

**Whose Tradition? – The role of eco-tourism in sustainable development of Qinkou village,
Yunnan, China from 2001 to 2013**

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This study captured evidence of the changes to Qinkou village during the period of its development as an example of eco-tourism in Yunnan province, Southwest China; a process which began in 2001. By examining the original project brief and the resulting changes to the village in 2001, 2006 and 2013 respectively, the paper explores how tradition and culture were deployed with regard to the built environment in Qinkou. It argues that despite remaining a coherent settlement with vibrant traditional practices of a Hani community, conflicts between different interpretations of tradition and modernity are exemplified by the project.

INTRODUCTION

Yunnan province in Southwest China borders with Burma, Laos and Vietnam. The geographic diversity of the region with several distinct ecological zones is matched by its socio-cultural diversity and vernacular architecture of 26 different ethnic groups. Tapp suggests that Yunnan has disproportionately contributed to Chinese research on vernacular houses and Chinese anthropology which led to increasing international conferences held in the region over the years.¹ The tradition of the study of the relationship between culture and vernacular architecture in the province had the significant influence on the project design of the village houses for tourism.

Qinkou is a village of Hani people. Hani is an ethnic group living in the south of Yunnan Province in China, and in the neighboring countries: Burma, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam. The total population of the Hani peoples is about two million. Of those more than a million and half are living in Yunnan. There are two main ethnic groups of Hani people: one group is called Aini or Akha living in Xishuangbanna Prefecture of China, as well as in Burma, Thailand and Laos. The other group called Hani living in the basin of Honghe River, where the Qinkou village locates. The Hani inhabit in the middle range of the Ailao and Wuliang Mountains, with warm climate and abundant rains.^{2, 3}

Villagers' life in Qinkou today is intimately connected to the long history of the place that was first recorded in the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220AD). The traditional culture and religion has inspired people to live in an organised community with their own creeds and ways of life. This study will explore the changes of the important site of the Hani village and the surrounding terraced rice field that form the geographical and symbolic focus of the place for its community, following the development of tourism. The village material settings and the buildings have long been recognised as an integral part of the villagers' life, which is increasingly changed by the modernization process of the country and the tourism development in the region. Hence, the study investigates if the preservation of the physical environment could exist in harmony with the tourist development, and how did the changed physical built environment still acted as the social, political and religious centre for villagers' life.

1. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN YUNNAN

Yunnan is one of the less developed provinces in the western regions in China. It is well known for a very high level of ethnic diversity which matched by its socio-cultural diversity. Among the country's 56 recognised ethnic groups, 25 are found in Yunnan. Around 38% of the province's population are members of minorities. In addition, its location at the southeaster extent of the Himalayas, allows it to supply watershed services to the countries of Southeast Asia. In the province, 94% of the land area is mountainous, and 6% is flat plains in the valleys. With its varied geography, Yunnan historically has been called 'kingdom of plants' and 'kingdom of animals'. Its rich cultural heritage and varied geography has provided tremendous tourism potential. ⁴

These basic facts about Yunnan affect various actors differently. Following the country-wide opening up policies and rapid economic growth, the provincial government sought ways to move from the heavy reliance on traditional subsistence agriculture to a more diverse industrial and service economy.⁵ One of the solutions was to identify tourism as a pillar industry for regional development in Yunnan. Responding to the policy of the provincial government, the local governments wished to

develop their local communities through locally owned small enterprises and for farm-based tourism to act as a vehicle for integrated rural development to raise income, and redistribute the economic benefits within rural households.⁶ The government not only directly participate in tourism development by organising, providing funds and training for the local communities, but also put more emphasis on marketing the region as a tourism destination.

Planners and academics, supported by the provincial government policy of creating ‘Great Ethnic Culture Province’,⁷ sought ways to link the academic studies of ethnic culture and natural environment to the improvement of livelihoods in the promotion of eco-tourism. At the same time, working with local governments, they tried to explore the mechanisms for participatory development and developed processes for innovation to meet local needs.

