

旅游开发对云南白族和纳西族 民居建筑传统的可持续性演进影响

THE INFLUENCE OF TOURISM
ON THE SUSTAINING
OF VERNACULAR
ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION
EMBODIED IN THE BAI
AND NAXI DWELLINGS IN
YUNNAN, CHINA

■ 刘肇宁 (Zhaoning Liu) 著



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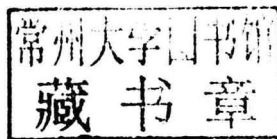


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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.1.1 Significance of the study	1
1.1.2 Involvement of Bai and Naxi dwellings in tourism	5
1.1.3 Booming of guesthouse business	11
1.1.4 Commercialization of vernacular tradition	13
1.2 Statement of conceptual framework	15
1.2.1 Research question	15
1.2.2 Key concept and Conceptual framework	16
1.3 Structure of the thesis	23
 Chapter 2: Literature Review	 26
2.1 Studies of vernacular architecture from an anthropological perspective	27
2.2 Studies of vernacular architecture from an architectural perspective	28
2.2.1 Definition of vernacular architecture	29
2.2.2 Understanding of vernacular architecture	30
2.2.3 Understanding of transmission of vernacular tradition	33
2.2.4 Challenge of vernacular architecture in the twenty-first century	41
2.3 Tourism development and vernacular architecture	43
2.3.1 Definition of tourism	43

2.3.2 Types of tourism.....	44
2.3.3 Influence of tourism on vernacular built environment	46
2.4 Theoretical gap and location.....	53

Chapter 3: Methodology 55

3.1 Research design	55
3.1.1 Methodology paradigm	55
3.1.2 Research methods	56
3.2 Boundaries of the study	58
3.2.1 Bai and Naxi courtyard dwelling	58
3.2.2 Geographical boundary of the study	65
3.2.3 Settlements and dwellings in Dali and Lijiang	65
3.2.4 Reasons for choice	66
3.2.5 Guesthouse cases	67
3.3 Fieldwork and data collection	82
3.3.1 Circle of investigation	82
3.3.2 Ethical issues	91
3.3.3 Other problems in the field study	92
3.4 Data analysis.....	92
3.4.1 Template analysis of textual data	92
3.4.2 Creating the initial template	94
3.4.3 Revising the template.....	97
3.5 Developing theory	101

Chapter 4: Transition in authority and control 103

4.1 Authority and control on a government level	103
4.1.1 Local planning, rules and restrictions	103
4.2 Authority and control on a community level	111
4.2.1 Varying degrees of authority	112
4.3 Influence of tourism on authority and control	125

Chapter 5: Transition in user-builder connection	127
5.1 Original users and builders of the 30 dwellings in case study.....	127
5.2 Current users and builders of the 30 guesthouses in case study.....	130
5.3 New connections between users and builders	132
5.3.1 Mutual dependence between local and outside households	132
5.3.2 Mutual trust and respect between tenants and landlords	139
5.3.3 Constant communication between hosts and tourists	142
5.3.4 Collaboration between local and outside craftsmen	146
5.4 Influence of tourism on user-builder connection	148
 Chapter 6: Transition in craftsmen's role and apprenticeship system	150
6.1 Transition in local craftsmen's role	150
6.1.1 Original role of craftsmen	150
6.1.2 Roles of craftsmen in construction of a guesthouse	154
6.1.3 Influence of tourism on the role of local craftsmen	158
6.2 Transition in apprenticeship system	160
6.2.1 Original local apprenticeships	160
6.2.2 Transition in apprenticeship system in tourism development	161
6.2.3 Influence of tourism on apprenticeship system	167
 Chapter 7: Transition in open-ended design	168
7.1 Transition in open-ended design process	168
7.1.1 Original local design process	168
7.2 Characteristics of design process of a guesthouse	173
7.2.1 The main designer	173
7.2.2 Independence from professional designers	175
7.2.3 On-site design	177

