and Diqing). They argued that the government's investments in the tourism sector, like transportation and hygiene, not only facilitates tourism development, but also benefits local residents. Improved transportation can make work commutes easier, while increased income can improve access to food and better living standards (*ibid.*).

Bryson (2013) believes that government's efforts to preserve historical sites and reconstruct historical buildings for tourism purposes concurrently preserve local culture and heritage. For example, during 2008 and 2009, Eryuan County Government (a county of Dali Prefecture) partly funded the reconstruction of a Bai temple (private donations supported most of it), which realized twin goals – celebrating Bai ethnic culture and turning the site into a tourist attraction (*ibid.*). Another case could be the restrictions on traffic in Dali Old Town, which was imposed by Dali Municipal Government to reduce traffic jam as well as to protect road surface (Li, 2007). The growth of tourism in turn motivates the provincial government to invest substantial funds in the reconstruction of several historic buildings in Dali Prefecture, such as the Three Pagodas, and the north and south gates of Dali Old Town (Nyaupane *et al.,* 2006). Though some studies examine cultural changes brought about by tourism growth as threats to local identity and culture (as discussed in Section 2.1), Bai (2007) claims that it is not the case in Dali Prefecture. Rather, he argues that Bai people assimilate exotic cultures while retaining their own culture and that tourism growth strengthens Bai ethnic identity. My thesis examines this claim in more depth, based on the concepts of tourism-caused acculturation (see Section 2.1.3).

Since opening to foreign tourists, Dali Prefecture has become a location where Chinese and western cultures meet and coexist. Foreigners coming to the region can be classified as three main types: European, North American and Australian backpackers 'on the Lonely Planet trail';

[23] According to the Dali Prefectural Government (1997-2012), the total tourism revenue rose from RMB0.8 million (USD96.4 thousand) in 1996 to RMB13.8 million (USD2.12 million) in 2011.

expatriates who live elsewhere in Asia and come to vacation in Dali Prefecture; and those who come and stay for several years (Notar, 2006b). Reviewing tourism data from 1991 to 2006, I noticed that in average twenty percent of foreign tourists were from native English-speaking countries, including US, Canada, UK, Australia and New Zealand (see Table 3.1), which means that these tourists are probably English speakers. This finding supports Dai and Bao's (1996) argument that Bai people in Dali Prefecture, especially in Dali Old Town, often encounter English speakers and are motivated to learn English. Notar (2006a) also argue that Bai women selling souvenirs to tourists learn key phrases in English so that they can bargain more effectively with foreign tourists.

Table 3.1 Foreign Tourist Arrivals in Dali Prefecture (Unit: Person)

Country	**1991**	**1993**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**	**2005**	**2006**
Total	-	-	40612	45319	57747	63943	101023	173922	20929
Foreigners	13536	21834	31856	39145	43786	47797	63860	107913	13124
Japan	2432	2349	4250	5551	8574	10004	14432	9993	25975
The Philippines	3	17	101	74	88	67	504	2434	7092
Singapore	321	6388	6056	4512	6955	5052	16472	6525	5512
Thailand	286	565	3058	5197	2025	2887	3713	3549	3912
Indonesia	31	30	24	33	31	149	1363	2341	2794
US	1752	1695	2459	2927	3635	4849	5035	9657	14410
Canada	428	420	921	982	855	1014	663	2432	3996
UK	1578	1459	1756	2000	2512	3078	1818	2227	2611
France	1095	1339	1706	1894	2240	2621	4391	5523	7227
Germany	1027	1119	1724	1879	1519	1694	1783	4042	5773
Italy	601	474	551	1143	546	484	698	1874	2463
Russia	11	13	32	20	61	118	124	848	1306
Australia	414	493	746	905	1036	1331	1356	2425	5423
New Zealand	200	191	212	403	358	552	303	1334	1197
Others	3357	5684	8260	10415	13351	13897	11205	55204	43224
Chinese	-	-	265	69	985	533	416	-	-
Hong Kong, Macau,Taiwan	-	-	8491	6105	12976	15613	38032	-	-
Native speaker [a]	4372	4258	6094	7217	8396	10824	9175	18075	27637
% [b]	32%	20%	19%	18%	19%	23%	14%	17%	21%

Note:
a – the number of foreign tourists who are from native English-speaking countries;
b – the percentage of foreign tourists who come from native English-speaking countries.
(Source: adapted from Statistical Yearbooks of Dali Prefecture 1997, 1999, 2000, and 2007)

Along with these positive impacts of tourism, also come negative impacts that cannot be ignored. Ma (2010) has pointed out that inappropriate tourism planning in Dali Prefecture has resulted in increasing pollution, ecological damage, and over-exploitation of tourism resources. Oil discharged from cruise ships to Erhai Lake pollutes water, while tourism-linked construction projects on the lakeside destroys wetlands. The prefectural government has recognized these

issues and in 2004 implemented the Revised Regulation for the Management of Erhai Lake to inhibit construction in protected areas (*ibid.*). Apart from damage to the environment, the tourism sector has also triggered some social controversy in Dali Prefecture. Non-local people have decided to migrate to the region, becoming neighbours of local residents by buying local people's houses, which in turn breaks up long-term neighbourhood relationships (Xu, Wu, & Wall, 2012). One café owner on Foreigner Street said, "Tourism business expanded very fast in the old town area...The rural landscape surrounding the old town is gone, displaced by prosperous entertainment space for tourists" (Xu *et al*., 2012, p. 181). This tourism expansion has also increased housing prices and made it difficult for local residents to purchase homes (Wu & Xu, 2010). Zhao (2013) reports that in 1999, the average housing price was RMB1,200 (USD145) per square meter, which rose to RMB1,700 (USD212) in 2005. In 2013, some quality apartments in urban areas of Dali City were sold at RMB10,000 (USD1,587) per square meter (*ibid.*).

The growth of tourism in urban areas in the prefecture can also marginalize ethnic minorities. Chow (2005) observes that, in Dali, Lijiang and other urban destinations in Yunnan, Han Chinese dominate the major tourism businesses, leaving subordinate jobs to ethnic minority people. In the tide of tourism growth in these cities, residents in the bottom tier of society are excluded from decision-making processes. They benefit little from tourism growth and their rights are sometimes denied. For instance, a farmer in Zhonghe village near Dali Old Town said their lands had been expropriated by the government with insufficient compensation, "without land, I have no idea how to earn my living…new real estate projects will be set up here, but none of them are built for the locals…what can we do?" (Xu *et al*., 2012, p. 188).

In sum, tourism, influenced by national, provincial, prefectural or even more local levels of government policies, has diverse impacts on Dali Prefecture. Both the central and provincial governments regard tourism as a mainstay sector, and have implemented a series of policies, while providing funds to promote tourism province-wide. These efforts have encouraged and supported Dali Prefectural Government to develop tourism in Dali Prefecture, the rapid expansion of which has brought both positive and negative influences to this region. In my thesis research, I explore how local Bai people perceive tourism impacts and deal with prefectural and municipal governments regarding tourism affairs (Chapter 5). I also analyze specifically the impacts of tourism growth on Bai culture (Chapter 6) and livelihoods (Chapter 7).

3.4 Minority People and Livelihoods in Yunnan

Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the state set out to

identify and classify minority groups, a project called minority classification (*minzu shibie*) (Huang, 1995). From 1949 to 1954, four hundred minority names were registered, 260 of which were in Yunnan Province (Huang, 1995; Mackerras, 2003; Tapp, 2002). This huge number alerted state officials that self-categorization was not going to work if they wanted to end up with a 'manageable' number. Officials then turned to ethnologists and linguists for help (Mullaney, 2010, Tapp, 2002). The Yunnan investigation team sent by the state launched a large-scale survey with the assistance of local institutions such as Yunnan University, Yunnan Minzu College, and Kunhua Hospital so as to identify the province's minority groups. When it ended in 1979, the minority classification project had lasted for thirty years and officially recognized 55 ethnic minority groups, one of which was the Bai (Olson, 1998).

Within Yunnan Province, there are 25 officially recognized ethnic minorities, whose livelihoods tend to be rural, but vary widely from hunting and gathering, fishing, nomadic grazing, shifting cultivation to intensive agriculture (Byrne, 1990). Generally, people inhabiting higher elevations make a living by pastoral grazing. Those who live at middle elevations often rely on shifting cultivation and terraced agriculture, while inhabitants in lower areas engage in more intensive agriculture (Xu *et al*. 2005).

Minority people's livelihoods in Yunnan Province are often influenced by government decisions. For example, the provincial government together with the prefectural and township governments have implemented anti-poverty projects in Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture (southern Yunnan), the home to 13 ethnic groups, which have changed local minority people's livelihoods (Xu *et al.,* 2005). More specifically, Dai, Han and Hui, who reside in the basins and valleys, used to cultivate paddy rice and make handicrafts, while Hani, Lahu, Jinuo and Bulang, who inhabit the upland areas, traditionally plant upland rice and tea (Wu, H. Liu, & L. Liu, 2001). In the 1950s, rubber was first introduced to Xishuangbanna through state rubber farms (Sturgeon, 2011), partly as a tool to replace local people's swidden practices, which were considered destructive, backward and unproductive by officials (Xu, 2006). Rubber cultivation expanded rapidly, with the total rubber plantation area rising from 6,130 ha in 1963 to 136,782 in 1998 (Wu *et al.*, 2001). Wu *et al.* (2001) point out that rubber plantation generates around eight times the production value per ha of upland rice agriculture, but also brings environmental problems, like deforestation and biodiversity loss. Likewise, ethnic livelihoods in Hekou County and Mengzi County of Honghe Prefecture have also been changed by state incentives – local farmers, either entirely or partly, switch from subsistence agriculture to producing state-sponsored cash crops (Champalle, 2012). The effects of cash cropping vary among farmers with different asset portfolios. Cash cropping benefits those who have strong initial asset portfolios by

increasing their financial capital and sustaining their livelihoods, but exacerbates risks for those who lack different capitals initially and are already vulnerable to external shocks (*ibid.*). These cases have motivated me to explore whether and how tourism decisions made by Dali officials influence Bai livelihoods. In Chapter 7, I explore how government decisions have encouraged Bai people to be engaged in tourism-related livelihoods, or driven Bai people to switch their livelihoods in the tourism sector. I also analyze how Bai people involving in different tourism-related livelihoods respond to government decisions regarding tourism.

3.4.1 Bai livelihoods in Dali Prefecture

An episode of a TV series made by China Central Television (CCTV) (Ren, 2011) provides a simplistic sketch of Bai livelihoods in Dali Prefecture – Bai people are skilled at wood carving, producing silver products, and making tie-dye fabrics. Moreover, they have been doing agriculture on the plains between Cangshan Mountain and Erhai Lake since the New Stone Age. Moving beyond CCTV renditions, agriculture is at the core of the traditional Bai economy. Bai farmers often produce rice and wheat as staple crops at lower elevations, while planting maize and buckwheat at higher altitudes. They also plant tea, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, peanuts and citrus as cash crops (Olson, 1998). In Jianchuan County, Dali, many Bai people are skilled carpenters. Wood handicrafts from Jianchuan are important for the domestic market and are also exported (Hu, 2010). White (2010) observes that in Longquan Village, Lijiang, many houses have carved wood doors made by Bai carpenters from Jianchuan County. Bin and Yan (2011) notice that Bai carpenters can use verbal stories and mnemonic rhymes to sum up building techniques and measurement device in building Bai traditional wood-frame houses.

Like other ethnic minority groups in Yunnan, Bai livelihoods are also influenced by external factors. Huber, Ineichen, Yang, and Weckerle (2010) notice that in Shaxi valley, Dali, Bai people living in the fertile valley floor cultivate rice, keep livestock, and pursue off-farm work, while those who live in more remote mountainous areas rely on collecting non-wood forest products, especially wild mushrooms. Zhang *et al*. (2013) recognize that livelihood choices of Bai fishing communities in Erbin Village, Dali, are related to environmental changes of Erhai Lake. Fishers solely relied on fishing in the 1950s when Erhai Lake produced abundant fish, but started to diversify their livelihoods when the ecosystem of Erhai Lake was increasingly polluted since the 1970s. In the 1990s, the ban on motorboat fishing and the off-season for fishing policy[24] further drove the diversification of fishers' livelihoods. Nowadays, some fishers work as lake cleaners or construction workers in urban areas (Zhang *et al*., 2013).

[24] The policy stipulates that fishing during February and August is illegal (see more details in Chapter 5).

Government decisions often have profound impacts on Bai livelihoods. In the 1950s, more than 90 percent of Bai people were involved in agricultural production, and were exploited by Bai landlords before the land reforms (Olson, 1998; Zhongyang, 1974). The land reform in the mid-1950s gave Bai farmers access to land, while depriving former Bai landlords of land and wealth (Olson, 1998). More recently, W. Yang's (2009) research in Gaoxing village, Dali, reveals that local government policies have changed Bai farmers' planting choices. Bai farmers there used to plant rice, maize, broad beans and wheat. In 1994, the local government encouraged them to plant tobacco as a cash crop, which was said to be more profitable than other products. Since then, more than 90 percent of villagers have turned to tobacco. Selling tobacco has become the primary source of income for villagers.

In Dali Prefecture, women tend to dominate local marketplaces as traders (Notar, 2006a). When staying in Dali, the British researcher, Fitzgerald (1941) found that Bai women, either married or non-married, would carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down to sell it and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. Hsu (1948) also observed that there were always more Bai women than men participating in marketplace trade. They carried loads on their backs, such as baskets full of vegetables, walnuts, sweet potatoes, or large bundles of bamboo poles, to sell on market day or at a temple fair. Nowadays, the dominant role of Bai women in marketplaces has expanded to the tourism sector. Notar (2006a) noted that village women started selling cultural relics, like embroidery and old books, to foreign tourists in 1986, two years after Dali's official opening. Swain (2011) also found that in Dali, Bai women street peddlers are common. They sell tie-dye fabrics and 'genuine' artefacts to tourists to satisfy tourists' desires for authenticity. When there is a shortage of supply of local produced souvenirs, Bai market women will sell batiks made by Miao women in Guizhou that depict Bai women and Dali scenes. Market women have also learned counterfeiting – they purchase and sell copies of old coins to foreigner tourists who like antiques (*ibid.*). Bai women's dominant role in marketplaces has inspired me to explore how gender, one determinant of livelihoods (see Section 2.2.3), has influenced Bai people's livelihood choices in tourism.

3.4.2 Tourism growth and Bai livelihoods

Research to date shows that with tourism growth, Bai people in Dali Prefecture are more and more engaged in the tourism sector. They work as tour guides, stage performers, or work in the transportation, catering, and accommodation sectors (Chow, 2005). Doorne, Ateljevic and Bai (2003) observe there are local family owned or operated shops on the main streets of Dali Old Town selling marble products (jars, framed pictures and ornaments) to domestic tourists. Notar

(2008) finds that He Liyi, who transformed his occupation from farmer, translator and author to English teacher, now runs a café on Foreigner Street. Likewise, Jo's story, in Ateljevic and Doorne's (2005) research, shows how Bai people have adapted the traditional practice of cormorant fishing into a tourism business. Jo used to be a shoe repairer on Foreigner Street and learnt fishing from his father, a cormorant fisherman. In the late 1990s, he identified a need for tourists to see Bai culture and traditional ways of living, so he started to provide tours during which tourists could enjoy cormorant fishing and visit Jo's houseboat. In sum, Bai livelihoods in Dali Prefecture, influenced by ecological conditions and government policies, have varied and diversified significantly over time with varying socioeconomic contexts, and now are undergoing more and more intense impacts of the booming tourism sector. In my thesis research, I continue, based on these research findings, to explore what tourism-related livelihoods Bai people are involved in, what strategies they have adopted to sustain their livelihoods, and what factors have influenced their livelihood choices in the tourism sector.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I have contextualized tourism growth at the national, provincial, and prefectural levels. Under the guidance of the national and provincial governments, Dali Prefecture started to develop its tourism resources in 1984, and rapid growth since then has brought both positive and negative influences. I have examined minority livelihoods in Yunnan Province, explaining how government decisions at the provincial and prefectural levels play a significant role in shaping and transforming Bai livelihoods in Dali Prefecture. I will continue to examine the links between tourism growth and local Bai livelihoods in Chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter 4 Methodology

I spent three and a half months during the summer of 2014 (beginning of May to mid-August), undertaking fieldwork on tourism growth and its impacts on local Bai people in Dali City, the administrative center of Dali Prefecture. This chapter begins with an introduction of the field sites in Section 4.1, and continues with an examination of sampling and recruitment strategies, and the methods I used to collect data, including participant observation, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, oral histories and the Photovoice technique (Section 4.2). In the field, I used qualitative methods to investigate local Bai people's experiences of, and attitudes towards, tourism growth, and to explore the underlying social structures of their livelihood activities (Winchester, 2005). After describing how each method was applied in the field, I detail how I undertook data analysis in Section 4.3. I then analyze the challenges of undertaking research in China from two aspects – recruiting research participants, and working with interpreters (Section 4.4), and relate these challenges to my positionality in Section 4.5. In this section, I also reflect on issues related to power relations and ethical considerations from an insider/outsider researcher's perspective.

4.1 Field Sites

During my fieldwork in Dali City, most interviews and observations were completed in five sites: (1) Dali Old Town, (2) Dali New Town, (3) Xizhou Township, (4) Shuanglang Township and (5) Longkan Village (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Map of Field Sites
(Source: adapted from Google Map 2014)

I approached a wide range of tourists of different origins, gender, and ages in Dali Old Town, which is a must-go attraction for almost all tourists visiting Dali Prefecture. I interviewed officials mainly in Dali New Town, where the majority of officials at the city and prefectural levels work and reside. The New Town also acted as my 'home base' from which I made day trips to other field sites by bus or taxi. Although the field sites were geographically dispersed along Erhai Lake, it was easy to commute between any two sites thanks to the efficient transportation system in Dali City. The third field site, Xizhou Township, is famous for its historic Bai houses, many of which have been recognized on official lists of prefectural, provincial or national heritage sites (P39, 14/6/2014). The township has attracted a rising number of domestic and foreign tourists in recent years (*ibid.*). The interviews and observations that I completed in this township focused on the relationship between heritage preservation and tourism growth, and the effects of cultural heritage commoditization on local Bai people. Another field site, Shuanglang Township, is a newly developed tourist attraction in Dali City. Its

booming tourism growth, largely driven by middle-class migrants who build fancy houses and run quality guesthouses in them, has dramatically changed local people's lives and livelihoods. I observed the changes in the built environment in Shuanglang Township and asked for local Bai people's opinions on the township's rapid development. The fifth field site, Longkan Village, is similar to Shanglang Township in regards to the trajectory of tourism growth. Non-locals' building and running guesthouses in the village, along with elite villagers' efforts in promoting the village, attract tourists and expedite tourism growth in the village. I also conducted interviews and observations within Dali City, in addition to these five main sites, to gain a broader understanding of the impacts of tourism growth at the city and prefectural levels on local Bai people. Finally, I also visited other popular tourist attractions in Dali Prefecture, where I approached tourists and souvenir traders to seek their opinions regarding the growth of tourism in the prefecture.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methods

I drew upon qualitative research methods to collect data, including participant observation on local Bai people's interactions with tourists and their livelihood activities in tourism, unstructured interviews with everyday Bai people, semi-structured interviews with local officials, oral history with Bai people who have been involved in the tourism sector for several years and have changed their tourism livelihoods overtime, as well as a Photovoice project with multiple generations of four local Bai families.[25] Before detailing each method I used, including the rationale of using each method, I first introduce my sampling and recruitment strategies in the field sites.

4.2.1 Sampling and recruitment strategies

I used nonprobability methods to obtain qualitative information, due to the cost and timeline of my research and the low importance of statistical reliability for my research aim (Lo, 2009). I turned to using purposive sampling, since I had no access to geographic information about the target population (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006). Purposive sampling helped me select participants based on specific purposes associated with answering a research question (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). During my fieldwork, for example, I selected a certain number of Bai people who were involved in the tourism sector but in different ways (e.g. tour guides, restaurant/guesthouse/shop owners, salespeople and street vendors), based on my assumption

[25] Among these four families, I gained access to two generations of one family and three generations of the other three families.

that their diverse tourism livelihoods might provide information from various angles, and that they might have a better understanding of tourism growth in Dali Prefecture than those not involved in this sector. I also interviewed officials who worked directly or closely in tourism (see Section 4.2.4) regarding tourism planning and management. I used convenience sampling to select domestic group tourists[26] for unstructured interviews (see Section 4.2.3), which turned out to work well thanks to the homogeneity of these tourists' experiences (Lo, 2009). In addition, I used snowball sampling as an auxiliary tool to access more participants (Monk & Bedford, 2005; Noy, 2008). After I interviewed someone who provided interesting information for my research or who showed his or her willingness to make further contributions to my research, I often asked whether he or she knew of anybody who could provide useful information on a certain topic. This sampling method helped me to locate participants with low search costs (Lo, 2009), and it helped me to establish trust with new participants referred by someone else. For instance, I was able to find folk artists who knew a lot about Bai culture and history in a village, when referred to them by other villagers.[27]

There is no consensus on the sample size required for qualitative research: Bertaux (1981) suggests that fifteen is the smallest acceptable sample size, while Bernard (2000) observes that a minimum size of thirty to sixty is the most commonly used. Since my research is to explore people's views of tourism growth and identify the impacts of tourism growth on local Bai people, I did not strive for a large sample size (Lo, 2009); instead, I was more concerned about the depth and richness of my data. During fieldwork, I completed unstructured interviews with 77 locals and non-locals, semi-structured interviews with 10 local officials, and a Photovoice project with 11 participants.

Most of time, I contacted participants directly by visiting them in person in their shops, guesthouses, or restaurants. Sometimes I phoned potential participants who had been snowball sampled to speed up the process of trying to persuade them to participate, or make appointments (Adriansen & Madsen, 2009; Jenkins, 1996). My prior connection to the prefecture and people facilitated this process (see Section 4.4). At times, I turned to my friends or family for help when I foresaw the difficulty of establishing trust and gaining consent from certain people, such as

[26] 'Group tourists' in this thesis refers to the tourists who join tourist activities organized by tour operators and follow a tour guide throughout their tour. This tour usually costs one day, thus is called "One-Day Tour". 'Individual tourists' refers to the tourists who arrange their activities and travel around on their own.

[27] When I did the Photovoice project (see Section 4.2.6), I asked participants who had participated in unstructured interviews but refused to participate in the Photovoice project whether they knew someone else who would possibly participate. One participant of unstructured interviews could not take part in the Photovoice project, which required at least two generations from each family to participate, because her children were out of town and her parents had passed away. She suggested another family that fulfilled the criteria of the project and put me in contact with that family. The family agreed to participate and helped me complete the project.

local elites who seldom spent time with strangers. My friends or family referred me to these potential participants and increased the possibility of my interviewing them (see more details in Section 4.4 and Section 4.5). In the sections below (Sections 4.2.2–4.2.6), I explain why and how I used each method in my fieldwork.

4.2.2 Participant observation

I undertook participant observation to learn about the social and cultural life of local people, institutions and other social settings in my field sites (Hoggart, Lees, & Davies, 2001). For instance, I observed the distribution of tourist shops on Fuxing Road, the north-south road in Dali Old Town, and counted the number of tourist shops on Foreigner Street, to understand how tourism was spatially developed in the location. I also repeatedly counted the number of tour groups visiting Foreigner Street, which was a compulsory spot for group tourists, during the peak visiting times between 1pm and 4pm for five days to estimate how many group tourists visit Dali Old Town every day. In my field sites, I often sat close to street vendors who sold touristic products for half an hour at a time to observe and take notes on their daily interactions with tourists. I also participated in a Dali One-Day Tour organized for domestic group tourists, in order to investigate which tourist attractions were selected and in which order they were arranged to satisfy tourists who only spent one or two days in Dali Prefecture as a whole. During this One-Day Tour, I was able to observe how tour guides introduce Dali Prefecture and ethnic minority Bai to tourists and to what extent their introductions accord with local Bai people's views. I could also observe what domestic group tourists were interested in and how they behaved in scenic spots when I visited each attraction with them. Through participant observation, I was able to come up with new useful questions regarding my field sites, which were later added to my interview guides. For example, I observed that all buildings are in same or similar height in the Old Town; later when I interviewed officials who managed the Old Town, I could ask them details regarding this. To supplement my observation notes, I took photos to record interesting findings whenever I walked around my field sites, to understand the context, and recall my memories of settings and happenings (Watson & Till, 2010).

4.2.3 Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews help researchers gain an in-depth understanding of people and interactions in a specific place on a particular topic (McNeill & Chapman, 2005). I used this method to gain in-depth information and to build a strong relationship with interviewees for future research (Mullings, 1999). I interviewed 77 people of different generations, professions,

gender, and ethnic groups (Table 4.1). The lengths of interviews ranged from 10 minutes to one and a half hours. A number of topics that addressed my research questions were discussed, including changes in Bai lives and livelihoods, local people's observations of and attitudes towards tourism growth in Dali Prefecture, the roles of government and everyday Bai people in tourism planning, and Bai culture commoditization in the tourism sector. Diverse interviewees helped me to understand the impacts of tourism on Bai people from many points of view.