1.1 Government policies

An important strategy in China since 2000 has been the promotion of the rapid development of the less well-developed western region of China, as well as to achieve co-ordinated development among different regions and the reduction of the development disparity between the eastern and western regions.^{8,9} According to China Daily, from 2000 to 2004, a total of 850 billion Yuan (US\$ 100 billion), of which 400 billion (US\$ 49 billion) was provided by the central government, was invested in the western regions for water conservation, communications, environmental protection, compulsory education and healthcare.¹⁰

During that time period, because of the opening-up policies and strong economic growth, tourism in Yunnan grow rapidly and replaced other primary products of traditional industries (including agriculture and mining) as one of the fastest growing sectors in Yunnan’s economy.¹¹ The year 2000 saw 1 million international tourists, 38 million domestic tourist visiting Yunnan. Development of key tourist destinations to fuel economic growth in Yunnan had been identified by the provincial government as part of the development strategy.^{12,13} In 2002, the government invested 3.15 billion Yuan for poverty alleviation plans in association with tourism development including five large projects to improve infrastructure facilities in poor rural regions of Yunnan.¹⁴ In this new policy

perspective ethnic cultures were seen as assets that could be used to fuel economic growth in the region.

In order to effectively manage tourism, the provincial government has set up an administration system that deals directly with the tourism development through the tourism development policies. The Yunnan Province Tourism Administration (YPTA) includes Departments of Planning and Development, Policies, Law and Regulations, Personnel and Education and Tourism Enterprise Management. Under the provincial Tourism Administration there is a tourism administration department in each city, prefecture, and county. Their functions are to develop and manage tourism at the local level. Their roles have been setting up regulations, providing funding, training tourist staffs and educating general publics. With the development of tourism in Yunnan in recent years, the provincial government has also place more emphasis on the role of the enterprise sector and on marketing Yunnan as a tourist area within China in order to compete with other destinations in Southeast Asia.¹⁵

Following on from the provincial government's policies, many local governments in Yunnan have recognised that the use of successful policies and strategies are important factors for encouraging the rapid development of tourism at a regional level, where tourism not only stimulate economic activity, but also is a realistic alternative to low income agriculture.¹⁶

1.2 Local communities in Yuanyang County

Qinkou village is located in Yuanyang County within Honghe Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture. It covers an area of 5 hectare on a sloping platform at the middle range of the mountain at the 1600m above the sea level. The layout of the village is free style and follows the slopes of the mountain (Fig.1). Villagers' Hani traditional mushroom houses assembled into groups on the both sides of the narrow and meandering roads (Fig. 2). Like other traditional Hani villages, Qinkou had the village gate, the temple for ritual event, and the central square for festivals, as well as the 'Dragon Forest', the sacred cemetery. Five public wells scattered in the village, around which were the most popular places where women did washing up and chatting to each other, children playing around and

men cleaning their farm tools and having showers. Villagers wore colourfully embroidered Hani outfits on a daily basis. The colour and patterns of the clothes indicated their social and marriage status.

As the political, social and religious centre of the community, the village had more than 170 families and about 800 people, consisted of three groups with different surnames. The clan with surname of Li had more influence in the village as they were the first arrived at the place. They were divided further into three Li surname groups with totally more than 100 families.¹⁷ One of the Li group had more communications with outsiders and were generally wealthier. The clan with the surname of Zhang had 26 families, and Lu 39 families. They moved from adjacent villages after the Li groups. The rest of families were consisted of groups with different surnames, each had only 1 or 2 families. In addition, a group of 8 families lived in a relatively isolated location at the edge of the village. Intermarry were allowed within the clan between the three Li surname groups. Other groups, despite with more people in number, arrived the village later and had less influence on decision making processes. In normal daily life, people were less concerned with the distinctions between the clans. Many events were organised with the village as a whole unit. However, in special occasions of the year, especially during the religious rituals, each clan had their own ritual master and hold ceremonies within the groups. Ritual masters' functions were to hold the ceremony against the negative influence of the spirits and to call for the blessing from the gods and spirits. They had important roles in the ancestral rites and funerals of every family.