7.2.4 Culturally associated design	179
7.2.5 Expression of cultural identity	186
7.2.6 Distortion of local cultural elements	187
7.3 Influence of tourism on design process.....	189
7.4 Case of vernacular dwelling developed by a real estate develop company	191
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion	196
8.1 Answer to research question: how tourism influences sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition.....	196
8.1.1 Tourism reinforces foundation for transmission	197
8.1.2 Tourism extends channels for transmission	199
8.1.3 Tourism revitalizes education system for training and learning	203
8.1.4 Tourism maintains appropriate manner of updating	205
8.1.5 Influence of tourism on the transmission mechanism	207
8.2 New understanding of sustaining tradition	209
8.2.1 Sustaining is determined by construction pattern	210
8.2.2 Sustaining depends on grass-roots social level	213
8.2.3 Sustaining depends on living socio-cultural interaction	215
8.2.4 Summary	217
8.2.5 Suggestions for policy makers and professionals	218
8.3 Limits of the study.....	221
8.4 Further investigation	222
Bibliography	225
Dedications and Acknowledgements	242

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study is a PhD thesis recording research carried out to investigate the relationship between tourism and buildings in a specific region of China. The aim of the study is to explore the interrelationship between tourism development and the sustaining of the vernacular architectural tradition of Bai and Naxi dwellings in Yunnan, China, in the era of globalization. This chapter will go on to state the research problem more fully, identify the region under investigation, explain how it will be investigated, and also reveal the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the study

1.1.1 Significance of the study

In the global era, travel around the world has risen to unprecedented levels and tourism has been witnessed as a booming industry in the twenty-first century (AlSayyad, 2001; Robinson, 2001). Mike Robinson notes that although it is difficult to identify the global figures for tourism due to definitional and classification problems, tourism and tourism-related businesses are continuing to expand in huge numbers in both developed and developing economies (2001, p.34). In addition, tourism is not only perceived as an interactional economic activity and part of a greater globalization process (Macleod, 2004, p.10), but is also gradually becoming a cultural phenomenon forging dynamic relationships within host communities (Robinson, 2001, p.34). Wahab and Cooper (2001, p.4) give a description of globalization as it is understood in current times, one that coincides with many popular interpretations:

Globalization is an all-embracing term that denotes a world which, due to many politico-economic, technological and informational advancements and developings is on its way to becoming borderless and an interdependent whole. Any occurrence anywhere in the world would, in one way or the other, exert an impact somewhere else. National differences are gradually fading and being

submerged in a homogeneous mass or a single socioeconomic order (Cited by Macleod, 2004, p.5).

Communities in a particular place at a particular time may not only provide experience of different ways of life and material products for tourists' consumption, but they also shape the distinctive landscapes which attract many tourists. In addition, communities are also the focus for tourists drawn from particular places and social contexts to a host community (Richard & Hall, 2000, p.1). The power of tourism, accompanied with other social driving forces, penetrates almost all communities in the world. "In reality, it is often difficult to disentangle the forces of tourism from those of other globalizing influences, but the premise there is that tourism has become an increasingly significant driver of cultural remaking and reinvention" (Robinson, 2001, p.35). In addition, tourism is considered a complex business which comprises different groups with varied interests. It has been witnessed that its powerful force can change a community tremendously in a short period of time (Macleod, 2004).

Advocacy Platform	Cautionary Platform
Tourism conserves and preserves the natural environment	Tourism destroys natural environments, e.g. through large-scale resorts, golf courses and marinas, and is a major polluter through sewage and other waste discharge
Tourism conserves man-made environments (heritage)	Local communities are often exploited and their resources taken over by outside interests for tourism
Tourism conserves/revives past traditions	Tourism destroys / degrades tradition; people and culture could be commercialized
Tourism promotes cultural heritage, cultural performances and festivals, etc.	Tourism disrupts the structure of host societies
Tourism constitutes a relatively benign form of development compared with alternatives such as industrialization (the so-called 'smokeless industry')	Tourism produces 'de-agriculturization' (younger people leaving rural farms for paid employment in the tourism industry)
Tourism plays an educational role, both specifically (e.g. special interest tourism and archaeological tours) and in general	Tourism is often seasonal and generates mostly part-time, unskilled jobs for local people, with specialist and management positions occupied by expatriates
Tourism promotes international understanding and peace	By far the greater benefits flow to developers and investors (often multi-national companies, hotel chains and international airlines) rather than to local communities

Table 1: Views supporting advocacy platform and cautionary platform (Sofield, 2000: pp.46-47)

In the book *'Anthropology of Tourism'*, Dennison Nash (1996) shows the complexity of the impact of tourism on local communities:

"Loukissas (1978) points to the degradation of the environment on Myconos. Lee (1978) views tourism as enhancing the position of an entrenched elite in Yacatan. Jordan (1980) sees it undermining and distorting traditional values in a vacation village in Vermont. Pi Sunyer (1977), studying mass tourism on the Costa Brava, thinks that it promotes stereotyping. Kottak (1966) sees a general deterioration of the communal life of a Brazilian fishing village brought about by the influx of second homes, sport fisherman and hippies" (Nash, 1996, p.21, cited by Macleod, 2004, p.8).