At the beginning of each interview, after introducing research project and myself, I used small-talk to reduce any power differences (Li, 2000), and to establish a certain degree of comfort and trust between the interviewees and myself (Corbin and Morse, 2003). After gaining their informed consent, I raised questions according to an interview guide that comprised a series of themes. The questions I asked varied from one interviewee to another, depending on their personal experiences and knowledge. I approached people of three generations: those aged 18 to 39, 40 to 59, and 60 or older, to explore whether interviewees' views of Dali's tourism growth varied among generations. I took field notes during interviews, after obtained the interviewee's approval. In certain circumstances, such as when interviewees told Bai tales, I used audio recordings as well (with permission) to ensure no important details were missed.

Table 4.1 Participants of Unstructured Interviews

Age	Participants	Locals in Tourism	Locals not in tourism	Non-locals in tourism	Tourists	Subtotal
18 – 39	Female	6	1	5	3	15
	Male	9	4	2	5	20
	Subtotal (Bai)	15 (15)	5 (5)	7(1)	8	35 (21)
40 – 59	Female	13	2			15
	Male	5	5	1	1	12
	Subtotal (Bai)	18 (16)	7 (7)	1	1	27 (23)
≥ 60	Female	4	4			8
	Male	4	3			7
	Subtotal (Bai)	8 (7)	7 (7)			15 (14)
	Total (Bai)	**41 (38)**	**19 (19)**	**8(1)**	**9**	**77 (58)**

I found it difficult to approach tourists and arrange time to interview them over the course of my fieldwork. Approximately eighty percent of the tourists I met were domestic group tourists who were rushing to tourist attractions with their tour guides, unwilling to stop for interviews. Sometimes I was reluctant to approach tourists who were enjoying their meals or drinks at a café or restaurant, as I was afraid that I might disrupt them, and hence cause them to think negatively

about the city. In the end, I only interviewed nine tourists – three foreign tourists and six domestic tourists.[28] I am very aware that these interviewees cannot represent all tourists within these categories. In order to gain a better understanding of tourists' views on Dali's attractions, I examined 100 reviews on Dali's tourist attractions written by tourists of different origins on TripAdvisor, a travel website. However, in this thesis, I do not detail how tourists perceive Bai culture and tourist attractions, as my focus is to examine local Bai perceptions (see Section 1.1 for research aim and questions).

4.2.4 Semi-structured interviews

I used semi-structured interviews as a means to explore government officials' in-depth views on tourism growth from many angles (Longhurst, 2009). These ten interviewees, all of whom were ethnic minority Bai, were purposefully selected to help me answer my research aim and questions. The specific interview questions I asked were either prepared before fieldwork started or emerged during the fieldwork process. These interviewees, from various government departments at the city and prefectural level, are significant decision makers for tourism growth in Dali Prefecture. Two are from the Tourism Committee (one at the city level, the other at the prefectural level) that directly manages the tourism sector in Dali City and Dali Prefecture. Three interviewees are in charge of local environment management and nature conservation, which are closely linked with tourism growth. For example, conserving Cangshan Mountain is, on the one hand, to maintain the natural landscape for tourism, and on the other hand, to mitigate the externalities of tourism growth on the mountain. I also interviewed three officials who are experts in Bai culture and often act as consultants in local tourism planning, and two officials (one from the city Industrial and Commercial Bureau, the other from the city Tax Bureau) who explained the administration of private businesses in the tourism sector. Gaining access to and consent from government officials was much more difficult than interviewing everyday people (see Sections 4.4 and 4.5). The interviews took place in officials' offices and were often half an hour each due to these officials' tight schedules.[29]

[28] When interviewing local people, I noticed that they often use 'tourists' to refer to domestic tourists. I would ascribe this to my interviewees' frequent exposure to domestic tourists, asa local official working in the tourism sector said that over ninety five percent of tourists visiting Dali are domestic (P84, 11/8/2014). Many interviewees, therefore, have a much higher chance of interacting with domestic tourists than foreign tourists.

[29] These officials only gave me limited time – often half an hour, saying that they were busy and "could not spend too much on interviews" (four interviews, 13/5/2014–12/8/2014).

Table 4.2 Participants of Semi-structured Interviews

Departments	Female	Male	Total
Tourism	2	0	2
Nature	0	3	3
Culture	0	3	3
Economy	1	1	2
Total	3	7	**10**

4.2.5 Oral histories

Oral histories are used to collect first-hand data from participants who have lived through and experienced a particular event (Boyle, 2009). During fieldwork, I undertook oral histories with individuals who had observed the growth in tourism in different parts of Dali Prefecture, in order to understand the history of tourism, and its impacts on Bai culture and people over the past two decades. Oral histories often emerged from unstructured interviews: when I recognized a participant during an interview who had been involved in the tourism sector for more than 10 years or had a good understanding of tourism growth in the region, I encouraged him or her to expand in greater detail during more of an oral history approach. This combination of interview and oral history took around one and a half hours. My participants seemed to be comfortable about the length of time they spent with me since they enjoyed the experience of sharing memories with someone else. They appeared excited to share their life stories and their memories of 'the old days' with me. Oral histories strengthened mutual trust between participants and myself, and also enriched my data collection by bringing emotions, feelings, attitudes, ideology and opinions into my research results (*ibid*.). Through oral histories I was able to better understand how local tourism planning processes had altered the relationships between local governments and everyday Bai people (see Chapter 5), and how government decisions on tourism growth, the tourism market, and personal ambition had influenced local Bai people's tourism livelihoods over time (see Section 7.3).

4.2.6 Photovoice

I conducted a Photovoice project to engage local Bai people in the research process by visually depicting their perceptions of tourism growth. After a series of back-and-forths, I managed to find 11 participants from four families (Table 4.3). My criteria for inclusion were that at least one member from each family was involved in the tourism sector and one or more family members were ethnic minority Bai. For the participants who did not have a camera or mobile phone with built-in camera, I lent them digital cameras and provided technical training in camera use. I carefully explained the theme – the impact of tourism growth on Bai lives – and asked all

participants to take around 10 relevant photos during a two-week period. After the first week, I either visited in person or phoned participants to remedy any technical issues and to discuss progress (Bennett & Dearden, 2013). I tried to motivate my participants to take photos, but not make them feel forced, when I inquired about the process.

Table 4.3 Participants of the Photovoice Project

Age	≥ 60 (1st generation)	40 – 59 (2nd generation)	18 – 39 (3rd generation)
Family 1	M, Bai, Farmer	M, Bai, Farmer	M, Bai, Taxi driver
Family 2	N/A	M, Bai, Guesthouse owner	F, Bai, Student
Family 3	M, Bai, Folk artist	M, Bai, Van driver	F, Bai, Student
Family 4	F, Han, Shop owner	F, Han, Market manager	F, Bai, Student

Note: M = Male; F = Female

When they had finished taking photos, I conducted semi-structured interviews with the Photovoice participants. These interviews took place either individually or with other family members who had also taken photos, depending on their willingness and availability. Individual interviews maintained the uniqueness of Photovoice and gained rewarding results (Julien, Given, & Opryshko, 2013), while group interviews with participants from the same family saved my participants' time, and provided them a chance to discuss each other's photos. I avoided mixing participants of different families in an interview considering that they might feel uncomfortable to share ideas with strangers. I showed participants their own photographs one at a time and asked why and when they took them and the meanings behind each photograph (Castleden, Garvin, & Nation, 2008). I raised questions surrounding five aspects: what was in the photos, what was happening in the exact location and time, how the settings or events in the photos related to participants' lives, why the settings or events existed, and what participants could do to change the undesirable settings or events (Wang, Yi, Tao, & Carovano, 1998).

The Photovoice project gave participants the discretion to take photographs and depict their perceptions, while not restricted by my questions or my understanding of a topic. It also allowed me to find out whether photo-based and oral methods (interviews) provided different insights into people's perceptions on tourism growth. Conducting the Photovoice project was far more difficult than I expected however, owing to local people's poor understanding and low acceptance of the technique. They tended to refuse participation or withdraw because they considered the technique too demanding in time and skills. Moreover, locals who were able to understand the project and take photos were often too busy to participate, while those who had spare time to participate either could not understand the project or could not use cameras even

after being trained. I met many more difficulties when doing this project than using other methods (see Section 4.4.1), partly due to it being a highly participatory process as Wang *et al.* (1998) claim.

4.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a crucial step, as "even top-quality data are of little use until they have been transcribed, coded and analyzed" (Jackson, 2001, p. 201). I started data analysis with transcription (for recorded-interviews only) and typing. I spent two and a half hours of typing per hour of recorded interview, slightly shorter than Dunn (2005) and Jackson (2001) suggest, thanks to my familiarity with the local context and the language my interviewees spoke. When transcribing data, I paid close attention to nuances of emphasis, hesitation, and inflection, and always considered my positionality (see Section 4.5) in relation to the interviewees (*ibid.*). For non-recorded interviews, I spent on average one hour organizing my notes after an interview, which had been written in a notebook, and typing these notes into my personal computer.

To code my data I had already developed a number of *a priori* codes based on my research questions, my conceptual framework, and the information I learned from preliminary interviews, while I was in the field. After reading through the transcripts carefully, I got down to developing *a posteriori* codes, following Strauss and Corbin's (1990) instructions on initial coding and focused coding. At the initial coding stage that involved both *in vivo* coding and open coding (Cope, 2009), more than 150 codes emerged from my data. In this round, my supervisor coded a few of my transcripts to cross-check my approach, which added rigor to the coding process. I did a second-round of coding, during which axial coding was used (*ibid.*) and 66 *a posteriori* codes were obtained (with *a posteriori* codes and *a priori* codes at the previous coding stages being merged). I further coded and reorganized these 66 codes and finally obtained four main themes: (1) How everyday Bai people perceive tourism impacts and their relations with local governments regarding making and implementing tourism decisions; (2) How Bai culture has been staged and commoditized for tourism purposes and what the impacts of such staging and commoditization has had on Bai culture; (3) How Bai people's tourism livelihoods vary over time and among individuals; and (4) How tourism growth strengthened local Bai people's ethnic identity. These five themes form the basis of my analysis in Chapters 5 to 8.

4.4 Positionality and Ethical Dilemmas

Researchers have increasingly appreciated the concept of critical reflexivity – self-scrutinizing the researcher and the social nature of interpretive research, which is a rewarding but difficult

process (Dowling, 2005). In this section, I first reflect upon my own positionality in my research (Section 4.5.1), followed by an examination of the negotiations and power dynamics between participants and myself (Section 4.5.2). I then discuss the ethical dilemmas that I encountered (Section 4.5.3).

4.4.1 Who am I?

Above all, I am a local-born Bai person who has lived in Dali City for 16 years, before leaving to study in other cities. My father is Bai while my mother is Han, which means I have grown up in a Bai-Han environment. I learned Bai culture from my father's side, such as Bai religious belief in Benzhu, Bai festivals, and Bai wedding and funeral ceremonies. Yet, I used to think I was a Han person, due to the fact that I had received Han education since birth either from my mother or from school teachers, and I cannot speak the Bai language. To me, the research experience in Dali City was far more than collecting data and answering my research questions, but also a process during which I could reflect on my ethnic identity. As my fieldwork proceeded, I found many aspects that I shared in common with other Bai people and develop my sense of belonging to Bai group. I am also aware that my socioeconomic status in Dali City, largely determined by my parents' socioeconomic status, is likely to influence my research (see Section 4.5.1).[30]

Since 2009, I have been immersed in different social, political, economic, and culture contexts. For example, I obtained my bachelor's degree in Hong Kong, during which time I also studied or traveled to other Asian countries, including Singapore and South Korea. Now I am completing my Master's degree in Canada. In other words, I was educated before 2009 in a socialist country that officially followed a communist ideology, but since then received education in capitalist societies and had access to western culture and ideologies. I am not a 100-percent 'local-born Bai person' anymore because of these experiences.

I am also a western-trained researcher who has now undertaken fieldwork in China for the first time. To complete this fieldwork, I tried to establish research links in Dali Prefecture based on my personal links there, and I applied methods developed mainly by western researchers. Although Merriam *et al*. (2001) argue that researchers are either insiders or outsiders relative to the ethnic or cultural group they are studying, based on whether they share something in common, I think I lie in "spaces of betweenness" (Chacko, 2004, p. 54). My position is fluid and includes both insider and outsider perspectives: I have quite a few relatives and friends, most of whom are Bai and Han, living in Dali Prefecture, but compared with those who have

[30] My parents are government officials at the city level; their friends are mostly officials at the township, city, and prefectural levels. Considering the incomes of my parents, their education levels, as well as mine, and our social status, I would say I grew up in a middle-class family.

continuously lived in the prefecture since birth, I have much weaker ties, including visible ties like acquaintances and invisible ties like a sense of belonging to the place. Moreover, my positionality varied from one fieldwork situation to another (see Giwa, 2015); for example, I am a graduate student and young researcher when interviewing local officials, but become my parents' daughter when interviewing my parents' friends. All in all, my complex and fluid positionality either facilitated or hindered my research in Dali City, as detailed in the following sections and Section 4.5.

4.4.2 Limiting 'insider' influence on research

Before I started fieldwork I was somewhat aware of both the advantages and disadvantages of being an 'insider' when doing a research project, due to my training at McGill University. An insider positioning allows researchers to use their knowledge of participants to gain more intimate insights (Mullings, 1999), and to make claims to speak for the researched group (Sultana, 2007). Ritchie, Zwi, Blignault, Bunde-Birouste, and Silove (2009), however, argue that the insider positioning, with preconceptions and vested interests, provides less neutral insights than an absolute outsider positioning. When in the field, I kept these ideas in mind and tried to limit the influence of my simultaneous insider/outsider positionality on my research.

I was aware that my questions and statements during interviews would influence my interviewee's responses. For instance, I once asked an old Bai lady what the original form of the three-course tea ceremony was, and she told me that in the old times, no three-course tea existed. After I mentioned that this was interesting since other interviewees had said they had known of the three-course tea since old times, the lady changed her response, saying: "Oh, yes, we had the three-course tea before". This case illustrated that my statements on a certain topic could influence my interviewees' responses in a significant way. With this in mind, by keeping my questions open and not stating my own understandings of a topic during interviews, I tried to limit my influence on interviewees. I was also able to compare interviewees' responses with what I heard and observed elsewhere. This strategy worked well most of time, but became problematic when I interviewed those who knew my background. Their facial expressions suggested how they perceived me: sometimes they perceived me as a silly local Bai person who knew nothing about Bai culture, and sometimes they considered me as a dishonest person who intentionally hid her knowledge and ideas on certain topics. I was always afraid that these perceptions would reduce interviewees' trust towards me, and thus undermine our relationships for future research. I became nervous when any of these interviewees happened to be my

parents' friends, as I was worried that their perceptions of me would influence how they perceive my parents.

4.4.3 Ethical dilemmas

In the field I often felt obliged to protect and help my participants, whenever they showed trust and disclosed aspects of dissent to me. First of all, I protected their anonymity by masking their identities in this thesis and in other places (e.g. conference presentations). Though I hoped to make their voices heard by local officials and I wanted to help them in some ways, I was aware of the limits of my power. During interviews, I made sure that my interviewees knew I might not be able to change their situations due to my limited social influence (Cornet, 2010). For example, a Bai teacher in his 70s, who had taught Bai language for decades, talked about the financial difficulty he encountered. After I introduced my research project and myself, this interviewee assumed that I, a local-born person pursuing higher education in a foreign country, had a high socioeconomic status in local society and knew many local officials who could help him. He, therefore, hoped that I could report his situation to relevant officials and seek funding from the municipal or prefectural government for his school. I wanted to help him, hoping that he could continue operating his Bai language school, but I was not able to. I could not change the local funding system; I could only promote his school among my friends, encouraging more people to study the Bai language in his school.

Apart from this feeling of incapability to make a change for my participants, I faced another dilemma – how to be a critical and ethical researcher in the field. I have internalized the ideology that tourism is a tool for economic growth since secondary school, because of the education I have received and my own experiences. I have always been proud of Dali Prefecture for its cultural and historical assets as well as its rapid tourism growth. Overwhelmed by this ideology, it was difficult for me to recognize the negative sides of tourism growth. When we met in the field, my supervisors always guided and encouraged me to critically judge what I had heard and observed in the field.

I also had a hard time determining whether or not to withhold certain information from my results (Jones, 1970). As an insider, to some extent, my participants did not look upon me as a researcher; instead, they perceived me as a friend, someone whom they trusted. They revealed deeply personal things to me, which were related to my research, but "I would be both dishonest and disloyal to reveal such information" (Jones, 1970, p. 255). Because of my emotional involvement, I was reluctant to reveal the personal things my participants disclosed. I often felt guilty when considering including their private stories in my thesis; I ended up putting those

stories with high relevance to my research in my thesis and making sure that these interviews' identities remained anonymous. These encounters reminded me that it was necessary to collect and make use data in a sensitive manner so as to keep the rigor of the research without causing any harm to my interviewees.

4.5 Researching in China

Many western researchers have discussed the challenges of undertaking fieldwork in China or in socialist societies (see for example: Cornet, 2010; Polumbaum, 2014; Turner, 2010a). Gaining access to the field, most frequently via a state research institute or a local university, is recognized by such researchers as the foremost problem they encountered, while working with research assistants and interpreters in the field constitutes another challenge (see for example: Turner, 2010b). Gaining access to the field was not a problem for me thanks to my positionality (see Section 4.4). In the following analysis, I focus on the pros and cons of recruiting acquaintances or strangers as research participants, and working with friend-interpreters.

4.5.1 Acquaintances vs. strangers

When in the field, I had access to a number of participants who were my acquaintances.[31] Acquaintances were much easier to approach, since I knew where and how to find them. All of these acquaintances agreed to participate, thanks to the high level of trust between us. Personal connections turned out to be extraordinarily important when I attempted to interview officials. In China, officials, especially high-ranking ones, never talk to the general public individually on a specific topic due to their tight schedules (as asserted by themselves, see Section 4.2.4) and their reluctance to spend time with the general public. I tried to seek interviews by calling government departments but received negative replies. As a graduate student with no significant social status, I quickly realized that I was not going to have any chance to interview local high-ranking officials, such as the Director of the Bureau of Tourism, without using my social networks in Dali Prefecture. Realizing this, I began approaching officials I knew, either for interviews or to ask them to refer me to other high-ranking officials who worked specifically on Dali's tourism growth.

When interviewing high-ranking officials, I gained a better understanding of the power distance between these officials, who had high social status in the prefecture, and me, a fledgling researcher who had limited social influence. These interviews were often dominated by the

[31] By using the term 'acquaintances', I refer to people with whom I have direct personal connections (e.g. my friends and relatives) or indirect connections (e.g. my parents' friends and my friends' friends).

officials: they did not listen to me but expressed their opinions, providing information that they were willing to disclose regardless of the information's relevance to my research. These officials, who often give directions instead of listening to others in the course of their daily work, might have become used to this way of talking with others. During such interviews I often struggled whether and how to interrupt them. After one interview that was totally dominated by an official, I asked her whether I could interview her colleagues, who were lower-ranking officials in her department. She agreed and her colleagues provided me with much more useful information than she had. Interviewing lower-ranking officials turned out to be much easier and more fruitful than interviewing high-ranking officials.

Because of our high level of familiarity and trust, acquaintances tended to be more open in interviews, willing to disclose information on illegal, private, or sensitive topics. For example, I interviewed several informal taxi drivers (often called *heichesiji* by locals, which literally means black taxi drivers), two of whom were my friends. These two drivers shared with me the challenges and benefits of this informal and illegal livelihood and their strategies of not being caught by the traffic police, while other drivers who had no previous connections with me did not disclose such information. Interviewing acquaintances provided me with information on informal livelihoods and covert resistance, which I had more difficulty in obtaining from strangers.

Along with the benefits of approaching acquaintances, there were drawbacks. My acquaintances are a certain group of people with similar socioeconomic status, mostly middle-class. Focusing too much on my acquaintances would render my research biased and leave out potential participants from other socioeconomic groups.

I was also concerned some acquaintances, being afraid that their refusals would undermine our relationship, might agree to participate, even though they were not interested in my research. When I asked a few acquaintances to participate in the Photovoice project, I noticed that they agreed to participate but did not treat the project seriously. They did not take photos until the last minute or they tried to withdraw after two weeks. Hence doing the Photovoice project with acquaintances was challenging for me – I often felt reluctant to push them in order not to leave an impression that I was a demanding and annoying person, which would probably undermine our relationship.

Compared with acquaintances, recruiting strangers of more diverse socioeconomic status as research participants expanded the range the views I was able to gain and enabled me to build relationships with these people for future research. However, it was difficult to establish trust with stranger-participants. For instance, street vendors became vigilant when I talked with them

about their informal livelihoods. When I talked with them in the local dialect, they tended to perceive me as a local official investigating them or a potential street vendor who intended to steal skills from them. When I talked with street vendors in Mandarin, they tended to think I was a young female journalist who would expose them in the media. Overall though, street vendors seemed less vigilant when I spoke Mandarin rather than the local dialect during interviews. Hence I soon discovered that the dialect I used acted as a tool to create or reduce a certain distance between participants and me.

In the end, the combination of interviewing acquaintances and strangers worked well, generating a broad range of data. I interviewed acquaintances for data that would not be provided by strangers, such as how their tourism livelihoods accorded with or went against government decisions and their strategies of maintaining their livelihoods. I interviewed strangers on more general topics, such as their attitudes towards tourism growth and their opinions of commoditizing Bai culture for tourism purposes.

4.5.2 Friends as interpreters

I can speak the local dialect of Mandarin, so a language barrier did not exist most of time during my fieldwork. However, when I interviewed local villagers (often aged 50 or above) who could only speak Bai language, I had to work with an interpreter. My friends, Peng and Xiang, worked as my interpreters during my time in Dali City. Both Peng and Xiang are local-born Bai people who are familiar with Dali City. As my friends, they were dedicated to helping me with interpretation. They also suggested a few potential participants to me, including guesthouse owners, tour agents, and shop owners, some of whom turned out to have insights into Dali's tourism growth. Peng, as a part-time taxi driver, also drove me around in Dali City, primarily to tourist locales, where I could conduct participant observation and unstructured interviews. Compared with urban dwellers, villagers were more closed or hesitant to talk with me. But thanks to Peng's personal connections in local villages, I was able to interview some people who were folk artists or who had a good understanding of tourism growth, and obtained useful data from villagers' perspectives.

Although we got along well, with no disputes in setting schedules for interviews or other matters, some problems arose when I worked with these interpreters, the first being the interpretation itself. Peng and Xiang were more familiar with the tourism sector than many other Bai people in Dali City, so they tended to think some participants' responses were too trivial to interpret. For example, one participant said, "tourism growth was good because we earned more and our lives became better" when I asked her opinions on tourism growth. Peng interpreted the

sentence to “tourism was good because I had a better life”, which changed the original meaning of the sentence. Through the length of the original sentence, I guessed that Peng might have omitted some words, so I asked him for a complete interpretation. I told him that ‘we’ in the original sentence implied a sense of community, which was different from ‘I’. In each interview, I had to remind Peng and Xiang to interpret the whole sentence, regardless of how silly and trivial the sentence seemed to him. Another problem concerned research participants. Peng assumed rural villagers knew nothing about tourism growth and could not contribute to my research. He often said it was a waste of effort and appeared to be impatient when I tried to interview these villagers. I explained to Peng that interviewing villagers could provide different perspectives for my research, and persuaded him to help with these interviews.

4.6 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced the methods I used to conduct my research, starting with a description of my field sites (Section 4.1) and an explanation of my qualitative methods (Section 4.2). After introducing my process of data analysis (Section 4.3), I delved into the practical and ethical issues that arose in the field. I then reflected upon my positionality and the possible influence this had on my research (Section 4.4). In Section 4.5, I analyzed the challenges and opportunities of undertaking fieldwork in China. Through my fieldwork experience, I argue that there can be no absolute insider researcher due to the complexity of the researcher’s identity. With data in hand and the above considerations in mind, I now turn to the results that I was able to obtain in Chapters 5 to 7.

Chapter 5 Tourism Growth: Everyday Bai People's Perspective

"Tourism has grown rapidly in Dali Prefecture…As a local Bai person, I'm pleased to see this" said Wu[32], a local folk artist (P7, 6/5/2014). Likewise, a female street vendor in her 60s expressed how she perceived tourism: "Tourism is good…I am not able to explain why it is good, but I know it is good" (P68, 26/7/2014). At the beginning of interviews, my interviewees tended to supply these sorts of broad comments, but digging deeper yielded more nuanced comments on the impacts of tourism growth and the role of everyday Bai people in making and implementing local tourism decisions. In this chapter I analyze these responses and address my first research question: **how do everyday Bai people perceive local tourism impacts and how do they deal with the prefectural and municipal governments regarding tourism decisions?** Drawing upon researchers' concerns over cultural tourism, including the negative aspects of mass cultural tourism (see Section 2.1.4), I start this chapter by describing how everyday Bai people perceive the impacts of tourism growth on the local economy, environment, and society (Section 5.1); I leave perceived impacts on local Bai culture to Chapter 6. Concepts such as livelihoods, vulnerabilities, and capital analysis are drawn on from the sustainable livelihoods literature to analyze the impacts of tourism growth. I investigate whether and how everyday Bai people are involved in the making and implementation of local tourism decisions, and how they make use of resistance to express dissent in Section 5.2.

5.1 Perceived Tourism Impacts

Over the course my fieldwork, I interviewed 57 local Bai residents (see Table 4.1), each of whom were able to cite at least two positive aspects of tourism growth – boosting the local economy and increasing local Bai people's incomes. Specifically, tourism growth has created a large number of job opportunities for everyday Bai people as salespeople, drivers, tour guides, craftspeople, construction workers, and restaurant workers (six interviews, 5/5/2014–6/6/2014). Some take on such jobs while continuing their original jobs (P13, 10/5/2014), while a few rural Bai people have given up their agricultural livelihoods to pursue waged work (P25, 23/5/2014). Though incomes from these opportunities are often larger than those from farming, it remains debatable whether the uncertainties of the tourism sector and tourism-related livelihoods will end up placing these Bai people in a vulnerable situation (see the uncertainties of the tourism sector in Ashley, 2000).