The essence of Hani society was one of a mutual symbiosis. This attitude was a reflection of their belief of the existence of different souls. They were used to practicing rituals to venerate to the different gods and spirits and thus to obtain their protection. Their religion was based on the cult to the ancestors and the forces of the nature. In every house, there was still the shrine for the spirit of ancestors to live when they return. The belief was also reflected on the ecological system that humanity's serenity and happiness rely on the harmonious relationships between individuals and the supernatural spirits, and with the surroundings. On the edge of the village was the sacred "dragon forest", and governed by certain taboos and ritual protocols. Today's Hani people in Qinkou village

still follow their traditional religion, and carry on a set of family and village ceremonies along the year.

In accordance with the Hani tradition, parents lived with the eldest or youngest son. Other sons who got married would build their own houses. About three to four new houses built in the village each year. The main costs for the families were building houses; other big costs were those for marriages, funeral and religious festivals. Houses were therefore the primary items demonstrating families' financial abilities, and 35% out of 180 families in the village had built brick and concrete houses in 2000. Another item demonstrating the financial ability was television. Despite there were the limited available channels and relatively poor quality of pictures, half families in the village had televisions at homes in 2000. Therefore the new brick and concrete houses and televisions had special meanings associated with wealth and modernization.

The Hani has long been famous for their more developed agriculture. Hani ancestors started their field farming after a long distance migration. Those who lived in the south of Yunnan built dykes and banks on different kinds of topography and soils, and drew flowing mountain springs into the terraces through irrigation channels and ditches. Where there were valleys with forest and cliffs, trenches were set up to make use of the water resources, as a Hani saying: "however high a mountain is, so is the water." Their terraced rice fields, cared for more than eight hundreds of years, expanded following the contour of the mountains and extended to hundreds of levels, forming one of the most extraordinary landscapes created by the human being (Fig. 3). The creation of these terrace fields has supposed many years of intense work and a careful use of the earth.

The majority villagers in Qinkou were farmers engaging in rice cultivation. Many families bred fish in ponds and raised pigs and buffalos. Buffalo was a capable assistant for cultivating terraces, and the Hani people had a long history of respecting buffalos. Over the centuries, the Hani in the region lived a relatively quiet life separated from the outside world. After the road system in the province were constructed in the 1990s, young villagers started to work as wage labours outside the villages during the time of the year when the farming was not busy. Nevertheless, Qinkou remained

isolated from the outside due to its remote location. Compare to other adjacent villages, Qinkou maintained its traditional Hani life styles, settlement arrangements and architectural styles. For the same reason, however, the village lacked basic infrastructure. Before the tourism development project starting in 2001, Qinkou had no public toilet or waste collecting point. Livestock such as pigs and buffalos were left wandering freely on the roads and their droppings caused serious hygiene problems. In addition, the villagers used woods as fuels for cooking and consumed large amount of trees in the mountains. Within the village, trees and grass were scarce; all the road surfaces were exposed with soil. Some electrical cables were connected into the village and were fixed on top of the thatch roofs randomly, which caused a number of fires in the past.

When Yanyang County set up the tourism development project in 1999, three Hani villages were nominated as candidates to be developed as tourism villages. Based on the size of the village and the amount of funding available, it was finally decided that Qinkou village was the suitable candidate. In the process of the designing and planning, although the villagers lacked experience of communicating with outsiders, when consulted with new ideas they expressed the desires to develop the village.

Architects and anthropologist from a local university were engaged to set up brief and feasibility report for the development project. Academic scholars from two subjects, the history of the vernacular houses and the ethnic cultures, worked together to use the academic theory in the practice.