Dennison Nash (1996) also mentions some positive opinions, such as those of Mckean (1976) in Bali, Cohen (1979) in Thailand, Boissevain (1978) in Malta and Hermans (1981) on the Costa Brava, who "found tourism to be a benign and possibly beneficial agent of change" (Nash, 1996, p.22, cited by Macleod, 2004, pp.8-9). "The case studies on Bali, the Eskimo, and the San Blas Indians all show that tourism has served to regenerate traditional industries by providing an enlarged market for native products" (Smith, 1989, p.8). The polarization of arguments regarding the positive and negative impacts of tourism on vernacular communities shows the complexity of the relationship between tourism and vernacular culture. Some of these arguments form an advocacy platform that bolsters the positive impact of tourism, while others form a cautionary platform that is critical of the impacts of tourism. The views supporting the advocacy and cautionary platforms can be summarized as shown in Table 1 (Sofield, 2000, pp.46-47). Here we can see a very broad set of influences of tourism, which may be regarded as positive or negative according to the position of different observers (Macleod, 2004, p.9). All these views perceive tourism as an external force that causes socio-cultural change.

As part of vernacular culture, a vernacular dwelling is not merely a physical entity, but a living representation of cultural norms, with rules, ritual and meanings embodied in it. Paul Oliver states that every culture has its own forms of dwelling, built by the people who inhabit them, in clear response to the society's physical, social and psychological needs, and shaped as much by belief systems and concepts of status, territory and security as by economy, material resources, technology and climatic conditions (1987, pp.7-15). The main function of each vernacular dwelling was originally as a residential home for a family. The construction of a vernacular dwelling is designed to meet the socio-cultural requirements of family members, and residents of a vernacular dwelling foster and evolve a specific lifestyle according to the

needs of living. Both Bai and Naxi dwellings bear many complicated interrelationships with their inhabitants. For instance, the design of the dwelling reflects the logic of the residents' rural life; utilization of the space represents the hierarchical relationship between family members; symbolic meanings embodied in tangible and spatial features express the cultural values and beliefs of the household; and the construction process adheres to customs, agreements and norms on a community level. In short, vernacular dwellings are private units built to meet the needs of a specific group of people, whose style of housing is part of their specific culture. Vernacular architectural tradition is acknowledged as the standards and values of a society embodied in its built structures, whether domestic, functional or symbolic (Oliver, 2006, p.384). More importantly, vernacular architectural tradition is respected as the passing on of technical know-how and a complex continuity "inherited from the past, lived in the present and sustained in the future" (Oliver, 2006, p.384). With the development of tourism in the era of globalization, vernacular settlements and vernacular dwellings become another type of 'cultural resource' to be exploited for tourists' consumption. 'Consuming tradition' and 'manufacturing heritage' are widely observed in the tourism development of vernacular settlements. The sustaining of vernacular architectural tradition appears to be of increasing relevance to the tourism industry, and more so in the era of globalization than in any other period of time in history.

The influences of tourism on vernacular architectural tradition may be seen as contradictory as well. Some vernacular architectural traditions are 'destroyed' during tourism development, while others are 'revitalized' by it. However, there is no particular theory which explains the contradictory phenomena regarding the influence of tourism on vernacular architectural tradition. Further explanation is needed to clarify the reasons why, in some specific situations, tourism may exert a positive influence on vernacular architectural tradition, such as by promoting conservation and revitalization, while in other situations, tourism exerts a negative influence, causing damage and degradation. A new theoretical understanding is needed on the interrelationship between tourism and vernacular architectural tradition in the era of globalization, in order to help identify the main elements that influence the interaction between tourism and this tradition. As vernacular architectural tradition is a living culture, the identification of the main influential elements will guide the actions and practices of relevant professionals, as well as those of policy makers, and thus exert a positive influence on sustaining vernacular architectural tradition through the biggest industry in the world—tourism.