[32] Pseudonyms are used for key informants throughout this thesis so as to mask their identities and protect them.

Two interviewees recognized how enhancing infrastructure and tourism facilities has benefitted local Bai people (P5, 6/5/2014; P58, 8/7/2014). In Longkan Village, one of my field sites, there used to be no sewage treatment system and the irrigation canals in the village were often blocked by garbage (P5, 6/5/2014). The municipal government decided to foster tourism this village in 2013, and was installing sewage treatment systems and cleaning the canals when I interviewed Juan, a female villager aged around 35 (P5, 6/5/2014). Juan said that such works, which mainly aimed to create a clean, tourist-attracting image for Longkan Village, in fact benefitted villagers. She hoped that the sewage treatment systems would be completed soon and the municipal government would commit to maintaining the canals. A shop owner in Dali Old Town pointed out that the municipal government had extended the hours of buses connecting the Old Town and the New Town so as to help tourists; this decision also benefitted local Bai people, since those without private cars can take buses home until midnight (P58, 8/7/2014). These two interviewees' comments support Riganti's (2007) argument that cultural tourism can lead to better infrastructure and public services to serve tourists while simultaneously benefiting locals.

Another positive impact of tourism growth concerns non-locals' understanding of Dali Prefecture and the Bai. Located in China's remote frontier, the prefecture used to be considered an isolated and backward place (Notar, 2008). When tourists started to visit Dali Prefecture, they could see that it was not a place where local people were barbaric and "selling drugs on the street" (P18, 14/5/204; P19, 14/5/2014). Notar (2006b) describes that the *Lonely Planet* guides and *The Travels of Marco Polo* attract international tourists, while domestic tourists are attracted by *Five Golden Flowers*, a movie shot in Dali Prefecture depicting Bai people's daily lives in pre-1949 China, as well as *Heavenly Dragons*, a Dali-based martial arts novel. Tourists are likely to gain a better understanding of the prefecture and Bai people, and they may introduce their experiences to family and friends, helping more non-locals know about this place and the Bai (P7, 6/5/2014; P13, 10/5/2014). My Bai interviewees seemed to hope to shake off their 'backward' image through tourism growth, a sentiment shared by villagers interviewed by Oakes (1998) in Guizhou Province.

Whereas all local Bai interviewees recognized the positive impacts of tourism, only 17 of them (30 percent) cited negative consequences. I analyze these impacts in Sections 5.1.1–5.1.3.

5.1.1 Inflation and rising rents

Ten interviewees observed that tourism growth caused economic hardship for certain people, especially low-income individuals, with the rapid influx of tourists disturbing local demand-

supply balances and driven up local prices (interviews, 9/5/2014–10/8/2014). These interviewees who were local everyday Bai people complained that tourists compete with them for locally produced meat, fruit, and vegetables, and drive these commodities' prices up. They said many tourists are richer and they, along with other local Bai people, are likely to lose the competition (*ibid.*). Among these ten interviewees, Zhu (a restaurant owner aged around 50) and Chun (a shop owner aged around 35) noted that under the pressure of soaring rents in the Old Town (a popular tourist attraction discussed in Section 3.3.2), some Bai businesspeople they know find it difficult to maintain their businesses (P33, 6/6/2014; P51, 17/6/2014). A middle-aged Bai shop owner explained that the annual rent of his neighbour's shop in the Old Town had risen from RMB1,000 in the mid-1990s (around USD120 at the exchange rate then) to RMB500,000 (around USD80,000 at the current exchange rate) (P11, 9/5/2014). Regarding the rising rents, he commented: "I would not be able to afford the rent and continue my business if I did not own my shop. Luckily I bought this shop ten years ago when it was cheap." Less fortunate, two restaurants near Zhu's restaurant in the Old Town had moved to non-tourist areas when their rents rose faster than their incomes (P33, 6/6/2014). The impacts of rising rents on different businesspeople imply that local Bai people have varied abilities in maintaining their livelihoods (will be discussed further in Chapter 7). While tourism growth helps local economy as a whole (see Figure 3.2), it seems have negatively influenced local Bai people at the individual level, and caused inequality not only in expenditure power but also in the ability of maintaining certain livelihoods.

5.1.2 Environmental degradation

Nine of my local everyday Bai interviewees stated that tourism growth is threatening the local environment (interviews, 5/5/2014–3/8/2014). First of all, mushrooming guesthouses around Erhai Lake worry my interviewees due to the consequential problems of sewage discharge and water pollution (P13, 10/5/2014; P21, 18/5/2014). A blue-green algae bloom in 2013 implied that the water quality in the lake had dropped dramatically, and local people became very concerned about the lake quality and water supply, Biao, a young Bai businessman, commented (P21, 18/5/2014). Likewise, Photovoice participant, Mei (PV2-3)[33] took a photo of the algae bloom in Erhai Lake, and explained that the water pollution caused by tourist activities (e.g. catering and accommodation) on the lakeside was serious and worrying (Figure 5.1).

[33] Participants of the Photovoice project is coded in this way where PV is the abbreviation of 'Photovoice', the first number identifies which family a participant is from, and the second number identifies this participant's generation within his/her family (1: the oldest generation; 2: the middle generation; 3: the youngest generation) (see also Section 4.2.6).

Figure 5.1 Photovoice Participant's Image of Algae Bloom in Erhai Lake
(Source: PV2-3, 2014)

Construction projects for guesthouses and other tourism facilities cause waste pollution, a Bai shop owner aged around 50 said (P11, 9/5/2014). Moreover, three interviewees who worked in the Old Town argued that tourists generate significant quantities of waste every day and a number of insensitive tourists litter (P33, 6/6/2014; P58, 8/7/2014; P71, 1/8/2014). These three added that they seldom saw local people litter. They complained that tourists have a bad sense of environmental conservation, arguing that these tourists come to consume Dali's natural and cultural landscapes without paying attention to local environmental protection (*ibid.*).

The photos below (Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4) taken by two Photovoice participants, as well as their comments, provide visual evidence of waste pollution. Peng (PV1-3), a young Bai man who passes by an artificial stream in Dali Old Town every day, noted that he frequently saw tourists throw used tissues and napkins into the stream (Figure 5.2). He depicted what he often saw: "The tourists get out of their cars and throw garbage into the stream without any hesitance. It seems that these tourists regard the stream, which provides aesthetic enjoyment for them, as a garbage pool." Peng was uncomfortable whenever he saw this happening. He added: "These tourists enjoy the waterscape in the Old Town, but at the same time, they destroy it." Mei (PV2-3), a young Bai woman, also noted the waste pollution caused by tourists (Figure 5.3), stating: "It is a disaster for Renmin Road[34] every night when tourists sweep over. Garbage bins are overfilled and garbage is everywhere. The road is like a landfill." Due to the 'mass' nature of Dali's cultural tourism, waste pollution associated with mass tourism (e.g. Neto, 2003) is happening in the prefecture.

[34] Renmin Road is the main east-west road in Dali Old Town, which is popular among tourists.

Figure 5.2 Photovoice Participant's Image of Garbage in a Stream, Dali Old Town
(Source: PV1-3, 2014)

Figure 5.3 Photovoice Participant's Image of Garbage on Renmin Road, Dali Old Town
(Source: PV2-3, 2014)

5.1.3 Tensions between local and non-local people

With more and more tourists swarming into Dali Prefecture, the tensions between tourists and local people have intensified (P11, 9/5/2014; P54, 18/6/2014). The situation in Dali Old Town provides a good example. Tourists compete with local residents to use fresh water, land, and infrastructure (e.g. public parks and roads) (P54, 18/6/2014). Tourism-related businesses, including restaurants, souvenir shops, and guesthouses, have driven many original residents out of the Old Town (P11, 9/5/2014). Jie, a young Bai businessman, observed that a number of tourists rent or buy residential buildings from original residents, start their businesses in the Old Town, and become permanent residents. He lamented, "the Old Town has become a town having no soul", implying that the original culture and social structure in the Old Town has been changed by non-local people and exotic cultures (P18, 14/5/2014). As Brown (2013) argues, these non-local people who transit from temporary tourists to permanent residents in the Old

Town are like unwitting colonizers, depriving resources such as water, land, and infrastructure from local residents. Seeing the rising numbers of tourists and migrants, Bo commented that "a place that develops too fast will die fast", expressing his worry about the negative side effects of rapid tourism growth in Dali Prefecture (P20, 18/5/2014).

5.2 Responding to Tourism Decisions

To understand how local Bai people respond to tourism decisions, one must understand how such decisions are made at the municipal level. Yue, an informant working in a tourism-related department, described how large decisions – such as those relating to the construction of high-end hotels and the planning of new tour routes – are made by the city tourism committee but must obtain the prefecture tourism committee's approval before being implemented (P86, 12/8/2014; see Section 3.3.1). Sometimes the city tourism committee organizes consultation sessions on certain tourism affairs, purportedly to gather public input (*ibid.*). Although a few representatives of local Bai people are invited to attend such sessions, the degree to which their opinions matter to the committee remains unclear. Yue implied that the tourism decision-making process in Dali Prefecture is highly centralized and often dominated by high-ranking officials; low-ranking officials have limited influence. Most of time, everyday Bai people have no access to the decision-making process.

Two interviewees (Bai businessmen in Dali City aged 50 and 25) expressed their dissatisfaction towards the local decision-making process, claiming that it excludes "constructive opinions or opposing voices" and often results in "inconsiderate decisions" (P11, 9/5/2014; P18, 14/5/2014). Ke, the middle-aged businessman, complained that the municipal government implements tourism projects in Shuanglang Township[35] without fully considering their possible external consequences or taking any precautionary measures (P11, 9/5/2014). Owing to such oversights, these projects have created serious water pollution and tensions between local residents and non-local businesspeople (*ibid.*). Ke believed that these problems could have been anticipated and avoided if the municipal government had truly consulted the general public, who surely would have alerted officials of such potential negative impacts. Two other interviewees, a Bai male guesthouse owner and a Bai female shop owner, both aged around 50, found it ridiculous that the local tourism decision-making process is dominated by high-ranking officials who know little or nothing about tourism (P13, 10/5/2014; P14, 10/5/2014).

[35] The municipal government plans to foster tourism growth in this township, which used to be a poor and isolated fishing town located on the north side of Erhai Lake, through marketing its natural landscapes and Bai fishing culture (P11, 9/5/2014; P86, 12/8/2014). Since the plan was implemented, a large number of touristic facilities (e.g. guesthouses and restaurants) have emerged (*ibid.*).

Some local Bai people have decided to resist tourism decisions that they disagree with (P11, 9/5/2014). In Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, I use two examples to illustrate how local people use either covert or overt resistance to react to tourism decisions.

5.2.1 "The higher authorities have policies, while the localities have their countermeasures"

Massive blue-algae blooms that took place in Erhai Lake in 1996 and 2003 alerted the prefectural and municipal governments to the need for preserving the lake (Gou, 2013; P70, 28/7/2014). Since 1996, a number of measures have been taken to improve the water quality of Erhai Lake, including bans on reclamation, motorboat fishing, and cage culturing (raising fish in cages). A designated off-season for fishing each year has also been introduced (made at the municipal level and approved by the prefectural government) (P70, 28/7/2014). The municipal government determines the period of this off-season by evaluating the water quality of Erhai Lake yearly; hence the period varies from one year to another (*ibid.*). The municipal government advocates that having an off-season for fishing is an effective way to preserve Erhai Lake so as to meet local demands of clean water and to sustain the local fishing and tourism industries (refer back to Section 3.3.2 for the link between Erhai Lake and tourism) (P48, 16/6/2014; P75, 8/8/2014). During the off-season, any fishing activity (e.g. angling or net-catching) in Erhai Lake is forbidden. The municipal government subsidizes every fisher RMB50 (around USD7) per month to help them live through this period, which, as an illegal angler explained, is "a hard time for fishers" (P70, 28/7/2014.).

Although the municipal government has organized officials to inspect and monitor the lake, illegal fishing activities are still observed occasionally. For example, a 24-hour inspection organized by the municipal government on July 16, 2014 caught 20 illegal boats with 2 tons of nets, buckets, and other fishing equipment (S. Wang, 2014). Although such inspections undertaken by the municipal government have deterred the majority of people from illegal fishing, a few local people insist on fishing, either for commercial or recreational purposes (P23, 23/5/2014; P48, 16/6/2014; participant observations, 15/6/2014–10/8/2014). Two illegal anglers I interviewed believed that angling caused minor impacts on Erhai Lake, given that angling neither generated pollution nor harvested fish excessively; therefore, they asserted that angling should be allowed during the fishing off-seasons when the cruise ships, which caused comparatively more negative impacts on the lake, were allowed to run (P43, 15/6/2014; P77, 10/8/2014). Chang, one of the two illegal anglers, added: "Erhai Lake is our lake. Why can't we fish in our own lake?" He disagreed with the municipal government ban on angling, and was unhappy that local people, namely those influenced by this decision once implemented, could not

suggest revisions to the plan (P43, 15/6/2014). Chang's illegal angling appeared to be covert resistance against the 'off-season' decision, expressing his disdain for the local decision-making process. Chang also mentioned that some local Bai fishers he knew secretly catch fish with nets to earn more money since the monthly subsidies they obtain from the municipal government cannot sustain them. Lake fish, according to Chang, can be sold to local restaurants for good prices because both local people and tourists prefer it to pond fish. Chang uses covert resistance to express himself, while illegal fishers using it as a livelihood approach to help themselves through the fishing off-season.

Local Bai people develop specific tactics to proceed with fishing in the off-season and avoid being caught. For example, illegal anglers and fishers fish in areas where the inspection teams seldom visit (P43, 15/6/2014), or fish around 8pm when the inspection teams have finished work for the day (participant observation, 12/7/2014). Illegal anglers tend to use cheap rods in the off-season, since there is a risk that their rods will be confiscated or destroyed if caught by the inspection teams (P77, 10/8/2014). Most illegal anglers fish during the last month of an off-season when they know illegal fishing inspections have ceased (*ibid.*). Quan, a local government official, explained the reason why illegal fishing persists by quoting an old Chinese saying: "The higher authorities have policies, while the localities have their countermeasures (*Shang You Zhengce, Xia You Duice*)" (P70, 28/7/2014). Regarding the decision on fishing off-season, it appears that local Bai people have succeeded in developing diverse tactics to covertly resist this decision so as to express their dissatisfaction or sustain their lives. I now turn to discuss more overt forms of resistance used by local Bai people to resist government tourism-related decisions.

5.2.2 "The general public are forced by the authorities to rebel"

Dali Old Town has received more than 4 million tourists each year since 2007, generating an annual tourism income of RMB0.5 billion (around USD80 million) (P84, 11/8/2014). In order to accommodate the rising numbers of tourists, the municipal government decided to transport tourists around within the Old Town by electric buses (Figure 5.4) (*ibid.*). These buses are owned and operated by a local private company (P11, 9/5/2014). The municipal government claims that this decision helps local environment, given that the electric buses prevent air pollution while also reducing traffic congestion in the Old Town (all other vehicles, except emergency vehicles, are not allowed to enter) (P11, 9/5/2014; P34, 9/6/2014). The municipal government requests all tourist groups – constituting 25 percent of all types of tourists (refer back to Section 3.3) – to use

the mini buses, while also encouraging individual tourists and local people to use them as well (P11, 9/5/2014; P84, 11/8/2014).

Figure 5.4 Tourists in Electric Buses
(Source: PV2-2, 2014)

Although the prefectural and municipal governments keep advertising this mode of transport via local media (e.g. newspaper, magazines, and TV), local residents are unhappy (P19, 14/5/2014). My local Bai interviewees argued that this transport plan creates more problems than it solves; the electric buses compete with pedestrians for road space and make the Old Town more crowded (seven interviews, 9/5/2014–8/7/2014). Two interviewees whose friends live or work in the Old Town said, local residents' daily lives are made less convenient because their private vehicles can no longer enter the Old Town due to this plan (P18, 14/5/2014; P19, 14/5/2014). Two Bai people who own businesses in the Old Town also complained that their businesses are negatively influenced – tourists who are transported by electric buses between touristic spots spend less time walking in the Old Town and the chance that they visit and purchase items in local shops drops correspondingly (P11, 9/5/2014; P14, 10/5/2014).

A staff member from the electric bus company disclosed that, on average, approximately 8,000 tourists take electric buses every day and each pays RMB30 (around USD5), meaning that the electric bus service generates an annual income of nearly USD15 million (P71, 1/8/2014). Local Bai interviewees are well aware of these huge profits, and they conjecture that this profit is being harvested by the bus company and the municipal government together, which they are unsatisfied about (seven interviews, 9/5/2014–8/7/2014). A local shop owner complained to me that prefectural and municipal officials focus on their self-interests, noting that these officials "carry out the electric bus decision that conforms to their own interests, regardless of whether this decision bothers local everyday people" (P11, 9/5/2014).

Eight Bai interviewees reported using the electric bus service only occasionally. While they complained about its cost and inconvenience, the structured of their arguments led me to believe that they were actually complaining about the decision-making process, to which they had no access to and where they could not make their voices heard regarding the price and route (interviews, 9/5/2014–8/7/2014). I argue that these interviewees' avoidance of the service is a covert form of expressing their dissatisfaction towards the decisions surrounding its installation. This is much the same as 'non-compliance', an everyday form of resistance described by Scott (1986). Though the 'powerful' prefectural and municipal governments are advertising the bus service, the 'powerless' everyday Bai interviewees do not comply with the government's objective of having locals use it.

More overtly, around 20 shop owners mobilized at the beginning of 2014 to close their shops for a prearranged period, expressing their anger towards the electric buses (P11, 9/5/2014; P14, 10/5/2014; P18, 14/5/2014). A negative consequence of the bus decision – a drop in customers – compelled these shop owners to resist in such an overt way; they were eager to attract local officials' attention through their collective behaviour and hoped to change their situation (*ibid.*). One Han street vendor commented on this incident with a Chinese saying – "the general public are forced by the authorities to rebel (*Guan Bi Min Fan, Min Bude Bu Fan*)", while emphasizing that the situation was far less serious that the one described by this saying (P24, 23/5/2014).

Based on my interview data, I argue that four broad categories of motivation – the immediate and serious impacts of the electric bus decision, the willingness to make resistance observable, the strong intention to change their situation, and the alliance forged among shop owners – encouraged these people to resist overtly. Of these motivations, the alliance among resisters appears to be the most significant. Shop owners were less afraid of possible outcomes such as fines from the municipal government when they practiced their resistance together (P11, 9/5/2014). The Bai interviewees who adopted covert forms of resistance chose to resist individually and privately because they were not significantly influenced by this bus decision, had no strong intention to change it, and were afraid of being punished by the government.

The overt resistance performed by local shop owners succeeded in attracting local officials' attention; the municipal government decided to extend the length of time tourist groups spend in the Old Town while on tours that use electric buses, so that tourists may spend more time shopping in local shops (*ibid.*). However, the municipal government insisted on continuing to run electric buses, and the problems surrounding this plan persist. For example, shops located on or close to the bus routes are more likely to be visited by tourist groups than those located

away from the bus routes; local residents living close to the bus routes suffer more from the waste and noise pollution generated by tourists than those away from the bus routes (P11, 9/5/2014; P12, 9/5/2014). These problems again reveal the issue of inequality caused by mass cultural tourism in Dali Prefecture – local Bai individuals are not equal to benefits (customer visits in this case) and costs (pollution in this case) brought about by tourism growth (see other aspects of tourism-caused inequality in Section 5.1.1).

5.3 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed local Bai people's perceptions of the impacts of tourism growth on the local economy, environment, and society (Section 5.1). My interviewees recognized that cultural tourism growth has created job opportunities, upgraded infrastructure and tourism facilities, and improved non-local people's understanding of Dali Prefecture and the Bai people. I noted that only 30 percent of my everyday Bai interviewees mentioned tourism growth's negative impacts. My interviewees used phrases such as "more and more tourists" and "many tourists", making the 'mass' nature of Dali's cultural tourism rather obvious. Such mass tourism has resulted in inflation and rising rents, water and waste pollution, and tensions between local and non-local people.

In Section 5.2, I examined how local everyday Bai people have responded to tourism decisions made by the prefectural and/or municipal governments. I explained the local decision-making process, explaining how everyday Bai people have no influence and analyzing why and how they resist tourism decisions. Through two case studies – decisions regarding off-season fishing and electric buses – I compared covert and overt forms of resistance, arguing that immediate and serious impacts, willingness to make resistance observable, strong intention to change the situation, and an alliance forged among resisters are factors which motivate actors to adopt an overt approach. I argue that forming an alliance constitutes the most significant factor that eases resisters' concerns over the potential negative outcomes of their behaviour.

In this chapter I have also highlighted issue of inequality caused by tourism growth, including inequality in expenditure power and the ability of maintain a livelihood (see Section 5.1.1), as well as inequality in business opportunities and the influence of pollution (see Section 5.2.2). In the following chapters, I analyze how Dali's cultural tourism growth has influenced Bai culture and livelihoods.

Chapter 6 Bai Culture Staged and Commoditized in Tourism

According to Notar (2006b), many domestic tourists visit Dali in search of scenes from the film *Five Golden Flowers* (*Wuduo Jinhua*). Shot in Dali and released in 1959 for the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the film celebrates the country's modernization and women's liberation through the love story of a Bai couple. My fieldwork data suggest, however, that fewer tourists are attracted to Dali by this film nowadays; rather, they are interested in the area's natural landscapes and Bai culture (six interviews, 16/6/2014–27/7/2014). In this chapter, I address my second research question: **how have certain aspects of Bai culture been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption and how do Bai people perceive such processes?** I examine four prevalent features that have been drawn upon by local tourism operators and tourism officials to represent Bai culture in tourism – Bai clothing, tea-drinking practices, architecture, and handicrafts (Sections 6.1–6.4).[36] Drawing upon the literature on authenticity and commoditization in cultural tourism studies (see Section 2.1), I investigate how these aspects have been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption and how they have been adapted and changed during such processes. I also highlight the difficulty and subjectivity of evaluating the authenticity of certain Bai cultural elements and explore how local Bai people perceive the processes of staging and commoditization.

6.1 Bai Female Clothing Styles

Chapter 3 discussed how Golden Flower Attire (*Jinhua Fu*) has been used to showcase the unique Bai ethnic culture in Dali Prefecture. This Bai female clothing style consists of a headpiece, blouse, vest, waistcloth, a pair of trousers, and sometimes a pair of cloth shoes, all of which are embroidered with flowers (P4, 5/5/2014) (Figure 6.1). Differently, Bai male attire consists of a white shirt and a dark blue vest that is made of Bai tie-dye fabrics (PV1-1, 11/8/2014). During my fieldwork, I noted that this male clothing style (though also worn by salespeople and sold as souvenirs to tourists) was less common in tourism locales than *Jinhua*

[36] My fieldwork data suggest several other aspects of Bai culture that have been staged and/or commoditized for tourism purposes, such as Bai festival, dance, music, and mythology. These four aspects, however, emerged during the data analysis process as the most significant ones – all of my local Bai interviewees mentioned these when they were asked what aspects of Bai culture had been utilized in tourism, and the local official media such as TV, newspaper, and magazine also promote these four aspects as representations of Bai culture. During my fieldwork, I observed that these four aspects of Bai culture have been widely utilized in tourism. In this chapter, these four aspects exemplify local staging and commoditizing processes. I also examine other Bai cultural elements that have been utilized in tourism, including songs and dances (Section 6.2), meanings associated with certain cultural elements (Sections 6.2 and 6.4.1), music and the Fishing Festival (Section 6.5.1), and Bai mythology (Section 6.5.2). By analyzing these four aspects as well as other cultural elements, I am able to reveal how Bai cultural has been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption, which how local Bai people perceive these processes.

Fu. I ascribe this discrepancy to the dominant role of Bai women in marketing and tour guiding that I observed. In Dali City, female salespeople and street vendors were dominant in numbers; and in Dali Old Town, more than 90 percent of the tour guides, employed by the electric bus company (see Section 5.2.2), were female.[37] The frequent appearance of female salespeople, street vendors, and tour guides, who wore *Jinhua Fu*, gave me an impression that this female clothing style was 'everywhere'.

A Bai tailor aged around 70 explained that the phrase Golden Flower, referring particularly to Bai women, originated from the film *Five Golden Flowers*; he believed that *Jinhua Fu* also came from the film. Since 2010, he had been selling these 'Bai' clothing to domestic tourists as a souvenir (P30, 3/6/2014). However, a Bai writer in his thirties had a different view. He claimed that local officials created *Jinhua Fu* in the 1980s (long after the release of *Five Golden Flowers*) because "fancy clothing makes Bai people identifiable and remembered by tourists" (P54, 18/6/2014). Given that Dali Prefecture was opened to tourists during this period (refer back to Section 3.3), this interviewee implied that local officials strategically created this female clothing style to attract tourists and boost tourism growth. Given that a close examination of the film reveals that the dress of the Bai women in *Five Golden Flowers* is different from the *Jinhua Fu* observed throughout my field sites, I tend to believe that *Jinhua Fu* was created by local officials as a form of pseudo cultural clothing, rather than originating from the film.