1.3 The brief for the project:

Based on the tradition of the anthropological studies of the ethnic groups and their settlements, the brief for the proposed project specified two characters of the village that needed to be preserved. One was the access to the geographical location with the extraordinary terraced rice field. The other was the ecological environment that accommodated the vibrant traditional practices of the Hani community. The name of Qinkou was defined as “Qinkou Hani Folk Cultural and Ecotourism Village”. The brief specified that the village was not to be preserved as a static cultural museum but a

living village with more than 800 villagers. The integrated culture and ecological systems were to be preserved. The project brief identified the following principles:¹⁸

1. Preserve Three outstanding aspects of the site as listed below:
 - a. Hani minority nationality's unique culture
 - b. Extraordinary terraced rice field
 - c. An ecological system where the physical environment and people co-exist in harmony (Figure 4)
2. The tourism development needed to encourage tourists' interaction with local people's life, preserve an ecological system and nurture civilized civil community.
3. The development needed to protect the settlement's organic form, traditional vernacular houses and surrounding natural environment
4. The project needed to develop six different kinds of activities for tourists to experience local life: food, dwelling, visiting route, walking, shopping and playing.
5. Benefits for local villagers:
 - a. Raise the quality of life
 - b. Improve the living environment
 - c. Preserve the unique characteristics of the Hani's culture and its physical environment

The school teacher, some old villagers and the head of the village were people who could speak some Mandarin. They were consulted during the design and planning process for the project. According to their advices, the traditional Public House, the 'Dragon Forest', the temple and the directions of the villagers' houses all bear special social and religious meanings in Hani culture. All these factors were specifically marked in the plan not to be changed in the project. The details of the developments on specified on five areas are as follows:

1.3.1. Village gate

The original village gate was marked by two large trees, which were tied by hempen rope. In the Development Plan, a designed wooden frame was set up next to the trees to mark the entrance clearly in order to attract tourists in. At the entrance, car parking space and vehicle turn area were planned, as well as a public toilet and a reception area. In addition, a bus stop was added at the village entrance to allow Qinkou become part of a larger scale tourist attraction in Yuanyang. On the bus route Bada – Mali village – Qianfu Zhuan – Qikou village – Xije, all the stops are tourist attractions.

1.3.2. Central square (Fig. 5)

From the entrance the road led uphill to a flat area - the central square. It was surrounded by a small school building and a few houses. In the Development Plan, all the houses were to be refurbished. The old school was demolished and replaced with a new two story building to house 100 students in 3 years. A basketball court was added at the back of the school.

The new central square was extended to cover a total area of around 1000 square meters, and was divided into the front and rear sections. The front section provided space to allow ambulance, fire engines and other maintenance vehicles to come in and turn around. The rear section was completed with three public buildings, a two story building with the Hani Cultural and History Gallery on the ground floor and the old people's relaxation room, a reading room and a young people entertainment room on the first floor. The other two buildings were the Village Management Committee building and a small grocery. An old fish pond was rebuilt with a rest area pavilion. Lights were installed to make the square useful at night. The surface of the square was also repaved with stones.

1.3.3. Hani festival activities area

The fourth tourist attraction was Hani Festival Cultural Activities Area where the Hani temple, swing and seesaw were situated. Other public events to be held here include sing antiphonal songs and banquet. The Development Plan divides the Festival Activities Area into three small open spaces with the temple as their centre. Platforms were constructed by the fish ponds to allow tourists to fish, barbeque and hold camp fire parties at night. Where the land slopes, a mill house is built to make use of the waterfall and to be another tourist attraction.

It takes around an hour to walk from Qinkou to the next famous tourist village Mali village. The Plan identified a hiking mountain route from Qinkou to Mali where the villagers could provide horse riding. A horse renting shelter was built in the Hani Festival Cultural Activities Area. On the route to Mali, a few stops were planned for resting, viewing, drinking and eating.

1.3.4. Road system

The fifth category was building of road systems in order to allow access for emergency vehicles and to separate the buffalo lanes from the primary and secondary roads. The primary roads were the major tourist visiting routes, which contained lanes for pedestrians and vehicles respectively. The total width of the road was 5 meters wide, extending 1100m from the village entrance to the Central Square with signs for traffic and tourists. The stone paving surface of the road from the village gate to the central square was designed for the Hani street banquet during the festival season. Another section of the main tourist road extended from the central square to the Festival Activities Area, which was 4 meters wide, 260 meters long. The secondary road system was footpaths facilitating access to the major tourist scenes in the village, the 'Dragon Forest' and the terrace of rice paddies. The third level of the road system was designed specifically for buffalos. The buffalo lanes connected to all the family houses and allowed livestock to cross the primary and secondary roads but avoid walking on them.