1.1.2 *Involvement of Bai and Naxi dwellings in tourism*

In the global market, “the First World appears more interested in consuming the cultures and environments of Third World societies” (AlSayyad, 2001, p.4). It is witnessed that the First World advocates the preservation of Third World built environments, and promotes the transformation of these built environments into tourist destinations. Meanwhile, developed regions in the Third World are keen to follow the development model of the First World. They propose to conserve some well-preserved vernacular settlements of under-developed regions and turn them into tourist attractions. In many parts of the world, such as some marginalized regions in Third World nations, tourism development seems to offer new hope for these regions in terms of economic development within the global economy (AlSayyad, 2001, p.2). That is to say, tourism development relevant to vernacular settlements pays particular attention to ethnic communities in some under-developed areas in Third World countries. In southeast Asian and third world countries in particular, ethnic tourism has become one of the most popular forms within the tourism market (Cohen, 2001, p.27). Ethnic tourism that is based on a vernacular community, such as a tribe, a village, a town or a city, is “also the most frequently researched topic in the sociological and anthropological study of tourism in the Southeast Asian region” (Cohen, 2001, p.27). Within the undeniably complex processes of creating culture, the built environment plays a significant role in demonstrating the interrelationship between the tourism industry and the cultural transformation of a host community.

Conventionally, mainland China is considered a Third World Country. In many areas, especially in the vast rural parts of China, the economy and development of technology are still backward in comparison with those of many developed countries (Zhang, 2003, pp.29-30). With 56 ethnic groups, a vast area, diverse landscapes, ancient history, rich culture and a distinctive political and economic system (Zhang, 2003; Zhu, 2011), mainland China has abundant resources to develop tourism. The south-western part of China is an economically under-developed area in comparison with other parts of the country. Located in southwest China and adjacent to Southeast Asia, Yunnan Province was one of the three least developed provinces of China in 2011. The local government is keen to seek a route to develop the local economy. Yunnan province is inhabited by 26 Chinese minority groups, and each group has a distinctive ethnic culture and unique vernacular settlements. Because of economic backwardness, many vernacular settlements of these ethnic minority groups have remained in their original state. Abundant ethnic cultural elements and a diversity of cultural expression within vernacular dwellings can be seen in these settlements. The potential of these vernacular settlements to attract tourist gaze (details see page 24) and thus stimulate the local

economy has been realized by the provincial government. Therefore, turning these ethnic vernacular settlements into tourism destinations seems to be one of the most effective and efficient approaches to achieving the goal of economic development in the under-developed regions of Yunnan Province.

One of the most important reasons behind the fact that some traditional vernacular settlements have become a focus of tourist gaze in contemporary mainland China is urbanization. Since the 1980s, rapid economic development in China has led to an immense quantity of modern construction in urban areas. New landscapes, new settings and new buildings have been constructed at an incredibly high speed based on principles of modernist aesthetics. The old landscapes, local townscapes and traditional architecture were generally considered symbols of the old society, representing poverty and backwardness. Some of the old built environment has been torn down to make way for new buildings of modern architectural style, in order to demonstrate the modernization and economic development of the new society. For example, many of the humble and simple quadrangles and hutongs in Beijing have been demolished to allow for construction of high-rise buildings. What is more, the newly-constructed built environment is seen as one of the most important elements providing evidence of the political achievements of local governments in terms of developing the local economy. Therefore, after ten years of construction, a huge number of traditional vernacular settlements have vanished in the most economically developed regions in China. In the 1980s, the rapid disappearance of traditional vernacular townscapes and buildings became an issue which was firstly opposed by a number of academics. They appealed to the government to pay attention to the scientific, social, cultural and artistic values of these disappearing traditional vernacular-built environments, and called on the authorities to preserve them. Some traditional vernacular settlements were preserved in this manner. For instance, the Old Town of Dayan and its traditional townscape were preserved through the appeals of Professor Liangwen Zhu, who wrote letters to the head of the provincial government of Yunnan requesting a halt to construction in Dayan and the protection of its traditional townscape.