Figure 6.1 Four Women in *Jinhua Fu*
(Source: Author, 2014)

Figure 6.2 An Old Bai Woman Wearing Everyday Bai Clothes
(Source: Author, 2014)

[37] I continue to analyze this gendered divide in tourism-related livelihoods in Chapter 7.

During my fieldwork, I noticed that a few old women (appearing to be over 60) in towns and villages wear clothes very different from *Jinhua Fu* (Figure 6.2). I would consider this less fancy clothing as everyday Bai clothes. My interviewees who were aged around 70 said that this everyday Bai clothing style has existed for at least seven decades, and is thus "much older and more traditional than *Jinhua Fu*" (P1, 5/5/2014; P30, 3/6/2014). A few old Bai women who wear these everyday Bai clothes said that they are used to wearing this "traditional Bai clothing style". They said they would never wear *Jinhua Fu* because it is too garish (four interviews, 5/5/2014–6/6/2014). On the other hand, my young and middle-aged Bai interviewees said that they prefer *Jinhua Fu* since it looks nicer than the clothes worn by older Bai women (six interviews, 10/5/2014–18/6/2014). They added that *Jinhua Fu*, a unique ethnic clothing style, sets apart Bai people from other ethnic groups in China and makes them proud of being Bai. Hua, a middle-aged Bai woman, explained that Bai means white in Chinese, so *Jinhua Fu* that often consists of white blouse and trousers represents Bai people well (P14, 5/10/2014). It seems that younger generations of Bai people consider *Jinhua Fu* an authentic Bai identity marker regardless of its origin and its shorter history compared with the clothing style worn by old Bai women.

The prefectural government has requested all shops in Dali Old Town to have at least one salesperson wearing *Jinhua Fu* so that the Old Town appears like a Bai enclave in tourists' eyes (P84, 11/8/2014). Bai salespeople and shop owners in the Old Town believe that tourists will be attracted to shops where Bai people work, and will identify salespeople's ethnicity through their clothes (four interviews, 10/5/2014–8/7/2014). My interviewees said that they would wear or ask their employees to wear *Jinhua Fu* even if the government had not asked them to, as this clothing style adds authenticity to their shops. This aligns with Oakes's (1998) observation in Guizhou Province that local Miao people dress themselves up with ethnic costumes so as to attract tourists. My interviewees, like Miao people, voluntarily stage an element that they perceive as part of their ethnic culture for tourism purposes, even though this element is considered inauthentic by other individuals within this ethnic group.

6.2 Three-course Tea

"Dear guests, welcome to Dali. We will serve you three-course tea (*Sandaocha*) soon, a traditional Bai tea-drinking practice showing Bai people's hospitality to their guests. Please drink the tea while enjoying Bai singing and dancing performances." These were the emcee's opening remarks on a cruise that I took (participant observation, 27/7/2014). One by one, three courses of tea were served in disposable paper cups of around 100 mL each as we watched the performances (Figure 6.3). The emcee introduced each tea: the first course was 'bitter tea'

(*Kucha*), a baked green tea; this was followed by 'sweet tea' (*Tiancha*), a tea soup mixed with cinnamon and brown sugar, with *Rushan*, a Dali specialized diary product similar to cheese; and finally 'aftertaste tea' (*Huiweicha*), a tea soup mixed with honey, popcorn, and walnut. According to the emcee, 'bitter tea' symbolizes difficulties and obstacles that people have to endure, 'sweet tea' symbolizes success, and 'aftertaste tea' symbolizes review and reflection. These three courses of tea represent three stages of life. The moral of three-course tea is that people have to overcome various difficulties before they are able to achieve success, and should not be conceited when they succeed.

During the 'Bai singing and dancing performances' that accompanied the tea ceremony, I observed that ethnic minority Yi dances had been added, rendering the performances inauthentic. Everyone enjoying the tourist-orientated three-course tea and performances was a domestic tourist. The audience's facial expressions suggested that they were content with the tea and performances. When I briefly interviewed five domestic tourists, they all believed three-course tea to be a Bai tradition, though they simultaneously considered the way three-course tea was presented with performances to be a tourism product and not "traditional" (interviews, 16/6/2014–27/7/2014). They did not believe that Bai people would serve their guests three-course tea at home in such a ceremonious way. When the performances ended, the emcee tried to sell gift sets of three-course tea that were dried and packaged in paper boxes. I noticed that the associated meaning of three-course tea had been printed on the gift boxes; in this way, not only the ceremony but also its meaning had been staged and commoditized.

Figure 6.3 Three-course Tea Served with Performances on a Cruise Trip
(Source: Author, 2014)

During fieldwork, I found it difficult to pin down the authenticity of three-course tea given local Bai people's differing views regarding traditional tea-drinking practice. For example, Fang, a Bai person aged over 70, said that three-course tea with 'aftertaste tea' is tourist-oriented; the traditional three-course tea consists of two courses of bitter tea and one course of sweet tea (P1, 5/5/2014). Shun, another Bai person of similar age, said that the Bai used to drink two-course tea (bitter tea followed by sweet tea) (P28, 29/5/2014). Both Fang and Shun suggested that the emergence of touristic three-course tea has changed Bai people's tea-drinking practice. Peng, a Bai man aged around 35, had different memories: he considered three-course tea with aftertaste tea as the third course to be a tradition that used to be practiced by rich Bai people. The staging of three-course tea in tourism, he suggested, has made this practice common in Dali such that it is no longer the exclusive purview of the rich (P4, 5/5/2015). Although my interviewees did not agree on the authenticity of three-course tea, they appeared to agree that three-course tea contains traditional and authentic elements such as the idea of drinking two or three types of tea in a row. This aligns with the argument put forth by Chhabra *et al*. (2003) that staged culture often contains elements of original culture alongside new alterations.

Four Bai people aged around 20, younger than Peng, thought three-course tea to be a "traditional" tea-drinking practice (interviews, 14/5/2014–11/8/2014). Thus it appears that young people have accepted three-course tea (with aftertaste tea) as a Bai tradition, knowing little about the former two-course or three-course tea (without aftertaste tea) that Bai people used to drink before the new three-course tea became common and dominant. During interviews, these young individuals said that they were proud that their Bai ancestors created this tea-drinking practice. In this case, the staging and commoditizing of Bai tea-drinking practice has enhanced younger generations' ethnic pride; however, it does lead to cultural loss to some extent, as younger generations have no conception of how Bai people used to drink tea before the tourist era.

Although my interviewees differed in their views of the authenticity of three-course tea, all indicated that three-course tea accompanied by singing and dancing performances is inauthentic. "This is not a Bai daily practice. It is a special arrangement aimed to please tourists," Duo, a young Bai businessman, said (P82, 11/8/2014), though domestic tourists and Bai people alike seem to enjoy this type of staging. Tourists think combining three-course tea with performances provides them a chance to learn more about Bai culture (P50, 16/6/2014; P69, 27/7/2014), while Bai interviewees welcome such staging for two reasons: it gives tourists an impression that Bai people are hospitable, civilized and polite and it promotes the morals that three-course tea symbolizes. Staging three-course tea conveys a message to tourists that Bai people are not "backward" (seven interviews, 5/5/2014–11/8/2014).

6.3 Historic and New Houses

Traditional Bai houses are adorned with coloured paintings and carvings in doors and windows, which are believed to bring wealth and health to the homeowner (Liu, 2010; L. Wang, 2014; PV3-1, 15/8/2014). Such houses are built with stone, mud, and wood, which used to be abundant in the Dali region (P39, 14/4/2014). Long, a middle-aged Bai man who has lived in Dali City for around 50 years, recalled that "stone walls were typical components of traditional Bai houses. Bai houses built in or after the 1980s are different from traditional ones" (P13, 10/5/2014). Guided by my interpreter, Peng, I was able to compare Bai houses built in the past two decades with those built more than 50 years ago in Longkan Village (Figure 6.4).

Kun, a retired official in heritage management, said that wealthy Bai people tend to build houses with two or more connected courtyards to display their success (P39, 14/6/2014). Yan's Compound and Yang's Compound (now known as the Linden Center) are two examples of Bai compounds built in the 20th century, while Zhang's Garden is the grandest compound built in modern times (*ibid.*).

Figure 6.4 Old (front) and New (back) Bai Houses in a Bai Village, Dali City
(Source: Author, 2014)

Qiang, a heritage official, stated that several departments of the municipal government, including the Cultural Heritage Bureau, the Institute of Cultural Relics, and the Institute of Non-Material Cultural Heritage Management, work together to manage and renovate historic Bai houses[38], especially those in Xizhou Old Town (P84, 11/8/2014). Given limited funding, the municipal government identifies old Bai houses with "the greatest historical and cultural value", adds them to national, provincial, or prefectural cultural heritage lists, and seeks funding from

[38] Historic Bai houses refer to those listed as national, provincial, or prefectural heritage sites (P39, 14/6/2014; P84, 11/8/2014).

upper levels of government for their maintenance (P39, 14/6/2014). This strategy means that the municipal government only focuses on a few old Bai houses. For example, in Xizhou Township, boasting more than one hundred Bai houses built in the 20th century or earlier, only 'historic' ones are under preservation (P72, 3/8/2014). In the past five years, the municipal government has cooperated with elite entrepreneurs to turn a few historic Bai houses into tourist attractions (P86, 12/8/2014). In the following sections (Sections 6.3.1–6.3.3), I illustrate how three Bai houses – Yan's Compound, the Linden Center and Zhang's Garden – have been transformed into tourist sites.

6.3.1 Yan's Compound

Tourists arriving at Yan's Compound, a national heritage site in Xizhou Township, are welcomed by an introduction board explaining that the house was built in the 1920s and was owned by Yan Zizhen, a local Bai entrepreneur, until the 1950s (participant observation, 14/6/2014). The compound became public property during China's land reforms in the 1950s; in the 1990s, the township government undertook a renovation and rented it to a private company for around USD300,000 for 50 years (P72, 3/8/2014). Hui, who provided this information, opined that "such a long-term rent is no different from selling the compound". The lease commenced in 2000 and the renting company has turned the compound into a tourist attraction, charging for entry (P39, 14/6/2014). Yan's Compound has become popular, with approximately a million tourists, both domestic and foreign, visiting each year.

On the road connecting Yan's Compound to a public square, 90 percent of the shops display red lanterns distributed by the renting company with the Chinese characters *Yan Jia Da Yuan* (Yan's Compound) (P73, 3/8/2014; P75, 8/8/2014). One local shop owner said: "We are supposed to hang lanterns up as other shop owners do. The lanterns decorate our shops and market Yan's Compound" (P75, 8/8/2014). Although the words "supposed to", "decorate", and "market" made her motivation for hanging the lanterns rather ambiguous, her expressions suggested that the company is so influential in Xizhou Township that local shop owners have to follow such directives. It seems that an inequality in power exists between the renting company and local shop owners, which could be considered a negative impact of cultural tourism.

6.3.2 The Linden Center

The Linden Center, a renovated Bai complex and now a private boutique hotel, is also located in Xizhou Township. An introduction board in the compound notes that the center was originally known as Yang's Compound and was built and owned by Yang Pinxiang, a local Bai

entrepreneur, in the late 1940s. After the Cultural Revolution, the compound became public property. In 2001, the compound was designated a national heritage site. Brian Linden, an American and the founder of the Linden Center, explained that in 2008, he and his wife rented the compound at a "low price" from the local government (P76, 8/8/2014). They renovated the compound and now run a boutique hotel within it. A local resident said that the relationship between Linden and local officials remains unclear, since all information regarding funding, profits, and work allocations is undisclosed (P72, 3/8/2014).

As a heritage hotel, it costs far more to stay at the Linden Center than most hotels in Dali City (participant observation, 1/8/2014–15/8/2014).[39] Kun, a local expert on Bai architecture, commented that Linden is not familiar with Bai culture and tends to have ideas contradicting Bai traditions. For example, Linden planned to install two toilets in the central living room on the first floor, which is not in line with Bai cultural practices (P39, 14/6/2014). Regarding the Center's authenticity, a foreign tourist did not perceive it as an authentic representation of Bai architecture given how much the function and decorations of the original Bai compound have been altered (P63, 16/7/2014). This aligns with what I observed; I saw a bar, a gym room, and other modern facilities such as western-style bathrooms and western mattresses there, which have changed the original design – beyond the obvious change in function from a family compound to a hotel (participant observation, 8/8/2014).

A local resident praised Brian Linden, saying, "Lindeng[40] is a nice person. He preserves Bai architecture" (P40, 14/6/2014). The foreign tourist who commented on Linden Center's authenticity held it up as an example of heritage preservation, adding that without Brian Linden's success in turning Yang's Compound into a profitable tourist site, the local Bai people and governments would not have recognized the economic value of such an historic house. Now the municipal government is cooperating with Linden's team on another tourism project that aims to transform yet another historic Bai compound into a heritage hotel (P76, 8/8/3014). In the case of the Linden Center, although the original compound has been altered, its layout and structure have been maintained. Such staging and commoditizing processes can raise local Bai people's awareness of architecture preservation and set an example for how locals might combine tourism and preservation in a heritage site. This could be argued to be the positive side of cultural tourism, working to preserve local culture (e.g. Smith, 2003).

[39] The prices of guestrooms in Linden Center sometimes can be five or six times more than guestrooms in regular hotels.
[40] Local people call Brian Linden "Lindeng".

6.3.3 Zhang's Garden

In contrast to Yan's Compound and the Linden Center, which are historic Bai houses, Zhang's Garden is a newly created Bai complex. Covering 5,000 square meters, Zhang's Garden is designed and owned by Zhang Jianchun, a local-born Bai entrepreneur, architect, and horticulturalist (P8, 6/5/2014). A local interviewee who has personal connections with Zhang Jianchun said that Jianchun has spent eight years and more than USD8 million on the project, pursuing his lifelong dream of constructing a magnificent Bai compound (*ibid.*). Two domestic tourists commented that the Garden is more like a Suzhou-style rock garden with limited relevance to Bai culture (P12, 9/5/2014; P59, 10/7/2014; P64, 18/7/2014). A female domestic tourist who had visited historic Bai houses in Xizhou Township said that Zhang's Garden "is not a traditional Bai house but an attraction overcrowded by tourists" (P59, 10/7/2014). This tourist possibly made such a statement because the Garden looks too new to her and seems to lack authenticity compared with old Bai houses built six to eight decades ago.[41]

Contrary to tourists' views, six local Bai interviewees insisted that Zhang's Garden maintains a traditional layout and structure as well as paintings of Bai houses, providing tourists a platform to learn about Bai architecture. They were therefore suggesting that Zhang's Garden has staged Bai architecture in an authentic way (interviews, 6/5/2014–18/6/2014). These local interviewees seem have based their evaluations of the authenticity of Zhang's Garden on what they notice in the Garden, namely its layout and decoration. This could be considered a type of objective authenticity, or the authenticity of objects (Wang, 1999). On the other hand, the tourists complaining of the inauthenticity of Zhang's Garden seem to have brought their expectations and stereotyped images of Bai houses (i.e., historic Bai houses in Xizhou Township) to bear in their evaluations. This is described by Wang (1999) as constructive authenticity, in which individuals base conceptions of authenticity on their own imagery, expectations, preferences, and beliefs. I would argue that such varied standards have resulted in the different views of my local interviewees and tourists regarding the Garden's authenticity.

6.3.4 Case study summary

The historic Yan's Compound and the Linden Center have been set up to attract tourists in a way described by MacCannell (1973) as 'staged authenticity'. MacCannell argues that local people

[41] This attraction seems unpopular among tourists – only four tourists reviewed it on TripAdvisor. Three tourists (one from the United Kingdom and two from China) stated that they felt Zhang's Garden was an interesting attraction (TripAdvisor reviews on Zhang's Garden, n.d.), while another tourist (nationality undisclosed) said: "The location is a good example of industrialized local tourism…Decorations are gaudy to the extreme and bear little if no relevance to the local peoples and culture" (ModernDayMarcoPolo, 2009).

often decorate a place to look pristine and traditional in order to attract tourists in search of authentic destinations. My local Bai interviewees claimed that both Yan's Compound and the Linden Center comprise authentic representations of Bai architecture and thus, could provide me an authentic tourism experience (P72, 3/8/2014; P73, 3/8/2014). When visiting these two houses, I saw photos of their original owners and others taken five or six decades ago depicting local people's lives at that time. These old photos seem have added authenticity to these two compounds by making them look old and traditional.

Zhang's Garden, which is a new Bai compound rather than a historic heritage, was created with the intention of staging Bai architecture (see Section 6.3.3). It aligns with the notion of staged authenticity in that it is basically built with the layout and style of a traditional Bai houses and is decorated with antiques. However, the way in which it is been advertised to attract tourists counters the strategy of staged authenticity; instead of promoting the Garden as a "primitive" place, its owner tends to state that it is an innovative combination of modern elements and traditional Bai cultural elements (Xin, 2008).

6.4 Bai Handicrafts

Ming, a local expert in Bai culture, said that tourists like buying silver handicrafts and tie-dye fabrics as souvenirs during their stay in Dali Prefecture (P27, 25/5/2014). In this section, I explain how these two long-established Bai handicrafts have been advertised and sold to tourists, and explore how they are modified during the staging and commoditization processes.

6.4.1 Silver handicrafts

I observed that in Dali Old Town, there are more than 20 silver handicraft shops. Around 70 percent of these shops are located on the southern part of Fuxing Road, the main north-south axis in the Old Town, where most tourists congregate. These shops sell silver bracelets, rings, necklaces, and other silverware (participant observation, 9/5/2014–28/7/2014). The salespeople advertise these silver products as "traditional Bai handicrafts" in order to attract tourists (P36, 9/6/2014). A few craftspeople wearing Bai clothes produce silver handicrafts in front of their shops, which could be considered a marketing strategy – tourists might think all silver handicrafts sold in these shops are handcrafted and authentic. I noticed that domestic tourists seem interested in such staging – they watch the process and take photos of it (participant observation, 28/7/2014). This corresponds with MacCannell's (1973) argument that tourists are in search of authenticity at a destination. The domestic tourists appeared happy with the staged producing process, which is advertised by salespeople as an authentic aspect of Bai culture.

Two local middle-aged Bai people said that most silver products sold at local shops are produced with machines rather than following the staged process. They added that before machines became common, Bai craftspeople used to hand craft silver products; nowadays, almost all silver is crafted with machines (P26, 3/6/2014; P58, 8/7/2014). The producing process is thus staged in an authentic way, but may mislead tourists by conveying the message that handcrafted silver products are still common in Dali Prefecture. Three young Bai interviewees said that they had never watched the producing process before it was staged for tourism purposes. They said the staged process provides them a chance to learn about this aspect of Bai culture (P18, 14/5/2014; P55, 18/6/2014; P82, 11/8/2014). This is a positive outcome of staging culture, helping younger Bai people know about the waning art of silver crafting.

On my One-Day Tour[42] in Dali City, I observed how a tour guide introduced silver handicrafts to tourists (participant observation, 27/7/2014). The guide, a Bai woman in her 30s, emphasized the health benefits of silver products five times, saying that Bai people like using silver products to cure cardiovascular disease, dysmenorrhea, and digestive dysfunction. She also stated that the matriarch of a Bai family often presents silver bracelets to her daughters-in-law in order to acknowledge their contributions to the family after marriage. When arriving at a silver handicrafts store, the tour guide encouraged tourists to purchase things, claiming that an excellent Bai silver craftsman who had won several national, provincial, and prefectural awards ran the shop.[43] Some of this information, however, contradicts what I heard from my interviewees. Ting, a Bai writer, said, Bai people consider silver bracelets, necklaces, and other jewellery family assets that bring them good luck and happiness. Silver jewellery, therefore, is passed from one generation to the next in the same hereditary line, rather than from a mother-in-law to her daughters-in-law (P54, 18/6/2014). I asked five Bai people (young, middle-aged, and old) about the health effects of silver products and found that no one was aware of any. New meanings have been attached to silver products in the process of commoditization.

I also noticed some silver products in local shops with Tibetan patterns on them. A middle-aged shop owner said that domestic tourists like "nice patterns" and care little whether the patterns are elements of Tibetan or Bai culture. She added: "We sell them [silver handicrafts with Tibetan patterns] as long as tourists wish to buy them" (P58, 8/7/2014). Silver handicrafts have been adapted with new meanings and patterns when commoditized for tourist consumption.

[42] This One-day Tour is organized by local tour operators to serve groups and individual tourists. The most popular attractions are visited and all entry fees are included in the tour fee. One-day Tours often begin at 8 am and end at 6 pm (P67, 26/7/2014).

[43] A local person who used to be a travel agent said that tour guides often receive commission from tourist shops. This is calculated based on the total amount of money their clients spend (P36, 9/6/2014).

They have become a mix of two cultures, Tibetan and Bai, and were perceived by my interviewees as a mix of authentic and inauthentic Bai cultural elements. In one shop, I saw two middle-aged Bai women purchasing silver products with Tibetan patterns. They also seemed to admire these adapted products (participant observation, 28/7/2014).

6.4.2 Tie-dye fabrics

"Tie-dye fabric is a Bai folk art and craft," according to Ming, an expert in Bai culture (P27, 25/5/2014). Four of my nineteen interviewees in the tourist trade (e.g. shop owners, salespeople, and street vendors) sell tie-dye fabrics as part of their business. Hua, for instance, produces tie-dye fabrics in her own factory and sells products either to tourists or wholesalers (P14, 10/5/2014). The other three sellers sell tie-dye fabrics that they purchase elsewhere (P6, 6/5/2014; P10, 9/5/2014; P72, 3/8/2014).

Hua recalled that when tourism started to develop in Dali Prefecture in the 1990s, foreign tourists found tie-dye fabrics of particular interest and soon became her primary customers (P14, 10/5/2014). A domestic market for tie-dye fabrics has also developed since 2000, the year when Hua began to produce them to meet rising demand from both foreign and domestic tourists. She said that local demand for tie-dye fabrics, which used to be very low, also rose in 2010 and attributed this to the popularity of tie-dye fabrics among tourists – local Bai people did not realize the draw of these fabrics until they saw tourists eagerly buying them in shops. It seems that the commoditization of tie-dye fabrics for tourism purposes has motived local Bai people to treasure this crafting culture. I would consider this another positive cultural impact of cultural tourism, preserving an aspect of local culture by making its charm obvious to local people. This supports Jarvenpa's (1994) argument that commoditization can foster minority people's admiration for their own culture.

Hua stated that in the last two or three years, tourists' demand for tie-dye fabrics had dropped. She declared that foreign and domestic tourists are now reluctant to buy souvenirs, including tie-dye fabrics, from local souvenir shops because they can purchase them easily and more cheaply online. Three other souvenir shop owners also said they are facing a decline in sales (P11, 9/5/2014; P57, 8/7/2014; P58, 8/7/2014). The employees of these shops are vulnerable to being laid off when profits drop (see Chapter 7). This example highlights a possible negative economic impact of cultural tourism: overdependence on tourism may threaten certain groups of locals or even the whole local economy during downturns.

Sales have dropped, but Hua said: "most tourists – and almost all local Bai people – still appreciate traditional tie-dye fabrics that are dark blue; some tourists like new designs in red,

orange, or a mix of three or more colors". She usually produces tie-dye fabrics in dark blue unless otherwise specified by wholesalers (P14, 10/5/2014). This strategy is similar to Native American artists in New Mexico who take on tourists' requests for new designs while maintaining their crafting culture (see Maruyama *et al*., 2008). Though the manufacturing process of tie-dye fabrics has remained unchanged over the past two or three decades, the materials used for dyeing have changed (four interviews, 6/5/2014–3/8/2014). Bai people used to use natural herbs to dye fabrics before tourism-driven demand rose, but now industrial dye is used (*ibid.*). Although commoditization has changed the scale of production, altered the dyeing material, and mixed new and old cultural elements in terms of color, I would argue that this crafting culture has been preserved as local admiration for it has grown.

6.5 Perceptions of Staging and Commoditizing Bai Culture

Over the course of my fieldwork, I interviewed nine tourists in Dali City, including six on individual tours and three on group tours. Three individual tourists, two foreign and one domestic, complained that the Bai culture they had experienced in Dali Prefecture was not authentic, given how they had seen similar souvenirs and buildings in Lijiang Old Town and other tourist towns in China (P17, 13/5/2014; P63, 16/7/2014; P87, 15/8/2014).

Two Chinese group tourists, on the other hand, stated that turning some aspects of Bai culture into tourism products provides tourists a chance to learn about the most interesting aspects of Bai culture; they assumed that local Bai people select the most interesting aspects of their culture to attract tourists (P59, 10/7/2014; P69, 27/7/2014). After visiting Dali Prefecture, they found Bai culture "colourful" and "fascinating" (*ibid.*).

As explained in Section 3.3, group tourists often follow guides during their stay in Dali Prefecture. Given how group tours are arranged by tour operators in advance with the aim of attracting and pleasing tourists, I would argue that they are another form of staging. Several aspects of Bai culture asserted to be 'authentic' are selected to be part of group tours (participant observation, 27/7/2014). However, some of these cultural elements are considered inauthentic by a few of my local interviewees, such as the purported meaning and effects of silver products. Though such staging may enhance tourists' understanding of Bai culture in some ways, it may result in misunderstandings. Group tourists may think they have experienced the 'best' of Bai culture, so they may not be interested in other aspects that could be just as interesting as what the tours put on display.