1.3.5. Hani tourist accommodation centre

The Tourist Accommodation Centre was a new hotel in the village to provide accommodation for maximum 53 visitors. As the hotel would be a new building, it was designed to be 150m away from the village gate in order to keep some distance from the traditional village environment. The hotel was to be funded by the private investment. Profits were to be shared between the village and the private owner. The hotel was not built.

1.3.6. Eight Tourist Scenes in the Village

The Development Plan identified 4 primary visitor stops and 4 secondary stops in the village. Around the primary stops, trees, shelters, and pavilions were added, as well as walls decorated with paintings highlighting Hani culture and history. The secondary stops were areas around public wells which accommodated more trees, street furniture and stone paved resting space.

1.3.7. Ethnic cultural galleries

Nine Hani cultural exhibitions were planned in the village. Apart from the water mill, all the other exhibitions were displayed in villagers' houses. Exhibitions included one for Hani costume, handcrafts, farm tools, articles made of bamboo, articles for entertainment and for everyday use, as well as musical instruments. The tourists were invited to manufacture, play instruments or buy souvenirs. Other activities that could engage tourists were colour dying, weaving, embroider, making bamboo articles, husking rice in mortars, making tea and playing music instruments. The village houses with galleries in their ground floors received funds from the local government for refurbishment with newly painted wall, new decorations and lights.

1.3.8. Family accommodation

Four families in the village with extra rooms in their houses could provide accommodations for tourists. They also had good views of the village or the terraces on the mountain. One of the families had four generations living in the house. The 98-year old great grandfather was the oldest man in the village, and was respected by the younger generations.

1.3.9. Refurbishment of existing houses

65% of the existing houses in the village were traditional Hani mushroom houses (Fig. 6). The Development Plan suggested all the mushroom houses should be kept and refurbished. Each house was surveyed and provided with working improvement plan, such as structure reinforcement, roof replacement, or light installation. 35% of the existing houses had flat roofs or galvanised roofs with brick walls. In order to keep the appearance of these houses to be in harmony with the

environment, the Development Plan suggested adding mushroom roofs on the houses and repainting the walls to resemble the traditional rammed earth walls.

1.3.10. Waste Treatment

The Development Plan encouraged villagers to build courtyards around their houses where there were extra space. It also provided technical information on the combination of biogas plants, animal barns and toilets, and the ecological chain of pigs, biogas, and fruits within the courtyards. The principle was to build a 4 to 6 square meters septic tank for each family who had livestock or to allow 3 to 5 families to share one septic tank to provide biogas for cooking. It also provided information on the flowers, vegetables and herbs suitable for the courtyard planting.

Five public toilets were to be built in the village, which were connected to a centralised treatment unit. The Village Management Committee also divided villagers into a number of cleaning teams to clean the toilets and roads every week. Those teams are paid by the Village Management Committee from the fund generated from tourism.

1.3.11. Electrical and Water Supply

An electrical cable from the village and a converter were connected to the adjacent tea factory to provide electricity to the village. All the electrical cables were built underground in order to prevent the fire. Telephone lines and facilities for receiving TV programme were also installed underground.

A new reservoir was built to collect spring water and supply for the daily use and for the fire emergency. Fire hydrants were to be installed in every 120 meters.

1.3.12. Construction Phases

The implementation of the Development Plan had been divided into 3 phases from Dec 2000 to Dec 2004, so the following phase could learn from the previous ones and time was allowed to make modification to achieve the best possible results.

1.3.2 Field studies were carried out in 2006 and 2013 respectively in village, the changes of the village were summarized in Table 1.