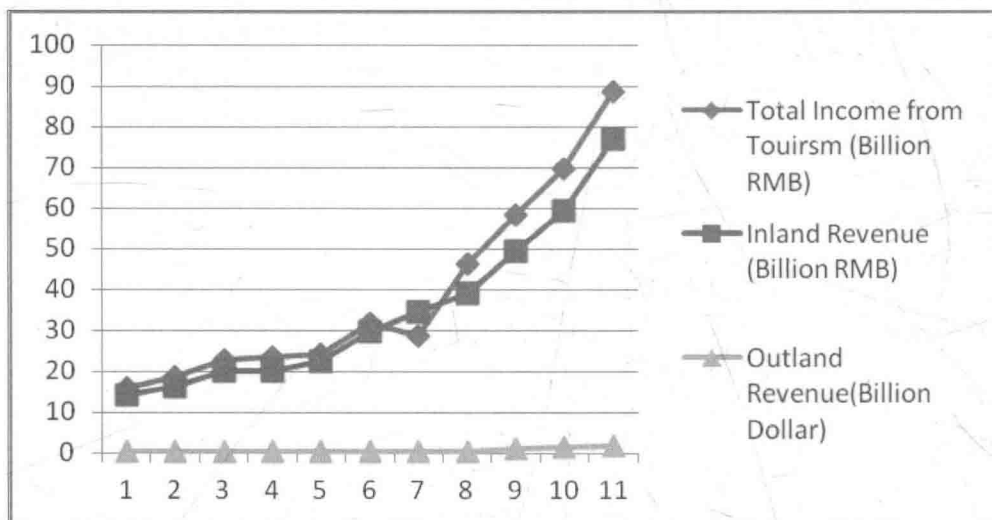
Another reason for traditional vernacular settlements to attract tourist gaze in contemporary China is the rise of the middle class and its concepts of consumption. Economic development has promoted the emergence of a middle class in China, members of which obtain good jobs, comfortable incomes and a considerable level of education. In addition, the lifestyle of the middle class in China has changed greatly due to an increase in wealth, media coverage, accessibility of information and control of advanced technology (Zhu, 2011). Nevertheless, the rhythm of work in daily life has been intensified due to the new system of labour and employment, including increased competition and work pressure. Along with the intensity of modern urban life has come

the need for leisure and recreation (Xiao, 2003, p.266). Consequently, tourism has become a new channel for the newly-formed Chinese middle class to relax and enjoy some leisure time. Similar to the middle class of other developing countries, the middle class in China pursues the culturally symbolic meaning embodied in consumption activities. The consumption of vernacular culture, as well as its built environment, is not only a consumer activity but demonstrates the attitude of the middle class towards, and their perception of, contemporary China. The majority of middle class citizens in China live in urban regions within developed areas, and are familiar with the much-criticised monotony of the newly-constructed landscape. An emotion of nostalgia has grown among them. Going back to the old times and experiencing an indigenous vernacular lifestyle has become increasingly popular among the urban middle class. Obtaining a different cultural experience within traditional vernacular settlements in under-developed areas has become a new way for the middle class to counteract the monotony caused by urbanization and globalization. With the increase in consumption capacity of China's middle class, cultural products based on the spaces and places of vernacular settlements are gaining popularity.

The governments of Yunnan province have shown a contradictory attitude toward ethnic settlements in relation to tourism development. On the one hand, they have been actively involved in the preservation, conservation and renovation of the local heritage, in order to prove their political authority and its effectiveness. During the development of ethnic settlements as tourist destinations, local governments and some developers have increased their control on vernacular construction in Dayan, Shuhe, Xizhou and Sideng, which are the most famous ethnic settlements in Yunnan province. In order to do this, provincial and local governments of the four settlements have issued various regulations for construction activities regarding the adaptation of vernacular dwellings for residential and commercial purposes. Especially when a dwelling is located in a conservation district, all works on the dwelling are subject to regulations (Peters, 2001, pp.319-320). Materials, structure, usage of labour, procedures, skills and technology applied are all subject to corresponding regulations set by the government. If a dwelling is designated as a Key Conservation Vernacular Dwelling, the regulations regarding the conservation and restoration of the dwelling are even stricter. These regulations set many standards regarding construction activities for local residents to follow. For instance, the regulations require that house owners have to use traditional building materials and techniques to repair or build a dwelling. However, some traditional materials and techniques are relatively more expensive and more difficult to obtain, yet the government lacks funding to support local people's need for such resources to repair their dwellings. As a result, the regulations increase the cost for local residents to maintain and repair their existing dwellings, as well as to build new ones. The

regulations also stress that if house owners want to repair, reconstruct or rebuild their dwelling, they have to apply for approval from the government. The procedure for such applications is normally complicated and time consuming, which makes many local residents feel they have lost a lot of freedom in maintaining their own residence.