Greenwood (1977) argues that local interest may be harmed when a culture can be commoditized by anyone. I noticed that tour operators, supervised by the prefectural and

municipal government, are the ones who determine what aspects of Bai culture are included on group tours. Two elderly Bai interviewees said that the Bai Benzhu Festival should be promoted to tourists (P7, 6/5/2014; P74, 8/8/2014), suggesting that 'Bai culture' refers to other cultural aspects than those having been staged or commoditized in tourism. A young Bai interviewee said that Bai wedding ceremonies, which have been simplified and performed for tourists, "could be presented in a more authentic way" (P55, 18/6/2014). Although these interviewees have ideas regarding what aspects of Bai culture should be staged and how, they have no say in arranging group tours (see also Section 5.2). In the following sections, I examine how local Bai people perceive the effects of staging and commoditization on Bai culture.

6.5.1 Ethnic pride, culture preservation, and ethnic relations

Long, a Bai guesthouse owner, said he was glad to know that foreigners were interested in Bai culture when he met foreign tourists in Dali Old Town for the first time in the late 1980s. At that time, he and his friends guided foreign tourists around Dali City on a voluntary basis, hoping to explain Bai culture and Bai people (P13, 10/5/2014).[44] Wu, a musician performing Bai music at a tourist site, said that he likes playing Bai music in front of tourists in order to promote this aspect of his culture (P7, 6/5/2014). These two interviewees explicitly expressed their willingness to share Bai culture with tourists both foreign and domestic, and their expressions and tone during the interviews revealed their ethnic pride. Bo, a hotel owner, said that he had never taken pride in Bai culture until he was in frequent contact with tourists interested in it (P20, 18/5/2014).[45] Bo came to recognize the importance of preserving his culture and decided to teach his child the Bai language as a means of cultural preservation (*ibid.*).

Chun, a Bai shop owner, asserted that the staging and commoditization of Bai culture will not affect it as a whole. She explained, Bai culture includes many different elements such as wood and silver handicrafts, paintings, wood buildings, Benzhu temples, as well as marriage practices and table manners. Chun thought that only a small amount of Bai cultural elements would be used for tourism purposes, making the overall impact of commoditization minimal (P51, 17/6/2014). Likewise, Ming, an official in the culture department, stated that "Bai culture will not be destroyed when utilized in tourism, given that less than 0.1 percent of Bai culture is used for tourism purposes so far" (P27, 25/5/2014). Ming explained that Bai people have

[44] Long and his friends do not offer guiding service anymore. Long said: "Nowadays non-local people know Dali City very well through various types of media, so I do not feel obligated to introduce this place to them." He added that there are many tour guides available in Dali City. Instead of guiding tourists, Long introduces local culture and history to those who stay at his guesthouse (P13, 10/5/2014).

[45] See Section 7.2 for details on how this interviewee became involved in the tourism sector and therefore dealt with tourists frequently.

developed diverse cultural elements, including visible ones such as Bai folk houses and temples, and invisible ones such as Bai religion (belief in Benzhu) and Bai language. Although Chun and Ming provided different examples of Bai culture, their statements suggest that 'culture' is a broad term that comprises both spiritual and material elements, agreeing with Birx's (2006) definition of culture. Ming added that commoditizing some aspects of Bai culture in tourism helps Bai people recognize the economic value of their ethnic culture, motivating them to preserve it (*ibid.*). Mings seemed to justify the commoditization of Bai culture by suggesting that without tourism, Bai culture would lose out (see also Su, 2011).

The Fishing Festival (*Kaihai Jie*, celebrated on the first day of fishing season[46]) exemplifies how commoditization can contribute to Bai culture preservation. Originally a worship tradition practiced by Bai fishermen, the festival was recently on the verge of disappearing as fewer and fewer Bai people fished (P45, 16/6/2014). In 2008, the prefectural government decided to reinvigorate this tradition by turning it into a tourism festival[47] and a variety of celebratory activities and spectacles were organized to attract tourists (Xin, 2008). A local official proudly said that the Fishing Festival, now organized annually since 2008, attracts tourists and enhances local Bai people's understanding of this tradition (P45, 16/6/2014). He added that turning it into a tourist attraction "saves it from being lost". Since 2008, an increasing number of local Bai people and tourists are participating in the celebration (P12, 9/5/2014; P19, 14/5/2014; P45, 16/6/2014). This example is similar to the annual "Bali Arts Festival" in Indonesia (see Picard, 1990) in that both festivals started out emphasizing tourists' expectations but have to some extent contributed to local cultural preservation.

Kun, a cultural expert, commented that the use of Bai culture in tourism transforms non-local (Han) Chinese perceptions of Bai people as well as Bai people's self-perceptions. Before the Dali region opened to tourists, he said, non-local Han people had limited understandings of the Bai and discriminated against them, considering them 'unenlightened'. He argued that with tourism growth, more and more Han people have visited Dali Prefecture, have gotten to know Bai people, have appreciated Bai culture, and have therefore begun to respect them. In this regard, the consumption of Bai culture through tourism has had a favourable effect on Han-Bai relations, improving Bai people's status in a Han-dominant society (P39, 14/6/2014). These positive comments align with Su and Teo's (2008) observation in Lijiang City, another tourist destination in Yunnan Province. Like Su and Teo's Naxi respondents in Lijiang City, my

[46] See more detail on fishing season and fishing off-season in Section 5.2.1.
[47] "Tourism festival" means that this festival is organized for tourism purposes.

interviewees who have positive perceptions of staging and commoditizing Bai culture also believe that tourism contributes to Bai cultural revival and identity building.[48]

6.5.2 Misrepresenting and changing Bai culture

Along with the positive effects of staging and commoditizing Bai culture, other less positive outcomes have also occurred. Three Bai interviewees said that guides and operators who cater tours to domestic tourists' tastes turn Bai mythology and social practices into mere moneymaking tools (P18, 14/5/2014; P36, 9/6/2014; P82, 11/8/2014). Jie, a young Bai businessman, said that tour guides focus too much on pleasing tourists and making profits, while caring little about the authenticity of the cultural elements they introduce. He argued that the inauthentic cultural elements introduced by tour guides misrepresent Bai culture and people and may contribute to misunderstandings (P18, 14/5/2014). Qun, a guesthouse owner, doubted the ability of tour guides to present the culture correctly, questioning their devotion to helping tourists better understand Bai culture and people (P36, 9/6/2014). Moreover, Duo, a young designer, pointed out that some Han people join the team of tour guides to reap the fruits of cultural tourism. These Han tour guides pretend to be Bai people by wearing *Jinhua Fu*, and recite Bai mythologies and practices they learn from textbooks verbatim. Without fully understanding what they are introducing, these Han tour guides might not be able to present Bai culture vividly (P82, 11/8/2014). Duo's comments also suggest that Bai mythologies have been staged for tourist consumption. As such, local interviewees were aware of undesirable outcomes of the staging and commoditization of Bai culture for the sake of tourism.

Peng, a young Bai taxi driver, and Long, a middle-aged Bai businessman, noted that more and more Bai people are turning their houses into guesthouses to accommodate the increasing numbers of tourists. They said: "[Domestic individual] tourists[49] like staying in local Bai people's houses to observe homeowners' daily lives and obtain an authentic tourism experience"; locals have therefore turned their houses into tourism facilities where their daily lives are presented to domestic individual tourists. However, Peng and Long added that it is ironic that tourists who stay in Bai houses "in search of authentic experiences often require modern decorations and facilities such as alloy-frame windows and baths". They said, in order to satisfy their guests, guesthouse owners in local villages replace small wood-frame windows with large alloy-frame windows and add modern facilities such as toilets and baths. Peng and Long

[48] Naxi is an ethnic minority group in China.

[49] As I mentioned in Section 4.2.3, my local interviewees tended to use 'tourists' to refer to domestic tourists. After I sought clarifications, I knew that Peng and Long referred particularly to 'domestic individual tourists' when saying 'tourists'.

commented, such modifications are gradually changing the look of Bai folk houses, as more and more local villagers equip their houses with these "modern" elements (P4, 5/5/2014; P13, 10/5/2014).[50]

Four Bai interviewees with such houses said that they copied practices from guesthouse owners, who had told them that "large windows allow more sunlight in than traditional Bai wood-framed windows and modern facilities make daily lives more convenient" (interviews, 6/5/2014–10/8/2014). While talking about the new features of Bai folk houses, my interviewees invariably called them "modern" features, and perceived these features more advanced than "traditional features" such as wood-framed windows and wood beds. One villager said that she equipped her house with these "modern" features partly because many other villagers had also done so. She said: "Without a modernized house, I would feel 'backward' compared to other villagers" (P81, 10/8/2014). In this way, the use of so-called modern features has spread from just a few guesthouses to many Bai houses not used for tourism purposes.

Although I highlight the impact of tourism growth on Bai houses here, I am aware that this is not the sole force that changes Bai architecture. Based on my own experience in Dali City, I would argue that my interviewees might also learn of "modern" elements from urban dwellers, official media that advocate a "modern" lifestyle, and new residential buildings built on the urban-rural fringe. Two interviewees noted that quite a few local villagers "introduced modern elements to their own houses out of their desire to imitate urban people's lifestyles that they perceive as more advanced" (P12, 9/5/2014; P20, 18/5/2014). This statement references the perceived gap between rural and urban lives; given that tourism growth have brought the facilities that urban people use to villagers' homes, it could be considered to have played an important role in narrowing this gap.

6.3 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how both material cultural aspects such as clothing style, architecture, and handicrafts, and nonmaterial cultural aspects such as mythologies and meanings associated with certain material elements have been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption. In Sections 6.1—6.4, I examined in detail how the four most prevalent aspects have been staged and/or commoditized. In Section 6.1, I introduced *Jinhua Fu* and compared it with everyday Bai female clothes, highlighting how different generations perceive *Jinhua Fu* differently. I then described how three-course tea has been staged and advertised as a

[50] Peng and Long used the word 'modern' to describe the new decorations and facilities that were added to Bai folk houses, explaining that "these new elements are modern because they did not exist in Dali in the old times."

'traditional' Bai tea-drinking practice so as to please tourists. I also explored generational variations in evaluating the authenticity of three-course tea. Younger Bai people tend to have different understandings of traditional tea-drinking practice from elders, largely caused by the commoditization of tea-drinking practice in tourism (Section 6.2). In Section 6.3, I illustrated through three case studies how Bai architecture has been reworked and adapted for tourist consumption, while in Section 6.4, I examined how two types of Bai handicrafts – silver products and tie-dye fabrics – have been advertised and sold to tourists with specific cultural 'stories' attached. I found that local Bai interviewees have different, sometimes contradictory, ideas regarding traditional forms of certain Bai cultural elements, making it difficult to differentiate modified forms from traditional forms of these elements. I also noted that "authenticity" is a subjective term interpreted differently by my interviewees, making it difficult to reach a consensus regarding the authenticity of certain aspects of Bai culture.

In Section 6.5, I briefly described tourists' views on the aspects of Bai culture they had experienced in Dali Prefecture, before examining local Bai individuals' perceptions of staging and commoditizing their culture. In addition to the cultural aspects that have been utilized in tourism, my interviewees also identified other aspects that could be presented to tourists. This suggests that they perceive 'Bai culture' differently from local officials and entrepreneurs who stage and commoditize Bai cultural elements, and implies that local tourism planning is strictly controlled by local officials and entrepreneurs, corresponding to the local decision-making process that I revealed in Chapter 5.

Based on my interviewees' statements, I argue that staging and commoditizing certain aspects of Bai culture for tourism purposes yields both positive and negative outcomes. For example, turning historic Bai houses into tourist sites (e.g. the Linden Center) generate income that can be used to preserve them, but the process of staging and commoditizing these buildings changes their design and function. On the one hand, staging and commoditization can raise Bai people's ethnic pride, preserve certain aspects of their culture, and improve Han-Bai relations. On the other hand, the cultural elements staged and/or commoditized for tourism purposes are likely to misrepresent Bai culture and people, changing certain cultural features through acculturation to non-Bai cultures, as in the case of "modern features" of Bai houses and Tibetan patterns on silver handicrafts. I continue to discuss the complex relationships between tourism growth and local Bai culture in Chapter 8. Before that, I examine the impacts of tourism growth on Bai livelihoods through generational and individual perspectives in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7 Influences of Tourism on Bai Livelihoods

Researchers studying Dali's tourism growth have documented how local Bai people have been involved in tourism, taking on jobs such as tour guides, stage performers, and drivers (Chow, 2005; Doorne *et al*., 2003). In Chapters 5 and 6, I have depicted several such instances in my analysis of how local Bai people deal with local governments regarding tourism decisions and the staging and/or commoditization of certain aspects of Bai culture for tourist consumption.

During an interview at his workplace, a Bai hairdresser told me, "my house is located at the lakeside, a perfect location for a guesthouse. If I had enough money, I would renovate and turn it into a guesthouse, which would be very profitable" (P22, 19/5/2014). This statement reflects a desire – to be involved in tourism – common among many of my interviewees. It also reflects a common barrier many face – the lack of financial resources – that restricts their ability to obtain tourism-related livelihoods. Considering these dreams and obstacles, I draw upon the sustainable livelihoods literature, including concepts of capital analysis, determinants of livelihoods, livelihood diversification, and everyday resistance (refer back to Section 2.2), in order to understand the nuanced influences of tourism on Bai livelihoods. In doing so, I address my third research question: **what tourism-related livelihoods are Bai people involved with and how have a range of these livelihoods been shaped or transformed with the growth of the tourism sector?** I begin by investigating several livelihood approaches that Bai people have developed in tourism and the corresponding strategies that they have devised to sustain these livelihoods (Section 7.1). I then examine how Bai livelihoods at the family level (over three generations) have been influenced by tourism growth (Section 7.2). In Section 7.3, I move to the individual level to explore how Bai individuals' livelihoods have changed over time.

7.1 Bai Tourism-related Livelihoods

A common narrative among many of my informants described a general trend towards increasing involvement in tourism over the past 30 years. In sum, Bai people have initiated a variety of tourism livelihoods in both rural and urban areas, deriving economic benefits from tourism growth. These livelihoods include: drivers of touristic vehicles (e.g. buses, taxies, and ships), tour guides, travel agents, craftspeople, street cleaners, and performers of Bai music, songs, and dances. Although my interviewees primarily listed legal livelihoods during interviews, my own experience in Dali City suggests that a number of Bai people are engaged in illegal livelihoods such as selling marijuana and providing sex services (see also Clarke, 1999; Humphrey, 2011). In this section, I focus on five categories of livelihoods including employees and owners of local

restaurants, souvenir shops, and guesthouses, street vendors, and informal taxi drivers. These livelihood approaches provide a multi-faceted picture of Bai tourism-related livelihoods for three reasons. First, they cover the catering (restaurants and street vending), accommodation (guesthouses), transportation (informal taxis), and retail (street vending and souvenir shops) sectors, all of which are key components of the tourism sector. Second, they include both low-paid (e.g. employees) and high-paid livelihoods (e.g. owners). Third, they include both legal (e.g. jobs at restaurants, guesthouses, and souvenir shops) and illegal livelihoods (e.g. informal taxis and street vendors).[51] In Sections 7.1.1—7.1.5, I analyze how local Bai people have engaged with these five categories of livelihoods.

7.1.1 Restaurants

Jobs in restaurants include the positions of owners, managers, waiters/waitresses, cashiers, and cooks, depending on restaurant size (P13, 10/5/2014; P27, 25/5/2014). As one of my informants explained, "tourists have to find restaurants to feed themselves during their stay in Dali", which creates business opportunities for local people, many of them Bai (P27, 25/5/2014). Within restaurants and at food stalls along tourist roads (e.g. Renmin Road and Foreigner Street), Bai people can be found providing tourists with Bai snacks or formal meals[52] (participant observation, 9/5/2014−23/5/2014). As Bai culture expert Ming explained, the most common dish served to tourists is Bai Poached Fish, which has been promoted as the signature dish of Bai cuisine. He added that fish cooked in 'the Bai way' tastes sour and spicy, which is Bai people's favourite flavour (P27, 25/5/2014).

Long, a middle-aged Bai guesthouse owner, recalled how Erhai Lake supplied abundant fish in the 1980s and early 1990s, which allowed local Bai restaurants to serve tourists with lake fish. As he told it, the freshness and taste of lake fish made Bai Poached Fish popular among domestic tourists when Dali opened to tourists (P13, 10/5/2014). By the 2000s, however, lake fish had become rare and expensive, so restaurants started to use pond fish instead of lake fish (*ibid.*). Three local Bai interviewees who remembered the change confided that local restaurants (owned by Bai or Han people) obscure their sources of fish, as they are afraid that tourists might disapprove of pond fish. According to these interviewees, restaurants succeed in maintaining the

[51] I also focused on these two illegal livelihoods, rather than for example, sex work and drug selling, due to fieldwork practicalities. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, it was difficult to seek information on illegal and sensitive topics as a single young woman in the field. I am aware that this means I am focusing on a sub-set of tourism livelihoods, but, as noted above, believe that this still provides a very interesting and broad array of livelihood options.

[52] 'Formal meals' refers to meals that consist of fish and meat dishes, at least one vegetable, and a bowl of rice or noodles. In other words, dishes and staple foods are presented separately. Customers are often provided with a wide range of possible dishes to choose from.

taste of Bai Poached Fish by using the original seasonings (P12, 9/5/2014; P33, 6/6/2014; P45, 16/6/2014). A Bai restaurant owner stated that this strategy works well for local restaurant owners because tourists are unable to distinguish between lake and pond fish (P33, 6/6/2014). The decreasing supply of fish in this case can be considered a critical 'trend' (see Section 2.2.1) that threatens restaurant owners' and employees' livelihoods. By replacing lake fish with pond fish, these restaurant owners have addressed this 'trend' and maintained their livelihoods.

According to Ming, competition is tense among local restaurants, all of whose menus include Bai Poached Fish with the purpose of attracting domestic tourists. In such circumstances, one restaurant's innovation was to cook fish using spring water, instead of the usual tap water, advertising its Bai Poached Fish as 'natural and native' (P27, 25/5/2014). Ming told me that other restaurants have since borrowed this idea, which has made spring water-poached fish a common sight in the region (*ibid.*). I would argue that the intensified competition among restaurants is another 'trend' that creates vulnerabilities for Bai people working in restaurants.

Facing livelihood trends such as the depletion of lake fish and intensified competition, Bai restaurant owners have to adjust their business strategies to maintain their own livelihoods and those of their employees. A middle-aged Bai restaurant owner named Zhu expressed worry that the waitress working at her restaurant would find herself out of work if the restaurant were to close permanently (P33, 6/6/2014). Facing competition, Zhu, who formerly served only formal Bai meals, began serving simple meals instead (P33, 6/6/2014).[53] She explained that serving formal meals meant having to prepare a diverse variety of raw materials including meat and various kinds of vegetables. Such perishable ingredients must be prepared and consumed within a limited timeframe; otherwise, Zhu risks a financial loss if they go bad. Afraid of such a loss, Zhu decided instead to serve simple, cheap meals that require fewer raw materials, such as noodle dishes and fried rice. Serving simple meals turned out to be a good decision, Zhu said. She noticed that a number of domestic individual tourists prefer "fast, cheap, and delicious meals" to more expensive, time-consuming formal meals after she changed her menu (*ibid.*).[54] Some other restaurants, also keenly aware of growing competition, have diversified the types of food they provide, offering both formal meals and simple meals to attract tourists (P5, 6/5/2014; P11, 9/5/2014).

An official who supervises local restaurants told me that restaurant owners in the tourism business also take location into account, ideally running restaurants close to tourist areas in

[53] Simple meals are much easier to prepare than formal ones and consist of a staple food (rice or noodles) mixed with meat, or vegetables. These are typically served in one bowl or on one plate.
[54] By saying this, Zhu emphasized three advantages of simple meals – fast, cheap, and delicious, which make simple meals attractive to certain domestic individual tourists, either rich or poor.

locations with affordable rent (P15, 13/5/2014). The cost of rent is a key concern here, especially considering recent rent increase trends (*ibid.*). When discussing rent, Zhu, whose restaurant is located on a tourist road in Dali Old Town, mentioned that two neighbouring restaurants had moved to the non-tourist area of the Old Town (P33, 6/6/2014). Zhu explained that at the end of 2013, these two restaurant owners were informed by their landlords that their rents for 2014 would increase. The new rents were higher than they expected, and they had no choice but to vacate, Relocation in response to such a livelihood 'shock' (see Section 2.2.1) is an example of business owners' adjustment strategies when facing negative aspects of cultural tourism growth, corresponding with 'rising rents' discussed in Section 5.1.1.

Generally speaking, tourism growth provides Bai people livelihood opportunities in restaurants, but also makes the individuals who work in restaurants vulnerable to various trends and shocks. Fortunately, at least a few Bai restaurant owners so far have been able to devise adaptive strategies to sustain their and their employees' livelihoods.

7.1.2 Souvenir shops

Based on my observations, local souvenir shops create numerous job opportunities for local Bai people, especially young Bai women in their 20s and 30s. A female Bai shop owner said that she and other shop owners like to have their young, female Bai employees wear *Jinhua Fu* (see Section 6.1) because they believe it helps their shops attract tourists. She added that young Bai women's age and style of communication are also desirable qualities among shop owners who wish to establish trust with tourists (P57, 8/7/2014). Another female Bai shop owner who has worked with tens of young Bai women noted that many enjoy taking jobs in souvenir shops because they provide adequate salaries while requiring little manual work. She explained that in Dali Prefecture, shop employees' salaries often consist of a base salary and a bonus based on sales. She added that her employees feel optimistic about their chances of taking home good pay when millions of tourists arrive in the prefecture each year (P58, 8/7/2014).

Based on my fieldwork data, I have categorized souvenir shops in Dali Prefecture into three types: (i) small shops owned and operated by shop owners; (ii) small shops which owners employ one or two salespeople to operate; and (iii) large shops from which owners are mostly absent where employees (often more than five), either managers or salespeople, handle daily operations (P57, 8/7/2014; P75, 8/8/2014; P81, 10/8/2014). Chun, a young shop owner, said that manager-level positions are often retained by people who have substantial work experience in the retail sector, while sale positions are open to almost anyone of average appearance capable of communicating with customers (P51, 17/6/2014). In other words, being a salesperson or a shop

manager requires no capital other than human capital (see Section 2.2.2), though stronger human capital is required to be employed as a shop manager than as a salesperson.

Chun added that Bai individuals who have sufficient financial capital can become owners of large shops without necessarily having sales or management skills because they can hire managers to take care of their shops. In saying this, Chun implied that owning a large shop only requires strong financial capital. My fieldwork data suggest, however, a more complex reality in which shop owners often possess other forms of capital. A few large shop owners with whom I spoke developed sale and management skills as salespeople and shop managers before coming into their current positions (e.g. Ke and Bo in Section 7.3). Still, I would agree that financial capital is the most important requirement for starting a shop, regardless of size, though shop owners must also possess human capital (e.g. health and relevant skills) and social capital (e.g. business networks and customer relations) to maintain their business. In other words, the livelihood of a shop owner requires a specific balance of different types of livelihood capitals.

Hua, the owner of a large shop, told me that local shops of a similar size to hers often have their own workshops or factories. This type of arrangement reduces costs, since producing products in-house is cheaper than purchasing them from elsewhere (P14, 10/5/2014). Some handicraft shops open their workshops to tourists to allow them to watch the crafting process with the purpose of showcasing the elaborate manner in which souvenirs are made (*ibid.*). I argue that these workers, like the silver-workers I mentioned in Section 6.4.1, enter and maintain their livelihoods through the means of strong human capital (crafting skills). Shop owners then make deliberate displays of this human capital to outcompete shops where the crafting process is invisible and souvenirs' origins remain obscure.

When visiting one such open workshop, I saw around 25 young Bai women in *Jinhua Fu* preparing silver handicrafts (see Section 6.4.1) in a twenty-square-meter workshop (Figure 7.1) (participant observation, 27/7/2014). Women are assigned 'easy' components of the crafting process such as polishing and cleansing, while men complete 'difficult' tasks such as moulding and carving (P73, 3/8/2014). I conjecture that this division originates from certain patriarchal traditions of Bai society: as an old Bai tailor once told me, Bai craftsmen preferentially tend to pass on crafting skills to their sons, who in many families possess higher status than daughters (P30, 2/6/2014). As would be expected with such a disparity, I observed that young women often work as salespeople or at workshops accomplishing easy crafting work. In some cases, the tailor said, young women working in craft workshops or factories marry their male colleagues who are skilled craftsmen. After accumulating sufficient financial capital, these couples then start their own businesses by opening small handicraft shops. In these new businesses, women work as

salespeople while their husbands produce handicrafts (*ibid.*).[55] In such cases, specialized human capital – as well as inherited social norms, most likely – contribute to the division of labour between married men and women. This to a large degree aligns with Becker's (1985) argument that specialized human capital can cause gender divisions in livelihood approaches.

Figure 7.1 Bai Women Working on Silver Products in an Open Workshop
(Source: Author, 2014)

7.1.3 Guesthouses

Fourteen interviewees noted that tourism growth in Dali Prefecture has brought about a mushrooming of guesthouses, which they considered to be one of the most significant recent changes to the prefecture's landscape (interviews, 5/5/2014−12/8/2014). Ming, a local official and expert in Bai culture, estimated that there are over 2000 guesthouses in and near Dali Old Town (P27, 25/5/2014). The guesthouse industry has also expanded to Bai villages. One Photovoice participant took a photo that showed new guesthouses in a Bai village close to the Old Town (Figure 7.3). He stated that the number of guesthouses is rising at an unexpectedly fast pace, and that accompanying excess of tourists who create noise and waste pollutions interferes with the tranquility of the village (PV2-2).