Name	Project details	Funding	2006	2013
Tourist Accommodation Centre	To provide accommodation for 54 visitors with double and single rooms	Private investment	Did not get build	No plan to be build
Parking and other facilities for the hotel	Facility for hotel rooms, canteen, entertainment facilities, and training costs for staff working in the hotel	Private investment	Did not get build	No plan to build
Village centre and central square and platform and pavilion at the “village heart”	Exhibition room, community centre for old and young villagers, village manager’s room, and a small grocery.	Government investment	Constructed. The use is as planned. Platform and pavilion at the central square were used intensively by villagers as a gathering place (Fig. 7)	The use is as planned. Platform and pavilion wore out and hasn’t been replaced. Villagers’ gathering places moved.
Street furniture and pavement	Street lights, pavement and sculpture	Government investment	Built and maintained	Maintained

New primary school	Two storey school with 8 classes from year 1 to year 4 (with 100 children)	Government investment	Built and used with 8 classes of students	Used well but need refurbishment
Road and fish pond building	Road at three different levels that can serve vehicles and cattle respectively. A fish pond for villagers and visitors	Government investment	Constructed and used as planned	Fish pond managed by villagers, not used for tourism
4 villager's houses to be refurbished as guest houses	To install necessary facilities for visitors such as bathrooms	Government invest 5000RMB each family, the rest of 7000RMB to be provided by the families	Refurbished	2 villagers' houses remained as guest houses
8 villagers' homes to be refurbished as the exhibition homes	Refurbishment and provide exhibit items	Government invest 4000RMB each family, the rest of 6000RMB to be provided	4 family exhibitions were set up	All the houses were added thatch roofs

		by the families		
55 villager homes to be refurbished	To clad the external brick walls with clay cladding, and add or refurbish thatch roof	Government invest	Refurbished	All the houses in village were added thatch roofs
Car park at the village entrance, village gate and square, the community room, washing room and mortar house	Including both refurbishment and new built	Government investment	Village square were used with a number of small stalls	Car park is heavily used. Community room and washing room were still in use. Mortar house dilapidated
5 toilets and 1 waste collection point		Government investment	4 toilets and 1 waste collection point were connected to the spring water	Toilets and waste collection were still in use.
Landscape design and plants		Government investment	Decorated	Decorated
Biogas plants	Combination of biogas plants, animal barns and	Government investment	1/3rd families in village had the	1/2 families in village using

	toilets to build the ecological charm of livestock, biogas and fruits in the courtyard		biogas plant built	biogas plant
Electrical supply		Government investment	System built	Supplied with the majority families having TV and phones
Water supply and drainage system, and Fire hydrants		Government investment	An indoor water tank was built to store the spring water.	Indoor water tank was still used. Fire hydrants were used intensively for cleaning the village
Maintain the road and other facilities		Government investment	Limited funding	Limited funding

Table 1. Summary of the development projects and changes in 2006 and 2013

2. DISCUSSION

The village changed enormously since the development plan was implemented. In the 2006 study of the village, it was found that the development project had brought significant changes in four aspects. First, the tourism development in Qinkou had introduced the Hani ethnic culture to a wider range of audiences. There was increased national visibility of destinations through the promotional and informational policies generated by the local government.

To ensure the traditional village layout and traditional Hani houses' form to be maintained, the local government set up the rules that new house in the village needed approval from the Village Manage Committee, and the traditional Hani house thatch roof and clay cladding needed to be used. These measures made Qinkou one of the most favoured places for shooting films and TV programmes in China. Qinkou was constantly introduced in TV and films as a typical Hani Village. In May 2007, the CCTV (China Central Television) had special report on Qinkou to present about Hani's culture in Yuanyang.

A growing interest in the region provided a strong market for traditional handicrafts and locally produced goods. The Hani hand-made garments and cloth have been widely collected by businessmen from other cities. Hani women had looms at home and made clothes for the whole family. Five families in Qinkou were actively engaged in the business of making and selling clothes and accessories to the tourists.

Secondly, the development improved local living conditions. In accordance with the Development plan, the local government funded the construction of the infrastructure, the museums and the school as well as other public facilities in the village. The school had several classes with more than 60 students, all of whom were Qinkou residents. The hygiene standard had also improved in the village because of the newly built three road systems and the weekly cleaning of the village. The villagers' reflection on the first positive change in the village was the clean environment.