Year	Total Tourists Arrivals (Million)	Inland Tourists (Million)	Outland Tourists (Million)	Total Income from Tourism (Billion RMB)	Inland Revenue (Billion RMB)	Outland Revenue (Billion Dollar)
(1) 1999	2.8	2.74	0.069	15.87	14.1	0.213
(2) 2000	2.9	2.81	0.092	18.66	16.36	0.276
(3) 2001	3.33	3.23	0.105	22.69	20.14	0.305
(4) 2002	3.38	3.23	0.148	23.37	19.89	0.419
(5) 2003	3.02	2.93	0.082	24.04	22.5	0.227
(6) 2004	3.59	3.5	0.092	31.76	29.54	0.266
(7) 2005	4.04	3.86	0.183	28.59	34.48	0.493
(8) 2006	4.6	4.29	0.309	46.29	38.94	0.493
(9) 2007	5.31	4.91	0.401	58.24	49.32	1.19
(10) 2008	6.25	5.79	0.466	69.54	59.45	1.48
(11) 2009	7.58	7.06	0.526	88.66	76.99	1.71



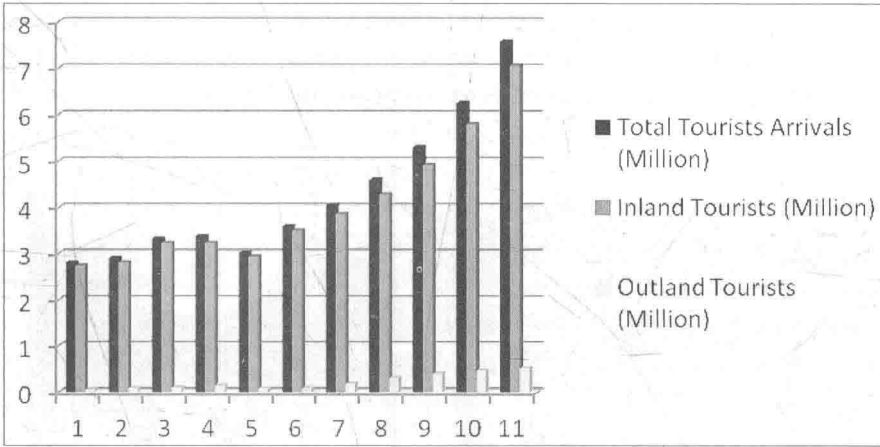


Table 2: Statistics of tourist arrivals and tourism income from 1999 to 2009 (drawn by author)

On the other hand, the governments have perceived tourism as a new and growing economic driving force. They have made the best use of the uniqueness of the vernacular settlements to attract a wide range of investments in order to increase economic development (see table 2). They have especially encouraged investment from large capitalists and financial institutions, which can increase local financial revenue in a short period of time. Many large tourism real estate projects, led by local governments in collaboration with real estate companies, have been completed in the four famous ethnic vernacular settlements in Yunnan province. Examples of these include the Yuhe corridor antique commercial district at the entrance of Dayan Ancient Town (see Figure 1); the club and bar street in Shuhe Ancient Town; the cultural and commercial tourism street in Xizhou Ancient Village; and the Lanlin commercial tourism street in Shaxi Sideng Village. These projects were led by the local governments, who commissioned real estate companies to complete the development. The investment companies are normally the substantial shareholders of such projects, whose main objectives are to obtain maximum economic benefit. These projects usually emphasize market-oriented operation and often resort to ‘heritage innovation’. All icons of culture, such as architectural style, building typologies and spatial configurations, become simply parts of the culture they are meant to represent to meet the needs of the market. “Authenticity here is desired, and is achieved through the manipulation of images and experiences” (Nezar, 2001, p.9). These projects are normally criticized, as they are unable to involve local communities in the process of development due to issues of effectiveness and efficiency, yet they exploit the cultural resources of the local communities, mainly for the benefit of financial groups from outside. Some academics believe that vernacular