[55] In these 'family businesses', female salespeople and their husbands earn together without calculating individual incomes.

Figure 7.2 Photovoice Participant's Image of Booming Guesthouses in a Bai Village (Source: PV2-2, 2014)

Six interviewees explained to me in similar ways a common historical trajectory by which Bai villagers' involvement in the guesthouse industry has grown over recent years (interviews, 5/5/2014−13/6/2014). At first, non-local Chinese people (mostly Han Chinese) rented houses from Bai villagers, eventually transforming them from places of residence into guesthouses. Bai landlords were initially happy with their extra rental income, which was much higher than what they were making through agricultural production. Over the next few years, however the large profit potential of running guesthouses became increasingly apparent, and Bai landlords began arguing for rent increases from their tenants (P27, 25/5/2014; P38, 13/6/2014). These demands led eventually to direct engagement on the part of Bai people in the tourism accommodations market: if increases in rent were not successfully negotiated, Bai landlords evicted their tenants and began operating guesthouses themselves, hoping to earn higher incomes than by renting out houses to independent managers (*ibid.*). Ming commented that Bai villagers benefitted greatly from having acquired necessary human capital in the form of basic managerial skills from observing non-local tenants' successful business practices during the first two stages of the process (P27, 25/5/2014).

Ming explained that appropriating guesthouses back from their tenants meant that Bai landlords did not have to spend financial capital on renovations and decoration. Indeed, the tenants had in many cases spent considerable amounts of money transforming private homes into tourist facilities, while most Bai landlords would not have been able to afford such a large lump-sum investment (*ibid.*). A local Bai interviewee who used to be a guesthouse manager told me that Bai landlords also took over the customer networks that their tenants had developed – satisfied tourists would often return to the same guesthouse on subsequent visits to Dali Prefecture, and would even pass recommendations on to their friends and relatives, despite changes in management (P4, 5/5/2014). I understand these developments as a three-stage process

in which Bai villagers succeeded in accumulating physical capital (e.g. renovated houses), human capital (e.g. guesthouse management skills), and social capital (e.g. customer networks) in order to obtain access to the guesthouse industry as a viable livelihood strategy.

The expanding guesthouse industry also creates job opportunities for local Bai people, employed as cleaners and guesthouse managers (P8, 6/5/2014; P76, 8/8/2014). It also alters the relationships between urban dwellers and villagers. Six interviewees who work and live in urban areas commented that villagers who own lakefront houses live a much better life than urban people (9/5/2014−12/8/2014). These villagers' incomes, earned from either renting out houses or running their own guesthouses, are considerably higher than those of urban residents, who commonly think of villagers' livelihoods in the guesthouse industry as more relaxed than those of urban employees who follow strict routines. Bai villagers' growing involvement in the guesthouse industry thus appears to be changing the traditional rural-urban divide of livelihoods – villagers' livelihoods increasingly rely on non-natural resources (e.g. cash income from guests) rather than primarily on natural resources (see Section 2.2.3).

As already noted, the use of Bai houses for tourism purposes has resulted in visible changes to Bai architecture (see Section 6.3). For example, traditional Bai houses are modified by installing large alloy-frame windows, bath facilities, reception counters, bar counters, and glass roofs (P27, 25/5/2014). All these exotic cultural elements introduced to satisfy tourists have changed the utility of Bai houses, no longer merely a living place for Bai people, but also tools (physical capital) that sustain Bai people's livelihoods.

In sum, tourism growth in Dali Prefecture has helped Bai people to accumulate different types of capital. For example, the expanding tourism sector led non-local people to begin operating guesthouses in the Dali region, which provided Bai people a chance to accumulate both physical and human capital. Tourism growth has also given Bai people access to the guesthouse industry by providing them the financial capital necessary to start their own businesses (from accumulated rental income). Rural Bai people's involvement in the guesthouse industry has furthermore changed the rural-urban divide in livelihoods. At present, the prefectural and municipal governments have not set any stringent rules or regulations restricting local or non-local people's access to the guesthouse industry. A local official who supervises the guesthouse industry said that any person (Han or Bai, local or non-local) can easily obtain a business permit for his or her guesthouse from the municipal government. This motivates more and more local Bai people to give up their previous livelihoods (e.g. agricultural production and sales) in order to run guesthouses instead (P15, 13/5/2014). Although both rural and urban Bai guesthouse owners whom I interviewed expressed contentment with their livelihoods (six

interviewees, 6/5/2014−18/6/2014), it remains to be seen whether guesthouse-related livelihoods are sustainable when competition among guesthouses intensifies. I expect that government intervention might be necessary in the near future to restrict new entrants to the guesthouse industry; otherwise, intensified competition may create vulnerabilities for guesthouse owners and employees.

7.1.4 Street vendors

A local official with whom I spoke told me that, in order to keep streets neat and clean, street vending is not permitted by the municipal government. The municipal government organizes inspection teams to patrol Dali streets regularly with the aim of eliminating street vending by punishing vendors with fines and confiscating their goods (P15, 13/5/2014). Still, in the Old Town and other touristic locales nearby, I observed street vendors selling fresh fruit and vegetables and small souvenirs to tourists (participant observation, 9/5/2014). These informal street vendors can be considered everyday resisters who resist the government ban on street vending in covert ways (see also Section 5.2).

More than 90 percent of street vendors I observed in my field sites were female (participant observation, 9/5/2014−10/8/2014). This aligns with Hsu's (1948) and Notar's (2006a) observations in Dali Prefecture. My interviewees (street vendors or local Bai residents) asserted that women are more suited to street vending than men because they are better at bargaining and at earning tourists' trust. Further, Bai men are uncomfortable vending on the street since they perceive street vending as a low-level job that is unsuitable for men (eight interviews, 16/6/2014−10/8/2014). Bai women's trading skills, as well as gendered social norms in Bai society (similar to the gendered division in producing crafts seen in Section 7.1.2), seem have contributed to the dominance of Bai women in the visible tourist marketplace.

Two street vendors told me that they and a number of other local Bai women traded on the street only during the non-agricultural season. After earning some extra income, they would return to their farms to work during the agricultural season. These often buy the products they vend from other farmers, rather than selling their own produce (P48, 16/6/2014; P68; 26/7/2014). Such temporary street vendors can be compared to the itinerant minority vendors in Vietnam's Sa Pa district that Turner and Oswin (2015) describe, earning extra money by selling products to tourists during their spare time. Another street vendor told me that some Bai women (herself included) have no choice but to vend on the street, as they have neither the assets (farmland) to conduct agricultural production, nor enough human capital (physical strength and skills) or financial capital to establish other livelihoods in non-agricultural sectors. This woman claimed

that local governments had re-appropriated her farmland and that of other permanent street vendors in order to initiate tourism projects. She said that, similar to seasonal vendors, permanent vendors also purchase products at a low expense, then sell them to tourists at higher prices (P49, 16/6/2014). Street vending for local Bai women who have other livelihood choices (e.g. farming) appears to be a supplementary livelihood approach, while permanent street vendors do not see themselves as having alternative livelihoods. My interviewees' statements imply that street vending is one of the most accessible livelihoods for local Bai women, requiring little financial or human capital.

I noticed that informal street vendors can largely be categorized as either mobile or fixed. While mobile street vendors mostly sell fresh fruit and vegetables, fixed street vendors sell souvenirs such as flower wreaths, rings, bracelets, and wallets (participant observation, 9/5/2014−10/8/2014). Mobile street vendors carry their products around in baskets or trolleys. They stop when tourists express intent to buy items or when inspection teams are absent (Figure 7.2) (participant observation, 9/5/2014−10/8/2014). As a mobile street vendor disclosed to me, by moving around, they are more likely to meet potential customers and less likely to be caught by inspection teams (P48, 16/6/2014). Another mobile street vendor said that she cannot attract tourists without walking around; otherwise, her fruit and vegetables would go bad before she could sell all of them (P49, 16/6/2014). Fixed street vendors, on the other hand, vend in particular locations. According to one fixed street vendor, products are placed on the ground in locations negotiated with neighbouring vendors, and vendors yell to attract tourists until an inspection team arrives (P52, 17/6/2014).

Figure 7.3 Bai Mobile Street Vendors
(Source: Author, 2014)

Mobile and fixed street vendors with whom I spoke both expressed fear of inspection teams. Two street vendors told me that, when starting out as a street vendor, they were anxious whenever they saw an inspection team or heard that one was approaching (P48, 16/6/2014; P52, 17/6/2014). They added that, over time, they have developed strategies to dodge inspection teams so as to maintain their informal livelihoods. Inspection teams have regular schedules and routes, so vendors can avoid them during known inspection periods or on established inspection routes (P48, 16/6/2014; P49, 16/6/2014; see Turner and Schoenberger, 2012, for a similar situation in Hanoi, Vietnam). Another strategy one fixed street vendor explained to me relied on cooperation among neighbouring vendors: every fixed vendor acts as a guard and alerts other vendors to the approach of an inspection team (P52, 17/6/2014). This practice can be understood as a form of bonding social capital that fixed street vendors employ in order to sustain their livelihoods (see also Turner and Schoenberger, 2012).

To sum up, street vending as discussed in this section is a gendered tourism livelihood in which covert resistance to governmental restrictions, enabled in some instances by the informal linkages of bonding social capital, clearly helps individuals maintain livelihoods. Street vending can be practiced seasonally (e.g. temporary street vending) or in a permanent manner, thanks to its easy access – low requirements for human capital and financial capital.

7.1.5 Informal taxi drivers

Taxi drivers in Dali Prefecture can be classified as either formal drivers or informal drivers. Formal taxi drivers are those who work for taxi companies and have business permits, while informal drivers transport passengers without a permit (P15, 13/5/2014). An official who supervises local taxis said that formal drivers have to pay administration fees and taxes, while informal taxi drivers working on their own evade such expenses (*ibid.*). Peng, an informal taxi driver, stated that in Dali City, the municipal government sets a limit for formal taxis far below market demand for taxis (especially considering tourist demand). For this reason, many Bai individuals are able to make decent money as informal taxi drivers. Peng added that most informal drivers target tourists and provide services ranging from transportation (e.g. airport pick-up and tours around the city) to travel advising (e.g. tour route arrangements and guesthouse reservations) (P4, 5/5/2014). Both the official and Peng said that the prevalence of informal taxis is a result of rapid tourism growth in Dali Prefecture (P4, 5/5/2014; P15, 13/5/2014). Two domestic individual tourists told me that they prefer informal taxis because of their low fares, They claimed that informal taxi drivers they have met both in Dali and elsewhere are friendly,

talkative, and happy to provide travel information, which they prefer to the taciturn tendencies of formal taxi drivers (P56, 18/6/2014; P66, 26/7/2014).

"Anyone can become an informal taxi driver as long as he or she has a car and can drive", a local Bai person explained to me (P11, 9/5/2014). As two local residents explained, cars have become affordable for many local Bai people in recent years, with cheap cars available for approximately USD2,000 and expensive options for USD40,000 (P12, 9/5/2014; P27, 25/5/2014). In other words, Bai people have relatively easy access to this informal livelihood – becoming an informal taxi driver requires only moderate amounts of financial capital (a car or money to purchase a car) and human capital (driving ability). Obviously, necessary infrastructure (physical capital such as roads and highways) is already present. Ming, my key informant, mentioned that the informal taxis common in Dali Prefecture rely on such public goods, and that there are around 1,000 informal taxis frequenting Dali Old Town (P27, 25/5/2014).

Peng said that some informal taxi drivers work full time and permanently, while others maintain permanent jobs elsewhere and choose to drive after work. A small number of drivers drive seasonally, working variously as informal taxi drivers and as formal truck drivers (P4, 5/5/2014). This variety of work circumstances is similar to that of the temporary and permanent street vendors I describe in Section 7.1.4. Peng and one other local Bai person told me that, in order to avoid being caught by the police, informal taxi drivers often try to make their cars indistinguishable from private personal-use cars (P4, 5/5/2014; P9, 6/5/2014). These two interviewees added that informal taxi drivers also request that tourists to deny their driver-client relations in the event of a police inquiry. Tourists often tell the police that they are drivers' friends, not clients (*ibid.*). Peng said that this strategy works well most of time, because tourists understand the situation and are willing to help (P4, 5/5/2014). It seems that tourists play vital roles in this informal livelihood beyond their mere status as paying customers, and one can understand their commitment to helping informal taxi drivers as a form of bridging social capital possessed by drivers (see Section 2.2.2). Furthermore, Peng claimed that Bai informal taxi drivers share these strategies only with fellow Bai, because drivers have emotional closeness within an ethnic group. He further specified that Bai informal taxi drivers within his group often share their experiences of being caught by the police, as well as new techniques for approaching tourists. Peng believes that such sharing is also common among other driver groups (P4, 5/5/2014). So, Peng's statements suggest that ethnic identification is another form of bonding social capital that plays an important role in maintaining the livelihood of informal taxi driving.

A division of labour also exists in informal taxi driving. Two local residents explained that some married Bai women cooperate with their husbands – they attract tourists or act as tour

guides, while their husbands are drivers (P6, 6/5/2014; P9, 6/5/2014). My interviewees said, this livelihood strategy aims to take advantage of both women's and men's human capital: Bai women seldom have a driver license, while their husbands do; women are good at attracting and persuading tourists, while their husbands find this aspect of the job annoying (P6, 6/5/2014; P9. 6/5/2014; P12, 9/5/2014). I argue this division of labour, based on gendered human capital, is a strategy to sustain livelihoods in the informal taxi industry.

In sum, informal taxi driving is a gendered tourism livelihood similar to street vending, where covert resistance is at play in livelihood maintenance. Necessary financial capital (private cars), human capital (driving ability), and physical capital (roads and highways) give a number of Bai individuals access to livelihoods as informal taxi drivers, while bridging and bonding social capital help them sustain these livelihoods.

7.1.6 Summarizing tourism livelihoods

My fieldwork data suggest that, among all the tourism livelihoods I have discussed, street vending and informal taxi driving are the two in which covert resistance is most at play. Furthermore, a gendered division of labour exists in both of these informal livelihoods – Bai women tend to work as street vendors while Bai men work as informal taxi drivers. In contrast, Bai people who work in restaurants, souvenir shops and guesthouses can be divided into two broad groups – owners and employees. While a gender divide does not exist in owner-level positions (both Bai men and women occupy owner-level positions), it persists in employee-level positions: female employees dominate jobs in restaurants (waitresses), souvenir shops (salespeople), and guesthouses (room cleaners).

My interviewees disclosed that Bai women have long played dominant roles in local marketplaces selling produces (P10, 9/5/2014; P30, 3/6/2014). It is apparent that with tourism growth, such dominance has expanded to tourist markets. Bai women are said to be better at communication and trading than men (see Sections 7.1.2 and 7.1.5). Bai women's incomes vary from one position to another; for example, a female guesthouse owner earns much more than room cleaners. Likewise, their incomes relative to their husbands' are largely determined by position. A female guesthouse owner said she earned more than her husband, who is a government official (P55, 18/6/2014), while two female street vendors disclosed that they earned much less than their husbands (one of whom is a construction worker, while the other is a porter) (P48, 16/6/2014; P52, 17/6/2014). Although it remains unclear to what extent tourism growth has improved certain Bai women's economic status, it is apparent that the tourism sector provides local women with various livelihoods choices, some of which generate adequate salaries while

requiring little manual work (e.g. sales jobs in Section 7.1.2). A female restaurant owner and a female street vendor, both of who used to be construction workers, stated that their current livelihoods are much less tiring and more appropriate for them (P48, 16/6/2014; P52, 17/6/2014). Both of them added that they now have more spare time and effort to spend on their families, even though they earn much less than working at construction sites. This statement reflects the social norm that women are supposed to be family-oriented, taking on more child-rearing responsibilities and caring for the elderly. Such gender norms persist in the tourism sector, as I have analyzed in the cases of *Jinhua Fu* production (Section 7.1.2), salespeople (Section 7.1.2), and street vendors (Section 7.1.4).

Through an analysis of different capitals, one sees that Bai people's access to employee-level positions in restaurants, souvenir shops, and guesthouses tends to rely on the possession of various forms of human capital (e.g. cooking skills, craft making skills, or sale skills). But instead of discussing employee-level positions in detail, I will focus rather on the assets of the five following tourism livelihoods: restaurant owners, souvenir shop owners, guesthouse owners, street vendors, and informal taxi drivers. I have noted examples of how *gaining access* to any of these five tourism livelihoods requires different asset portfolios than *maintaining* them does. For example, entering the livelihood of street vending requires little or no social capital, whereas maintaining it requires a certain amount of bonding social capital (see Section 7.1.4). Also, obtaining the position of shop owner requires strong financial capital (money to decorate the place and purchase products), whereas maintaining it requires less financial capital (money to replenish the stock).

Furthermore, I noticed that the importance of each type of capital varies among the five livelihoods in question. Running guesthouses requires the strongest *financial capital* (high rent), while street vending requires the least. *Human capital* is important to different degrees for all five livelihoods in discussion: restaurant owners, shop owners, and guesthouse owners should have certain levels of management and communication skills; street vendors should have trading skills; and taxi drivers should hopefully be able to drive well. *Physical capital* is necessary, though not equally important, for restaurant owners, shop owners, and guesthouse owners, all of whom need physical buildings. Informal taxi drivers also need physical capital (roads and highways). *Natural capital* is necessary for restaurant owners, shop owners, guesthouse owners, and fixed street vendors, who need land resources and/or water supplies. A small number of street vendors may require land to produce fruit and vegetables, but, again, the importance of natural capital is not equal for these five livelihoods. *Social capital*, though not necessary, can facilitate individuals' access to these five livelihoods. For example, a person who has a strong

social network is often able to find a building to start his or her business more easily than someone with a weaker social network.

Given the relative importance of each type of capital to each livelihood, I would argue that street vending is the easiest to access for local residents among the five tourism livelihoods discussed, due to the relatively low levels of financial and human capitals required. Finding and maintaining work as an employee in a restaurant, souvenir shop, or guesthouse requires fairly similar capital requirements to each other. Taxi drivers must possess far more financial capital, while guesthouse, shop, and restaurant owners require the most substantial amounts of financial, human, natural (land), physical (building), and social capitals. It is clear, given these different capital requirements, that a division of labour in livelihoods related to tourism exists in Dali Prefecture, and this is most likely going to become increasingly apparent with the growth of the tourism sector. Namely, Bai people who have strong financial capital and social capital will continue to occupy livelihoods with the greatest opportunities for higher financial returns (profits), reinforcing the tendency for Bai people with less financial and social capital to sustain themselves through low-profit livelihoods.

7.2 Generational Changes in Bai Livelihoods

At least 80 percent of my Bai interviewees repeatedly made positive statements about tourism growth such as "tourism growth improves our quality of life", "tourism growth generates income", and "tourism growth creates job opportunities" (5/5/2014−12/8/2014). These words stress different aspects of the outcomes of tourism growth, such as lifestyle changes (better quality of life and higher incomes) and livelihood diversification (more diverse job opportunities). In this section, I will explain how tourism growth has changed Bai livelihoods over three generations based on case studies from three Bai families. These three families emerged during my fieldwork when Bai people involved in tourism with whom I spoke referred me to their family members of different generations. The data were collected either through group or individual interviews with two or three generations within a Bai family.

7.2.1 Case study 1: Fang's family

Fang's Family Narrative

Fang is approximately 70 years old, married with four children, and used to be a farmer in a Bai village (P1, 5/5/2015). Before the 1980s, she lived a difficult life – despite spending considerable time and effort on agricultural production, she and her husband could hardly sustain their family. Her family sometimes ate plain rice porridge instead of steamed rice to save rice. Meat was so expensive for them that her family could only eat it once a week. Later

in the 1990s, her daughter started to sell souvenirs to tourists and became 'rich'. Fang and her husband then stopped farming and moved in with their daughter, who had bought an apartment in the urban area. Fang said her life is much better now – she is able to live a cozy life in the urban area with no financial difficulties, and "rice and meat are no longer a problem". Fang said that tourism growth has improved her life.

Xiong is Fang's son who is now around 50, married with two children (P3, 5/5/2014). He found employment at a local factory after graduating from middle school around age 17. In the early 2000s, the factory was shut down and he returned to the family's village to produce rice on the family's land. Xiong noted that "farming was labour-intensive with limited income", so he never gave up looking for a job in the urban area. Seeking job opportunities was difficult for Xiong because he lacked formal education and specific skills. Fortunately for him, he found employment as a hotel doorman. Xiong says, "for the last five years, being a doorman has been a high-demand job because a rising number of hotels have opened, requiring a growing number of doormen". He is not worried about unemployment.

Peng is Fang's grandson and Xiong's son (P4, 5/5/2014). He is approximately 30 years old, married with one child, and an informal taxi driver. He majored in hotel management in college, which was suggested by his family members who anticipated the abundance of employment opportunities in tourism. He initially worked as a bartender in the coastal city where he graduated. He later hoped to find a job in a local Dali hotel in order to take care of his parents and take advantage of his knowledge and skills in hotel management. After one year working in the coastal city, he returned to Dali City and became a guesthouse manager. Working in the guesthouse provided him with the chance to communicate with tourists. Through these communications, Peng recognized that informal taxi driving was a better livelihood. He says that as a self-employed taxi driver, he is able to decide his routes and working schedule; for this reason, he gave up his job as a guesthouse manager, bought a car with the money he had earned and borrowed from his parents, and became a full-time informal taxi driver. He says he earns more than before.

In this family narrative, it is clear to see that Fang's quality of life has improved thanks to tourism growth – tourism creates business opportunities and income for Fang's daughter, in turn improving Fang's life. Xiong adopts a tourism livelihood because of its easy access and high profitability compared to farming. Unlike Xiong, Peng's involvement in tourism is predetermined – his family members anticipated the abundant job opportunities in tourism and the positive outcomes of tourism livelihoods (profits); thus, they encouraged a tourism-related major for Peng, which has proved useful in Peng's tourism-based livelihoods following graduation. Unlike many other Bai people who have never received professional tourism-related training or education, Peng has been trained specifically for employment in the tourism sector. Peng started his career in tourism, whereas the usual route for Bai people consists of a diversification of their livelihoods into the tourism sector after experiencing worse outcomes

with other livelihood approaches (see more details on Bai people's livelihood history in Section 7.3).

7.2.2 Case study 2: Wu's family

Wu's Family Narrative

Wu is roughly 70 years old and married with two children (PV3-1, 15/8/2014). He is a folk artist who makes a living painting characteristic Bai decorations on walls and ceilings of new houses (see also Section 6.3). Wu says his income has increased in the past two years thanks to tourism growth, which has brought work in the form of new buildings, whether private residences, guesthouses, or tourist centers. He claims that he is indirectly involved in tourism, and tourism growth creates new job opportunities for him.

Bao is Wu's son, around 35 in age and married with one child (PV3-2, 22/8/2014). He works as an informal van driver, seasonally transporting fresh fruit and vegetables from local villages to restaurants in touristic areas during the tourism season. Bao believes that his work is related to tourism in some ways – much of the fruit and vegetables he transports to local restaurants ends up being consumed by tourists.

Ping, Bao's 19-year-old daughter, is majoring in tourism management at college (PV3-1, 15/8/2014). Wu and Bao chose this major for Ping, hoping that she will find employment in the tourism sector upon graduation. Noting that tourism is a promising sector, Wu expects his granddaughter's major to help her obtain a stable livelihood with a satisfactory salary (*ibid.*). Ping is interested in her major, agreeing with her grandfather and father that tourism is a promising sector.

In this family narrative, both Wu and Bao are involved in the tourism sector indirectly: Wu's human capital (painting skills) gives him access to his livelihood, and market demand for painting that grows along with the number of tourists links his livelihood to tourism; Bao's financial capital (ownership of a van) and human capital (driving skills), along with growing market demand for fruit and vegetable transportation, help Bao sustain his tourism-related livelihood. Similar to the case of Fang's family, Wu and Bao have positive expectations for tourism livelihoods and hope that Ping, the third generation in their family, will also work in the tourism sector after she has completed her professional education and training. Wu and Bao are well aware that human capital (in the form of tourism-related education and training) is necessary for Ping to access tourism livelihoods.

7.2.3 Case study 3: Shun's family

Shun's Family Narrative

Shun, a retired official, is over 80 years old (P28, 29/5/2014). His wife is a farmer and they have lived in their village for over 40 years. Shun's son, **Dong**, earned a considerable amount of money working in a non-tourism sector. With his savings, he was able to renovate Shun's house and install facilities such as water dispenser to improve his parents' daily life. Dong also built a guesthouse and appointed his own son, **Gang**, as its owner. Dong believes that tourism is a promising sector and that Gang is more suited to work in the tourism sector than in any other sector, given that Gang is interested in and has some knowledge of tourism. Shun says that operating a guesthouse is an ideal job for Gang, as it will enable him to improve his management and interpersonal skills. Shun hopes that his grandson will "make some achievements" in the future tourism sector, which promises to provide a growing variety of business opportunities.

Gang is happy with his current job – managing the guesthouse he owns (P8, 6/5/2014). Gang developed an interest in tourism after observing the increase in tourists visiting Dali Prefecture. Gang says that his current job is a perfect match for his interests and that he is able to apply is management knowledge to his work operating the guesthouse. Gang considers this job the starting point of his career and plans to accumulate money, knowledge and skills in order to expand his business into other sectors such as catering sector over the next five years. He shares his ambition to seize business opportunities in the tourism sector with many of his close friends.