The integrated utilization of biogas was also promoted in the village, which created the ecological chain of pigs, biogas and fruits and the combination of biogas plants, animal barns and toilets in Qinkou village. One third of the families in the village had been using septic tanks and had rebuilt their kitchens and toilets in 2006; half of the families had installed the system in 2013.

Thirdly, the development project had further divided the village community into socially and economically diversified groups with the shift from patrilineal to affinal networks facilitates cooperation in market involvement. Before 2006, immigration and emigration to and from the village were small, and primarily because of the marriages. Between 1992 and 1999, 12 girls married and

moved into the village, and more than 30 people moved out of the village because of getting married.¹⁹ After 2006, however, tourism had attracted six families into the village to manage restaurant and run shops for processed silver jewelry and handicrafts. New comers signed 10 to 15 years contacts with the local government to rent or joint built houses in the village. In addition, a few young dancers and singers from adjacent villages or towns moved to the village to be part of the performance group. Those are temporary residents in the village and some performers moved to the cities afterwards.

Fourthly, the physical environment changed because of the tourism development. The central square was enlarged to accommodate the space for vehicle to turn around. It was used as the space for festival for people came from adjacent villages, and the space for the building works etc. The fundamental changes of the houses were more than the materials and front façades. The traditional rule of the separation between the male and female areas inside the house was relaxed.

From 2000 to 2006, the improvement of the infrastructure of the village and the involvement with the market economy had great impacts on local people's lives. However, from 2006 to 2013, there was no significant change or improvement for local life raising from tourism development (Fig. 8). Apart from national holidays, the majority visitors came to the area to see the stepped rice field, and they normally spent a small amount of time in the village with few staying overnight. In 2013, the terraced rice field had been awarded the World Heritage status. Talking about the influence of the tourism, villagers general commented that "stepped rice field is good to look at, but it cannot provide us enough food to fill the stomach." Due to the relatively cold weather, the crops in Qinkou could only harvested once a year. From October to the next May when the fields were left to recover, almost all the young men in the village would find work in the cities to complement incomes to the families.

Despite of the various changes, the traditional relationship was maintained between the different clans in the village and the management groups. Village management group who was responsible to the Tourism Bureau of the County, worked parallel with the Villagers' Group who managed the education and other events in the village. The whole village was still managed as a

coherent community. In 2013, in order to prepare for the application for World Heritage title, funding was granted to Yangyan County to improve facilities for tourism. The task for Qinkou was to add thatch roofs on all the houses. We visited the village on the working day when the project was carried out. Every adult in the village, male and female, old and young, was involved and was distributed with different tasks (Fig.9). The payment was evenly distributed to villagers with 60 RMB per person each day. In addition, religious belief was still part of the villager's life; the sacred "dragon forest" had been strictly protected from the tourists and remained as sacred areas.

The impact of the tourism had not brought fundamental changes to the community as expected. Majority villagers had limited benefits from the tourism in 2013. Apart from 4 restaurants, 2 shops, and 17 people working in the performance group. Other villagers' work related to the tourism were cleaning the public space, selling entrance tickets and making handicrafts to sell to the tourists. Majority villagers still rely mainly on the earning from the farming. The income of the tourism were collected by the Tourism Bureau and re-invested back to the village for maintenance and preservation. However, the amount of the reinvestment was limited from 2006 to 2013 apart from the funding allocated to prepare for the application for World Heritage Title. After the significant change in 2001, eventually tourism became a less important part of the ongoing village life.

People had different perceptions about the tradition and modern. In 2013 we asked the question why majority villagers kept their colourful costume in daily life, whereas the ritual master dressed in white shirt as people did in cities. We were told that the white shirt signified his special religious role in the village. Similarly, when the development project was proposed in 1999, around 35% houses in the village were built in bricks and concrete. The new materials and forms were perceived by the villagers as the symbols of wealth (Fig. 10). When asked to add the thatch roofs and clay claddings to houses to make them look "traditional", villagers considered this to be one of the measures to attract tourists rather than the keeping of their tradition and culture.