In this family narrative, tourism growth has had little influence on Shun's life and livelihood, but has shaped family perceptions that have encouraged Gang's involvement in tourism. Thanks to Dong's achievements in a non-tourism sector, he has been able to improve his parents' lives and pave the way for his son's engagement in tourism. Dong has transformed his own financial capital (money gained from a non-tourism sector) into physical capital (a guesthouse) in order for Gang to possess an owner-level position in the sector (see more details on owner-level positions in Section 7.1.6). Gang's ambition to expand and diversify his business is a livelihood strategy. His livelihood approach in tourism so far appears to have created positive outcomes, given that he is happy and sees his plans to initiate other tourism-related activities as a continuation of his livelihood.

7.2.4 Case studies conclusion

These three three-generational cases reflect how the growth of the tourism sector is in turn shaping local Bai people's perceptions of tourism, as well as their livelihoods. The cases also show how livelihoods vary across three Bai generations and three Bai families. All of the above nine Bai people from three generations across three families perceive tourism as a good thing, associated with positive expectations – they expect tourism to continue growing in Dali Prefecture and providing livelihood opportunities. These positive perceptions of tourism have

either resulted in the third generation's involvement in the tourism sector (Peng from Fang's family and Gang from Shun's family) or contributed to the family wishing the third generation to be involved in a tourism livelihood in the near future (Ping from Wu's family, who is receiving professional education and training).[56] Viewing these three families, a trend becomes apparent – the younger generations are more likely to quit traditional agricultural livelihoods and instead be involved in tourism than the older generations. This trend implies that tourism growth in Dali Prefecture is changing traditional Bai livelihoods (agriculture, see Section 3.4.1) and causing homogenization of livelihoods (tourism livelihoods) among the younger generations. The trend of livelihood homogenization may result in overdependence on cultural tourism, which is argued to be dangerous for tourist destinations (Riganti, 2007).

Despite these similarities, the actual influences of tourism growth on Bai people vary across families. While all three generations from Fang's family and Wu's family are direct beneficiaries of tourism growth, only the third generation from Shun's family (Gang, the guesthouse owner) benefits directly from tourism growth. Additionally, although employee-level positions in tourism are easy accessed, owner-level positions tend to favour Bai people who possess the necessary financial capital (see also Section 7.1.6). In other words, increasing involvement in tourism across generations does not necessarily imply an upward trajectory, as in the tourism sector, there are often 'successful' Bai people who are able to obtain high-paid jobs and 'less successful' Bai people having no access to owner-level positions. In the case of Shun's family, Gang's access to an owner-level tourism livelihood has relied on his father's financial support – his father transformed financial capital accumulated in a non-tourism sector into physical capital in the form of a decorated building. Without the guesthouse, Gang, a fresh graduate with little financial capital (limited money), might not have been able to become a guesthouse owner. This case implies that in tourism, Bai people who possess greater amounts financial capital (e.g. Gang from Shun's family) tend to gain more financially rewarding tourism employment than those possessing less financial capital (e.g. Peng from Wu's family).

Comparing the third generation's livelihoods, it becomes clear that livelihood choice is heavily influenced by personal ambition, market demand, and the perceptions of close family and friends (also termed primary group, Elliott, 2011).[57] Peng's family members chose his college major, while market demand and personal ambition motivated him to become an informal taxi driver. Similarly, Ping's major was also decided collectively by her family. Gang's

[56] The first generation refers to the oldest generation in a Bai family, while the third generation represents the youngest generation.

[57] Primary group denotes a group of people who have intimate, comparatively permanent and solidary relationships, such as families, childhood friends, neighborhoods, or village communities (Elliott, 2011: 471-472).

livelihood strategy (diversifying his business in tourism) is shaped by his personal ambition, his close friends' plans, and the expanding tourism sector. The role of close family and friends in Bai individuals' livelihood choices will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

7.3 Dynamics of Individual Bai Livelihoods

In contrary to the generational analysis pursued in Section 7.2, I now focus on Bai *individuals* to analyze how Bai people obtain access to livelihoods in tourism and how they navigate changes through the course of their own livelihoods. During my fieldwork in Dali City, twelve Bai interviewees who either currently or previously involved in tourism explained that they have changed their livelihoods once, twice, or more times (interviews, 5/5/2014–16/6/2014). For example, one of these twelve interviewees said, he used to be a street vendor before he became a shop owner (P11, 9/5/2014). Among these twelve interviewees, four interviewees shared their livelihood histories in detail. In Sections 7.3.1–7.3.4, I examine how these four individuals' livelihoods changed one by one.

7.3.1 Bo's story

Bo (now aged around 40) was born into a rural family and began farming after graduating from middle school (18/5/2014). In his early 20s, he was recruited to be an apprentice at a marble handicrafts factory. There, he spent almost five years learning how to produce marble handicrafts, arguably an important accumulation of human capital. The factory then closed when the municipal government reclaimed the land on which the factory was located. After several months of unemployment, Bo was invited to join another factory. This time, he invested financial resources in the factory and introduced his manufacturing skills to the factory. After becoming a partner, he was able to play an active role in the factory's development and accumulate his financial and social capital. Five years before I interviewed him, the municipal government strengthened its regulations regarding marble quarrying. Realizing that the government intervention threatened the sustainability of livelihoods in the marble handicrafts business, Bo left the factory and decided to operate a hotel in a rented building instead. He plans to rent and operate another hotel together with his friend within the coming year.

In sum, Bo has altered his livelihood four times, which could be categorized into three main stages – farming (a non-tourism livelihood), being an apprentice (an easy-accessed and low-profit tourism livelihood), and becoming a factory partner or hotel owner (a difficult-accessed and high-profit tourism livelihood). Bo's case shows how government intervention can strongly impact local livelihoods: Bo's livelihood change at the second stage (from being an

apprentice to a factory partner) resulted from a government decision (taking back the marble handicrafts factory's land), as did the change at the third stage (restrictions on marble quarrying). Additionally, Bo's case illustrates how an individual could make active decisions regarding his or her livelihood: within the tourism sector in Dali Prefecture, an individual is able to change his or her livelihood fairly easily, as long as he or she has accumulated sufficient financial, human, and social capital.

7.3.2 Juan's story

Juan found work as a construction worker after graduating from middle school and married one of her colleagues from a construction site (P5, 6/5/2014). They built a house in her village with money they had saved working together, originally intended to be their private home. In 2012, Juan noticed that a few individual domestic tourists visiting her village expressed interests in Bai cuisine. A new road built by the municipal government to connect a wharf popular among tourists with the village center passes by Juan's house, making it easily accessible. Considering this, Juan and her husband decided to transform the ground floor of their house into a restaurant. At first, Juan recruited a villager to whom she is related to manage the restaurant while she was at work. Later, after realizing that working at her own restaurant would be less fatiguing and more profitable than working at a construction site, Juan decided to leave her construction livelihood behind her.

Juan did not need to start her tourism livelihood from an employee-level position thanks to owning her home. This house is her physical capital, which was gained from financial capital accumulated by her husband and her from a non-tourism livelihood. This form of physical capital allowed Juan to skip employee-level livelihoods in tourism and become a restaurant owner. The new road that passes by Juan's house strengthens her physical capital, which also facilitated her obtaining an owner-level livelihood in tourism. Market demand (in particular, tourists' demand for Bai cuisine) is the primary driving force that motivated Juan to move from a non-tourism livelihood to a tourism-based livelihood. In addition, the municipal government's encouragement of tourism livelihoods by making it easier to obtain business permits has also facilitated Juan's involvement in tourism.

7.3.3 Ke's story

Ke was a street vendor selling homemade food to local residents in the 1980s (P11, 9/5/2014). After recognizing the business opportunity of selling souvenirs to tourists, he switched to selling small souvenirs such as key rings and fake jade bracelets. Thanks to the growing interest

domestic tourists expressed in buying souvenirs and the relative paucity of competing street vendors at the time, Ke made a considerable amount of money from this trade.

Ke always believed that shop owners held a much more honourable and stable livelihood than street vendors. In 2001, he became a shop owner after having saved enough money. He said, whereas local officials ban street vending, they encourage other tourism-related businesses by providing potential entrepreneurs easy access to business permits. The products he sold were no longer cheap trinkets, but expensive handicrafts he considered to be more attractive to both domestic and foreign tourists.

As Ke's customer profile changed from local residents to tourists, he began selling more appropriately touristic products. Financial capital (money) and human capital (trading skills and knowledge of souvenirs) accumulated at each livelihood approach has contributed Ke's move from the first stage (non-tourism street vendor) to the third stage (souvenir shop owner). Similar to Juan's case, market demand (tourists' demand for souvenirs) and government encouragement have been important forces enabling Ke's tourism livelihoods. In Ke's case, his personal ambition for becoming a shop owner has also played a determining role in his livelihood history.

7.3.4 Long's story

Long used to be a government official in Dali City (P13, 10/5/2014). He and his wife, also a government official, saved enough money to buy a piece of land and build a four-floor house. The house was designed to have several guest rooms that could be used for commercial purposes. Because Long and his wife were both busy at work when the house was finished, they decided to postpone their entrepreneurial endeavour running a guesthouse. One year later, Long left his job to open the guesthouse. "I enjoy a flexible working schedule", Long said, "so working at my own guesthouse is a better choice".

Long's livelihood history provides another example in which individuals skip the stage of employee-level livelihoods and become owners at their commencement of tourism-related livelihoods. Similar to Juan's case, Long's ownership of a house (physical capital) that could be used for commercial tourism purposes explains this jump. His case further reflects a trend in which market demand (tourists' demand for accommodation) drives Bai people from non-tourism livelihoods to tourism livelihoods. Long's personal ambition for self-employment also contributed to his embarking on a tourism livelihood.

7.3.6 Summarizing the driving forces of livelihood change

These four interviewees appeared to be 'winners' within the tourism sector, which might be the reason why they were willing to share their stories with me. Nonetheless, while generally speaking they seem have experienced an 'upward' trajectory in their livelihoods, there were still ups and downs in their experiences. Based on their stories and the information provided by other interviewees, I would argue that market demand, government intervention, and personal ambition are three key driving forces behind Bai livelihood changes. *Tourism demand* can either enable or hinder Bai people's tourism livelihoods. For instance, Juan's and Ke's experiences show that the rising tourism demand encourages Bai individuals' involvement in the tourism sector. However, changes in the tourism market can also force people to make livelihood changes from one type of tourism-related employment to another. For instance, Qun, one of the twelve Bai interviewees who had changed tourism-related livelihoods, used to be a tour agent organizing group tours for tourists and is now a guesthouse owner (P36, 9/6/2014). During her interview, Qun explained her livelihood change, saying: "Domestic tourists who used to be interested in group tours now prefer designing their own travel routes". She added that, because of the declining market demand for group tours, tour agents, tour guides, and tour bus drivers have to seek other sources of employment. *Government intervention* is another driving force that can result in Bai individuals' livelihood changes. Bo's personal experience is a case in point. Finally, *personal ambition* also influences livelihoods – Juan left her job as a construction worker to be a restaurant owner, and Ke became a souvenir shop owner after working as a street vendor.

I would argue, however, that only the Bai individuals who have specific capabilities and sufficient capital (although the specific type depends on a livelihood's particular requirements) are able to choose livelihoods according to their preferences. For example, Bo, whose livelihood changes were formerly a forced response to government decisions, is now able to choose his livelihood after having gained strong financial, social, and human capital through his previous livelihoods. Bai individuals who have strong asset portfolios such as Bo are active decision makers, while others maintain or change their livelihoods in response to vulnerabilities created by government regulations or market influences.

7.4 Chapter Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined prominent archetypes of tourism livelihoods into which many Bai people in Dali Prefecture fit: street vendors, informal taxi drivers, and wage labourers in, and owners of, restaurants, souvenir shops, and guesthouses. Bai people, based on my fieldwork data,

have devised various strategies to sustain their tourism livelihoods, such as diversifying their products when facing intensified competition and devising avoidance techniques to circumnavigate government regulations when necessary (Section 7.1). I investigated intergenerational trends regarding how the expansion of tourism has changed Bai people's livelihoods by looking at the generational livelihood changes within three Bai families in detail. This cross-generational approach highlights how growth in the tourism sector has shaped Bai people's positive perceptions of tourism livelihoods and encouraged Bai people to be increasingly involved in tourism. More specifically, the positive reflections by older generations of tourism have influenced the livelihood choices of the younger generation, encouraging their involvement in tourism (Section 7.2). Following this analysis, I examined the dynamics of Bai individuals' livelihoods by analyzing four individual livelihood histories. It emerged that market demand, government decisions, and personal ambition are three key forces that drive Bai individuals' livelihood changes (Section 7.3). In sum, Bai livelihoods are highly complex, revolve around specific combinations of access to and continuing need for different forms of capital, and are impacted by a range of trends, institutions, and vulnerabilities. I continue to discuss such complexities in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8 Discussion and Conclusion

In this final chapter, I discuss three key findings and interpretations regarding Bai livelihoods, everyday Bai individuals' attitudes toward tourism, and Bai cultural changes based on my results. When analyzing generational and individual changes in Bai livelihoods (Chapter 7), I noticed that Bai people seem have undergone a similar pathway, moving from non-tourism livelihoods to tourism-related livelihoods. Based on this, I theorize a Bai Tourism Livelihood Pathway to examine how assets flow within these livelihoods and to better understand what drives Bai individuals along this pathway in Section 8.1. Throughout Chapter 5, I emphasized that inequality exists in the growth of Dali's cultural tourism. I continue to explain the issue of inequality in Section 8.2, before I analyze why local interviewees tend to blame 'local officials' instead of 'the tourism sector' for negative aspects of tourism growth. Based on my analyses in previous chapters (mainly in Chapter 6) regarding the impacts of tourism growth on local Bai culture, I further examine tourism-triggered cultural changes in Section 8.3, linking them to broader concepts such as modernization and cultural homogenization. Finally, in Section 8.4, I conclude this thesis by relating my results to my research aim and questions.

8.1 The Bai Tourism Livelihood Pathway

In Chapter 7, I examined a range of livelihood approaches that Bai people engage with and analyzed how tourism growth influences individuals' livelihoods and generational trends, noting that financial and social capital often determine tourism-related livelihood decisions. Interviewees who lacked financial and social capital tended to be street vendors and wage-earning employees. These easily accessible livelihoods make lower profits than those that require robust financial and social capital to enter, such as informal taxi driving and owning restaurants, guesthouses, and souvenir shops. Based on capital requirements and profit outcomes, I argue that such tourism-related livelihoods can be divided into two types: entry-level and senior-level.

During my fieldwork, twelve Bai interviewees currently or formerly involved in the tourism sector said that they had experienced livelihood changes, and four of them detailed their livelihood histories (interviews, 5/5/2014–16/6/2014). A number of locals to whom I talked have experienced similar livelihood pathways, a series of transitions that I propose to refer to as the Bai Tourism Livelihood Pathway (BTLP) (Figure 8.1). To begin with, it is very common that Bai individuals engage in non-tourism livelihoods such as farming and construction. Then, for those with the necessary capitals, access, and motivation, they start to work in the tourism sector, taking entry-level positions such as street vendors and salespeople. Next, they are able to obtain

senior-level positions after accumulating sufficient capital, especially financial and social. Interviewees at this third stage often own hotels, restaurants, factories, or shops rather than working as employees. Fourth, Bai people diversify their livelihoods in the tourism sector, becoming owners of two or more tourism-related businesses. I draw an 'upward' diagram so as to demonstrate that, from Stage 1 to Stage 4, Bai people are increasingly involved in the tourism sector regarding their capital investment in their tourism livelihoods. It is important to note however, that there are obviously many exceptions to this pathway, which is shown here as a schematic of the routes that my interviewees who deemed themselves *successful* in tourism livelihoods had taken. I am also well aware of the possible connections that could be made between this schematic and modernisation theory approaches and am cognizant of the pitfalls of any such theoretical approach. To be clear, this is a diagrammatic representation of successful livelihoods *from my interviewees' stories; not an attempt to create a model*.

By using this diagram, I emphasize the importance of capital accumulation and positive external influences for my interviewees. During fieldwork, four Bai interviewees pursuing entry-level tourism livelihoods (Stage 2) explicitly expressed their desire to go on to senior-level positions (stage 3); they, however, are not able to make such move due to the constraints of financial and social capital (interviews, 9/5/2014–6/6/2014). This suggests that such a pathway is conditional; Bai people are unable to move 'upward' unless they 1) succeed in accumulating a certain amount of capital and 2) are supported by external factors such as rising market demand and government support. I analyze capital requirements and influencing factors in detail in Sections 8.1.1 and 8.1.2.

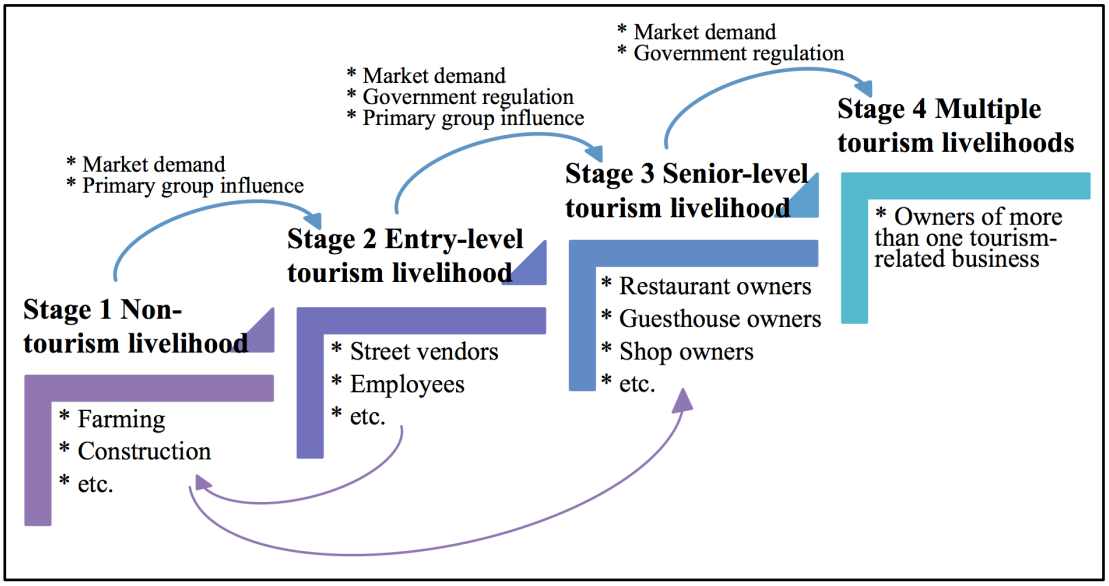

Figure 8.1 The Bai Tourism Livelihood Pathway (with conditions and exceptions) (Source: Author, 2015)

Focusing on the 'feed-back loops' in the schematic, some Bai people I interviewed who pursue entry-level livelihoods in tourism return seasonally or temporarily to their former non-tourism livelihoods (e.g. seasonal street vendors in Section 7.1.4 and temporary taxi drivers in Section 7.1.5). In other cases, because of market demand or previous education and training, six Bai interviewees indicated that they started their career in the tourism sector without going through the first stage (interviews, 6/5/2014—18/6/2014). For example, Ping is groomed for a career in tourism (Section 7.2.2). In addition, Bai interviewees who worked in non-tourism sectors or did not have any work experience sometimes began tourism livelihoods in senior-level positions without going through the second stage or both first and second stages of the BTLP. For instance, Juan became a restaurant owner (Stage 3) without being engaged with entry-level positions in tourism (Stage 2), as she had sufficient financial capital to initiate her business (part of her financial capital had been transformed into physical capital). Another Bai interviewee (female, approximately 25) became a guesthouse owner after she obtained her bachelor's degree. Similar to Gang's case (Section 7.2.3), this interviewee's parents paid for all start-up activities such as decoration and advertising (P55, 18/8/2014). It is apparent that interviewees who could skip the second stage or both the first and second stages either possessed significant financial capital, obviating the need to earn money in entry-level jobs, or are financially supported by close family.

In the following sections, I will examine the types of capital that mattered most at each stage of the BTLP for my interviewees and, building on my analyses of the factors that lead to livelihood changes in Section 7.3.6, investigate the factors moving Bai people's livelihood along the BTLP.

8.1.1 Capital analysis along the BTLP

When Bai individuals diversify or change their non-tourism related livelihoods, such as farming or construction, to take entry-level positions in the tourism sector (from Stage 1 to Stage 2), human capital appears to be the most important asset. For example, two shop owners disclosed that they tend to recruit salespeople who have good communication skills and are able to work under pressure (P14, 10/5/2014; P57, 8/7/2014). In certain circumstances, social capital facilitates the livelihood transition process at this stage. For instance, Hua, currently an owner of several souvenir shops, first became involved in tourism as a craftswoman at her sister's handicraft factory in the late 1980s (P14, 10/5/2014). Bo, a hotel owner at present, was recruited

to be an apprentice at a factory operated by his father's friends, which led to his first job in the tourism sector (P20, 18/5/2014).

My interviewees who transitioned from Stage 2 to Stage 3 noted that they had accumulated financial, social, and human capital working in entry-level jobs that later contributed to their ability to become owners of a tourism-related business (eight interviews, 5/5/2014–9/6/2014). Financial capital is the key asset here, as owners must purchase or rent space (physical capital) to start a business. Social capital also plays an important role, especially in finding a location and building to initiate a business and for obtaining permits. A local resident stated that "knowing someone from the municipal government" may hasten the bureaucratic process (P30, 3/6/2014). Moreover, stable customer relations among those who do not share their ethnic identity may help Bai people establish their own businesses by enhancing their 'bridging' social capital (Meng & Chen, 2014). Zhu (a Bai restaurant owner) said, Miao, her previous manager, was able to open and operate her own restaurant after building up customer relations while working at Zhu's restaurant. Since the opening of Miao's restaurant, a number of Zhu's customers have been attracted to Miao's restaurant, seldom eating at Zhu's restaurant (P33, 6/6/2014). In such interactions with customers, human capital is another important asset. Two interviewees with senior-level positions said that the owners of tourism-related businesses must be able to build up and maintain customer relations and recruit and supervise employees (P14, 10/5/2014; P55, 18/6/2014).

My fieldwork data suggest that Bai people may continue to diversify their livelihoods and become owners of two or more tourism-related businesses, moving from Stage 3 to Stage 4, after they accumulate enough financial, social, and human capital (P14, 10/5/2014; P20, 18/5/2014). At Stage 4, physical capital becomes more important than at previous stages as locals begin to need space like shops and workplaces to undertake their business activities; entrepreneurs also become more reliant on infrastructure like water and electricity supplies as well as sewage treatment systems (P8, 6/5/2014; P20, 18/5/2014). Based on the above analysis, it becomes apparent that the importance of each type of livelihood capital varies along the BTLP.

Here I would like to highlight another key point that adds complexity to these tourism-related livelihoods, namely the transformability and transferability of assets. This is not captured by the conceptualization and visualization of the original livelihood five-asset pentagon (see DfID, 1999). The case of Dong in Shun's family (Section 7.2.3) provides a good example. Dong transformed his financial capital – money he gained from previous livelihood approaches – into physical capital – a guesthouse – helping his son, Gang, become a guesthouse owner with a senior-level livelihood while skipping the first and second stages of the BTLP.

This example also reveals the critical role of embodied cultural capital, defined by Bourdieu (1986) as systems of knowledge, beliefs, customs, and norms, in Bai tourism-related livelihoods. Around ten local interviewees emphasized that the Bai are family-oriented with tightly interconnected kin; younger people are supposed to take care of the elderly within a Bai family and *vice versa* (interviews, 5/5/2014–12/8/2014). I argue that this norm could be considered embodied cultural capital: this helped Gang obtain a tourism-related livelihood, through his father's financial support.

8.1.2 Influencing factors along with the BTLP

DfID's (1999) Sustainable Livelihoods Framework identifies the structures and processes, including institutions, organizations, policies, and legislation, that shape livelihoods by altering access to capital, regulating exchange between different types of capital, and determining returns. My fieldwork data show that the state is a transforming structure that influences people's livelihood approaches, with government regulations contributing positively to Bai tourism-related livelihood transitions from Stage 2 to Stage 3 and from Stage 3 to Stage 4 (see Figure 8.1). For example, a local official who supervises tourism-related businesses said that the municipal government encourages locals to engage in the guesthouse industry and has simplified the administrative process of obtaining business permits (P15, 13/5/2014). As Bai villagers have reclaimed their rental properties (see Section 7.1.3), this reform has resulted in a large number of Bai people becoming owners of guesthouses (P5, 6/5/2014). One local stated that the municipal government's promotion of tourism-related business through official media also encourages local people to start their own tourism enterprises (P19, 14/5/2014). Yet government regulations sometimes influence Bai livelihoods negatively, too. For instance, the municipal government's decision to appropriate the land of the factory where Bo worked forced him to change his tourism-related livelihood. Then, a further municipal restriction on marble quarrying again forced Bo to change careers (see Section 7.3.1). In this case, government regulations took the form of livelihood 'shocks' that drove Bo to change his livelihoods.

All these examples demonstrate how government regulations are a strong force driving Bai livelihood changes along the BTLP. I argue that this should be understood in the context of China at large and Dali Prefecture in particular. Rigg *et al.* (2014) recognize that individual livelihoods are partly shaped by external forces, suggesting that scholars analyze an individual's livelihood history within the wider context of their state, society, and economy. Thornton (2002) argues that although China has undertaken liberalizing reforms, its regime remains socialist, illiberal, and very powerful. This argument aligns with my analysis in Chapter 3 regarding

tourism growth: governments at the provincial, prefectural, and municipal levels consistently devote their efforts to tourism when the state designates the sector as a mainstay part of the local economy. As I explained in Chapter 5, the prefectural and municipal governments dominate local tourism planning and management. In such circumstances, local Bai individuals have little power, beyond ad hoc everyday covert and overt resistance tactics to oppose government decisions regarding tourism, even when their livelihoods are threatened (see Sections 7.1.4 and Section 7.3.1). To some extent, this explains the powerful influence of government regulation on Bai tourism-related livelihoods.

Apart from government regulations, DfID (1999) recognizes market demand as a livelihood transforming process. In Dali, the expanding market for souvenirs creates job opportunities for local Bai people and may attract them to work as salespeople (Stage 1 to Stage 2). The case of Peng (see Section 7.2.1) illustrates how market demand drives individuals from Stage 2 to Stage 3: Peng recognized a demand for informal taxis, so he gave up his employee-level position at a local guesthouse, bought a car, and became self-employed. In the transition from Stage 3 to Stage 4, it seems that market demand only influences people with strong asset portfolios. For example, Bo, who has accumulated enough financial, social, and human capital by operating a hotel, plans to operate a high-end guesthouse in the near future (P20, 18/5/2014). In this case, the market demand from certain tourists is less likely to influence people who have no money to invest the high end of the tourism sector.

In addition to government regulation and market demand, I want to highlight the role of 'primary group' in the BTLP. 'Primary group' is defined as a group of people who have intimate, comparatively permanent, solidary relationships (Elliott, 2011) (see also Section 7.2.4). My interview data suggest that Bai livelihood choices are frequently influenced by family members, friends, and neighbours. Hsu (1985: 96) argues that in China, the family is "the center of the most social functions…and is the foundation of all social relations". This applies to Bai families. Section 7.2.1 illustrates how family members motivate Bai individuals to get involved in tourism (Stage 2). Gang's plan to diversify his business (see Section 7.2.3) exemplifies how friends' ideas influence an individual's decision to go from Stage 3 to Stage 4. One young Bai women who plans to start her career as a guesthouse owner said that several of her friends were pursuing the same livelihood and that her parents, who consider this approach stable and suitable for her, financially support her to rent and decorate a guesthouse (P55, 18/6/2014). Neighbours' ideas and behaviours also have influence. A middle-aged Bai villager said that he followed his neighbours in converting the first floor of his house into a souvenir shop (P75, 8/8/2014). Ke (see Section 7.3.3) becomes a souvenir shop owner after being a street vendor, going from Stage 2 to

Stage 3. I argue that his livelihood change resulted from personal ambition as well as his neighbouring context. Ke recalled that fellow fixed street vendors often discussed the success stories of other vendors, with the ultimate standard being the ownership a shop. This gossip may have shaped Ke's personal ambition of becoming a shop owner and later his livelihood approach. In other words, his neighbours' perception of success indirectly influenced Ke's livelihood transition from Stage 2 to Stage 3.

In sum, I argue that Bai livelihood transitions along the BTLP are influenced by primary group in addition to government regulation and market demand. The relative importance of each factor varies along the pathway, as outlined in Figure 8.1. The BTLP extends traditional academic approaches to livelihoods by adding greater emphasis on the idea of pathways, rather than taking a snapshot in time of a livelihood approach. It has also highlighted three influencing actors that are not necessarily that clear within traditional livelihood schematics, namely the roles of primary group, government regulation, and market demand. Although the BTLP is built upon my Bai interviewees' livelihood experiences in the tourism sector, it could be highly relevant to other ethnic people's tourism-related livelihoods in China. Moreover, the dynamics of the different capitals and influencing factors may be applied to other livelihood contexts outside China.

8.2 Tourism Growth, Everyday Bai People, and Local Officials

Throughout this thesis, I have examined the impacts of cultural tourism on Dali Prefecture's economy, environment, society, and culture through local Bai people's perspectives. All of my everyday Bai interviewees recognized that tourism growth created job opportunities for them or other members of the community. Some explained how they could benefit from the enhanced infrastructure and tourism facilities, and discussed how tourism growth improves non-locals' understandings of the Bai homeland and culture while strengthening local Bai people's ethnic pride. Thirty percent of these interviewees were aware of negative impacts, though. They explained how tourism growth in Dali Prefecture has caused inflation and raised local rents, damaged the local environment, and aroused tensions between local and non-local people. These impacts coincide with Bachleitner and Zins' (1999) argument that cultural tourism growth may negatively influence the local environment, causing problems such as pollution and tensions between tourists and the host population. The large-scale nature of Dali's tourist situation further justifies researchers' concerns over mass cultural tourism (cf. Richards, 2013; Smith, 2009).

Based on my analyses in Chapters 5–7, I argue that tourism growth in Dali Prefecture has affected locals unequally in terms of a range of benefits and costs. First, local Bai individuals

are not equally affected by tourism-caused pollution. Two interviewees residing close to tourist areas said that they are more likely to be annoyed by noise and waste pollution than those who live farther from tourist areas (P11, 9/5/2014; P58, 8/7/2014). Second, local Bai people are not equally affected by tourism-driven inflation and rising rents. For instance, Ke, a middle-aged shop owner in the Old Town, is not negatively affected by fluctuations in rent prices because he owns the building where his shop operates (P11, 9/5/2014). In contrast, some shop renters had to give up their businesses in the Old Town due to rising rents (P33, 6/6/2014). Third, as analyzed in Chapter 7, Bai individuals who have stronger financial and social capital have easier access to owner-level positions, so there is not the same ease of entry for all. Fourth, those who only pursue livelihoods in tourism face various levels of uncertainty and instability, while those who have diverse strategies or livelihood portfolios can cope more easily with external influences. Fifth, my interviewees involved in the tourism sector appear to obtain varying livelihood outcomes, with those at owner-level positions receive more profits than employees. With varying financial and social capitals especially, Bai individuals involved in the tourism sector have unequal mobility along the BTLP (i.e., from Stage 2 to Stage 3 and from Stage 3 to Stage 4). This unequal mobility also increases certain Bai individuals' vulnerability to government decisions and market influences. In other words, Bai individuals who pursue low-profit livelihoods in tourism and have few external resources are likely to be trapped at this stage with few opportunities to attain high-profit positions.

While 17 of my Bai residential interviewees[58] talked about the negative aspects of tourism growth (see Section 5.1), they did not blame the tourism sector itself. Instead, they criticized local officials at the prefecture and municipal levels for failing to control the size and the nature of Dali's cultural tourism. After complaining of tourists' insensitive littering behaviours, Peng and Mei, two Photovoice participants who photographed waste pollution in the Old Town (see Section 5.1.2), added that local officials should have taken measures to deal with pollution such as installing more garbage bins and assigning more cleaners to empty existing ones. Ke (a middle-aged Bai shop owner), Jie (a young Bai businessman), and Bo (a middle-aged Bai guesthouse owner) complained that tourists compete with local residents in Dali Old Town for land, water, and infrastructure (see Section 5.1.3). They also added that local officials should be controlling the daily number of tourists entering the Old Town and restricting non-locals from renting or purchasing residents' buildings. By proposing these measures, these three interviewees were blaming local officials for not doing anything to control the negative outcomes of the

[58] All the discussions below within this section surround these 17 interviewees.

growth of tourism. Bureaucrats are therefore seen as major cause of tourism's negative impacts on Dali Prefecture.

In addition, four local Bai interviewees claimed that local officials who lack innovative ideas simply copy tourism products and strategies from Lijiang, another tourist destination in Yunnan Province, regardless of whether they suit Dali and Bai people (interviews, 9/5/2014–15/8/2014). Moreover, six Bai people argued that local officials lack consistency in implementing tourism decisions, with orders from certain officials frequently overruled by their successors (interviews, 6/5/2014–8/7/2014).

The term 'local officials' appeared pervasively across interviews. My interviewees seemed to refer to 'local officials' when they actually had specific ones, or at least specific government departments, in mind but were not willing to disclose to whom they were referring. To my interviewees, 'local officials' comprise a group that works for the government, but is not itself the government; individuals who are powerful in making and implementing decisions, but lack knowledge and expertise; and that can be talked about and criticized, but whose identity cannot be revealed. The pervasive usage of 'local officials' should be understood within China's political context. When examining dissent in China, Thornton (2002) argues that unlike dissenters in liberal Western nations who can articulate their views openly, those in illiberal China face more obstacles and risks and must frame their dissent subtly. This can be considered as a major reason why my interviewees tend to use the ambiguous term 'local officials'. I would thus argue that my interviewees have adopted strategic ambiguity – the intentional delivery of a message with incomplete phrases or vague references (Eisenberg, 2007), so as to "evade the repressive hand of the state" (Thornton, 2002, p. 665).

In this respect, my interviewees behave differently from what O'Brien (1996) dubs 'rightful resisters' in China. Rightful resisters legitimize their noisy, public, open resistance by using "laws, policies, and other officially promoted values" to openly criticise and protest certain officials who fail to perform their duties, hence criticising individuals, not the state itself (O'Brien, 1996, p. 33). In the Dali case, resistance was not against individual officials, as interviewees remained vague about the focus of their complaints, and concrete resistance measures were more generalized in nature. Hence by insisting that the tourism sector is good in itself, my interviewees render themselves complaint citizens (*shunmin*).

I also noticed that 13 of the 17 Bai resident interviewees who noted negative impacts of tourism are involved in the tourism sector themselves, though in different positions. These people are beneficiaries of Dali's tourism growth, since it provides them with job opportunities and incomes. One might think that for this reason these interviewees might not want to criticise

the rapid expansion of tourism sector. Take the example of one young Bai interviewee who owns a guesthouse beside Erhai Lake; such lakeside guesthouses are often criticized for discharging sewage into the lake and causing water pollution (see Section 5.1.2). Given how this interviewee is positioned in the tourism sector, I argue that his blaming of local officials for not providing sewage treatment system rather than tourism growth *per se* could be understood as a strategy to divert blame from himself and other guesthouse owners to 'local officials'. When criticising local officials, he was trying to excuse himself from discharging untreated sewage into Erhai Lake.

The above analysis reveals that the relationships among tourism growth, everyday Bai people, and local officials are complex. Moreover, such relationships cannot not be well understood without taking contemporary China's regime and each individual's position in tourism into consideration. My analyses of government-everyday people interactions in the cultural tourism sector examine cultural tourism from a political perspective, highlighting the link between political studies and cultural tourism studies.

8.3 Tourism-triggered Cultural Changes

Based on her research in Dali Prefecture from 1988 to 2005, Notar (2006b) reports that foreign and domestic tourists visit the area in search of its 'backwardness', seeking reaffirmation of their superior modern status. She argues that the shared impression among foreign tourists of 'backward' Dali is framed by its geographical location at the borderlands, information in the *Lonely Planet* guidebook, and the well-read book *The Travels of Marco Polo*. This thesis emphasizes how domestic tourists' perceptions of Dali's 'backwardness' are tied in with China's minority classification project, which identifies the Bai as a minority and implies their 'backward' status (see Section 3.4). When the classification project was in progress in the 1950s, the central government urged 'brother nationalities' to follow the example of the advanced Han majority, confirming the latter's prominence and superiority (Harrell, 2001). Zhou (1992), an ethnologist in China, reflects this ideology in claims that the Han are highly developed in science and culture – as opposed, apparently, to minorities. This status may give domestic tourists – mostly Han Chinese – an impression of Dali as a 'backward' place occupied by 'backward' minority people.

Ten years after Notar's (2006b) last visit, six of my domestic tourist interviewees (five of whom were Han) reported fascination with Dali's Bai culture without implying its inferiority to Han culture. One middle-aged man said that he found the aspects of Bai culture he experienced in Dali such as three-course tea and cormorant-led fishing interesting. He said that he had not known that Bai culture was so "colourful" before his visit (P50, 16/6/2014). Another domestic

tourist said that her friends recommended Dali to her as a 'beautiful' place worth a visit (P59, 10/7/2014). One Brazilian tourist who had visited Dali more than three times said that she likes Dali because Bai people are friendly (P53, 17/6/2014). An American tourist reported visiting Dali for a second time because he was attracted by Bai historic houses in Xizhou Township (P63, 16/7/2014). These comments suggest that my tourist interviewees, both foreign and domestic, are not solely seeking 'backwardness' in Dali Prefecture, in contrast to Notar's (2006b) observations (however I also realize that I have a very small sample and this is a topic that would be enlightening to do further research on). Instead, these tourists appreciate Bai culture and local residents' attitudes and friendliness. Ten local Bai interviewees are aware of this change in tourists' perceptions of Dali Prefecture and Bai people, which they claimed to be a positive outcome of cultural tourism (interviews, 5/5/2014–10/8/2014).

While millions of tourists are attracted to Dali Prefecture every year by its minority traditions, my research has made clear that certain aspects of Bai culture are undergoing changes. As analyzed in Chapter 6, both material and non-material cultural aspects have been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption. Some adaptations during the staging or commoditization process could be considered a threat to Bai culture. In the case of *Jinhua Fu* (see Section 6.1) and three-course tea (see Section 6.2), I noticed that while the elderly differentiated traditional forms from touristic forms, younger generations tend to consider the more recent touristic forms as traditional and authentic. This stands in contrast with the Balinese in Indonesia, studied by Picard (1990), who are able to distinguish traditional performances from touristic performances. In this respect, I would argue that cultural tourism threatens two aspects of Bai culture – Bai female clothing style and tea-drinking practice – instead of preserving them.

Yet, the negative cultural impacts of tourism growth have gone beyond the cultural aspects that I examined in Chapter 6. Notar (2006b) observes that Dali Prefecture has followed other tourist destinations in China by building a theme park, Heavenly Dragons Film Studio. The studio aims to link Dali with the famous martial arts novel *Heavenly Dragons* (see Section 3.3). When traveling with a domestic tourist group on a Dali One-day Tour, the local Bai tour guide mentioned the novel to us and said that Bai people in Dali are the descendants of Duan Yu, the novel's martial arts master protagonist. While this statement is clearly false, it is a common strategy adopted by local tour guides to entertain tourists, a Bai interviewee who had worked as a guide disclosed (P18, 14/5/2014). One domestic tourist said that he is aware of the fictitious nature of the novel and its characters but believes that the novel was written based on Bai people as well as Dali's social and cultural contexts (P56, 18/6/2014). Although it remains unclear how

many tourists believe in the link between the Bai and this novel, I suspect that it may continue to be the cause of many misrepresentations of the local people and culture.

Some domestic tourists complained that the souvenirs they saw in Dali looked similar to those sold in other destinations in China (see Section 6.5). This could be considered as a sign of cultural homogenization, a process that is often argued to be a negative side of cultural tourism (Richards, 2007). In Dali Prefecture, cultural homogenization does not only take place for souvenirs, but also for Bai houses. One of my local interviewees described how Bai houses in Dali appear to be identical now, with large alloy-frame windows and solar panels (P19, 14/5/2014). To some degree, this is caused by tourism growth (refer back to Section 6.5.2): local Bai people introduced 'modern features' such as alloy-framed windows, toilets, and baths to their houses so as to accommodate domestic individual tourists' demands; other Bai homeowners soon came to realize that these modern facilities could improve their quality of life and started to equip their houses with these facilities. This tourism-driven process could be understood as the acculturation of Bai architecture to non-Bai culture.

I observed that Bai villagers who own houses with 'modern features' seem to have played an active role in this acculturation process, actively adapting and modernizing their houses as they recognized the potential benefits. This aligns with Oakes' (1998) observation in Guizhou Province, where minority Miao people appear to be willing to adopt certain modern elements through tourism. Similar to these Miao people, my Bai interviewees expressed a willingness to cast off their 'backward' status by taking in some perceived modern elements brought by tourists. For example, four local interviewees said that light-flavoured food used to be specially prepared for tourists who disliked traditionally heavy-flavoured Bai cuisine. As they have heard of "modern medical recommendations" to eat lighter food, they have lightened the flavours of their dishes (interviews, 5/5/2014–25/5/2014). As with 'modernized' houses, my interviewees' eating habits appear to be adapting based on perceived benefits. In addition, four Bai villagers aged over 60 said that unlike themselves, their children and grandchildren work outside of the village, pursuing non-agricultural livelihoods. They attribute this change in livelihood approaches to tourism growth, saying that the growth of the tourism sector has created job opportunities for younger villagers and emancipated their minds. They explained that villagers used to perceive agricultural production as their primary livelihood approach and preferred working with family members in the fields. The villagers' attitudes have changed as tourists of different professions have come to their villages – they start to realize that many other livelihood approaches exist. Younger Bai people learn from tourists to be 'mobile', leaving their villages to pursue non-agricultural vocations in cities or towns (interviews, 6/5/2014–10/8/2104). These changes in

local Bai people's minds and livelihoods conform to the Chinese state's official version of modernization – with rural people and livelihoods considered as a hindrance, the Chinese state, therefore, calls for industrialized agriculture and rural-to-urban migration (see Gaetano & Jacka, 2004; Zhu, 2002). In the case of Dali Prefecture, tourism has functioned as a tool for China's modernization in that it motivates villagers to pursue non-agricultural livelihoods in urban areas and introduces urban lifestyles to rural areas (see Section 6.5.2). Although my interviewees appeared to welcome these changes, I suspect that these changes may reduce the solidarity of families in rural areas (cf. Zhang, 2001) – as members leave, connections to their villages and families may be weakened.

The above three cases of Bai house architecture, cuisine, and rural to urban livelihoods reveal that some tourism-driven cultural changes in Dali Prefecture are active and adaptive responses to modernity. Aligning with Oakes' (1998) argument of the double-edged effects of modernization, these cases demonstrate how some local Bai people benefit from certain 'modern elements', but are concurrently losing some aspects of their culture. It is apparent that a few interviewees consider 'modern elements' more advanced than 'traditional' features (e.g. light-flavoured dishes vs. heavy-flavoured dishes). Similar to Miao people in Guizhou Province, Bai people in Dali seem have made compromises between tradition and modernity (Oakes, 1998). Together, these cases reveal that tourism functions as an effective vehicle for China's modernization, as Sofield and Li (1998) argue.

However, it is worth noting that local Bai people are able to preserve some elements of their culture. For example, when villagers equipped their houses with "modern features", I observed that they kept decorating their walls with Bai paintings, which is said to be a Bai tradition (PV3-1, 15/8/2014). They also maintained the tradition of indicating the male house owner's family name by writing four particular Chinese characters on the front wall (*ibid.*). That is to say, although these villagers have adopted some non-Bai elements, they keep certain Bai ones. Regarding the female clothing style, my interviewees, who consider *Jinhua Fu* as an ethnic identity marker, said that they would wear everyday Bai clothes instead when they become older (refer back to Section 6.1). They believed that old people should wear dark, plain clothes, which they claimed to be a social norm in Dali Prefecture. This example suggests that, although these interviewees appeared flexible towards the new clothing style (*Jinhua Fu*), they were rigid about the local dressing norm. Moreover, two Bai interviewees aged approximately 25 expressed their intentions to build "traditional Bai folk houses with wood decorations and furniture" (P21, 15/8/2014; P55, 18/6/2014). They said that they are tired of "modern-looking" houses, which are dominant in Dali Prefecture. A middle-aged Bai interviewee recalled that she used to live in "a

traditional Bai folk house" when she was young, and then moved to a "modern apartment" when she was 20. She said that after staying in "modern apartments" for over twenty years, she hoped to live in a "traditional Bai folk house" again. Based on her own experience, she stated that a "traditional Bai folk house" could provide a better living experience than any modern house or apartment" (P12, 9/5/2014). While tourism growth changes Bai architecture, it leads these interviewees to reflect upon the trend of 'modernization' and a series of cultural changes, and hence to recognize the value of "traditional Bai folk houses". These interviewees' statements lead me to believe that perhaps in the future, more local Bai people will come to realize the value of the 'original' form of their culture and become more concerned about compromising between tradition and modernity.

8.4 Thesis Conclusion

The aim of this research was to **investigate tourism growth in Dali Prefecture and a range of its impacts on Bai culture and livelihoods over three generations.** I devised a conceptual framework based on literature regarding cultural tourism and sustainable livelihoods so as to inform my fieldwork in Dali City, the most-visited area in Dali Prefecture and the home to ethnic minority Bai. Specifically, the concepts of culture, authenticity, commoditization, acculturation, as well as the concerns over cultural tourism have guided me to explore the cultural impacts and the negative sides of cultural tourism. The livelihood concepts including DfID SL framework, capital analysis, livelihood determinants and diversification, resistance, and livelihood pathway have inspired me to investigate the nuanced influences of the expanding cultural tourism sector on local Bai people's livelihoods.

My fieldwork applied a combination of five qualitative methods – participant observation, unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, oral histories, and Photovoice – from the beginning of May to mid-August 2014. Based on my fieldwork data, I addressed three questions to fulfill my research aim. In Chapter 5, I answered my first research question: **how do everyday Bai people perceive local tourism impacts and how do they deal with the prefectural and municipal governments regarding tourism decisions?** I highlighted the negative impacts of cultural tourism growth that my local Bai interviewees perceived, including inflation, rising rents, environmental degradation, and tensions between local and non-local people. In connection with the local tourism planning process introduced in Section 3.3, I examined how local everyday Bai people have responded to government decisions regarding tourism. Through two case studies – government decisions on off-season fishing and electric tourist buses, I argued that everyday Bai people have adopted strategies of resistance to express their dissent on certain tourism decisions.

They resisted in either covert or overt way. For instance, local Bai residents angle furtively during the off-season but shop owners have openly resisted the introduction of electric buses. By comparing two forms of resistance, I argued that an alliance among resisters constitutes the most significant motivator for them to take on an overt approach.

In Chapter 6, I investigated my second research question: **how have certain aspects of Bai culture been staged and/or commoditized for tourist consumption and how do Bai people perceive such processes?** I noted that both material and non-material cultural aspects have been reworked either to attract tourists or to be sold as souvenirs. During the staging and/or commoditization processes, these have been modified to different degrees. For example, while *Jinhua Fu* appears to be a newly created clothing style with limited relevance to everyday Bai female clothing, silver products and tie-dye fabrics are claimed by my interviewees to retain much of their "traditional manufacturing processes". Evaluating the authenticity of four aspects of Bai culture that I focused on (namely, female clothing style, tea-drinking practice, architecture, and handicrafts) is complicated by the fact that their touristic forms contain both 'traditional' elements and alterations. Local Bai interviewees had varying interpretations of the originality and authenticity of these cultural features. In contrast to older people, those under 40 years of age displayed less understanding of Bai culture perceived as 'traditional' by the old; they tended to perceive staged and/or commoditized material aspects as authentic, aligning with Cohen's (1988) concept of 'emergent authenticity'. From my local interviewees' perspective, staging and/or commoditizing Bai cultural elements for tourism purposes could yield both positive and negative outcomes. The results in this chapter contribute to the debates over the effects of staging and commoditization on local culture, and the cultural impacts of cultural tourism.

In Chapter 7, I switched my focus from Bai culture to livelihoods and answered my third research question: **what tourism-related livelihoods are Bai people involved with and how have a range of these livelihoods been shaped or transformed with the growth of the tourism sector?** Four categories of tourism livelihood approaches appeared to be the most common: *employees* and *owners* of local restaurants, souvenir shops, and guesthouses, as well as *street vendors* and *informal taxi drivers*. By analyzing how my interviewees engaged in each of these livelihoods, I highlighted their diverse strategies for becoming less vulnerable to 'trends' (e.g. depleting lake fish or intensifying competition among restaurants) and 'shocks' (e.g. government takeover of farmland or factory land) that threaten their jobs. I also noted that *gaining access to* and *maintaining* tourism-related livelihoods require different asset portfolios. I argued that the second and third generations of my Bai interviewees are more likely to take on

tourism-related livelihoods than the oldest generation (aged 60 or above). By examining several individuals' livelihood histories, I noted that tourism-related livelihoods are often influenced by government regulations, market demand, primary group, and personal ambition. The combination of generational and individual analyses in this chapter provides an alternative approach to examine livelihoods. Besides, the results in this chapter display one dynamic aspect of livelihoods – different capital requirements for entering and maintaining a certain livelihood, which has been overlooked by livelihoods literature.

In this final chapter, I highlighted three factors for consideration that have emerged from my results. I noted that my local Bai interviewees have experienced a similar livelihood pathway in the tourism sector, which I proposed as the BTLP. I examined the flow of assets and influencing factors along this pathway, which further displayed the dynamics of livelihoods. Moreover, I argued that in illiberal China, my interviewees, by using the term 'local officials', expressed their dissent in an ambiguous way for fear of retribution. In addition, I noted that the growth of the cultural tourism sector has triggered cultural changes. I emphasized that my local Bai interviewees have played active roles in tourism-triggered acculturation and modernization, adding to the understanding of minority people's roles in China's modernization.

In conclusion, the growth of the tourism sector in Dali Prefecture has had a number of influences on Bai culture and livelihoods. This research has revealed how local Bai people interpret these influences in a range of different ways, mostly positive, and how their lives and livelihoods have been unequally influenced by the growth in tourism arrivals and profits. This research has teased out a range of positive aspects of tourism for Bai culture and livelihoods while also identifying its negative consequences. As a vehicle employed by the state and the provincial, prefectural, and municipal governments for modernization and poverty alleviation, cultural tourism in Dali Prefecture has brought wealth and 'modern' elements, though threatened certain aspects of Bai culture and created unequal access to tourism-related livelihoods. It remains to be seen what other influences cultural tourism will have on local Bai culture and livelihoods as it continues to expand in Dali Prefecture.

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