3. Conclusion

The family patterns, patrilineal kinship, community cooperation, and the subsistence peasant agricultural economy has been the life style and social relation shared by the rural communities in China.^{20, 21} In the early 1980s, the Chinese government introduced the family responsibility system and later abandoned the commune system as well as expanding rural markets have brought profound changes for Chinese rural societies.^{22, 23, 24} In the case of Qinkou, the tourism development in the village had assumed the role so frequently played elsewhere by rural industry and markets that restructured peasant socioeconomic interactions and networks within and among communities. The unusual change in Qinkou, however, is that the traditional forms of the built environment and the ritualized spaces had maintained the harmonious relationship with villagers' creeds and ways of life for a number of reasons mentioned above. Despite the changes on the layouts and forms of the houses and settlement, the village maintained as a coherent settlement with the traditional roles still played by the Villager Group, Villager Management Group, religious and kin groups.

It is important to see these village communities not only as self-contained entities, but in relation to neighbouring villages or the administration system in China, in the full context of the over-all society. In China, the tourism development project was always part of collective movements that were larger than isolated individual practices. The government policy towards the rural regions in Yunnan was to use the tourism as a way to fuel economic growth and to achieve modernization. After 2006, increasingly the ethnic tradition and culture have been regarded more as new sources of income than any other appeals. On one hand, cultural values had been commercialized in the market economy. To add the thatch roofs and clad the walls into clay was one of the methods to visually preserve and demonstrate the Hani traditions. To certain extents, the measure of keeping the physical appearances had generated the commercial values in tourism and in media. The village had drawn vast numbers of visitors and media exposure, and increased the visibility of the Hani culture through the promotional and informational policies by the local Tourism Bureau.

On the other hand, the academic research and design of the development project focused on preserving the Qinkou's ritualised physical environment within its traditional and cultural context, as they were in special moments when they were created and constructed. For the villagers, however, the

Hani culture was invisibly embedded in their ongoing life, therefore their intention was to have an improved quality of life as part of the movement to achieve the “modernization” in China. The conflict can be seen as the one related to the different focuses on time. Trachtenberg argued that there was the disjunction of two different modalities of time.²⁵ One is “the time of building itself” when building takes form as design and physical substance and structure; The other, “the time of the lifeworld of building”, means that every building is created for and by its particular lifeworld, “for its singular desires, needs, uses, and tastes, by its forces and through its agency”.²⁶ Trachtenberg suggested that:

The iron law about each of these modalities is that like all things they themselves change through time. More importantly, they both move and change at different velocities, in themselves and especially relative to each other. It is these relative speeds – to each other – rather than any absolute velocity of construction or of lifeworld change, that appears to be the missing key to reading the history of buildings in time.

- Trachtenberg²⁷

The disjunction of these two different modalities of time has been reflected on the development of a living village as a cultural museum. The academic research focused on the value of the ritualised space in the traditional and cultural context of Hani community and the development plan tried to create the opportunities for sharing resources which could mutual benefit for both villagers and tourists. It is not only in conflict with the commercial management of the site regarding the village as source of income, but also in contrast to villagers’ desires to be part of the modernization movement in the country. The conflict has upset the symbols of the ritualized spaces by opening new interpretation to the tradition and modern. The conflicts between the demonstrations of the traditional Hani material culture in a visible form and the villagers’ desire to improve their lives to reduce the gap between the quality of the life in the urban and rural areas will continue to be invisibly embedded and battled in the site.

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FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS



FIGURE 1. The village plan in 1999.



FIGURE 2. Hani traditional mushroom house in 2001



FIGURE 3. Hani terraced rice field around settlement



FIGURE 4. The natural environment and the village co-exist in harmony



FIGURE 5. The new central square with the Hani cultural gallery



FIGURE 6. Mushroom house in the village



FIGURE 7. Platform was used as the gathering place by villagers.



FIGURE 8. Village plan in 2013



FIGURE 9. Villagers working to add thatched roofs to houses



FIGURE 10. Brick and concrete houses in village in 2013